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A- AND \bar{A} -MOVEMENT IN
ROMANIAN SUPINE
CONSTRUCTIONS

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1 Introduction

Romanian supine sentences with *tough*-predicates, such as (1a–b), are a classical example of a construction for which both \bar{A} -movement (Grosu and Horvath 1987:183n3, Rubin 1995:56–61) and A-movement (Hill 2002) analyses have been proposed. This controversy has not arisen in other Romance languages, where *tough*-constructions are analyzed as instances of A-movement.¹ In this squib, I demonstrate that both A- and \bar{A} -movement exist in Romanian, but that the former correlates with the presence of agreement. In (1a–b), the adjective is not marked for agreement, unlike predicate adjectives in most contexts in this language.

(1) *Nonagreeing adjectives*

- a. Aceste poezii sunt ușor de memorat.
this-F.PL poem-F.PL are easy- \emptyset DE memorize-SUP
'These poems are easy to memorize.'
- b. Aceste nume sunt anevoie de reținut.
this-F.PL name-F.PL are hard- \emptyset DE retain-SUP
'These names are hard to remember.'

However, unnoticed by previous researchers, there are in fact *two* distinct predicate adjective constructions in Romanian. In (2a–b), as opposed to (1a–b), the adjective agrees in gender and number with the DP.

(2) *Agreeing adjectives*

- a. Aceste poezii sunt ușoare de memorat.²
this-F.PL poem-F.PL are easy-F.PL DE memorize-SUP
'These poems are easy to memorize.'
- b. Aceste roșii sunt bune de aruncat.
this-F.PL tomato-F.PL are good-F.PL DE throw-SUP
'These tomatoes are good to throw away.'

In what follows, I show that sentences like (1a–b) involve \bar{A} -move-

I am indebted to John Whitman, Carol Rosen, John Bowers, Yoshi Dobashi, and two anonymous reviewers for discussion. I also thank Larisa Avram, Chris Collins, Barbara Lust, Yumiko Nishi, and the audiences at the 2004 annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America and the 2004 conference of the English Department at the University of Bucharest. This study is based on data from six adult native speakers of the Bucharest dialect (of which I am one); I thank my informants for their participation.

¹ For a summary of studies on Italian and Spanish, see Wurmbrand 2001: 343–344; for French, see Canac-Marquis 1996.

² While the example with *bune* 'good-F.PL' in (2b) is fully acceptable, the example with *ușoare* 'easy-F.PL' in (2a) is condemned in prescriptive grammars, although it is documented in both oral and written texts (Dindelegan 1982). As one reviewer points out, unlike 'easy', 'good' obligatorily agrees with the DP. A number of *tough*-adjectives are in fact either obligatorily inflected or obligatorily uninflected.

ment of a silent *wh*-operator, resembling English *tough*-movement structures (Chomsky 1977, 1981), whereas sentences like (2a–b) involve A-movement of the DP in a clause union/restructuring context (e.g., Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, Rizzi 1976, Wurmbrand 2001).

Three preliminaries. First, the supine is a verbal noun morphologically identical to the past participle but invariable. Second, in the sentences in both (1) and (2), the DP acts as the surface subject in that it agrees with the main verb *sunt* ‘are’; replacing *sunt* with *e(ste)* ‘is’ renders all these sentences ungrammatical. Third, the morphology of ‘easy’/‘hard’ in (1) corresponds to the uninflected/masculine singular form of the adjective, which is homonymous with the adverb form. Some studies refer to this form as an adjective; others refer to it as an adverb. I consider adjectives and adverbs exponents of the same category A in Romanian (cf. Rubin 1995), and I consider the forms in (1) nonagreeing adjectives. In what follows, I will refer to the construction in (1a–b) as the *nonagreeing* construction and to that in (2a–b) as the *agreeing* construction.

2 A New Analysis

The analysis I sketch below is based on the general framework proposed by Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001). Additionally, I assume that there are two functional categories between T and V: Pr(education), which introduces the external argument, and Tr(ansitivity), which is responsible for checking accusative Case (Bowers 2002). With regard to the supine, I adopt two of the conclusions reached by Hill (2002). First, I assume that Romanian supine clauses lack TP since the supine is not compatible with negation, clitic pronouns, or auxiliaries, as shown in (3) (see also Grosu and Horvath 1987:192n9).

- (3) E greu de (*nu)/(/*i)/(/*fi) adunat materialul.
 is hard DE (*not)/(/*to-him)/(/*be) gather-SUP material-the
 ‘It is hard not to have gathered the material for/to him.’
 (based on Hill 2002)

Second, I follow Hill in assuming that the supine verb moves to ‘light v,’ which corresponds to Pr in Bowers’s (2002) theory. Hill’s assumption is based on the fact that short, TP-independent adverbs such as *iar* ‘again’ may occur between the supine verb and the direct object, as in (4).

- (4) E greu de cules iar porumbul când plouă in
 is hard DE gather-SUP again corn-the when rains in
 fiecare zi.
 every day
 ‘It is hard to gather again the corn when it rains every day.’
 (from Hill 2002)

Let us now turn to the status of the particle *de*. Although previous studies have taken *de* to occupy the head C (e.g., Hill 2002), in the

depictive phrases in (5) *de* cannot be a C; instead, it patterns like *with* or French *de*, illustrated in (6) (Yim 2004).

- (5) a. Mobila era plină de praf.
furniture-the was full DE dust
'The furniture was covered with dust.'
- b. Piața forfotea de oameni.
market-the swarmed DE people
'The market swarmed with people.'
- c. Pivnița mișuna de șobolani.
cellar-the swarmed DE rats
'The cellar swarmed with rats.'
- (6) Le jardin fourmillait d'abeilles.
the garden swarmed DE bees
'The garden swarmed with bees.'
(from Yim 2004)

Within Bowers's PrP hypothesis, the item introducing the depictive is analyzed as Pr. It can be shown that *de* here is distinct from P. *De praf, de oameni, and de șobolani* do not behave like normal PPs. For example, while *de*-PPs can generally be relativized, as in (7), the ones in (5) cannot, as shown in (8).

- (7) a. Câinele se lovise de perete.
dog-the itself hurt DE wall
'The dog hurt itself against the wall.'
- b. peretele de care se lovise câinele
wall-the DE which itself hurt dog-the
'the wall against which the dog hurt itself'
- (8) *șobolanii de care mișuna pivnița
rat-PL-the DE which swarmed cellar-the
'the rats with which the cellar swarmed'

Similarly, while some *de*-PPs can be fronted, as in (9), the ones in (5) cannot, as shown in (10).

- (9) a. Se temuse întotdeauna de oameni de genul
SE feared-3SG always DE people of kind-the
acesta.
this-the
'He always feared this kind of people.'
- b. De oameni de genul acesta se temuse
DE people of kind-the this the SE feared-3SG
întotdeauna.
always
'This kind of people he always feared.'
- (10) ??De șobolani mișuna pivnița.
DE rats swarmed cellar-the
'With rats the cellar swarmed.'

The data in (5)–(10) show that, in some instances, *de* can be Pr (i.e., neither C nor P).³ I will assume that when *de* heads PrP, it bears an EPP-feature.

Returning now to the structure of the agreeing construction in (2), I propose that the supine clause undergoes a type of clause union/restructuring. This operation has two consequences: it suppresses the subject position of the supine and it eliminates the Case-licensing projection TrP of the supine. Since the Relational Grammar literature on clause union, it has been known that there is a relationship between licensing of the embedded object and restructuring. Here, I will not take a position on the precise status of the operation involved in restructuring, but the result of this operation is a representation like (12), where the Case-licensing projection Tr has been removed and the embedded object is Case-licensed in the main clause (cf. Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, Wurmbrand 2001).⁴

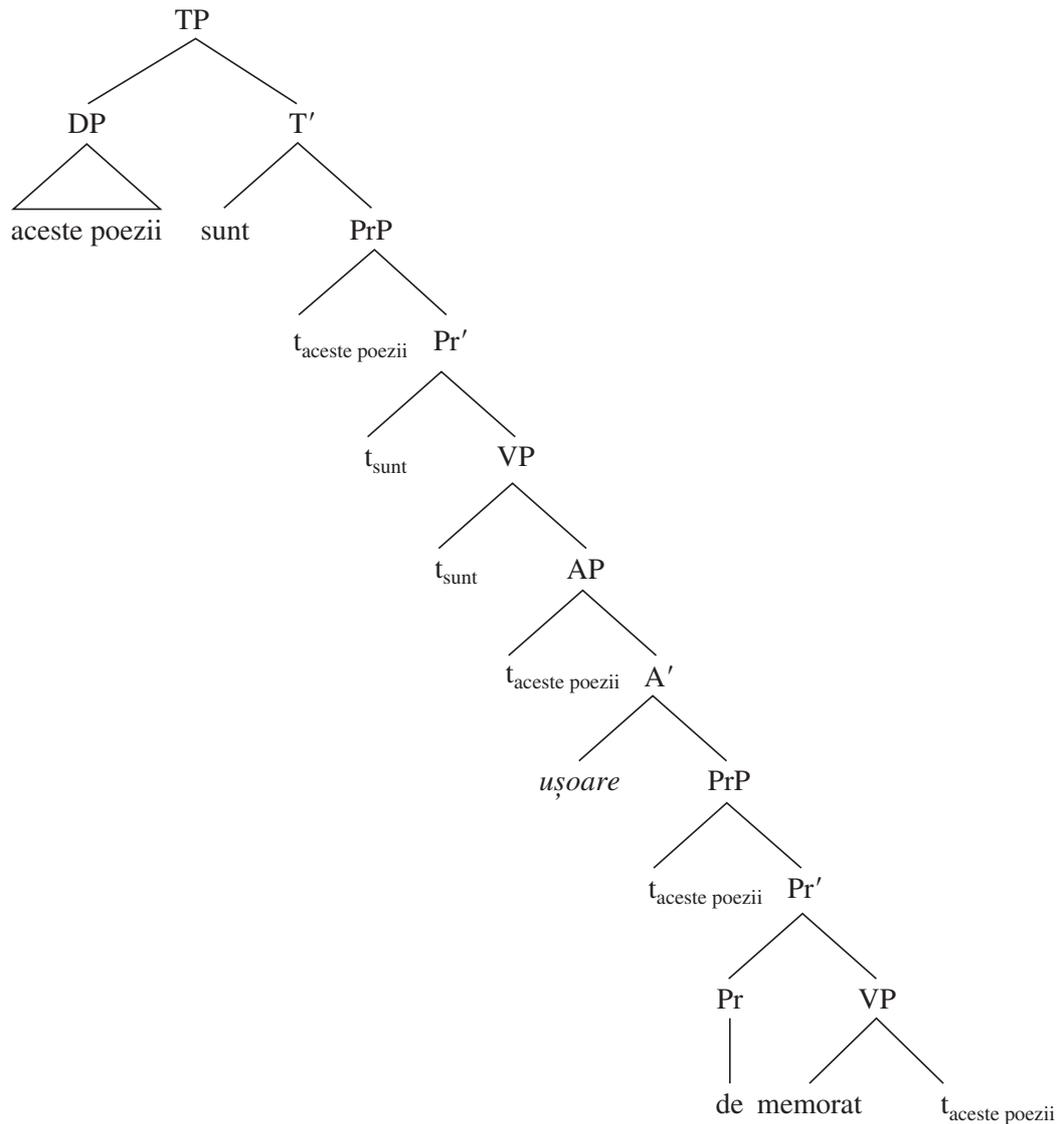
The structures of the two constructions are given in (11) and (12). (11) shows the structure of the nonagreeing construction, which involves \bar{A} -movement of a null operator (Op) from the object of the supine VP to Spec,CP. (12) shows the structure of the agreeing construction, which involves A-movement of the DP *aceste poezii* from the object of the supine VP to matrix subject position after restructuring. The crucial points of this analysis are these. First, in (11) the subject DP is distinct from the object of the supine (they are only coindexed), whereas in (12) the matrix subject DP is identical to the object of the supine. Second, the representation in (11) is a full structure, while that in (12) is reduced by restructuring. Third, in (12) the DP raises past the agreeing adjective, while in (11) the DP does not pass the nonagreeing adjective.

³ Stefănescu (1997) shows that Romanian *de* may also be a prepositional determiner embedding a DP. Thus, *de* can occur in three positions, C, Pr, and P, in different structures: Op structures, clause union structures, and DPs, respectively.

⁴ One may wonder why *de* is not allowed in infinitival raising constructions with *a părea* ‘seem’, which, if they also involved clause union, would require an explanation. Notice that an important difference between these and the supine constructions under investigation is that the former have TP, as shown by the tests in (3); TP is usually absent in clause union contexts (e.g., Hill 2002: 508–509). Further, note that infinitives do not always occur with *de*.

- (i) (*De) a ceda inseamnă (*de) a-i da dreptate.
 (*DE) to give.in-INF means (*DE) to-him give-INF justice
 ‘To give in means to agree with him.’
- (ii) Plecă fără (*de) a-i saluta.
 left-3SG without (*DE) to-them greet-INF
 ‘He left without greeting them.’

A full explanation of the distribution of *de* goes well beyond the scope of this study.

(12) *Agreeing/A-movement*

In (11), the Op moves to Spec,TrP to check the accusative Case, EPP-, and ϕ -features of Tr, then on to Spec,PrP to check the EPP-feature of Pr, and finally to Spec,CP to check the *wh*- and EPP-features of C.⁵ In (12), restructuring eliminates Spec,PrP, as discussed above, then Spec,PrP is (re-)created as a result of movement. The DP *aceste poezii* raises to the lower Spec,PrP to check the EPP-feature, then to Spec,AP to check the ϕ -features of the adjective,⁶ then to the higher Spec,PrP to check the EPP-feature of Pr, and finally to Spec,TP to check the nominative Case, EPP-, and ϕ -features of T. In (11), the supine raises to Pr through Tr, but this movement is blocked in (12)

⁵ Following previous work, I assume that the subject and the Op chain are related by some notion of predication coindexation.

⁶ Or perhaps to the specifier of an agreement projection directly above AP.

since there is no Tr and since Pr is occupied by *de*. In both constructions, the main verb moves from V to Pr to T (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). I follow Bowers (2002) in assuming that unaccusative clauses such as the main clause (in both constructions) do not have TrP and that Tr, Pr, and T have EPP-features.

3 Differences between the Two Constructions

I now turn to some empirical differences between the two constructions that support the analysis proposed in the previous section. As mentioned above, in (1) the adjective does not carry gender/number inflection, whereas in (2) it agrees with the DP.

Next, observe that the nonagreeing construction has an impersonal equivalent, as illustrated in (13), while the agreeing construction does not, as shown by (14).

(13) *Nonagreeing adjective*

E ușor de memorat aceste poezii.
 is easy- \emptyset DE memorize-SUP this-F.PL poem-F.PL
 'It is easy to memorize these poems.'

(14) *Agreeing adjective*

**E/Sunt ușoare de memorat aceste poezii.*
 is/are easy-F.PL DE memorize-SUP this-F.PL poem-F.PL
 'It is easy to memorize these poems.'

Examples (15) and (16) show that the nonagreeing construction is compatible with unboundedness, while the agreeing construction is not.

(15) *Nonagreeing adjective*

Noțiuni de genul acesta vor fi dificil de
 notion-F.PL of type-the this-the will be hard- \emptyset DE
inceput de abordat t.
 begin-SUP DE approach-SUP
 'Notions of this type will be hard to begin approaching.'

(16) *Agreeing adjective*

**Noțiuni de genul acesta vor fi dificile*
 notion-F.PL of type-the this-the will be hard-F.PL
de inceput de abordat t.
 DE start-SUP DE approach-SUP
 'Notions of this type will be hard to begin approaching.'

The last test I discuss is parasitic gaps. Example (17) shows that parasitic gaps are licensed in Romanian. Examples (18) and (19) show that the nonagreeing construction allows parasitic gaps, while the agreeing construction does not.

- (17) *Pe cine ai apreciat t înainte de a cunoaște ec?*
 PE who have-2SG appreciated before of to know-INF
 'Whom have you appreciated before meeting?'
 (from Dobrovie-Sorin 1994)

(18) *Nonagreeing adjective*

Aceste formule sunt *uor* de memorat
 this-F.PL formula-F.PL are easy- \emptyset DE memorize-SUP

t fără (de) a înțelege *ec.*

without of to understand-INF

‘These formulas are easy to memorize without understanding.’

(19) *Agreeing adjective*

*Aceste formule sunt *ușoare* de memorat
 this-F.PL formula-F.PL are easy-F.PL DE memorize-SUP

t fără (de) a înțelege *ec.*

without of to understand-INF

‘These formulas are easy to memorize without understanding.’

To summarize, in this section I have shown that the two constructions differ with regard to adjective agreement, impersonal equivalent, unboundedness, and parasitic gaps.

4 How the New Analysis Accounts for the Observed Differences

The new analysis provides an elegant account of the differences described in the previous section. In the nonagreeing construction, the DP *aceste poezii* originates in a position located above the AP projection, the two being unrelated. By contrast, in the agreeing construction, the DP moves through the AP projection to matrix subject position. Agreement is explained by the specifier-head relation holding between the adjective and the DP that moves through its specifier. The fact that the nonagreeing construction allows an impersonal equivalent corresponds to the fact that the supine clause is a CP, while the fact that the agreeing construction does not allow an impersonal equivalent corresponds to the fact that the supine is a reduced structure lacking CP and TrP. Finally, the fact that the nonagreeing construction is compatible with unboundedness and parasitic gaps whereas the agreeing construction is not is explained by the fact that the former involves \bar{A} -movement and the latter A-movement.⁷

⁷ Note that the structure I propose for the nonagreeing construction (i.e., \bar{A} -movement) parallels that posited by Chomsky (1977, 1981) for English *tough*-constructions like (i), which have an impersonal equivalent, illustrated in (ii).

(i) These books are easy to read.

(ii) It is easy to read these books.

The structure I propose for the agreeing construction (i.e., A-movement) resembles that proposed by Canac-Marquis (1996) and others for French *tough*-constructions like (iii), which do not allow an impersonal equivalent, as (iv) shows.

(iii) Ses problèmes sont difficiles à comprendre.

his-PL problem-PL are difficult-PL à understand-INF

‘His problems are difficult to understand.’

5 Conclusion

I have shown that there are in fact two distinct supine *tough*-constructions in Romanian. The nonagreeing construction has CP structure and involves \bar{A} -movement, whereas the agreeing construction is the result of restructuring involving A-movement. The present squib is significant for three reasons: (a) it sheds new light on “the gray area of supine clauses” in Romanian (Hill 2002:495), (b) it offers an interesting example of a language that allows the coexistence of very similar A- and \bar{A} -movement constructions,⁸ and (c) most important, it uncovers yet another instance of the correlation between A-movement and adjective/participle agreement in Romance (Kayne 1989).

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(iv) *Il est difficiles à comprendre ses problèmes.
 it is difficult-PL à understand-INF his-PL problem-PL
 ‘It is difficult to understand his problems.’

French uses a different means for expressing the equivalent of (ii), where the adjective is not inflected and the preposition is different (see (v)). A similar situation is found in Italian (see Whitman and Dye, in preparation).

(v) Il est difficile de comprendre ses problèmes.
 it is difficult- \emptyset DE understand-INF his-PL problem-PL
 ‘It is difficult to understand his problems.’

⁸ See Whitman and Dye, in preparation, for discussion of this point.

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ADVERBIAL COGNATE OBJECTS

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1 Introduction

Kuno and Takami (2004:116) make the remarkable observation that some unaccusative verbs can occur with cognate objects.

- (1) a. The tree grew a century's growth within only ten years.
 b. The stock market dropped its largest drop in three years today.
 c. Stanley watched as the ball bounced a funny little bounce right into the shortstop's glove.
 d. The apples fell just a short fall to the lower deck, and so were not too badly bruised.

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