Event Plurality in the Romanian Supine: when D selects Asp
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1. Introduction

- *Functional architecture of event nominals*
  - Two classes of (complex, in the sense of Grimshaw 1990, otherwise A(rgument) S(tructure)) event nominals:
    - Nominals that project Aspect (as an expression of verbal plurality), precluding the realization of morphological Number – Romanian Supine, English Verbal Gerund (see e.g. Alexiadou et al 2010), and
    - nominals that do not project Aspect: the Romanian Infinitive or –*tion* nominalizations respectively ((1) illustrates the Supine/Infinitive contrast in Romanian)
    - This explains the plural contrast in (1), which contradicts one of Grimshaw's 1990 well-known generalizations about morphological plural in AS event nominals: some of them (in (1)a – the Romanian infinitive allow pluralization, and others don't)
    - Only some event nominals are Mass; others are count nominals.

(1)   a. demolările frecvente   *ale cartierelor   vechi* de către comunişti (au distrus Bucurestiul)
            demolish-Inf-Pl/ frequent-Pl of quarters-Gen old   by   communists
        b. *demolaturile   frecvente   *ale cartierelor   vechi* de către comunişti
           demolish-Sup-Pl frequent-Pl of quarters-Gen old   by   communists
        "The frequent demolitions / demolishings of old quarters by the communists…
                                                                          (destroyed Bucharest)"
  - Ingredients of a syntactic analysis for the supine [IS 2008-2009, AIS 2010]: DP>AspP>VP
    - D is the default nominalizer: no further nominal layers (especially no Class or Num) appear in its structure (no gender, no adjectival modification)
    - Inheritance of verbal functional projections in event nominals
    - Structural aspectual differences between event nominals

  - In this talk we raise further questions regarding the D system of event nominals:
    - is there a connection between the presence of D and the internal properties of these 'syntactic' (D-)nominalizations?
      - we will start from the fact that the supine also shows up without a D, the so-called 'verbal' supine (what we call below the bare supine)
    - meanwhile, we also question another generalization from Grimshaw 1990 : Complex Event Nominals (or Argument-Structure nominals [AS]) select definite Ds, to the exclusion of e.g. demonstrative or indefinite Ds.

(2)   a. They studied the/an/one/that assignment.
        b. They observed the/*an/*one/*that assignment of the problem
        c. The assignment of that problem too early in the course always causes problems.

  - note already that the compatibility with other Ds and the selection of (discrete vs.

massive) quantifiers also distinguishes between classes of event nominals alongside the projection of Number (see (3)).

(3)   a. *o*   spălare   /   *prea multe* spălări a(le) rufelor distrug(e) ţesătura
            one wash-Inf / too many wash-Inf-Pl of   clothes-Gen destroy(s) fabric-the
        b. *un /prea mult* spălat   al rufelor   distruge ţesătura
            one /too much wash-Sup of clothes-Gen destroys fabric-the

- *Aims of this talk (work in progress):*
  - *investigate the kind of operators contributed at the level of V and above in the two kinds of supine by making use of N/V parallelisms in the domain of semantic number*
  - *take a closer look at the Determiner system of Event Nominals*
  - *investigate the role of D and its interaction with verbal properties in the supine.*

- *Overview of the talk:*
  - *section 2: background on the Romanian supine*
  - *section 3: A (compositional) analysis of Pluractionality in the Supine*
  - *section 4: The verbal supine*
  - *section 5: Determiners in Event nominals*
  - *section 6: Conclusion*

2. The Romanian supine: a background

- special use of the past participle on whose stem it is built
- Romanian traditional grammars (GA 1966, 2005, Guţu et al. 1967) distinguish between the "nominal" and the "verbal" supine:

(4) | Infinitive | Past participle | Nominal supine | Verbal supine |
        | a **chema** | (am)   **chema-t** | **chema-t-ul** | **de chema-t** |
        | to call | (have.1sg) call-PastPrt | call-Sup-the | of call-Sup |
        | 'to call' | 'I have called' | 'the calling' | '(of) calling/to call' |

Nominal supine	*Verbal supine*
- (only) definite determiner	bare form only
- nominal external syntax (possibly with a P)	in verbal periphrases
	reduced relatives and tough constructions
	always with a P (or functional particle)
- arguments with genitive/*de* + bare N	bare arguments or with (weak) Acc case

The compatibility with *a dura* ('to last') shows that both uses are eventive:

(5) a. **Culesul**   **merelor/de mere**   a   durat zile în şir.
        harvest.Sup.the apples.the.Gen/of appleas has lasted days in row
        'The harvesting of (the) apples lasted days in a row.'

b. Ion s-a   apucat de/a plecat la **cules**$_i$ **mere(le)**,   şi asta$_i$ va dura mult.
   John Rf-has grabbed of/has left   to harvest.Sup apples.(the)   and this will last much
   'John started harvesting$_i$/went to harvest$_i$ the apples and this$_i$ will last long.'

In what follows, we will compare the nominal, D-supine and the 'verbal', bare supine. We will offer an analysis of the syntax-semantics of the nominal supine in terms of pluractionality, then test the 'verbal', bare supine, and finally look at the connection with the D-system of event nominals.

3. An analysis of Pluractionality in the Supine

3.1. Main arguments for a Pluractional Operator [PO] in the D-supine: IS (2008, 2009)

- *unboundedness*: the bounding function 'until' (Jackendoff 1991) is only compatible with unbounded events (6); unlike the infinitive, the supine is compatible with 'until' (7) (see also Cornilescu 2001 who argues that the supine is atelic).

(6)   Ion a   dansat/citit (cărţi/#cartea)/#sosit   **până** seara.
       John has danced/read (books/book.the)/arrived until evening.the
       'John danced/read (books/#the book)/#arrived until evening.'
(7)   **cititul**/#**citirea**   benzilor   desenate **până** la vârsta de 16 ani
       read.Sup.the/read.Inf.the strips.the.Gen drawn   until at age.the of 16 years
       '(the habit of) reading comic strips until the age of 16'

- incompatibility with *idiomatic adverbials like 'in one gulp', 'in one breath', 'in one sweep'* which preclude a subdivision of the running time of the event, although they are not punctual (Laca 2006):

(8) a. A citit romanul **dintr-o   răsuflare**.
        has read novel.the in   one breath
        'He read the novel in one breath.'
    b. **citirea/#cititul**   romanului   **dintr-o   răsuflare**
         read.Inf.the/read.Sup.the novel.the.Gen in   one breath
        'the reading of the novel in one breath'

- lack of *multiplicity effects* with singular indefinites and *distributivity effects* with plurals (VG 2004, Laca 2006):

(9) Ucisul   **de jurnalişti**/*unui jurnalist** de către mafia politică este un subiect actual.
    kill.Sup.the of journalists/a.Gen journalist by to   mafia political is   a   topic   actual
    'The killing of journalists/*a journalist by the political mafia is an up-to-date topic.'
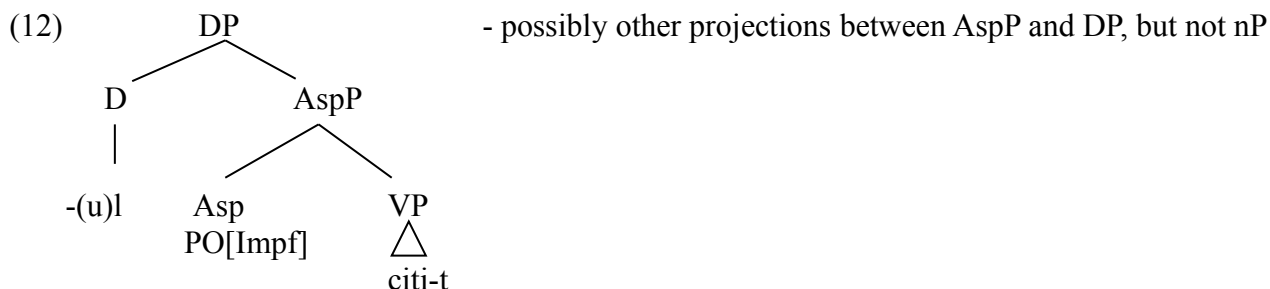
- *aspect shift* (cf. de Swart 1998): the supine pluralizes achievements (see compatibility with a *for*-PP in (10)); activities usually require the bounding function 'until' to be compatible with the plural triggered by the supine:

(10) **Sositul**   lui Ion   cu întârziere **timp de 2 ani** i-a   adus   concedierea.
     arrive.Sup.the John.Gen with delay   time of 2 years him-has brought firing
     'John's arriving late for two years brought about his being fired.'

(11) **Muncitul**   lui Ion *(până la miezul nopţii) o îngrijorează pe   soţia lui.
     work.Sup.the John.Gen until   at middle night.Gen her worries   Acc wife his
     'John's (habit of) working till midnight worries his wife.'

3.2. A syntactic analysis

These effects have been argued by IS(2008, 2009) to be triggered by the presence of a Pluractional Operator [PO] at the level of Outer Aspect.

- the PO in the supine triggers imperfectivity/unboundedness at the Aspect level; the supine always denotes a plurality of events:

(12)   DP   - possibly other projections between AspP and DP, but not nP

        D   AspP

        |

    -(u)l   Asp   VP
              PO[Impf]   △
                           citi-t

3.3. Internal Make-Up: Bare Plural (BP) or More?
- **What is the PO in semantic and syntactic terms?**

Lasersohn (1995), VG (2004)[1], Laca (2006) and others: PO is an operator that functions at V-level, such that: if a verb is a predicate of events, verb + PO is a predicate of pluralities of events (E = a sum of events):

(13)   V-PO(E) = 1 <=> $\forall e \in E$ [**V**(e)] & $|E| \geq n$ (Lasersohn 1995: 242)[2]

         $[[\text{V-PO}]] = \lambda E. \forall e \in E[\mathbf{V}(e)$ & $|E| \geq n]$

- (13) only captures the plurality of the verb with a PO which is comparable with the denotation of a bare plural noun denoting only pluralities in the domain of individuals:

e.g. $[[\text{boy}]] = \lambda x.$ **boy**(x) vs. $[[\text{boys}]] = \lambda X. \forall x \in X[\mathbf{boy}(x)$ & $|X| > 1]$ (X can be any sum of at least 2 individuals from the set denoted by **boy**; Note that this is a stricter notion of a bare plural than the denotation of ****boy** which also contains singular individuals)

- we reconcile this semantic analysis with the syntactic analysis in IS 2008 by showing that:
  - the PO in *the supine is more than a bare plural of events:* arguments from the interaction with dependent definites
  - a two-layered analysis of the pluractionality in the supine is preferable: arguments from the parallel between the habitual sentences and supine

- **The supine with dependent indefinites**

- Farkas (1997, 2002): dependent indefinites contribute a variable that must co-vary with another individual or situational variable provided by the context (they basically introduce

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[1]   VG (2004) gives an interval-based semantics of POs which, Laca (2006) argues, cannot account for the group interpretation of POs.

[2] For group interpretations we have the following, where ↑ is the group formation operation from Landman 1989: V-PO(↑E) = 1 <=> for every event e $\in$ E [V(e)] & $|E| \geq n$ (simplified from Laca 2006).

distributivity);

- *Licensing* conditions for *câte* in Romanian: the individual variable with which "câte" co-varies:
  - must vary across at least 2 values (two different variable assignments) => plurality

(14) **Studenţii/Mulţi**   studenţi/**Fiecare** student/*****Un** student au/a   citit **câte** o carte.
students.the/many students/every   student/a   student have/has read C   a book
'The students/many students/every student/*a student read a book (each).'

  - must be bound by an operator, since bare plurals do not license *câte*:

(15)   a. *Ion a   dat **flori**   **câte** unei fete.
          Ion has given flowers C   a.Dat girl.Dat
       b. Ion a   dat **florile/fiecare**   floare/**toate** florile   **câte** unei fete.
          Ion has given flowers.the/every flower/all flowers.the C   a.Dat girl.Dat
          'John gave the flowers/every flower/all the flowers to different girls.'

- the supine is compatible with *câte*:

(16)   **Sositul**   **câte** unui student cu   întârziere a   enervat-o   pe   profesoară.
arrive.Sup.the C   a.Gen student with delay   has irritated-her Acc teacher
'The late arrival of a student now and then irritated the teacher.'

*=> the PO in the supine cannot be only a bare plural of events, since this wouldn't be enough to license "câte", it must be a bare plural (**Pl**) + an operator (**Op**) that binds the plural variable.*

- **The supine and habituals**

  - **The PO behaves like a covert habitual operator** with respect to singular indefinites and dependent *câte* indefinites:

(17)   Ion scrie   **poezii**.
       John writes poems
       i. HAB: John writes poems.
       ii. John is writing poems.

(18)   What does John lately do?
       a. Ion scrie   **o poezie**.
          John writes a poem
          i. #HAB
          ii. John is writing a poem.
       b. Ion scrie   **câte o poezie**.
          John writes C   a poem
          i. HAB: John writes a poem now and then.
          ii. #John is writing a poem.

(19)   **ucisul**   **câte** unui jurnalist/*unui jurnalist de către mafia a   stârnit opinia   publică
       kill.Sup.the C   a.Gen journalist/a.Gen journalist by   mafia has stirred opinion.the public
       'The killing of a journalist now and then by the mafia stirred the public opinion.'

=> *although they might not be identical,[3] the covert habitual operator and the **Op** contributed by the supine share some properties.*

- **Ferreira (2005)**: the covert habitual operator is a plural THE that quantifies over *plural* events;
- Evidence: singular vs. plural operators at scope interaction with singular indefinites:

(20) a. **Every/No mother** of **a one-year old child** agreed to sign this form.
      b. #**The/Some mothers** of **a one-year old child** agreed to sign this form.

(21) a. John **always** writes **a romantic song** [at the pub]$_{Foc}$.
      b. #John **writes a romantic song** [at the pub]$_{Foc}$.   (habitual)

The denotation of the nominal predicate in (20):

a. [[SG mother of a one-year old child]] = $\lambda x. \exists y$ [child(y) & mother(x,y)]

b. [[PL mother of a one-year old child]] = $\lambda X. \exists y$ [child(y) & mother(X,y)]

=> EVERY, NO, ALWAYS quantify over singular (individual or event) variables, while plural THE, SOME and the habitual quantify over plural variables.

- introducing a relative (respectively, an adverbial) clause in the restrictor of the plural operators makes (20b) & (21b) grammatical:

(23) a. The/Some mothers **who have a one-year old child** agreed to sign this form.
      b. **When John writes a romantic song**, he does it at the pub.

=> Ferreira's explanation: the movement operation within the relative/adverbial clause introduces a *distributive operator* which allows a distributive interpretation for the plural variable bound by the operator. Thus, distributed singular individuals/events are related to a (different) singular indefinite.

Denotations (from Ferreira 2005):

(21a) $\forall e$ [$\exists y$ (romantic_song(y) & write(j, y, e))] [at_the_pub(e)]

(21b) THE(E) [$\exists y$ (romantic_song(y) & write(j, y, E))] [at_the_pub(E)]

(23b) THE(E) [$\forall e \in E$ ($\exists y$ (romantic_song(y) & write(j, y, e)))] [$\exists E'$(at_the_pub(E') & Θ(E, E'))][4]

- assuming that the *PO in the supine has an Op that quantifies over plural events* just like the operators in (21b) and (23b), we can explain the grammaticality contrast in (19), given that *câte* introduces distributivity in the plural event variable via its co-variation requirement.

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[3] The supine is often habitual (see Soare 2006, IS 2009), but not always (see (25) below).
[4] Fereirra (2005: 111) takes Θ to be a contextually determined relation between events whose possible values include spatial-temporal proximity, overlap, etc.

3.4 The syntax-semantics of the nominal supine

(24)   AspectP

Op   VP = λE. ∀e ∈ E[**V**(e) & |E| ≥ n] ...

      V   ...
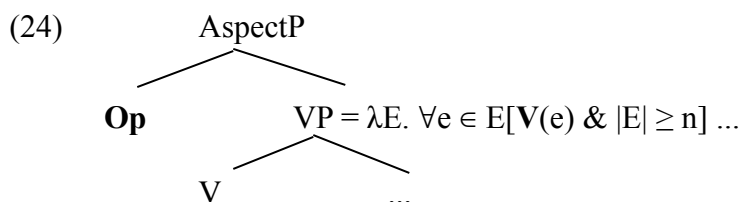
Op is an operator that binds plural events; as usual, VPs are underspecified with respect to number
(see e.g. Schein 1993, Landman 1996), but in this context only plural events are
selected by Op.

4. Is the bare ('verbal') supine also pluractional?

- *Bare supine occurs in verbal periphrases after*:
(25)   a.   **a avea de** (lit. 'to have of') (deontic):
               am   de citit   o carte
               have of read.Sup a book
               'I have to/must read a book'
       b.   **a fi de** (lit. 'to be of'):
               (acum) e de citit
               now   is of read. Sup
               'now it's the right time to read'
       c.   **a ramîne de** (lit. 'to remain of'):
               ramâne de văzut
               remains of see.Sup
               'wait and see'
       d.   **a se apuca de** (lit. 'to grab oneself of', 'to start (a habit/an activity)'):
               m-am   apucat de fumat
               me-have grabbed of smoke.Sup
               'I started smoking'
       e.   **a se pune pe** (lit. 'to put oneself on', 'to start (a habit)'):
               m-am   pus pe citit
               me-have put on read.Sup
               'I started reading'
       f.   **a se lasa de** (lit 'to leave oneself of', 'to quit (a habit)'):
               m-am   lasat de fumat
               me-have left   of smoke.Sup
               'I quit smoking'
       g.   **a termina de** (lit. 'to finish of'):
               am   terminat de citit
               have finished of read.Sup
               'I finished reading'
       h.   **a se opri din** (lit. 'to stop oneself from'):
               m-am   oprit   din   citit
               me-have stopped from read.Sup
               'I stopped reading/I interrupted my reading'
       i.   **a se duce la/a merge la** 'to go to'/ **a veni de la** 'to come from':

       am   mers la/am   venit de la pescuit
       have gone la/have come from fish.Sup
       'I went fishing/I came from fishing'

- Bare supine seems to exhibit, in some constructions, the same PO properties that the nominal supine does: the lack of multiplicity effects with singular indefinites and distributivity effects with plurals:

(26)   a.   Mafia politică s-a   apucat de **ucis   jurnalişti/*un jurnalist**.
                 mafia political Rf-has grabbed of kill.Sup journalists/a journalist
                 'The political mafia started killing journalists.'
        b.   Ion s-a   dus   la **cumpărat cărţi/*o carte**
                 John Rf-has gone to buy.Sup   books/a book
                 'John went to buy books.'

- However:

- the interpretation of the supine in these constructions depends on the semantics of the main verb;
- at first investigation the supine in (25e, f) refers to habits, in (25g, h) tends to refer to activities and in (25d) may refer to both an activity and a habit; only a singular event reading in e.g. (25c).
- it is not clear whether it always pluralizes the event: with accomplishments it seems to emphasize the activity part of the accomplishment, instead of pluralizing the culminated event:

(27)   Ion s-a   apucat de scris   romanul.
         Ion Rf-has grabbed of write.Sup novel-the
         'John started writing at the novel.'

- even in the case where habitual readings are obtained, an episodic reading is still possible:

(28)   s-a apucat de citit ziarul acum doua minute/doi ani
         Rf-has started of read newspaper.the now 2min/2years
         'he started reading the newspaper two minutes/ two years ago

- in contexts where it is plural, the bare supine does not license *câte* itself; only the *higher verb does*, if it has an aspectual operator:

(29)   Mafia s-a   {pus pe/*lăsat de} **ucis *(câte)** un jurnalist.
              mafia Rf-has put on/left of kill.S   C   a journalist
              'Mafia started/quit killing a journalist now and then.'

(30)   A {**început/*terminat**} să   citească **câte** un roman.
              has started/finished   subj read   C   a   novel

=> we may hypothesize that the habitual/pluractional reading is contributed both by the supine and the main verb, it results from a combination of both. Below, we focus on unambiguous habitual periphrases.

This can be undestood if **the bare supine is like a Bare Plural** (of events); we know that (regular nominal) Bare Plurals do not distribute and do not license dependent indefinites and so is the bare supine (cf. (29)).

We therefore make the following assumptions:

- the bare supine is underspecified just like verbs at V-level; disambiguation takes place via the main V
- the bare supine has no aspectual operator of its own, i.e. **no PO**.

In the remaining, we would like to question the relationship between the 'bareness' (the lack of D) and the lack of Asp in the 'verbal' supine.

5. Determiners in Event nominals

5.1. The 'definite' restriction

- Recall Grimshaw's 1990 Generalization ((2) repeted as (31)): Complex Event Nominals (or Argument-Structure nominals [AS]) select definite Ds, to the exclusion of e.g. demonstrative or indefinite Ds.

(31)   a. They studied the/an/one/that assignment.
         b. They observed the/*an/*one/*that assignment of the problem
         c. The assignment of that problem too early in the course always causes problems

Why should event nominals select only the Definite? Actually, they don't!

- Atomic and bounded event nominals allow the indefinite (alongside the plural)

  - Schäfer to appear: indefinite D (and other cardinals) may appear in German with 'naturally atomic' event -er nominals (semelfactives):

(32)   ein Hüpfer 'a jump', ein Piepser 'a beep', ein Klopfer 'a knock', ein Aufpraller 'a bounce'

- Romanian Infinitive nominals (see 3a), French zero-derived nominals and -ée/ue/-ie nominals (in 33) among others: bounded event nominals allowing the indefinite (IS 2008 for Romanian Knittel, to appear for French):

(33)   a. un/des saut(s)/bond(s) 'a jump', un/des vol(s) 'a flight', une/des attaque(s)
         b. une/des entrée(s) 'an entrance vs. an entering event', une/des sortie(s) 'an exit vs. an exiting event', une/des arrivée(s) 'an arrival vs. an arriving event'

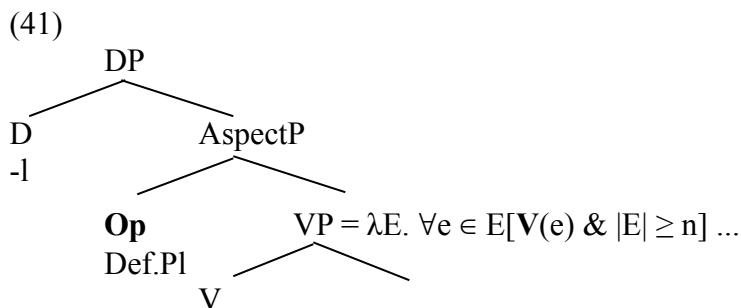- Demonstrative Ds – deictic features: require individuation (again possible with bounded event nominals):

(34)   a. aceasta plimbare prin oras   timp de trei ore   m-a obosit
                this   walk.Inf.the through town time of three hours   made me tired
          "This walk through the town for three hours made me tired"
         b. aceasta împartire a sarcinilor de catre coordonatori va dura zece minute
               this distribute.Inf of tasks.Gen by   coordinators   will take ten minutes

- Mass (or non-atomic event) nominals reject indefinite D unless they are coerced into count nouns (e.g. the subtype reading):

(35)   le sucre, l'eau, le parfum =/= un/ce sucre (brun), une/cette eau (pure), un/ce parfum (suave)

the sugar, the water, the perfume / a/this brown sugar, a/this pure water, a/this suave perfume

- D as a default nominalizer matches the properties built at lower levels (atomicity, individuation, boundedness)

(36)   a. an/this 'I', a/this 3; an 'aaaaah!'
        b. le rouge / du rouge vs. un/ce rouge foncé
          'the red / indef red   a/this red dark'
        c. le calme / du calme, ce calme olympien
          'the calm / indef calm, this calm olympian'

(37)   a. am zahăr /pâine/ vin
            (I) have sugar / bread / wine
        b. îmi trebuie roşu / un roşu aprins
          to-me needs red / a red intense
        c. trebuie calm / mult calm / un calm englezesc
          needs calm / much calm / a calm English

- Event nominals do not differ in this respect from mass nouns and can be coerced; however this proves extremely difficult in one case, which happens to be the one of aspectually marked event nominals (39b):

(38)   la destruction de la ville vs. une destruction complète de la ville
        the destruction of the city   a destruction complete of the city
(39)   a. demolarea cartierelor vs. o demolare a cartierului / prima demolare
            demolish.Inf quarters.Gen a demolition of quarter.Gen / first.the demolition
           "the quarters' demolishing vs. a quarter's demolition"
        b. demolatul bisericilor vs. *un/primul demolat al bisericii
           demolat.demolish.Sup churches.Gen a/the first demolish.Sup of church.the

- In general, we will find Mass and Event nominals with the Def D in subject positions, or as BNs in e.g. object positions.

  -there is no special constraint on the D system in the case of event nominals

  -D only matches the referent provided by the lower structure (bounded or unbounded)

  -the [-bounded] specification seems to have an effect on the selection of definite D (to this point, some event nominals are Mass, others are Count). A possible way of seeing this: boundedness = aspectual features, cf. (a)telicity

- However, there is more to Def D than boundedness: atelicity does not preclude the use of the indefinite:

(40)   o plimbare 'a walk.Inf. ' a walk'; o demolare de biserici 'a church demolition'

- **Claim on the basis of the Romanian Supine: only Event nominals that project a [-bounded], i.e., imperfective Aspect; are unambiguously (like) Mass Nouns.**

5.2. Nominalizing habituals

- The presence of D distinguishes the nominal from the bare supine. What does this mean?

  – verbal structure including Aspect and arguments becomes nominal in the context of D
  – D is responsible for the external (distribution, case-marking) nominal properties of the supine
  – just like C°, D has to combine with an inflectional layer – either Num or Asp
  – it turns any structure into a nominal (it is a default nominalizer) but does not trigger nominal properties
  – gives a referential index to an event = the habit of etc?

- Definiteness vs. aspectual operators

  - Is there any connection between the definite THE in Ferreira's analysis of habituals, and the PO in the nominal Supine?
  - According to Ferreira's analysis, the habitual involves a definite description of events.
  - Ferreira's THE in bare habituals is restricted to plural events, just like our PO.
  - The pluractional nominal definite supine would involve the same kind of operator at the level of Asp
  - This PO binds a plural variable contributed by the V (i.e. picks only the plural situations)
  - PO has a def feature (it is a silent definite operator in Ferreira's style) which in the case of a nominal projection will be selected by a (definite) D. We therefore have the following ingredients:

(41)
```
              DP
         ╱        ╲
       D          AspectP
      -l        ╱        ╲
          Op          VP = λE. ∀e ∈ E[V(e) & |E| ≥ n] ...
          Def.Pl    ╱     ╲
                V         ...
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5.2. Some more open questions

- Referential tests for D (Heycock & Zamparelli 2005)
- Split and joined readings of coordinated NPs across languages:

(42)   My father and teacher passed away three years ago (ambiguous)

(43)   a. Ces marins et soldats sont toujours ensemble
            'these sailors and soldiers are always together'
        b. *Ce marin et soldat sont toujours ensemble
            'these sailor and soldier are always together'

NB: Bare Plurals may appear in the subject position in French but do not give rise to the ambiguity

(44)   a. Marins et soldats sont allés à la parade (only the split reading)

'sailors and soldiers went to the parade'

- the D-supine is the unique nominal in Romanian that shows the ambiguity (expectedly if it has no Gender nor Number); this further confirms its semantic plurality

(45)   a. este interzis/ sunt interzise urcatul   si coborâtul   în timpul mersului
           is forbidden / are forbidden get-up.Sup.the and get-down.Sup.the during the run
        b. Sunt interzise / *este interzisa urcarea si coborârea   în timpul mersului
           are forbidden / is forbidden get-up.Inf.the and get-down.Inf.the during the run

- the bare supine seems not to allow this ambiguity; if possible, it has to be contributed by the main verb:

(46)   a. ?? se tine de urcat si coborât în timpul mersului
             keeps on geting up and down during the run
             'he keeps getting up and down during (the train's) run'
        b. ??se tine de fumat si (de) baut '(she) keeps smoking and drinking'
        c. *are de scris si citit '(she) has to write and read'

- The definite vs. indefinite distinction is relevant for verbal arguments across languages: gerunds in English (cf. Generic Book):

(47)   Chewing tobacco calmed John down / upset John.
        *To chew tobacco calmed John down / upset John.
        The chewing of tobacco calmed John down.

- Two readings of gerunds
  o an indefinite reading in which they apply to events or situations and refer either specifically to some event, or they are subject to a quantificational operator like GEN
  o a definite reading in which they refer to a kind (which has as realizations the events of the indefinite reading). Nominalizations can be analyzed as definite NPs.

- When comparing the Romanian Supine, we note that the definite/indefinite distinction does not fall the same way: in subject positions, Bare Nouns are not allowed in Romanian. Hence, the D-Supine also takes the generic reading, alongside the habitual (but not the episodic reading).

- Engelhardt 2000: definite vs indefinite nominals in Hebrew are also distinguished by their aspectual value
– this confirms the existence of a relationship between the D layer and the projection of Aspect in event nominals;
– however not in the way we would expect: imperfective nominalizations being indefinite;
– we can suspect that this is related to other differences in the aspectual / definiteness system of Romanian and Hebrew.

6. Conclusions
– Pluractionality arises in the nominal Supine as a two-layered construal: a PO at the level of Asp which has to bind a plural event variable contributed by VP
– In the absence of D, a bare supine does not involve a PO
– Supine DPs are clausal nominalizations in the sense that D selects Asp, which it probably

recategorizes as a nominal inflectional layer (just like T is selected by C: see Knittel to appear for a similar suggestion)

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