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SYNTAX * PHONOLOGY

THE ROMANIAN SUPINE AND ADJECTIVAL COMPLEMENTATION. TOUGH CONSTRUCTIONS

ELENA NEGOITA SOARE & CARMEN DOBROVIE-SORIN[*]

1. From *Tough*-Movement to Adjectival Complementation

1.1 Some data and an overview of current analyses

Some adjectival predicates enter into two classes of structures, as in (1)-(3), for English, French and Romanian respectively:

(1)   a   it is *Tough* to park cars in Manhattan.

       b   cars are *Tough* to park in Manhattan.

(2)   a   il est difficile de lire ces livres

            it is difficult to read these books

       b.   ces livres sont difficiles à lire

            these books are difficult to read

(3)   a   e uşor de spus aceste lucruri

            is easy to say these things

            'it is easy to say such things'

       b   aceste lucruri sînt uşor de spus

            these things are easy to say

            'these things are easy to say'

In the generative literature of the 70's, the two structures were considered to be related by subject raising (Chomsky (1965), Ross (1967), Rosenbaum (1967), Postal (1971)). Chomsky (1981) proposes a reanalysis mechanism of the adjective and its verbal complement into a complex predicate.

On the basis of the French data, Huot (1981) rejects *Tough Movement*: the two constructions have different meanings and there is a preposition alternation (*de* vs. *à*) that goes against the transformational analysis:

The Romanian data were analysed by Grosu & Horvath (1987) as relying on a *Tough Movement* rule (A'-Movement of a Null Operator). But Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) argued that Romanian does not allow Null Operator-variable configurations. This proposal is supported by the properties of the Romanian Supine, which is used in these constructions: the Supine does not assign Accusative case to its complement, and thus is not able to license a variable (which by definition needs Case). Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) suggests that Romanian *Tough* structures rely on A-Movement. An analysis along these lines will be implemented below. Our aim will be to propose an explanation for the contrasts between Romanian and French with respect to (i) the choice of the embedded non-finite form and (ii) the presence vs absence of agreement on the *Tough* predicate.

1.2 Some Romanian - French Contrasts

Looking at French structures will provide us with important observations regarding the analysis of Romanian *Tough* constructions. There are a few major contrasts between the two languages.

1. Agreement and partial agreement

French structures of the type in (4)a exhibit two instances of Agreement: (i) between the copula and the raised DP; (ii) between this DP and the adjectival predicate (which agrees in French and in most of the Romance languages). Romanian only shows agreement between the copula and the subject DP:

(4)   a   ces livres sont **difficiles** à lire
                these books are difficult-Agr to read
                'these books are *Tough* to read'

        b   aceste cărţi sînt **greu** de citit
                these books are *Tough* to read
                'these books are *Tough* to read'

        c   *aceste cărţi sînt **grele** de citit
                these books are *Tough*-Agr to read
                'these books are *Tough* to read'

Romanian seems to be more like English: the *Tough* predicate does not agree. But this is generally the case with English adjectives, whereas in Romanian, adjectives normally agree. (4)b being grammatical and (4)c ungrammatical does not represent a typical adjectival behaviour in Romanian, which is illustrated in (4)d:

(4)   d   aceste cărţi sînt bune de citit
                these books are good to read

To account for this peculiarity of Rumanian *Tough* predicates, Pană-Dindelegan (1992)) proposed that the adjective is subject to a process of adverbialization, a hypothesis that we will further develop below.

The adverbial status of *Tough* predicates is probably correlated with another generalization: Romanian adjectives cannot combine with CPs. For this context, Romanian always chooses adverbs (as opposed to French, see (5(a-b) and 5(c) respectively):

(5)   a   *e bun să citeşti aceste cărţi
                'is good to read these books'
                it is good to read these books

        b   e bine să citeşti aceste cărţi
                'is well to read these books'
                it is good to read these books

        c   il est bon de lire ces livres[1]
                it is good to read these books

2. Choice of the verbal form

Romanian also differs from French regarding the choice of the verbal form in the embedded clause:

(6)   a   ces livres sont difficiles à lire
                these books are tough to read-Inf

        b   aceste cărţi sînt greu de citit
                these books are tough to read-Sup

        c   *aceste cărţi sînt greu a citi
                these books are tough to read-Inf

        d   *aceste cărţi sînt greu să citim

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[1] It should be observed that the adverb *bien* is required if the expletive subject *il* is replaced by *ce/ça*:
(i)   c'est bien de lire ces livres
        ce is well to read these books
        it is good to read these books

these books are tough to read-Subj
these books are tough to read

3. Preposition alternation in French (*à/de*)) - no alternation in Romanian (*de*).

The impersonal construction in French (see (7a)) uses the preposition *de*, whereas the raising construction uses the preposition *à*. Romanian shows no comparable alternation:[2]

(7)   a   il est difficile **de** lire ces livres
             it is tough de read these books
             it is tough to read these books
        b   ces livres sont difficiles **à** lire
      these books are tough-Agr à read
      these books are tough to read
(8)   a   e greu **de** citit aceste cărţi
             is tough de read these books
             it is tough to read these books
        b   aceste cărţi sînt greu **de** citit
             these books are tough de read
             these books are tough to read

The preposition alternation indicates that an analysis relating the two structures by movement cannot be correct. We will instead follow Canac-Marquis (1996) in assuming that in the impersonal construction, the embedded clause is a subject clause, whereas in the so-called "raising" configuration, the embedded clause is an adjectival complement.

1.3. Tough *predicates and disjunctive subcategorization*

According to Canac Marquis (1996), *Tough* predicates are "disjunctive subcategorizers":[3]

(9)   a   ce livre est difficile
      this book is difficult
        b   il est difficile de lire ces livres
             it is difficult to read these books
        c   ce livre est difficile à lire
             this book is tough to read

In the case of (9)a, the *Tough* predicate has a DP argument, whereas in the case of (9)b, it has a CP argument, which is a saturated full proposition. Finally, the third structure (9)c -the so-called *Tough Movement* structure - is not to be analyzed as taking simultaneously a DP and a CP as arguments. Rather, the adjective takes a DP argument, and the constituent introduced by *à* (analyzed as a PP by Canac-Marquis) functions as an adjectival modifier. Because it is an adjectival modifier, the PP forms a constituent with the adjective, whereas in the impersonal construction, the CP is an argument of the adjective. Disjunctive subcategorization explains the preposition alternation between the French impersonal construction and the raising structure (see (9)b vs (9)c).

1.4. Tough *Movement: A or A'?*

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[2] A related difference between French and Romanian could be that Romanian, as a pro-drop language, does not use subject expletives in the impersonal constructions.

[3] Canac Marquis (1996) adapts the notion of "disjunctive subcategorizers" from Stowell (1981), where it was proposed for verbs such as *want, report, request*, taking DPs or propositional arguments, *but not both at the same time*.

According to Canac-Marquis's analysis, "*Tough* Movement" configurations are no longer viewed as being derived from an impersonal structure via the raising of the embedded subject. Rather, these structures are viewed as combining a predication relation between the subject DP and the adjective and a relation between the adjective and the PrepP that modifies it. Canac-Marquis proposes an analysis relying on two A chains, the first one formed by movement of the DP:

(10)   a   ces livres$_i$ sont difficiles t$_i$ e$_i$ à lire t$_i$.

these books are difficult to read

b   ces filles$_i$ sont jolies t$_i$ e$_i$ à regarder t$_i$.

these girls are pretty to look

predication

(11)   ces livres$_i$ sont [$_{AP}$[$_{AP}$ difficiles t$_i$] [$_{AgrPP}$ e$_i$ [$_{PP}$ à [$_{VP}$ lire t$_i$]]]]

In this analysis, *ces livres* is the subject of *difficile*. It is generated inside the AdjP, and then moved by A-Movement, over the adjective and the copula, into the subject position, triggering agreement of the adjective. This is the first A-chain, which is the same as for any copular adjectival structure. The *Tough* predicate is modified by a prepositional modifier containing an infinitive, the object of which has been moved to the subject position by A-Movement also, exactly like in a passive structure - this is the second A-chain. A predication relation (labelled "clausal th-predication" by Canac-Marquis) holds between the base position of the subject DP and the maximal projection of the infinitive modifier (AgrPP in his terms).

A somewhat different analysis can be found in Cinque (1990), who proposed that *Tough*-Movement structures do not rely on the canonical type of A'-movement, but rather on the A'-binding of a pronominal empty category by a base-generated operator: a Null Operator that is directly generated in Spec, CP binds a *pro* in the argument position. Cinque's et Canac Marquis's proposals rely on a common intuition, namely the attempt to propose a mechanism different from canonical A'-Movement.

1.5. Adjectival Complementation

Tough adjectives differ from other adjectives insofar as they allow the impersonal configuration. However, they behave on a par with non-*Tough* adjectives regarding the possibility of adjectival modification:

(12)   a   cette fille est jolie

this girls is pretty

b   *il est joli de regarder cette fille

it is pretty to look at this girl

c   cette fille est jolie à regarder

this girls is pretty to look

'this girls is pretty to look at'

In English and French, the complementation of *Tough* adjectives appears to be similar to the complementation of non-*Tough* adjectives. A better understanding of *Tough* adjectives could then be achieved by setting them against the background of adjectival complementation.

This line of investigation was adopted by Landau (1999), who establishes a distinction between psychological and non-psychological adjectives, and shows that the type of the complement depends on the class of the adjective. According to Landau (1999), psychological adjectives sub-categorize infinitives which are propositions (saturated formulas in which the null subject is PRO), whereas the non-psychological adjectives sub-categorize infinitives which are predicates: such infinitivals contain empty categories (in either subject or object positions) bound by a Null Operator that functions as a lambda-operator.

Let us take a typical example of a psychological adjective, *happy*. For this adjective, one cannot obtain arbitrary reading for the subject of the infinitive; only the active reading is allowed, with a controlled subject-gap:

(13) a   Mary$_i$ is happy [*PRO$_i$* to help anybody]

     b   * Mary$_i$ is happy [*PRO$_{arb}$* to help e_i]

The configuration in (15)b could only be legitimate if the empty category was bound by a Null Operator. This would result in a predicative infinitival, an option that is not allowed by psychological predicates, since, according to Landau, such predicats semantically select a proposition (in addition to an individual):

(14)   A psychological adjective denotes a binary relation between an individual (Experiencer) and an eventuality (propositional type)

$$A_P (<GDét, CP>)$$

Non-psychological adjectives, on the other hand, allow either (i) an object-gap, combined with an arbitrary PRO, or (ii) a subject gap if the verb is passivized. They do not allow a saturated infinitival (see (15)c):

(15)   a.   the book$_i$ is available [*PRO$_{arb}$* to read e_i]

     b.   the book$_i$ is available [*PRO$_i$* to be read]

     c.   *the book$_i$ is available [*PRO$_{arb}$* to read it$_i$]

According to Landau, these data are explained by the following characterization of non-psychological predicates:

(16)   A non-psychological (material) adjective denotes a one-place property of an individual (Theme). This property can be modified by a *predicative* infinitive.

In sum, the two types of adjectives require two distinct types of infinitives: propositional and predicative. The difference between the propositional infinitive and the predicative infinitive explains the distribution of empty categories. The propositional infinitive corresponds to a saturated formula, which does not contain a variable. One may only have pronominal empty categories, PRO for instance, which can only occupy the subject position (cf. (17)c). The predicative infinitive, on the other side, is obtained by lambda-abstraction over an argument position. In this case, then, the infinitival clause contains a variable-type empty category (see (17)b). Landau (1999) adopts an analysis according to which predicative structures are constructions involving Null Operators; NOp are creating predicative expressions[4].

We have then the following classification of infinitives:

(17)   a   [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [$_{IP}$ GDét/PRO$_{arb}$ ... [$_{VP}$ ... t$_i$]]] – the CP is a predicate

     b   [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ ... [$_{VP}$ ...]]] – the CP is a predicate

     c   [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ GDét/PRO ... [$_{VP}$ ...]]] – the CP is a proposition

The three cases are illustrated by the following examples, respectively:

(18)   a   The book is available [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ for [us to read t$_i$]]

     b   The book is available [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [PRO$_{arb}$ to read t$_i$]]

(19)   a   The book is available [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [t$_i$ to be read]]

     b   The volcano is ready [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [t$_i$ to erupt]]

(20)   a   The patient is eager [$_{CP}$ for the doctor to operate on him]

     b   Mary is reluctant [$_{CP}$ PRO to be assisted]

In the classification proposed by Landau (1999), the infinitive determining a psychological adjective is a propositional argument, while the infinitive determining a non-psychological adjective is a predicate that modifies the adjective.

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[4] A syntactic Null Operator is interpreted as a lambda-operator in semantics, abstracting over the variable left in an argument position.
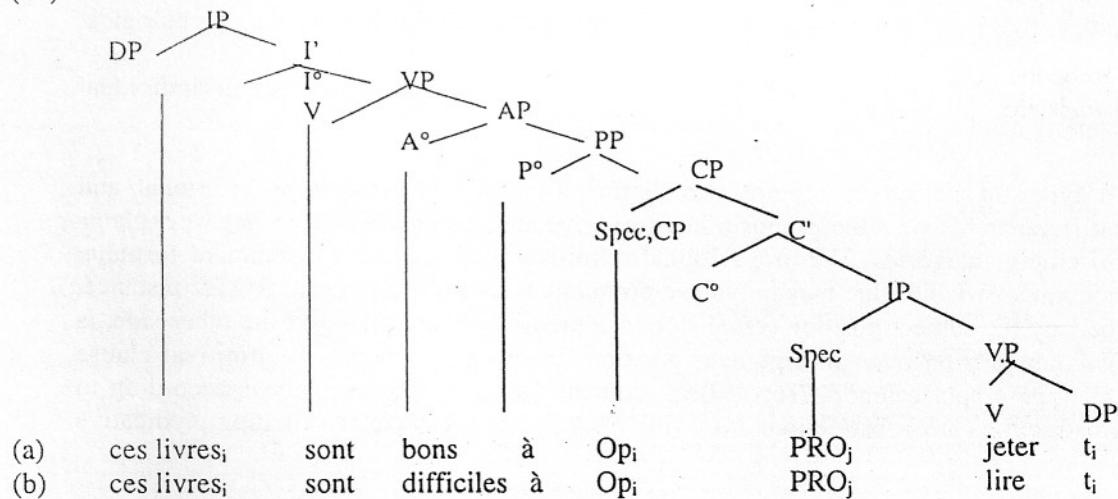
1.6. Tough *predicates*

Landau (1999) analyses *Tough* predicates as a partícular subclass of psychological adjectives, which differ from the latter in that they are not two-place, but rather one-place adjectives. Although they have an Experiencer in their argument-structure, this th-role is not realized in the subject position, but instead remains "internal", i.e., implicit. This characterization comes close to Canac-Marquis's analysis: *Tough* adjectives subcategorize either for a propositional argument (a CP) or for a DP. In the latter case, *Tough*-predicates behave, from the syntactic point of view, on a par with "material" adjectives: they subcategorize one argument, a DP that discharges the internal role of the adjective, and the infinitival functions as a modifier of the adjective, hence it is predicative rather than propositional.

   Canac-Marquis's and Landau's analyses are however not identical. According to Canac-Marquis, the constituent that modifies the adjective is a PrepP, the predicative status of which would be due to A-movement. Because this latter hypothesis is unclear to us, we will follow Landau in assuming that the predicative status of a clausal complement is obtained by abstracting over one of its argument positions. It also seems natural to assume that the syntactic correlate of lambda-abstraction is a Null Operator-empty category relation. As to the categorial status, we will assume that it is a PrepP, although no ingredient of our proposal hinges on this hypothesis.

   In sum, we will assume the structure in (21) for both material and *Tough* adjectives in French:

(21)

|										
(a)	ces livres$_i$	sont	bons	à	Op$_i$		PRO$_j$		jeter	t$_i$
(b)	ces livres$_i$	sont	difficiles	à	Op$_i$		PRO$_j$		lire	t$_i$
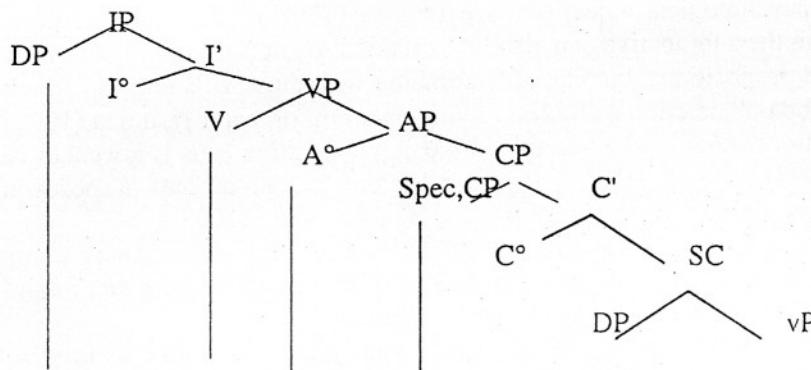
2. Adjectival complementation in Romanian

2.1 "Material" adjectives complementation

Romanian adjectives denoting material properties are comparable to their French analogues insofar as the adjective agrees with the subject DP and the supine is to be analyzed as a modifier of the adjective. However, the Romanian supine differs from the French infinitive insofar as it does not generate a full clause and does not assign case. According to Negoiţă-Soare (2002), the Rumanian supine can be analyzed as a verbal Small Clause headed by a functional category of type "little v" (spelled out as *de*). Such a Small Clause constituent can acquire predicational status if it has a PRO subject that moves to Spec, CP:

(22)

aceste cărţi	sînt	bune	PRO$_i$	t$_i$		de aruncat
these books$_i$	are	good-Agr				throw

'these books are good to throw'

Given this proposal, Dobrovie-Sorin's (1990) generalization, according to which Romanian does not have Null Operator-variable configurations, appears to be too strong. We must at least allow for Null Operators that bind variables in the position of PRO. This mechanism is independently needed in order to account for Rumanian reduced relatives (see Negoiţă-Soare (2002)).

2.2 Complementation of psychological adjectives in Romanian

An adjective such as *gata* 'ready' can combine either with a subjunctive clause or with a supine:

(23)   a   e$_i$ sînt gata PRO$_i$ să lupt[5]
           am ready to fight-Subj1sg
           'I am ready to fight'

      b   e$_i$ sînt gata e$_i$ de luptat
           am ready to fight-Sup
           'I am ready to fight'

(24)   a   e$_i$ sînt gata e$_i$ să mănînc
           am ready to eat-Subj1sg
           'I am ready to eat'

      b   e$_i$ sînt gata e$_i$ de mîncat
           am ready to eat-Sup
           'I am ready to be eaten'

      c   e$_i$ sînt gata e$_j$ de mîncat[6]
           am ready to eat-Sup
           'I am ready to eat'

This variation concerning the embedded verbal form is associated to the psychological or non-psychological reading of the adjective. Indeed, the presence of the subjunctive is associated with the

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[5] The subject of the subjunctive in Romanian is rather a null PRO-type subject, with anaphoric properties (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994)). However, this detail is not relevant to our discussion. We will assume that it is PRO in order to make the comparison with English and French more easy.

[6] This structure admit the two readings (subject or object), if certain pragmatic conditions are met. For example:

   (i)   sînt gata de pedepsit, judecat...
          am ready to punish, jugde...
          'I am ready to be punished, judged'

psychological reading. This can be easily understood, since subjunctive clauses can count as saturated propositions (as required by psychological adjectives, see Landau (1999)). The impossibility of the non-psychological reading with the subjunctive can also be explained: (i) non-psychological adjectives cannot combine with saturated propositions, but can only combine with those CPs that can function as predicates, as a result of a lambda-abstraction operation relying on a null operator (Landau (1999)); but (ii) in Rumanian, a Null Operator cannot bind a variable in the object position (this is a weaker version of Dobrovie-Sorin's (1990, 1994) generalization, which is sufficient for our present purposes, and is compatible with the general behaviour of the supine form (see Negoiță-Soare (2002)).

Turning now to the examples in (24)b and (25)b-c, built with the supine form, they seem to be ambiguous: they allow both a psychological and non-psychological interpretation of *gata* "ready", and correlatively, the embedded supine is understood as "active" or "passive".

Let us first examine the passive reading, which is particularly clear in examples in which the subject is inanimate:

(25)   porumbul e gata de cules

corn-the is ready to mow

'the corn is ready to be mown'

Since the passive reading correlates with the non-psychological interpretation, the analysis of (25) is identical to the oner proposed above for those adjectives that denote material properties: an externalized internal argument PRO (generated as the subject of a small clause) moves to the Spec position of the functional projection headed by the functional element *de* (labelled "little v"). Such a displaced PRO functions as a Null Operator that binds the trace left in the external subject position of the small clause:

(26)   porumbul e gata $[_{vP} [_{SpecvP} PRO_i] [_v$ de $[_{SC} t_i [_{Gv}$ cules$]]]]$

Let us now observe that it is not always the case that the non-psychological reading of *gata* allows the supine:

(27)   a   ??Vulcanul e gata de explodat.

b   ?? Ion e gata de izbucnit.

c   ?? Maria e gata de plîns.

The embedded verbs are unergatives, and as such cannot be analyzed as relying on an externalized internal argument. The supine cannot be used, since the only argument of this form is necessarily an externalized internal argument. In other words, examples of the type in (27) rely on the non-psychological interpretation of *gata* combined with an active reading, which is incompatible with a propositional supine.

We may now wonder why the examples in (23)b and (24)c allow, at least for certain speakers, the active reading[7] (correlated with the psychological interpretation): if the supine always takes an externalized internal argument as subject, how can we explain the active reading? The problem can be solved if we can show that in these examples, the supine is not a CP, but rather a PP. And indeed, we may observe that the supine can be replaced by a noun, which indicates that *de* is prepositional in this case:

(28)   sînt gata de luptă

am ready to fight

'am ready for the fight'

Note that the PP in (28) is associated with the "active" reading. Furthermore, the nominal form of the supine is associated with the active reading (Negoiță-Soare (2002)).

It remains to be explained why a nominalized supine is disallowed in (27)a-c. The answer seems to be that a nominalized reading is possible only if *de* has some semantic content. Indeed, in

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[7] This reading is considered impossible by a large part of our informants

those examples in which *gata* has the psychological meaning, *de* can be interpreted as a Goal preposition. In examples such as (27)a-c the Goal reading is unavailable (due to the non-agentive interpretation of the subject), and correlatively the supine cannot be interpreted as nominalized.

We can thus conclude that, if the active reading is possible with the supine complement of an adjective, this supine structure corresponds to a PP projection, containing a nominalized supine, and not to a CP projection. The nominalized supine may nevertheless function as a saturated proposition from the semantic point of vue, since it denotes an event. The active reading seems to be always possible for nouns that refer to events.

Let us finally observe that the non-psychological reading *is* compatible with the subjunctive (or the infinitive) just in case the embedded verb is unergartive. Thus, the examples in (27) become grammatical if the subjunctive is used instead of the infinitive:

(29)   a.   Vulcanul e gata sà explodeze/de a exploda.

             the vulcano is ready to erupt-subj/inf

      b.   Ion e gata să izbucnească

             John is ready to burst out

      c.   Maria e gata sà plîngă

             Mary is ready to cry

Note that *gata* is invariable in Romanian, so that we may wonder whether it is not to be analyzed as an adverb rather than as an adjective. There exist, however, other lexical items that are undoubtedly adjectival, and show the same behavior. In particular, the non-psychological reading requires either a subjunctive/infinitive or a supine, depending on whether the subject DP is associated with the external role of an unergative or with the internal role of a transitive verb:

(30)   a.   Ion e demn să conducà departamentul/ de a conduce departamentul.

             John is ready to manage the department subj / inf

      a'.   *Ion e demn de condus departamentul.

             John is worthy to manage (supine) the department

      b.   *Ion e demn sà decoreze/de a decora.

             John is worthy to decorate

      b'.   Ion e demn de decorat/de trimis în stràinàtate.

             John is wothy to be decorated / sent abroad

We can then conclude that the supine is triggered for adjectival complementation whenever the "passive" meaning is needed, i.e., whenever the subject of the adjective corresponds to the internal argument of the embedded verb. In case the active meaning is needed, a subjunctive or an infinitive is used, regardless of whether a full proposition or a predicate is needed. Finally, the active reading of the supine is possible only in those contexts in which the supine can be analyzed as a nominalization, rather than as a verbal projection.

3. The structure of *Tough* constructions

At this point, let us recall that *Tough* adjectives in French exhibit the same syntactic pattern as those adjectives that denote properties. We have also shown that adjectives denoting material properties in Romanian have the same structure as (material or *Tough*) French adjectives. But the two languages differ regarding *Tough* constructions:

- in Romanian, *Tough* predicates are adverbs, not adjectives;

- in French, the complement of the adjective is an active infinitive clause, with a PRO subject interpreted as an Agent, and a Null Operator binding a trace in the object position; in Romanian, the complement is a supine structure, the only argument of which is an externalized internal argument.

The goal of this section is to propose a representation for Romanian *Tough* constructions.

3.1 Predicational Configurations built with *Tough* adverbs

The Romanian pattern under discussion here is repeated in (32)a-b. The adverbial status of the *Tough* predicate is clearly indicated by the ungrammaticality of the example in (32)b, in which the *Tough* predicate agrees with the subject:
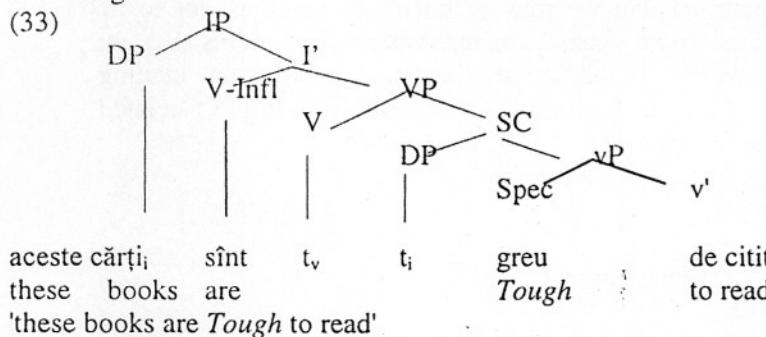
(31)   a.   carte greu de citit

              book tough to read (supine)

      b.   *carte grea de citit

    book tough to read

The sequence *Tough-supine* is quite clearly a predicate that applies to the subject DP, but the internal structure of this predicate is not the one proposed above for adjectival complementation. We propose that in this case, the subject DP occupies the subject position of the supine itself (rather than the subject position of an adjectival predicate), and the *Tough* predicate appears in a specifier position of the predicative supine:

(32) $[_{Gv}[_{SpecGv}$ greu] $[_{v'}$ de citit]]

Under this view, the modification relation between the *Tough* predicate and the non-finite verb is reversed compared to what was observed for adjectives: *Tough* adverbs are modifiers of the predicate expressed by the supine.

According to this hypothesis, the complete structure of *Tough* constructions in Romanian is the following:

(33)

aceste cărți$_i$ sînt   t$_v$ t$_i$ greu   de citit
these   books   are   *Tough*   to read
'these books are *Tough* to read'

Part of this structure is independently motivated by the existence of predicative copular structures built with a supine:

(34)   Cartea asta e de citit pînă mîine.

Tough constructions are a bit more complex, insofar as they have an adverb in the [Spec,vP] position, whose role is to modify the supine predicate. The adverb is a predicate applying to another predicate, and the result of this combination is also a predicate, which then applies to the subject DP. This structure immediately explains the lack of agreement shown by Romanian *Tough* adjectives.

3.2 Why must *Tough* predicates in Romanian be adverbs?

In the previous sub-section, we proposed an analysis for Romanian *Tough* constructions, which is compatible with the adverbial status of *Tough* predicates in Rumanian. But no explanation has so far been proposed for the fact that *Tough* predicates in Romanian *are* adverbs. In order to answer this question, we propose to go back to French *Tough* constructions: the predicate of the main clause introduces an implicit Experiencer controlling the PRO subject of the infinitive (the brackets indicate that the Experiencer is implicit, i.e., present in the argument-structure of *impossible*, but not projected in the syntax):

(35)   ce livre est impossible (Exper$_j$) [à [Op$_i$] PRO$_j$ lire t$_i$]

This structure involves therefore, on the one hand, a relation between a Null Operator and a variable, which yields a predicate denoting the property of "being readable". This relation is the same as the one underlying material adjectives. What seems to characterize *Tough* predicates, as opposed to material adjectives, is the presence of an Experiencer, introduced by the *Tough* predicate, which must control the Agent of the embedded verb.

Let us now try to understand why this type of *adjectival* complementation is not possible in Romanian. It is indeed blocked not only for the supine, but also for the infinitive and for the subjunctive. The infinitive and the subjunctive are ungrammatical because of the absence of Null Operators in Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994):

(36) a *această carte e grea PRO$_j$ a citi t$_i$

  this book is *Tough*-Agr to read-Inf

  'this book is *Tough* to read'

  b *această carte e grea PRO$_j$ să citeşti t$_i$

  this book is *Tough* -Agr to read-Subj

  'this book is *Tough* to read'

As for the supine, it cannot appear in structures as the one in (37), because it does not allow the syntactic realization of the Agent, required by the implicit Experiencer introduced by the *Tough* predicate:

(37) *(Exp$_i$) grea [PRO$_j$ de citit]

  Tough   to read

  '*Tough* to read'

In (37), the Experiencer cannot control PRO, since the PRO subject of a supine necessarily corresponds to an externalized Theme, and the Experiencer of a *Tough* predicate needs to control the Agent of the predicate that modifies the *Tough*.

The ungrammaticality of the Rumanian examples may be compared to that of French examples of the following type:

(38) *ce livre est (Exp$_i$) difficile à PRO$_j$ être lu

  this book is *Tough* to be read

This example is ungrammatical for the same reason as (37): PRO in the subject position of the infinitive corresponds to the internal argument of the passive infinitive, and as such cannot be controlled by the implicit Experiencer of the *Tough* adjective. On the other hand, an example like (39) is grammatical, because *prêt* does not introduce an Experiencer that needs to control an Agent is not required:

(39) ce livre$_j$ est prêt à PRO$_j$ être envoyé t$_j$

  this book is ready to be sent

We still need to understand why using an adverb instead of an adjective can save the Rumanian structure (cf. (31) above). The answer runs as follows: since the adverb is a modifier of the embedded verb, the implicit Experiencer is introduced inside the same constituent as the implicit Agent (which is introduced by the verb itself). In other words, coreference between two implicit arguments (the Experiencer and the Agent) is allowed without the syntactic projection of either of them only if they are introduced inside the same maximal projection. If they are introduced in two distinct projections, the Agent must be syntactically projected.

In sum, the choice of the adverb instead of an adjective constitutes a syntactic solution used by Romanian to solve the impossibility of projecting an Agent in supine clauses.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, we proposed an analysis of *Tough* structures in Romanian. The central matter was related to the syntax and semantics of the adjectival complementation in French and Romanian. We have shown that Romanian adjectives follow the same syntactic pattern as French adjectives. However, *Tough* predicates in Romanian depart from adjectival complementation. In this language, *Tough* predicates are adverbs that occupy the Spec position of the vP dominating the supine.

The choice of the adverb is a syntactic strategy permitting to avoid conflict between the requirements of *Tough adjectives*, concerning the control relation between the Experiencer and the Agent, and supine, which cannot project the Agent. As for the internal structure of the supine, we proposed to reject an analysis by A'-movement, and to adopt a structure with a PRO subject, corresponding to the internal argument of the supine, base-generated in the subject position of the supine Small Clause, moves in Spec CP.

On the other hand, *Tough* predicates have been analysed as specifiers of a predicative vP; in this case there is no PRO movement, but a predication relation similar to that of predicative Small Clauses in copular structures: they are predicatives vPs applying to DPs in a verbal SC structure.

Romanian also shows, as well as French, that the impersonal *Tough* structure and the predicative *Tough* structure has to be analysed as independent and not as deriving one from the other.

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