1. Introduction.

- Just like Latin, Romanian has a nominal-verbal construction traditionally called ‘supine’ appearing, among others, as goal of motion, with the locative preposition la ‘at’ replacing the case marking on the supine cf. (1a-b).

(1) a. abiit piscatum \hspace{1cm} \text{Latin} \hspace{1cm} (1)b \hspace{1cm} merge la pescuit \hspace{1cm} \text{Romanian}
went fishing \hspace{1cm} \text{\textquoteleft He went fishing\textquoteright} goes at fishing \hspace{1cm} \text{\textquoteleft He is going fishing\textquoteright}
1. Introduction.

Locative (and other) prepositions are followed by bare nouns in Romanian. *La* ‘at’ also introduces Dative arguments; in accomplishments, it has the property of undoing the telos of the main predicate. The question is how to account for the contribution of the lexical preposition in a unified manner in the supine goal of motion construction, the defeasible accomplishment context and the Dative.

(2) a. a citit la roman (dar nu l-a terminat)
   has read at novel (but not it-has finished)
   ‘He read at the novel (but didn’t finish it)’
b. am dat de mâncare la copii (dar n-au mâncat)
   have given of food to children (but they-not-have eaten)
   ‘I gave food to the children (but they didn’t eat)’
c. sunt la pescuit (dar nu am început să pescuiesc)
   am at fishing (but not have started to fish)
   ‘I’m out for fishing (but didn’t start to fish)’
1. Introduction

- In this talk, I will investigate the properties of the genuine prepositional supine adjuncts and show
  - (i) that the supine in these cases is not verbal but a bare noun
  - (ii) that the lexical preposition with the bare noun contributes the goal of motion meaning and introduces the idea that the event goal is not reached.

- Structure of the talk
  - Types of supine constructions
  - Contribution of the lexical preposition
2. Types of supine constructions

2.1 Clausal and prepositional supine

A first thing to observe is that the participial form showing up in Romanian sentences like (1b) is preceded by the preposition la ‘at’; in other constructions, it can take various other prepositions. Being preceded by prepositions is a property of what traditional grammars label as the ‘verbal supine’. Traditional grammars distinguish between a nominal supine, a nominalization taking the definite determiner, and the verbal supine preceded by prepositions, as in (3)a-b respectively:

(3)  
a. Fumatul este periculos pentru sănătate.  
smoking the is dangerous for health  
'Smoking is dangerous for health'
b. Trebuie să mă las de fumat.  
have to me quit de smoking  
'I have to quit smoking'
2.1. Clausal and prepositional supine

- However, there are two different contexts which are not distinguished by traditional grammars: the supine may be built with a genuine, lexical preposition, or with a functional particle delimiting a clausal domain. To distinguish between the two, note that extraction is possible out of clausal supines but not out of prepositional supines.

(4) a. E politicos de condus pe invitați la gară
   is polite to walk obj guests at station
   ‘It is polite to walk the guests to the station’
 b. Pe cine e politicos de condus la gară ?
   obj who is polite to walk to station
   ‘Who is it polite to walk to the station?’

(5) a. Mașina e pentru condus invitații la gară
   Car-the is for walk guests-the to station
   ‘The car is for walking the guests to the station’
 b. *Pe cine e mașina pentru condus la gară ?
   obj who is car-the for walk to station
   ‘Who is the car for walking to the station?’
2.1. Clausal and prepositional supine

The clausal supine appears in the following contexts: reduced relatives (6)a; periphrases (6)b; Tough constructions (6)c, where it is preceded by a functional particle de, which cannot alternate with anything else:

(6)  
   a. exemple de reținut  
       examples de remember  
       'examples to remember'  
   b. am de citit  
       (I) have de read  
       'I have to read'  
   c. romanul este greu de citit  
       the novel is tough de citit  
       'the novel is tough to read'
2.1. Clausal and prepositional supine

- On the other hand, the prepositional supine is preceded by lexical prepositions, subcategorized by the main predicate, showing up especially as goal PP:

(7)  
   a. am plecat la pescuit  
       have gone at fishing  
       ‘I’m out for fishing’

   b. undiță pentru pescuit  
       rod for fishing  
       ‘(a) rod for fishing’
2.1. Clausal and prepositional supine

- The contrast in (8-9) shows that the preposition is selected by the main verb in (9), but not in (8). *A avea* ‘to have’ and *a termina* ‘to finish’ select for the clausal supine but do not accept a PP; *a se apuca* ‘to start’ selects a prepositional supine or a PP with a nominal.

(8)  
- a. am de citit vs. *de carte*
  ‘I have de read vs. de book’
- b. a terminat de citit vs. (*de) carte(a)
  ‘(s)he has finished reading vs (*de) book(the)’

(9)  
- s-a apucat de citit vs. de carte
  ‘(s)he has started reading vs. the book’
2. Types of supine constructions

2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- There is an empirical generalization for Romanian stating that in prepositional contexts and by default, the nominal complements have to be bare.
- This is true for locative prepositions:

(10)  

a. Am plecat la școală / la spital vs. *la școala, *la spitalul  
    have gone to school / to hospital       to school.the, to hospital.the  
    ‘I am going to (*the) school / to (*the) hospital  

b. Școala este lângă / aproape de spital vs. *spitalul  
    school-the is next-to / near       hospital hospital.the  
    'The school is next to / near (*the) hospital’  

c. Casa este pe deal vs. *pe dealul  
    house-the is on hill    on hill-the  
    ‘The house is on (*the) hill’
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- However, this is not true for comitative, associative or instrumental prepositions: in this case the determiner is obligatory:

    have stayed home with teacher.the / with mother.the (vs. with professor, with mother)

   b. Am subliniat cifrele cu stiloul (vs. *cu stilou)
    have highlighted numbers.the with pen.the (vs. with pen)

   c. Am plecat la plimbare cu vaporul / cu bicicleta (vs. *cu vapor, *cu bicicletă)
    have gone at strolling with boat.the / with bicycle.the (vs. with boat, with bicycle)
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- The same situation arises in the case of bare prepositional supine constructions, Ps obeying the same selectional restrictions as for regular nouns:

(12) a. m-am apucat de citit (cartea)
    me-have started of reading book.the
    'I have started reading (the book)

b. am terminat cu cititul (cărții)
    have finished with reading.the book.the.Gen
    'I’m done with the reading (of the book)
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

Here is a list of verbs that select a prepositional construction:

(13) a se apuca (de) ‘to start’, a se ține (de) ‘to keep doing something’, a se lăsa (de) ‘to stop, quit’, a merge (la) ‘to go to’

Verbs that select a functional de-supine construction are:

(14) a avea ‘to have’, a fi ‘to be’, a termina ‘to finish’
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- In combination with verbs such as those listed in (14) above, the supine enters a restructuring construction through complex-predicate formation and amounts to a truncated clause with no subject position. The upper layers (e.g. the tense projection and the subject position) are contributed by the first verb which restructures with the truncated supine clause, in turn responsible for lexical aspect and the introduction of the internal argument. The supine with a functional *de* is also present in Tough-constructions and reduced relatives, where I assume it is also a truncated clause.
From an external-distributional point of view then, we must assume a tripartite classification of supine constructions: (i) definite supine nominal – (15) ; (ii) ‘prepositional’ bare supine nominal (16); (iii) verbal supine (17).

(15) fumatul trabucurilor i-a ruinat sănătatea
smoking.the cigars-Gen him-has ruined health-the
‘Smoking cigars ruined his health’

(16) s-a lăsat de fumat (trabucuri)
se-has left of smoking (cigars)
‘he has quit smoking (cigars)’

(17) are de citit douăzeci de cărți
has of reading twenty of books
‘He has to read twenty books’
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- The verbal supine in class 3 constructions allows clitics to be hosted by the first verb, which the bare nominal supine in class 2 does not accept: this is the reason for the ungrammaticality of (18b) below. This proves that the two constructions are fundamentally different, and that the supine in the verbal class 3 constructions is a truncated clause involving complex predicate formation with the first verb.

(18)  

a. l-am terminat/avut de citit  
    it-has finished/had to read-Sup  
    ‘I finished/had to read/ing it’

b. *l-am apucat de citit  
    it-has started to read-Sup  
    ‘I started to read it’
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- The prepositional supine has peculiar properties when it comes to the licensing of the internal argument. More particularly, the object cannot be differentially marked by *pe* and (as a consequence) cannot be a personal pronoun. This indicates that the supine in (19a) is not able to assign structural case to the object, while when in the fully verbal construction, it is (19b).

(19)  
   a. *s-a apucat de criticat pe Ion / pe el  
   se-has taken of criticizing pe Ion / pe him  
   ‘(s)he has started criticizing Ion/him’
   
   b. îl mai am de ascultat pe Nică  
   him still have of listening pe Nică  
   ‘I still have to listen to Nică’
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- The object is not normally separable from the prepositional supine, while in a fully verbal construction it is:

\[(20)\]  

a. *s-a apucat de cules azi porumb  
se-has taken of harvesting today maize  
intended: ‘(s)he has started harvesting maize today’

b. are de cules azi porumb  
has of harvesting today maize  
‘(s)he has to harvest maize today’
2.2. Verbal and nominal supine

- In support of the view that the supine’s object in the prepositional construction is a ‘weak’ incorporated object, Soare (2002) notes the fact that the most natural object of this kind of supine construction is a bare noun:

  (21) s-a apucat de cules porumb
       se-has taken of harvesting maize
       ‘he has started harvesting maize’

- Given the strict parallelism between regular prepositional phrases with nouns and prepositional phrases with the supine, and the fact that the prepositional supine incorporates the object and does not assign it regular case, I conclude that the supine in the prepositional construction is a bare eventive noun.
2. Types of supine constructions
2.3. Definite and bare supine

- In work by Alexiadou et al (2010) among others the definite nominal supine is considered to be inflected for imperfective aspect and introduce pluractionality in the context of the definite determiner. I assume that the structure of the prepositional supine is that of a bare eventive noun, but is more reduced that the one of the definite supine.
2.3. Definite and bare supine

- In the definite supine nominal, which has been the object of detailed scrutiny in Iordăchioaia & Soare (2009, 2011, 2015), the definite determiner meets an outer Aspect projection, resulting in a pluractional meaning. This is visible in (23) and (24) respectively by the fact that the supine involves distributivity effects with plurals and in the case of unbounded predicates like states it requires a bounding function, in order to further apply the pluractional operator. The semantic plurality of events introduced by the supine through the contribution of a pluractional operator located in an AspP projection induces ungrammaticality with a singular object in the case of one-time events like kill in (23):

  (23) ucisul *unui jurnaliștilor
       killing.the a-Gen journalist /journalists-Gen
       ‘killing a journalist/journalists’
2.3. Definite and bare supine

- Moreover, with stative predicates (which are unbounded) the supine is ungrammatical. However, when bounded by a bounding function ‘until’, it becomes grammatical and denotes a habit. These facts diagnose pluractionality. In support of this analysis, one can also note that the definite supine always shifts the aspectual value of the verbal basis into a plurality of events. For more details, see Iordăchioi & Soare (2009, 2011, 2015).

(24) *statul lui Ion la Maria (până dimineaţa târziu)
    staying-the of Ion at Mary until morning late
    ‘John’s staying at Mary’s until late in the morning’
2.3. Definite and bare supine

- Unlike the definite supine nominal, the bare supine nominal does not force the pluractional reading, which, when present, is contributed by the main verb. So, (25)a has an episodic one-event reading, while (25)b has a habitual reading, showing that the aspectual value is determined by the first verb (inchoative with *a se apuca* ‘to begin’ and habitual with *a se ține* ‘to keep ...ing’) and not by the supine.

\[(25)\] a. abia s-a apucat de mâncat carnea
   ‘He hardly started to eat the meat’

b. se ține de vânat rațe
   ‘he keeps hunting ducks’
2.3. Definite and bare supine

- I thus conclude that unlike the definite supine nominal, the bare supine nominal only presents inner-aspectual (atelic) specifications. It is not clear that the bare supine nominal presents an AspP layer; the fact that the presence of adverbs and prepositional aspectual adjuncts is questionable seems to indicate that such a projection is absent in the bare prepositional supine. In (26)b, the PP in cinci minute ‘in five minutes’ cannot be interpreted as modifying the supine but only the main verb. As an indication, we can note that it is only possible to question the main verb and not the supine, as indicated in (26)c:

(26)  
- a. ??s-a apucat de mâncat imediat carnea  
  se-has started of eating immediately meat-the  
- b. ??s-a apucat de mâncat carnea în cinci minute  
  se-has started of eating meat-the in five minutes  
- c. Când s-a apucat de mâncat ? vs. #Când a mâncat ?  
  when se-has started of eating vs. when has eaten  
  ‘When did he started to eat’ vs. “When did he eat”?

(27)  
- s-a apucat de corectat teze timp de ore în șir  
  se-has started to grade assignments time of hours in row  
  ‘She started to grade assignments for hours’
2. Types of supine constructions

- Summary: three supine constructions with (i) the definite determiner; (ii) the bare prepositional supine; (iii) the clausal supine.
- The prepositional supine construction involves a bare nominal supine with lexical-aspectual specifications (it is atelic).
- The absence of the determiner is an important factor in the make-up of the goal-of-motion construction, either with the supine or with other nouns and I will return to it in section 3.
3. The contribution of the lexical preposition

3.1 The conative construction and the defeasible telos

- Certain lexical (locative) prepositions with bare nouns yield defeasible accomplishments (Bar-el et al 2004 among others) in what is commonly called the conative construction (Levin 1993):

(28)  a. A citit romanul (*dar nu l-a terminat)
    has read novel-the (but not it-has finished)
    He read the novel (*but didn’t finish it)

  b. a citit la roman (dar nu l-a terminat)
    has read at novel (but not it-has finished)
    He read at the novel (but didn’t finish it)

These lexical prepositions have a decisive contribution undoing the telos of the main predicate. The question is what exactly they contribute in a goal-of-motion construction and in the defeasible accomplishment.
3.1 The conative construction and the defeasible telos

Note that the same preposition is used to mark Dative in colloquial Romanian, with the possible continuation implying that the Theme did not reach the Goal. When the verb entails that the Theme reaches the Goal, the la-dative is ungrammatical (30c-d):

(29) a. am dat de mâncare la copii (dar n-au mâncat)
    have given of food at children (but they didn't eat)

b. am trimis scrisoarea la asociație (dar n-au primit-o)
    have sent letter.the to association (but didn't receive it)

(30) a. am dat de mâncare copiilor (?dar n-au mâncat)
    have given of food children.Dat (but they didn't eat)

b. am trimis scrisoarea asociației (?dar n-au primit-o)
    have sent letter.the association.Dat (but didn't receive it)

c. *am înmânat diploma la elevi
    have handed diploma to pupils

d. am înmânat diploma elevilor (*dar n-au primit-o)
    have handed diploma pupils.Dat (*but they didn't receive it)

There seems to be an alternation between a structure with a full DP in an object position involving culmination, and a P+bare NP construction in which the telos is not reached. The question is how this difference is achieved.
3.2 The prepositional supine and the unachieved goal

- The non-culmination continuation appears in a large number of prepositional constructions, introducing Goal bare nouns, including the prepositional supine.

(31) a. Sunt la fumat
   am at smoking
   ‘I'm out for smoking’

b. Mașina e pentru condus invitații la gară
   car-the is for accompany guests-the to station
   ‘the car is to accompany guests to the station’

c. Mașina e pentru plimbare
   car-the is for going-out
   ‘the car is to go out’

(32) a. Sunt la fumat dar încă nu am început să fumez
   am at smoking but yet not have started to smoke
   ‘I’m out for smoking but didn’t start smoking yet’

b. Mașina e pentru condus invitații la gară dar încă nu i-am condus niciodată
   car-the is for drive guests-the to station but yet not them-have driven never
   ‘the car is to drive guests to the station but we never driven them yet’

c. Mașina e pentru plimbare dar nu ne-am plimbat încă cu ea
   car-the is for strolling but not us-have strolled yet with it
   ‘the car is to go out but we didn’t go out with it yet’

- There is a contrast with the definite supine, which does not admit the non-culmination continuation:

(33) *am început cititul dar încă nu citesc
    I have started reading but am not reading yet
3.2 The prepositional supine and the unachieved goal

- Article drop: the preposition replaces case marking, which in Romanian depends on the Determiner. There is alternation between a genuine case (Dative, for instance) and the Prep+bare NP construction. I assume certain locative Prepositions select for an NP – the construction is not always definite contra Mardale (2008) and Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea (2013).

\[(34)\]
\[
a. \text{ Casa e pe deal. *Acesta este lângă o pădure.} \\
    \text{ House.the is on hill. That is near a forest.}
\]
\[
b. \text{ Am plecat la pescuit. *Acesta e o activitate foarte plăcută.} \\
    \text{ have gone at fishing this/that is an activity very pleasant}
\]

\[(35)\]
\[
a. \text{ M-am așezat lângă profesor/ (Acesta) era beat.} \\
    \text{ me-have sitten near professor/ (this one) was drunk}
\]
\[
b. \text{ Se îndreaptă spre școală/ (Aceasta) e deschisă.} \\
    \text{ se directs toward school/ (this one) is opened}
\]
3.3. Unfolding the unachieved goal meaning

- The alternation between a definite DP object and a PP+bare noun brings about the distinction between the achieved and the unachieved goal meaning. A definite DP is merged in an argument position of the main predicate (in terms of Borer 2005, in SpecAspQ), yielding the telic interpretation. A PP+bare noun is not inserted in this position, but rather in an adjunct position, and does not yield a telic interpretation. The unachieved goal meaning involves a couple of ingredients, more precisely the meaning of the preposition (‘at’) and article drop.
3.3. Unfolding the unachieved goal meaning

- I claim that a goal-of-motion component is contributed to the main predicate by the lexical preposition in the shape of a PathP (36), signifying that the (event) goal denoted by the bare noun is not achieved. This happens for the goal-of-motion bare supine examples above, and is also true in the case of *pentru* ‘for’ with ordinary nouns and with bare supines.

\[(36) \quad \text{PathP} \]
\[
\text{Path} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{la/pentru} \quad \text{plimbare} / \text{pescuit} \\
\text{at/for} \quad \text{walk} / \text{fishing} \]
3.3. Unfolding the unachieved goal meaning

- Inside the PathP, the locative Preposition marks case on the bare NP. The absence of the article is an important ingredient in the non-achieved goal meaning. I assume that the article is completely missing and is not incorporated into the Preposition (the nominal is not a covert definite cf. above). Article drop in the supine amounts to its truncated structure. D selects AspP in the pluractional supine but is absent here, so the supine does not project AspP, but only encodes lexical atelic aspect. This in turn is also an important component of the unachieved goal meaning (a-telos).

- Combining this PathP construction with a verbal predicate amounts to the absence of a result state in the construal.

- This analysis could be extended to the colloquial Dative and the conative construction, which involve the same ingredients: a PathP with a bare (atelic) noun which is inserted in an adjunct position and not in the direct argument position, cancelling the result state, and yielding the unachieved goal meaning. If this is correct, the pattern la ‘at’ + bare NP would have a unified contribution to the verbal predicate, which one could label the unachieved goal construal.
4. Conclusion

- The supine in the goal-of-motion construction is a bare noun.
- The goal-of-motion construction involves locative prepositions undoing the telos.
- This construction comes with a Path component inducing the goal of motion and canceling the result state. Article drop participates the non-achieved goal meaning.
- The analysis can be extended to the colloquial Dative and the conative construction.
References