ROMANIAN ASPECTUAL VERBS
AND THE CAUSATIVE ALTERNATION

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Abstract: The aim of the present paper is to investigate the control/raising behaviour of Romanian aspectual verbs. Following Mourounas & Williamson's (2019) proposal for English aspectuals, I show that in Romanian these verbs enter the causative alternation, a property which distinguishes them from both raising and control verbs and which can explain their hybrid behaviour. The aspectual verbs which merge with an infinitive and a subjunctive complement evince raising-like behaviour in their anticausative variant and control-like behaviour in their causative variant. Their anticausative variant is not marked and the verb does not project any Voice Phrase. In their causative variant, they project a thematic Voice Phrase which hosts an external argument, assigned an Agent-Initiator theta-role. Some of the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class have a marked anticausative variant which projects an expletive Voice Phrase (Schäfer 2008) which hosts the voice marker *se* whose presence signals the existence of a volitional, external argument in the structure. When these verbs occur with a supine complement they can only have an unmarked form, indicative of causative status, and they behave exclusively like verbs of control.

Keywords: aspectual verb, control, raising, causative alternation, marked anticausative, Romanian

1. Introduction

Ever since Perlmutter (1968, 1970), who noticed the control / raising ambiguity of aspectual verbs in English, there has been an ongoing debate with respect to the control and/or raising status of aspectual verbs. The same ambiguity was shown to exist in many other languages, among which French (Lamiroy 1987), German (Wurmbrand 2001), Hebrew (Landau 2013), Japanese (Fukuda 2012), and Spanish (Schroten 1986) (see also the discussion in Fukuda 2007). Other studies deny the control status of aspectual verbs, arguing in favour of an exclusively raising analysis (Newmeyer 1975, Rochette 1999, Nicolae 2013, Cotfas 2016). But the inventory of raising verbs may vary from one language to another and not always in predictable ways; raising may be somewhat "limited by the lexical idiosyncrasies of a given language" (Polinsky 2010). Therefore, extending the investigation to other languages could shed light on the control/raising behaviour of aspectual verbs.

The present study[1] focuses on the control/raising properties of Romanian aspectual verbs.

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2. Romanian aspectual verbs: main properties

2.1 The inventory

Guțu Romalo (1961), in the first comprehensive study of the properties of aspectual verbs in Romanian, offers the following inventory of aspectual verbs, grouped according to aspectual flavour:

(i)   verbs which denote the beginning of a state-of-affairs (which I will refer to as the *începe* 'begin' class): *a începe* 'begin', *a prinde* 'begin, start', *a se pune* 'start', *a se apuca* 'begin, start', *a (se) porni* 'start';

(ii)   verbs which denote the continuation of a state-of-affairs (which I will refer to as the *continua* 'continue' class): *a continua* 'continue', *a urma* 'continue', and the construction *sta și +Verb* 'sit and + V' (a periphrastic structure which refers to a situation which holds at one particular time of reference or to an imminent event, similar to the English *be going to*);

(iii)   verbs which denote the ending of a state of affairs (which I will refer to as the *termina* 'finish' class): *a termina* 'end, stop', *a înceta* 'cease, stop', *a isprăvi* 'end', *a conteni* 'stop, cease', *a sfârși* 'end', *a se opri* 'stop, cease'.

In Manea et al. (2008: 457) the list is reduced to "aspectual verbs proper", those which behave exclusively like aspectuals, in all contexts, i.e. which denote the beginning, continuation or ending of an event without any additional meaning other than their aspectual one: *a începe* 'begin', *a continua* 'continue', *a termina* 'end, stop', *a înceta* 'cease, stop', *a isprăvi* 'end', *a conteni* 'stop, cease', *a sfârși* 'end, finish'. In the present investigation I focus on these "aspectual verbs proper".

2.2 Patterns of complementation

Romanian aspectual verbs select both finite and non-finite clausal complements: a subjunctive complement as in (1), a supine clause as in (2), and an infinitive clause as in (3).

(1)   Vasile a   început/a   continuat să   scrie   o carte.
        Vasile has begun has continued SBJV write-SBJV a book
        'Vasile has begun to write a book.'
(2)   Vasile a   terminat de   scris   o carte.
        Vasile has finished SUP write-SUP a book
        'Vasile finished writing a book.'
(3)   Vasile a   început/a   încetat   a   scrie o carte.
        Vasile has begun   has finished INF write a book
        'Vasile started writing a book.'

One can identify two preference patterns: the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class preferentially occur with a supine complement, the ones in the *începe* 'begin' and the *continua* 'continue' classes occur with infinitive and subjunctive complements.

Romanian aspectual verbs can also take a clausal complement introduced by the complementizer *ca* 'that', which I will gloss as 'that_SBVJ'[2], since it introduces subjunctive clauses. This complementizer is obligatory when the overt subject of the embedded subjunctive is placed in front of the verb or when some other constituent in the embedded clause gets fronted; otherwise it is omitted. In the spoken language[3], however, *ca* 'that_SUBJ' introduces embedded subjunctives even when there is no constituent in between the complementizer and the subjunctive marker *să* (see the examples in 4). This is actually found with other classes of verbs which take a subjunctive complement, such as modal verbs (see, for example, Avram 1999).

(4)　　a.　　A　　început　ca　　să　　mă　doară.[4]
　　　　　　　has begun　　that_SBVJ SBJV　me　hurt-SBJV
　　　　　　　'It is beginning to hurt.'
　　　　b.　　Tatăl　　a　continuat ca　　să　　îi　　　　　　depună lunar
　　　　　　　father-the has continued that_SBVJ SBJV CL.DAT.3P SG deposit monthly
　　　　　　　o　sumă　de bani.[5]
　　　　　　　an amount of money
　　　　　　　'His/her father continued to make monthly deposits to her bank account.'

Romanian aspectual verbs can also take a nominal object[6] and form simple transitive constructions. Their DP object can be a simple noun (*carte* 'book', *concert* 'concert', *cântec* 'song') or an event nominalization (infinitive-based: *examinare* 'examination', *dărâmare* 'demolishing', *curăţare* 'cleaning', *vânzare* 'selling', and supine-based: *cules* 'gathering, harvesting', *demolat* 'demolishing'), illustrated in (5) and (6).

(5)　　Directorii　　de școală au　　terminat ședința.
　　　　principles-the of school have finished meeting-the
　　　　'The school principals finished the meeting.'
(6)　　Guvernul　　　a　continuat vânzarea　de active / culesul　　　de date.
　　　　government-the has continued sell-INF-the of shares gather-SUP-the of data
　　　　'The government continued selling shares/ the gathering of data.'

The postverbal DP is a genuine object of the verb. Evidence that the nominal complement is indeed in complement position and is not the argument of a null verb comes from coordination and passivization. If the configuration included an implicit verb one would expect it to allow coordination with a configuration that has an overt verb. The

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[2] *Că*, which I will gloss as 'that_IND', introduces indicative clauses.
[3] According to some linguists, this is attested in substandard Romanian. The fact remains that there are native speakers who use *ca*-subjunctives even in the absence of a displaced constituent.
[4] https://www.google.com/search?q=%22a+inceput+ca+sa+ma+doara .
[5] http://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.juridice.ro/334247/custodia-comuna-intangibila.html&sa=U&v ed=2ahUKEwjW0rGPvo3yAhVvhv0HHQmsAYUQFjABegQIABAB&usg=AOvVaw0gU_zqRiSi7EMbvb4 wIjAN.
[6] Raising verbs do not accept DPs as complements at all.

data in (7) show that Romanian aspectual verbs with a DP complement do not allow coordination with an overt verb:

(7)   ??Ion a început / continuat eseul   la literatură şi să   scrie
           Ion has begun   continued essay-the at literature and SBJV write-SBJV
         capitolul.
         chapter-the
         'Ion began/ continued the literature essay and the chapter.'

The examples in (8) show that Romanian aspectual verbs with a DP object can be passivized:

(8)   a.   Mihai a   terminat tema.
                Mihai has finished homework-the
                'Mihai finished the homework.'
        b.   Tema   a   fost terminată de Mihai.
                homework-the has been finished   by Mihai
                'The homework was finished by Mihai.'

One further argument that the DP occurs in the complement position of the aspectual verb comes from the interpretation of adverbial modifiers. In (9), *cu greu* 'with difficulty', modifies the aspectual verb when it occurs with a DP complement but it can also modify the embedded predicate when the complement is clausal:

(9)   a.   A   început să   citească   cu   greu.
                has begun SBJV read-SBJV with difficulty
                'He/she began reading with difficulty.'
        b.   A   terminat cartea   cu   greu.
                has finished book-the with difficulty
                'He/she finished the book with difficulty.'

One more argument comes from object deletion. Romanian aspectual verbs allow object deletion on a par with transitive verbs, as illustrated in (10):

(10)   a.   A   început […] plin de entuziasm dar a   obosit repede.
                has begun   full of enthusiasm but has tired   quickly
                'He/she began full of enthusiasm but got tired quickly.'
        b.   A   plecat de îndată ce   a   terminat […].
                has left   as soon   what has finished
                'He/she left as soon as he/ she finished'

When used with a DP complement, Romanian aspectual verbs behave like simple transitives; they can ascribe intention to their subject. They have an intransitive counterpart which lacks an Agent and causation:

(11) a. Guvernul   a   continuat ședința.
           government-the has continued meeting-the
           'The government continued the meeting.'
      b. Ședința   a   continuat.
           meeting-the   has   continued
           'The meeting continued.'

2.3 Romanian aspectual verbs: raising/control diagnostics

2.3.1 The issue

There is no consensus in the literature with respect to whether Romanian aspectual verbs enter control or raising configurations. According to Cotfas (2016) and Nicolae (2013, 2016) they behave exclusively as raising verbs. These authors investigated the behaviour of some aspectual verbs (*a începe* 'begin', *a continua* 'continue', *a înceta* 'stop, end') but only in structures with a subjunctive complement. Dragomirescu (2013), on the other hand, analyses aspectual verbs as predicates with obligatory subject control.

In this section I will employ the standard control/raising diagnostic tests (following mainly Landau 2013) for all the Romanian configurations identified in section 2.2.

2.3.2 Non-thematic subjects

One central property which has been argued to distinguish between control and raising verbs is their ability of assigning a theta-role to their subject. Since only verbs of control project an external argument to which they assign a thematic role, non-thematic subjects (expletive subjects, weather *it*, idiom chunks) are allowed in raising but not in control configurations. Romanian is a *pro*-drop language which lacks expletives. But one can distinguish between control and raising behaviour by testing the compatibility with idiom chunks in subject position and with weather verbs.

The compatibility of the embedding predicate with idiom chunks (with retention of idiomatic reading) in subject position indicates that the predicate is a raising one (as in 12):

(12) IDIOM: Ulciorul nu merge de mai multe ori la apă.
           'The pitcher goes often to the well but is broken at last.'
      Ulciorul   pare   să   nu meargă de mai multe ori   la apă.
      pitcher-the seems SBJV not go-SBJV of more many times at water
      'The pitcher does not seem to go often to the well.'

Romanian aspectual verbs do not behave uniformly with respect to this test. Firstly, the type of clausal complement with which they occur plays an important part. Secondly, some idioms can retain their idiomatic reading more easily than others. Most idioms have a generic interpretation which makes them less compatible with some aspectual verbs.

A subjunctive and an infinitival complement generally boosts acceptability and allows idioms to retain their idiomatic meaning (as shown in 13 and 14).

(13)   IDIOM: a îi surâde norocul cuiva
     'fortune smiles on someone'
 Norocul a încetat să le mai surâdă.
 luck-the has ceased SBJV them more smile- SBJV
 'Fortune stopped smiling on them.'

             (idiomatic reading retained)

The examples in (14)–(15), on the other hand, show that aspectual verbs do not behave uniformly with respect to this test with all idioms. In (15) one and the same idiom may retain its idiomatic reading with one aspectual verb but lose it with another, possibly as an effect of the generic interpretation of idioms.

(14)   IDIOM: Așchia nu sare departe de trunchi
     'The rotten apple doesn't fall far from the tree.'
 Așchia a început / continuă să nu sară departe de trunchi.
 splinter-the has begun continues SBJV not jump-SBJV far of trunk
 'The rotten apple began / continued not to jump far from the tree.'

           (idiomatic reading not retained)

(15)   IDIOM: Apa trece, pietrele rămân.
     'Water flows, rocks remain[7].'
 a. Apa a început a trece, pietrele au început a rămâne.
    water has begun INF pass rocks-the have begun INF remain-INF
    'The water began to flow, the rocks began to stay.'

          (idiomatic reading not retained)
 b. Apa continuă a trece, pietrele continuă a rămâne.
    water-the continues INF pass-INF rocks-the continue INF remain-INF
    'The water continues to flow, the rocks keep staying.'

         (?idiomatic reading retained)
 c. Apa a încetat a trece, pietrele au încetat a
    water-the has ceased INF pass-INF rocks-the have ceased INF
    rămâne.
    remain-INF
    'The water stopped flowing, the rocks stopped staying.'

         (idiomatic reading not retained)

   The configuration with a supine complement can never preserve the idiomatic reading, with any idiom. The verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class are incompatible with idiom chunks in subject position (while preserving the idiomatic interpretation of the expression).

(16)   IDIOM: Ulciorul nu merge de multe ori la apă.
     'The pitcher goes often to the well but is broken at last.'
 ??/*Ulciorul a terminat de mers de mai multe ori la apă.
  pitcher-the has finished SUP walk-SUP of more many times at water
 'The pitcher has stopped going to the well on several occasions.'

         (idiomatic reading not retained)

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[7] This idiom corresponds to the English "He who is strong as a rock will overcome all adversity".

Notice that it is not the semantics of the aspectual verb which prevents the idiomatic meaning from being preserved. If a verb in the TERMINA 'finish' class occurs with a subjunctive, the idiomatic reading may be retained. But with a supine, this is not possible.

(17) IDIOM: a îi surâde norocul cuiva
      'fortune smiles on someone'
    a.   Norocul a   încetat să   le   mai surâdă.
        luck-the has ceased SBJV CL.DAT.3PL more smile-SBJV
        'Fortune stopped smiling to them.'/'They seem to have run out of luck.'
                          (idiomatic reading retained)
    b.   ??Norocul le-   a   terminat de   surâs.
         luck-the CL.DAT.3PL has finished SUP smile-SUP
        'The luck finished smiling to them.'
                        (idiomatic reading not retained)

The brief investigation of how Romanian aspectual verbs pass/fail the idiom chunk test reveals non-uniform behaviour. The picture which emerges shows that when aspectual verbs take a subjunctive or an infinitive complement, they can behave like raising verbs: they allow idiom chunks in subject position with retention of idiomatic meaning. But they do not behave alike with all idioms. On the other hand, when the complement is a supine, aspectual verbs behave exclusively as control verbs: if an idiom chunk occurs in subject position, the idiomatic meaning of the expression is lost with all idioms.

One possible problem with the idiom chunk test is, as mentioned earlier, that idioms have generic interpretation. Their general imperfective viewpoint is incompatible with the semantic constraints of the verbs in the TERMINA 'finish' class. But this cannot be the whole story, given the fact that when verbs in this class occur with another complement type, idioms can preserve their idiomatic reading.

One more difference between the theta-role assignment properties of control and raising verbs targets the compatibility with weather verbs. All the aspectual verbs which select a subjunctive and an infinitive complement allow weather verbs in their complement.

(18) a.   A   început / continuat să   plouă   mărunt.
        has begun   continued SBJV rain-SBJV small
        'It began to drizzle.'
    b.   Când a   terminat să   plouă,   ploaia se transformă în rouă.
        when has finished SBJV rain- SBJV rain-the SE turns   in dew
        'Once it has stopped raining, the rain turns into dew.'

With the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class and a supine complement, the picture is less clear cut. A Google search returned 0 hits for *a sfârşit de plouat/de nins* 'It stopped raining /snowing' and for *a isprăvit de plouat/de nins* 'It finished raining / snowing'. For *a termina* 'finish' a Google search returned only 5 hits for *a terminat de plouat* 'It finished raining' (and two of them are figurative and have an agentive subject) and 1 hit for *a terminat de nins* 'it finished snowing', with an overt agentive subject.

(19)   a.   Sper că   a   terminat de plouat   ce   avea de   plouat.[8]
                hope that has finished SUP rain-SUP what had SUP rain-SUP
                'I hope it (the sky) finished raining what was left to rain.'
        b.   Privesc prin   fereastră cum orașul   meu a   terminat de
                look   through window how city-the my   has finished SUP
                nins.[9]
                snow-SUP
                'I am looking through the window how my city finished snowing.'

Weather verbs have been argued to project an external argument. Yoon (2003, in Bleotu 2012), for example, treats weather *it* as the external argument of the verb. According to Bleotu (2012), weather verbs display both unergative and unaccusative behaviour. She provides arguments that weather *it* occupies syntactic positions associated with agentive arguments. It can occur in the complement clause of a control verb and in imperatives. Romanian weather verbs are compatible with imperatives (20a), they allow agent-oriented modifiers (20c) and they can be embedded under a verb of control (20b). More marginally, they also allow purpose clauses (20d). All that indicates that they may have an argument which is assigned a theta-role.

(20)   a.   Te   rog,   nu ploua!
                CL.ACC.2SG please not rain-IMP
                'Please, don't rain!'
        b.   Tot încearcă să   ploua   de câteva ore.
                still tries   SBVJ rain-SBVJ of several hours
                'It has been trying to snow for several hours.'
        c.   Dacă tot ninge, să   ningă   cu sănătate și   optimism.
                if   still snows SBVJ snows-SBVJ with health   and optimism
                'It it's going to snow, let it snow with health and optimism.'
        d.   cameră specială în care te   ploua sau te   ninge
                room   special in which CL.ACC.2SG rains or CL.ACC.2SG snows
                ca să   te   relaxezi.[10]
                that SBJV you relax-SBJV
                'a special room in which you are rained on or snowed on to relax.'

But, in spite of the weakness of the weather verbs test, the picture which emerges for Romanian aspectual verbs shows that the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class are the most resistant ones; they only marginally occur with weather verbs.

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[8] https://forum.softpedia.com.
[9] https://endorfinul.wordpress.com.
[10] https://www.protv.ro/apropotv/stiri/curiozitati-uite-cum-arata-o-resedinta-de-un-miliard-de-dolari-iti-place-foto.html

2.3.3 Subject-oriented adverbs

One further difference between control and raising configurations concerns the compatibility with subject-oriented adverbs. Only control structures, which project an external argument, allow the presence of subject-oriented adverbs (e.g. *intenţionat* 'intentionally', *deliberat* 'deliberately', *din neatenţie* 'inadvertently') in the matrix, which indicates that the subject has been assigned a theta-role by the matrix verb.

Evidence that aspectual verbs assign a theta-role to the subject comes from their compatibility with agent-oriented adverbs. In (21) below, the subject-oriented adverbs modify the matrix verb (or at least this interpretation is among the available ones):

(21)   a.   Ion a   continuat **înadins**   a   vorbi   prostii
               Ion has continued on purpose INF speak-INF foolish things
               când   ai   intrat în cameră.
               when   have entered in room
               'Ion began on purpose to say foolish things when you entered the room.'
        b.   Maria a   început **special**   să   spargă   farfurii ca din
                Maria has begun on purpose SBJV break-SBJV plates   as of
                greşeală.
                mistake
                'Maria began breaking plates on purpose as if by mistake.'
        c.   Ion a   încetat **de-al naibii**   să   mai vină   la
                Ion has finished of GEN devil-GEN SBJV more come-SBJV at
                şedinţe.
                meetings
                'Ion ceased attending meetings to spite people.'

The compatibility of aspectual verbs with agent-oriented adverbs indicates control-like behaviour.

2.3.4 Embedding under a verb of control

The conclusion reached in the previous section is further supported by the fact that aspectual verbs can be embedded under verbs of control (e.g. *a încerca* 'try', *a convinge* 'convince', *a forţa* 'force', as in 22), a property of control predicates but not of raising ones. They can also be embedded under deontic modals.

(22)   a.   L-   am   convins   să   termine   de   scris   romanul.
               him have persuaded SBJV finish-SBJV SUP write-SUP novel-the
               'I have persuaded him to finish writing the novel.'

        b.   I-   am   ordonat   să   înceapă   a   testa   prototipul.
                him have ordered SBJV begin-SBJV INF test-INF prototype-the
                'I ordered him to start testing the prototype.'

    c.   Vasile trebuie să   înceteze   a   spune   prostii.
          Vasile must   SBJV cease-SBJV INF say-INF foolish things
          'Vasile must cease saying foolish things.'

2.3.5 Imperative sentences

Aspectual verbs can occur in imperative sentences (23), irrespective of complement type, a property of control verbs; imperatives require an agentive argument. Raising verbs cannot be used in imperatives.

(23)   a.   Termină mai repede de   scris!
            finish-IMP more fast   SUP write-SUP
            'Finish writing faster!'
    b.   Continuă   să   cânţi!
            continue-IMP SBJV sing-SBJV
            'Keep singing!
    c.   Încetează să   mai   ţipi   la mine!
            stop-IMP SBJV more shout-SBJV at me
            'Stop shouting at me!'

2.3.6 Meaning preservation under passivization

One more important diagnostic test targets the passive-active synonymy of the complement. With raising verbs, passivization of the complement clause does not affect truth conditions. Aspectual verbs behave like raising verbs with respect to active-passive synonymy. Acceptability, however, is slightly degraded when the fronted argument is [−agentive] and cannot be interpreted as affected.

(24)   a.   Copiii   au început să -l   admire   pe Vasile.
            children-the have begun SBJV CL.ACC.M.3SG admire-SBJV PE Vasile
            'The children are beginning to admire Vasile.'
    b.   Vasile a început să   fie   admirat de către copii.
            Vasile has begun SBJV be-SBJV admired by   children
            'Vasile begins to be admired by the children.'
(25)   a.   Copiii   au încetat a   mai spune poezii.
            children-the have ceased INF more say-INF poems
            'The children have stopped reciting poems.'
    b.   ? Poeziile   au încetat a   mai fi   spuse de copii.
             poems-the have ceased INF more be.INF said   by children
            'Poems have stopped being recited by children.'

2.3.7 Semantic restrictions on the embedded predicate

Romanian aspectual verbs impose semantic restrictions on the embedded predicate. The predicate in the complement clause must denote a process, as in (26):

(26) a. Copiii   au   terminat de   mâncat mâncarea.
          children-the have   finished SUP eat-SUP food-the
          'The children have finished eating the food.'

      b. Copilul a început / a continuat să   scrie   tema.
          child-the has begun   has continued SBJV write-SBJV homework-the
          'The child began writing the homework.'

      c. *Copilul a   sfârşit de   urât   matematica.
          child-the has finished SUP hate-SUP math-the
          'The child finished hating math.'

      d. *Copiii   au   terminat sositul   la timp.
           children-the have   finished arrive-SUP-the at time
          'The chidren finished arriving on time.'

Raising verbs do not impose such restrictions, they accept any predicate in the embedded clause.

(27) a. Oaspeţii   par   să   fie   gata of plecare.
          guests-the seem SBVJ be.SBVJ ready to departure
          'The guests seem ready to leave.'

      b. Luna   decembrie pare să   fi   venit deja.
          month-the December seems SBVJ be.SBVJ come already
          'December seems to have already arrived.'

      c. Ion pare să   fi   rezolvat problema.
          Ion seems SBVJ be.SBVJ solved   problem-the
          'Ion seems to have solved the problem.'

Both the aspectual verb and complement type play a part in the selection of the predicate in complement position. In the case of an infinitive or a subjunctive complement, states are allowed only if they can be reinterpreted as activities. In some cases, degree achievements are allowed if they are interpreted as iterative, and only with infinitive and subjunctive complements. The verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class with a supine complement ban degree achievements and states. Their ban on these two types of predicates is related to agentivity. These verbs are inherently marked as [+intentionality].

The verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class with a supine complement impose selectional restrictions on the subject as well. Verbs such as *a termina* 'finish' and *a sfârşi* 'end, finish' with a supine preferentially select an Agentive, volitional subject, because they are [+intentional].

(28) a. După o oră, bucătarul a   terminat de   copt   prăjiturile.
          after an hour cook-the has finished SUP bake-SUP cakes-the
          'After an hour, the cook finished baking the cakes.'

      b. ??Vântul   a   terminat de   bătut   în rafale.
           wind-the has finished SUP blow-SUP   in gusts
          '*The wind finished blowing in gusts.'

c.   *Țevile   au   terminat de   ruginit.
          pipes-the have finished SUP rust-SUP
          '*The pipes finished rusting.'

2.3.8 Complement drop

Raised DPs, which are first merged in the embedded clause, require the presence of the clausal complement. Control verbs allow complement drop, which indicates that the DP controller merges in the matrix. Romanian aspectual verbs allow complement drop, like verbs of control, irrespective of complement type:

(29)   a.   Dan a început a   scrie   romane și cred   că Marius a
                 Dan has begun   INF write- INF novels and believe that Marius has
                 început și el.
                 begun and he
                 'Dan began to write novels and I think that Marius began too.'
       b.   Ion a   terminat de   scris   dar nu cred   că a
                 Ion has finished SUP write-SUP but not believe that has
                 terminat și   Vasile.
                 finished and Vasile
                 'Ion has finished reading, but I don't think Vasile has too.'

2.3.9 Subject interpretation: Scope

Scope properties have also been discussed in the literature as a possible control/raising contrast. In raising configurations, a quantified DP in matrix subject position can scope over or under the matrix predicate. A quantifier subject can be interpreted in its first merge position, in which case it scopes over the embedded verb, and also in the position to which it moved in the matrix, i.e. it scopes over the higher verb. In control structures, the controller DP in the matrix does not have a trace (an unpronounced copy) in the embedded clause. There is one single interpretation for the DP in matrix subject position: the one according to which it takes scope over the higher predicate.

Consider now the scopal properties of the subject in sentences with aspectual verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class and a supine complement. The interpretation of the subject in (30) is not ambiguous. The only available interpretation is the one according to which the subject takes scope over the matrix verb, namely, there is a particular person in our block of flats who finished painting their flat.

(30)   Cineva   din   blocul   nostru a   terminat de   zugrăvit.
       someone from apartment.building-the our   has finished SUP paint-SUP
       'Someone from our apartment building finished painting their flat.'
       cineva > a termina ('someone > finished')

Aspectual verbs which select a subjunctive and an infinitive complement behave in a similar manner. The subject *cineva* 'someone' takes scope over the aspectual verb.

(31) a. Cineva din grupa noastră a început să scrie o carte.
       someone from group-the our has begun SBJV write-SBJV a book
       'Someone from our group started writing a book.'
       cineva > a început ('someone > began')

   b. Cineva din grupa noastră a încetat a mai veni la
       someone from group-the our has ceased INF more come-INF at
       hours.
       classes
       'Someone in our group stopped attending classes.'
       cineva > a înceta ('someone > ceased')

2.3.10 Quirky subjects

One argument in favour of the raising behaviour of Romanian aspectual verbs comes from quirky subjects. In raising constructions, displaced non-Nominative subjects preserve the lexically selected case which they received in the embedded clause. According to Cotfas (2016), the fact that the Experiencer preserves its Dative case when moved to the matrix subject position in (32) is taken as an argument in favour of the raising behaviour of aspectual verbs:

(32) Fetelor a început / continuat / încetat să le fie rușine.
      girls-the.DAT has begun continued ceased SBJV CL.DAT.3PL be-SBJV shame
      'The girls began to feel ashamed.'

(Cotfas 2016: 178)

This argument, however, relies on the assumption that in sentences like (32) and (33) the Dative Experiencer is indeed the syntactic subject.

(33) Copiilor le place înghețata.
      children-the.DAT them likes ice-cream-the
      'Children like ice-cream.'

The debate with respect to the existence of quirky subjects in Romanian makes it difficult to decide whether this test can distinguish between control and raising predicates (see Rivero & Geber 2003, Geber 2011 for arguments that Romanian has quirky subjects). If we assume that quirky subjects do exist in Romanian, the data above indicate raising behaviour. Quirky subjects are standardly found with psychological predicates and certain unaccusatives (Rivero & Geber 2003). Given the semantic constraints of the verbs in the TERMINA 'finish' class on their supine complement, it is not possible to use the test with this configuration. The unacceptability of (34a) and (34b) could be explained in terms of the requirement that the embedded predicate should denote a durative telic agentive event. This is further supported by the fact that a înceta 'cease', which does not require telic agentive complements, allows fronted Experiencers (see 34c versus 34d).

(34) a.   *Fetelor   le-   a   terminat / isprăvit de plăcut   această
            girls-the.DAT CL.3.PL has finished   ceased SUP like-SUP this
            persoană.
            person
            'The girls stopped liking this person.'

      b.   *Copiilor   a   terminat / sfârșit să   le   fie   frică
            children-the.DAT has finished ended SBJV CL.DAT.3PL be.SBJV fear
            de întuneric.
            of darkness
            'The children stopped being afraid of darkness.'

      c.   Fetelor   a   încetat să   le   fie   frică.
            girls-the.DAT has finished SBJV CL.DAT.3PL be.SBJV fear
            'The girls ceased/ stopped being afraid.'

      d.   A   încetat să   le   fie   frică fetelor.
            has ceased SBJV CL.DAT.3PL be.SBJV fear girls-the.DAT
            'The girls ceased being afraid.'

With the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class the impossibility of quirky subjects
might be due to the selectional restrictions imposed on the predicate in complement
position (aspectual verbs in the 'finish' class ban a non-agentive stative predicate).

2.3.11 Overt complementizers

Control complements have been argued to allow overt complementizers, which are
disallowed in raising complements. Raising of the embedded DP would be blocked in the
presence of a CP node (Landau 2013: 18). But in Romanian, both control and raising
configurations can have subjunctive complements with an overt Force complementizer,
ca 'that$_{sbjv}$', and the Fin complementizer *să*. When *să* is preceded by a fronted constituent,
the presence of *ca* 'that$_{sbjv}$' is obligatory (as in 35).

(35) a.   Dorea **ca** mâine   să   plece   Vasile.
            wanted that tomorrow SBJV leave-SBJV Vasile
            'He/she wanted Vasile to leave tomorrow.'

      b.   Dorea **ca** pe Vasile să- l   invite   Maria.
            wanted that PE Vasile SBJV CL.3RD M.SG.ACC invite-SBJV Maria
            'He/she wanted Maria to invite Vasile.'

Raising complements have been argued to ban the complementizer *ca* 'that$_{SBJV}$', even
when there is some fronted constituent (Landau 2013, on the basis of Dobrovie-Sorin
2001).

(36) a.   *Copiii   par   ca pe profesor să   fie   supărați.
            children-the seem that PE teacher SBJV be-SBJV angry
            'The children seem to be angry with the teacher.'

　　　　b.　　Copiii　　　　par　să　　fie　　　　supărați pe profesor.
　　　　　　　children-the seem SBJV be.SBJV angry　　PE teacher
　　　　　　　'The children seem to be angry with the teacher.'

(Dobrovie-Sorin 2001: 60)

But, according to Dobrovie-Sorin (2001: 60), "obligatory control appears to be subject to the same constraint, namely *ca* is precluded".

(37)　　a.　　*Ion începe ca　pe Maria s-　　o　　ajute.
　　　　　　　 Ion begins that PE Maria SBJV her help-SBJV
　　　　b.　　Ion începe s-　　o　　ajute　　　pe Maria
　　　　　　　Ion begins SBJV her help-SBJV PE Maria
　　　　　　　'Ion begins to help Maria.'

(Dobrovie-Sorin 2001: 60)

More importantly, the acceptability of a sentence like the one in (36a) is slightly improved when *pe profesor* 'PE teacher' can be interpreted as contrastive focus, i.e. raising does not exclude the overt complementizer *ca* (at least not in my Romanian). Such data show that the presence of the overt complementizer *ca*, in Romanian, does not clearly distinguish between control and raising structures. Additionally, in Romanian raising verbs also allow sentential subjects with the complementizer *că* 'that$_{indic}$'.

2.3.12 Unaccusative properties

Raising verbs do not project an external subject, their subject is derived via movement. They are unaccusatives. Control verbs project an external argument, the subject controller. Aspectual verbs were listed as unaccusatives as early as Perlmutter (1978). Cotfas (2016) capitalizes on this property to show that Romanian aspectual verbs are raising verbs. The question is whether being an unaccusative automatically qualifies a verb as a raising one. We saw that Romanian aspectuals differ from raising verbs in one important respect: they can take a DP complement, i.e. they have a transitive variant. In this respect they behave like definite change of state unaccusatives (*break, melt, open*). According to some linguists, these verbs should actually be analysed as a distinct class. Haegeman (1991), for example, states that intransitives which denote a definite change of state and enter the causative alternation are not, actually, unaccusatives. They are ergatives which project their Theme argument in subject position. Kural (2002) includes verbs like *break, burn, change, grow, melt*, etc. in the class of change of state verbs. When used intransitively, they project an inchoative layer (an INCH predicate[11]). The argument (that undergoes a change of state) merges in the Spec of the VP headed by INCH and controls a PRO subject in the Spec VP of the "inner" VP (the argument of the lexical verb). The argument does not merge in complement position and there is no empty Spec, VP, as with prototypical unaccusatives. This casts some doubt on the analysis of aspectual verbs as raising verbs simply because they are unaccusatives.

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[11] The INCH notation stands for *inchoative*. According to Kural (2002), change of state verbs have an inchoative argument.

2.3.13 Interim summary

Romanian aspectual verbs do not behave uniformly with respect to control/raising tests (see also Lăcătuș 2019, 2021). The first important observation is that when they occur with a supine complement they behave like *bona fide* control verbs with respect to all the tests applicable to the configuration investigated here. The second observation is that when aspectual verbs have an infinitive or a subjunctive complement, they have hybrid control/raising behaviour.

Some of the tests used in the analysis are less relevant to the syntactic distinction between control and raising. But several results are robust and support the conclusion that Romanian aspectual verbs evince both control-like and raising-like behaviour. They can be used in imperative sentences and can be embedded under control verbs. This indicates that they take an agentive external argument. On the other hand, they allow non-thematic subjects and passive-active synonymy in their complement, like raising verbs. However, aspectual verbs differ from prototypical raising verbs in that they select a DP complement. I address this hybrid behaviour in the next section.

3. Romanian aspectual verbs and the causative alternation

3.1 The causative alternation in Romanian in a nutshell

Verbs which denote a change of state enter the causative alternation in Romanian. They have a transitive causative variant, which projects an agent/causer external argument, and an intransitive inchoative variant (anticausative), which does not project an Agent. The latter fall into three subclasses: anticausatives, middles and reflexive passives. Some anticausatives are obligatorily marked with the clitic *se* (Cornilescu 1998, Croitor 2008). Others do not require *se*[12] (as in the examples in 39). This is the case of verbs like *a (se) îngălbeni* 'to turn yellow', *a (se) înroși* 'to turn red', *a (se) înnegri* 'to turn back' (Dragomirescu 2010: 178).

(38) a. Vasile a răcit supa.
Vasile has cooled soup-the
'Vasile cooled the soup.'

 b. Supa s- a răcit.
soup-the SE has cooled
'The soup cooled.'

(39) a. Arșița a îngălbenit frunzele.
heat-the has turned.yellow leaves-the
'The heat has turned the leaves yellow.'

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[12] For French, Labelle (1992) argues that marked anticausatives are unaccusatives (for example, they take the auxiliary *être* 'be') whereas the unmarked ones are unergative (they take the auxiliary *avoir* 'have'). In other words, anticausatives in French are both marked and unmarked and have different syntactic structure.

    b.   Frunzele (s)-au îngălbenit.
             leaves-the SE have turned.yellow
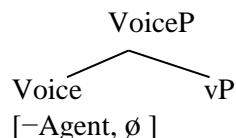   'The leaves have turned yellow.'

A third group of anticausatives are never marked with *se*. This is shown in (40) with the verb *a scădea* 'to lower, to drop':

(40)   a.   Vasile a scăzut temperatura apei.
               Vasile has cooled temperature-the water-the.GEN
               'Vasile made the water temperature fall.'
      b.   Temperatura apei (*s-) a scăzut.
               temperature-the water-the.GEN SE has dropped
               'The water temperature has dropped.'

The marked/unmarked alternation in Romanian is reflected in at least some semantic difference. The marked predicates focus on the final state, while the unmarked ones focus on the process.

     Schäfer (2008), following Alexiadou et. al. (2006), distinguishes between marked anticausatives and unmarked ones in syntactic terms: the former project a non-thematic VoiceP, while the latter do not project any VoiceP. The non-thematic VoiceP does not introduce an external argument. It is present in the structure for formal reasons. It is an expletive VoiceP which is semantically inert. The expletive VoiceP hosts anticausative morphology.

(41)   marked anticausative variant
            VoiceP
           ⌒
      Voice   vP
      [−Agent, ∅]

                            (Schäfer 2008: 175)

I suggest that, in Romanian, the anticausative alternation is a Voice alternation (in line with Alexiadou et al. 2006 and Schäfer 2008) and the reflexive clitic *se* is a marker of Voice. I adopt the view, according to which the marked anticausative form projects an expletive VoiceP. The presence of *se* in the structure is used simply to deactivate the thematic potential of the Voice projection (Schäfer 2008), banning external theta-role assignment, i.e. the Voice Phrase is non-thematic. On the other hand, unmarked anticausatives lack a Voice Phrase of any type. The difference between causatives and anticausatives amounts to a difference in whether they project a thematic VoiceP. Anticausatives do not.

     Anticausatives, both the marked variant and the unmarked one, exhibit the following properties: (i) no agentive *de către* 'by Phrase' is allowed (42); (ii) purpose clauses are not allowed (43):

(42)   a.   *Supa   s- a   răcit   de către Ion.
            soup-the SE has cooled by   Ion
            'The soup cooled by Ion.'

       b.   *Foile (s)-au   înnegrit   de către Ion.
            pages   SE have blackened by   Ion
            'The pages were blackened by Ion.'

(43)   a.   Ion topește înghețata   ca   să   i-   o
            Ion melts   icecream-the that SBJV CL.DAT.3.SG. CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG
            poată da.
            can   give
            'Ion melts the icecream in order to be able to give it to him/her.'

       b.   *Înghețata   se topește ca să   i-   o
            icecream-the SE melts   that SBJV CL.DAT.3.SG. CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG
            poată da.
            can   give
            'The ice-cream melts so that he could give it to him/her.'

Romanian anticausatives allow modifiers such as *de la sine* 'all by itself' and they
disallow manner adverbs such as *deliberat*, 'deliberately', *intenționat* 'on purpose', as in
(44b).

(44)   a.   Temperatura   i-   a   scăzut de la sine.
            temperature-the CL.DAT.3.SG has fallen of at itself
            'His/its temperature dropped all by itself.'

       b.   *Temperatura   i-   a   scăzut intenționat.
            temperature-the CL.DAT.3.SG has dropped on purpose
            'His/her temperature dropped on purpose.'

Anticausatives do not allow instrumental *cu* 'with' phrases (see 45a) nor do they allow
fără 'without' adjuncts.

(45)   a.   Florile   s-au   ofilit   *cu un uscător de păr.
            flowers-the SE have withered with a drier   of hair
            'The flowers withered *with a hair-drier.'

       b.   *Florile   s- au   ofilit   fără   prea mult efort.
            flowers-the SE have withered without too much effort
            'The flowers withered without too much effort.'

Anticausatives fail all the tests that signal the presence of an external argument. Their
argument is an internal one, which means that they have an underlying unaccusative
structure. In the next section I evaluate to what extent aspectual verbs in Romanian
behave like anticausatives.

3.2 Romanian aspectual verbs and the causative alternation

As previously mentioned, Romanian aspectual verbs can occur in simple transitive constructions (with simple eventive DPs and event nominalizations in complement position) and in intransitive inchoative configurations:

(46) a. Primarul a început / continuat / terminat festivitățile.
          mayor-the has begun   continued finished festivities-the
          'The mayor began/ continued/ finished the festivities.'
      b. Festivitățile au început / continuat / s- au terminat.
          festivities-the have begun   continued SE have finished
          'The festivities began/ continued/ finished.'
(47) a. Oamenii au început dărâmarea   podului.
          people-the have begun demolish-INF-the bridge-the.GEN
          'People began to demolish the bridge.'
      b. A început dărâmarea   podului.
          has begun demolish-INF-the bridge-the.GEN
          'The demolishing of the bridge began.'

When used intransitively, on a par with anticausatives, aspectual verbs do not allow an overt *de (către)* 'by' phrase, i.e. they lack an external argument.

(48) a. Parlamentarii   au continuat ședința.
          Parliament members have continued meeting-the
          'The members of Parliament went on with the meeting.'
      b. *Ședința   a continuat de către parlamentari.
          meeting-the has continued by   Parliament members
          '*The meeting continued by the members of Parliament.'
(49) a. Primarul a terminat curățarea   sectorului.
          mayor-the has finished clean-INF-the district
          'The mayor finished cleaning up the district.'
      b. Curățarea   sectorului   s- a terminat *de către primar.
          clean-INF-the district-the.GEN SE has finished   by   mayor
          '*The cleaning of the district finished by the mayor.'

They can occur with *de la sine* 'all by itself':

(50) Cearta   s- a terminat de la sine.
      argument-the SE has finished from at itself
      'The argument finished all by itself.'

In an intransitive context, Romanian aspectual verbs disallow agent-oriented adverbs and canot co-occur with purpose clauses (Pană Dindelegan 2010: 78).

(51)   a.   *Discursul decanului   a   început înadins.
                  speech-the dean-the.GEN has begun   on purpose
                  '*The dean's speech began on purpose.'
        b.   *Curățarea   sectorului   a   început înadins.
                  clean-INF-the district-the.GEN has begun   on purpose
                  '*The cleaning of the district began on purpose.'
(52)   a.   Vasile începe sedințele   devreme pentru a   putea   discuta
                  Vasile begins meetings-the early   for   INF can-INF discuss-INF
                  toate problemele.
                  all   problems-the
                  'Vasile begins the meetings early in order to be able to discuss all the
                  problems.'
        b.   *Ședințele   încep devreme pentru a   discuta   toate
                   meetings-the begin early   for   INF discuss- INF all
                  problemele.
                  problems-the
                  'The meetings begin early so as to discuss all the problems.
(53)   a.   *Vânzarea   de active a   încetat pentru a   nu fi   păgubit
                   sell-INF-the of shares has ceased for   INF not be.INF lost
                  statul.
                  state-the
                  'The selling of shares stopped so that the state would not end up losing
                  money.'
        b.   *S- a   terminat vânzarea   de active pentru a   obține   mai
                   SE has finished sell-INF-the of shares for   INF obtain-INF more
                  mulți bani.
                  many money
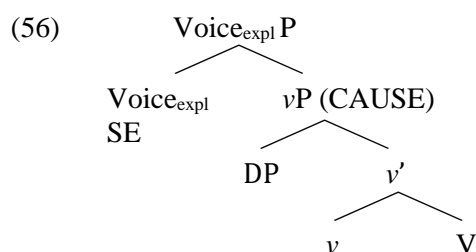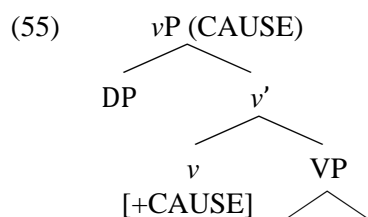   'The selling of shares finished in order for us to receive more money.'

If they appear with a *with*-PP, the latter is interpreted as specificational, not as
instrumental; it specifies a sub-part of the main event (see Mourounas & Williamson
2019 for the same observation for English aspectual verbs):

(54)   a.   Serbarea   elevilor   a   început cu o piesă de teatru.
                  festival-the students-the.GEN has begun   with a play
                  'The students' festival began with a play.'
        b.   Serbarea   elevilor   a   continuat cu o piesă de
                  festival-the students-the.GEN has continued with a piece of
                  teatru.
                  theatre
                  'The students' festival continued with a play.'
        c.   Serbarea   elevilor   s- a terminat cu o   piesă de teatru.
                  festival-the students-the.GEN SE has ended with a play
                  'The students' festival ended with a play.'

Summing up, Romanian aspectual verbs enter the causative alternation both when occurring with simple, eventive DP complements and with nominalizations. When used intransitively they pass the same tests as anticausatives: (i) they do not allow a *de* (*către)* Phrase ('by Phrase'); (ii) they do not allow subject-oriented adverbs; (iii) purpose clauses are not allowed; (iv) *with*-PPs are interpreted as specifying a sub-part of the main event. All these tests support the analysis according to which they do not project an external argument. One can safely reach the conclusion that in Romanian aspectual verbs enter the causative alternation, and that, when used intransitively, they behave like unaccusatives.

On a par with change of state unaccusatives, their anticausative variant falls into two subclasses: marked and unmarked. *A începe* 'begin' and *a continua* 'continue' have an unmarked anticausative variant (both the causative and the anticausative variant have the same form, there is morphological syncretism between the two forms), but some of the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class have a marked variant: *a isprăvi* 'finish', *a sfârşi* 'finish, end' and *a termina* 'finish'.

Following Schäfer (2008), I assume that unmarked intransitive aspectual verbs do not project any Voice Phrase (see 55 below), whereas the marked ones project an expletive VoiceP which hosts the anticausative marker *se* (as in 56):

(55)

*v*P (CAUSE)

DP   *v*′

     v   VP
    [+CAUSE]

(56)

Voice_expl P

Voice_expl   *v*P (CAUSE)
SE

       DP   *v*′

          v   V

3.3 One single lexicon entry

Romanian aspectual verbs select a variety of complements, both clausal and nominal. Mourounas (2019) and Mourounas & Williamson (2019) argue that aspectual verbs in English have one single lexicon entry, irrespective of the type of complement which they select. They pass all the diagnostic tests for exhaustive control (Landau 2000) regardless of complement-type, nominal or clausal, which allows these authors to reach the conclusion that English aspectual verbs have one single lexicon entry.

Just like their English counterpart, Romanian aspectual verbs have one lexicon entry, regardless of their complement. They pass all the diagnostic tests for exhaustive control both with clausal complements and with nominal ones.

They enforce strict identity between the overt subject in the matrix and the embedded null subject. This is illustrated in (57) with clausal complements. Partial control readings are disallowed.

(57)   a.   Ea a   început / a   continuat PRO$_i$/*PRO$_{i+}$ să   râdă.
                she has begun   has continued PRO$_i$ PRO$_{i+}$ SBJV laugh-SBJV
                'She began/ kept laughing.'
        b.   Doctorul   a   terminat controlarea   pacienților.
                doctor-the has finished examine-INF-the patients-the
                'The doctor finished checking up on the patients.'

Romanian aspectual verbs do not allow collective predicates in the complement clause, irrespective of complement-type. The embedded predicate must be co-referential with the singular subject of the aspectual verb, which must exhaustively determine the reference of the null subject in the complement.

(58)   a.   Ion$_i$ a   terminat de scris   PRO$_i$ cartea   (*împreună).
                Ion has finished SUP write-SUP PRO book-the   together
                'Ion has finished writing the book (*together).'
        b.   Ion$_i$ a   început a   scrie PRO$_i$ cartea   (*împreună).
                Ion has begun   INF write PRO book-the   together
                'Ion has finished writing the book (*together).'
        c.   Ion a   încetat să   scrie   cartea   (*împreună).
                Ion has ceased SBJV write- SBJV book-the   together
                'Ion has stopped/ceased writing the book (*together).'
(59)   Florin a   început distrugerea   *împreună a datelor.
        Florin has begun   destruction-the together   of data-the.GEN
        'Florin began the destruction of the data *together.'

Romanian aspectual verbs enforce the same exhaustive control reading with event nominalizations as shown in (59) above.

Tense mismatch between the tense of the embedded clause and the tense of the main clause is not allowed regardless of the type of complement. This is illustrated in the examples in (60) with clausal complements and in (61) with nominalized complements.

(60)   a.   *Ieri,   a   început / a   continuat să   citească cartea
                 yesterday has begun   has continued SBJV read-SBJV book-the
                mâine.
                tomorrow
                '*Yesterday, he/she began / continued to read the book tomorrow.'
        b.   *Ieri,   Ion a   terminat de desenat   schița   azi.
                 yesterday Ion has finished SUP draw- SUP sketch-the today
                '*Yesterday, Ion finished drawing the sketch today.'

(61) Sătenii   au   început ieri   dărâmarea   caselor
      villagers-the have begun   yesterday demolish-INF-the houses-the.GEN
      mâine.
      tomorrow
      '*The villagers began yesterday to demolish the houses today.'

The evidence above supports the hypothesis that Romanian aspectual verbs pass all the diagnostic tests for exhaustive control, regardless of complement type.

One further argument that aspectual verbs in Romanian have one single lexicon entry comes from their semantic restrictions. Generally, Romanian aspectual verbs require that their clausal complement designate a process. They freely combine with activities and accomplishments. Stative predicates and degree achievements are banned unless certain conditions are met (they must be reinterpreted as an activity).

Romanian aspectual verbs impose selectional restrictions on their nominal complements as well. Their DP complement must denote either an event or an object whose semantic structure includes a beginning and an end. If it is an event nominalization, its base can be an accomplishment (as in 62a) or an activity (as in 62b).

(62) a. Oamenii   au   început dărâmarea   podului.
          people-the have begun   demolish-INF-the   bridge-the.GEN
          'People have begun to tear down the bridge.'
      b. Vasile a   continuat vorbitul   la telefon.
          Vasile has   continued talk-SUP-the at phone
          'Vasile kept talking on the phone.'

4. Towards an account

4.1 The issue

The picture which emerged from the previous sections revealed the following:

(i)   aspectual verbs with an infinitive and a subjunctive complement have hybrid control/ raising behaviour;
(ii)   the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' finish' class with a supine complement are *bona fide* verbs of control;
(iii) aspectual verbs take both a clausal and a DP complement and enter the causative alternation
(iv)   only some of the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class have a marked anticausative variant; these verbs occur with a clausal complement only in their causative variant;
(v)   Romanian aspectual verbs impose semantic constraints on their complement which must denote durative events irrespective of whether it is clausal or nominal; no similar selectional restrictions are found with subject raising predicates.
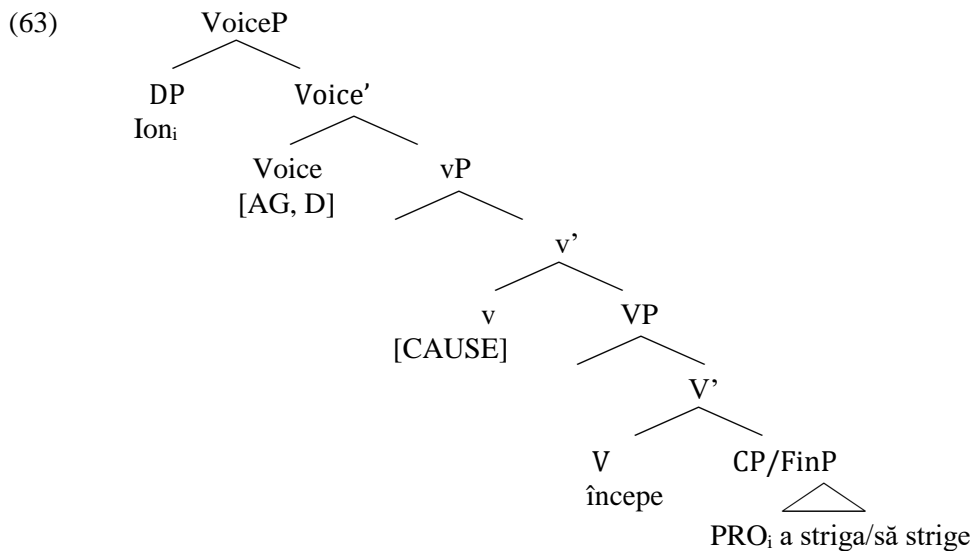
Any account of the data should address at least two issues:

(i)   the hybrid control-like/raising-like behaviour of the aspectual verbs with an
          infinitive and a subjunctive complement;
(ii)   the fact that the properties of the verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class with a supine
          complement are different from those of the other aspectual verbs.

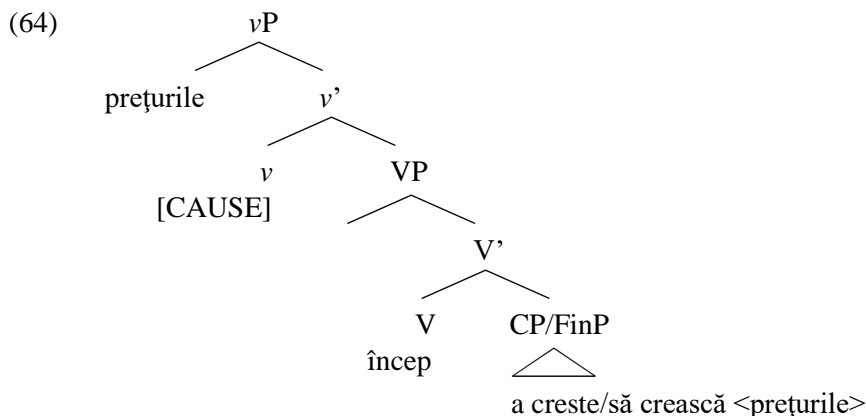### 4.2 Aspectual verbs and the causative alternation

Given that the main property which distinguishes aspectual verbs from both control
and raising predicates is the fact that they enter the causative alternation, my account will
start from this property (see also Lăcătuş 2021).

As stated earlier, following Schäfer (2008), I assume that the representation for the
causative variant of aspectual verbs includes a VoiceP. This is based on the assumption
that the external argument is introduced by a thematic VoiceP, not by a *v*P. The thematic
VoiceP of the causative aspectual verbs, which licenses an agentive external argument,
explains their control behaviour (e.g. why they can occur in imperatives, for example,
their compatibility with agent-oriented adverbs, and why they can be embedded under
verbs of control like *try* and *order*). When thematic Voice merges with the verbal
structure, the external argument is assigned its theta-role. This results in control
behaviour.

(63)

The anticausative variant of aspectual verbs does not project a thematic VoiceP; as
a result, no external argument will be licensed in the matrix. The DP in subject position in
the matrix is selected by the embedded verb. The entire structure will be a raising one.

(64)

```
                    vP
              ╱           ╲
        preţurile          v'
                      ╱         ╲
                     v           VP
                  [CAUSE]      ╱    ╲
                             V'
                          ╱      ╲
                         V        CP/FinP
                       încep        △
                              a creste/să crească <preţurile>
```
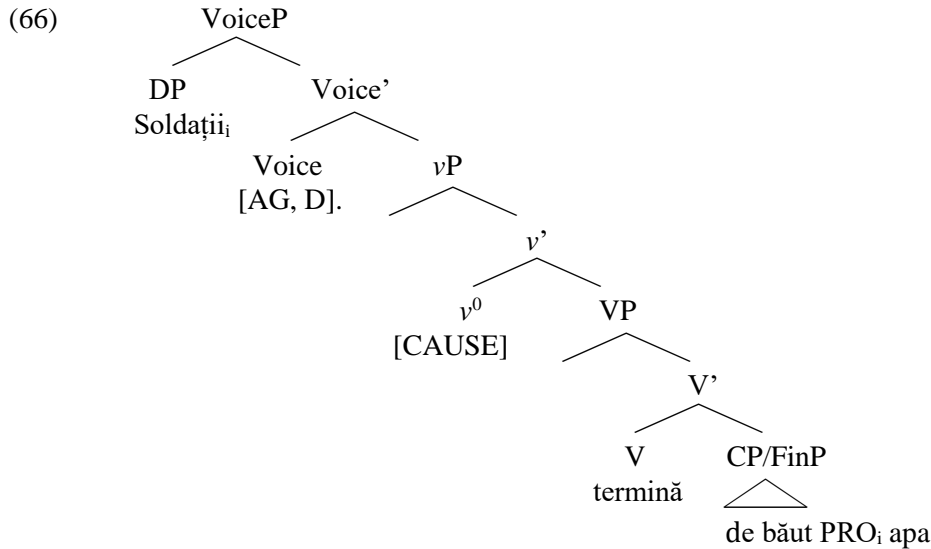
In this case, aspectual verbs have raising-like behaviour. The argument in the matrix is licensed by the embedded predicate.

The present analysis captures the lexical status of aspectual verbs in Romanian as well as their hybrid control-like and raising-like behaviour. These verbs have the same lexical semantics irrespective of complement type. They require their complement to be tense dependent, which results in tense dependency and argument sharing. When they are used as causatives, they project their own agentive argument, which results in control behaviour. Their anticausative variant lacks an external argument and has raising behaviour.

4.3 The causative alternation: why the *termina* 'finish' class is different

In the previous sections, I showed that only the anticausative form of some verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class is marked with the voice clitic *se.* Their marked anticausative variant occurs only with a nominal complement (as in 65b). When they occur with a clausal complement (as in 65c), they are never marked, i.e. in this configuration they are causative verbs. They project a thematic Voice Phrase which licenses an Agentive external argument. This explains their exclusively control-like behaviour.

(65)   a.   Soldaţii   au   terminat apa.
            soldiers-the have   finished water-the
            'The soldiers finished the water.'
       b.   Apa   s- a   terminat.
            water-the SE has   finished
            'The water finished.'
       c.   Soldaţii   termină de băut   apa.
            soldiers-the finish SUP drink- SUP water-the
            'The soldiers are finishing drinking their water.'

(66)

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
              DP          Voice'
           Soldații_i     /    \
                     Voice      vP
                    [AG, D].    /  \
                              v'
                             /   \
                           v⁰     VP
                        [CAUSE]   /  \
                                 V'
                                /   \
                              V      CP/FinP
                           termină   △
                                  de băut PRO_i apa
```

The verbs in the *termina* 'finish' class are the only ones which have a marked anticausative variant. When they occur with a clausal complement, however, they are never marked. They are always causative. These verbs are specified as [+intentional], a property which explains why they select agentive, volitional predicates in the complement clause. This property also affects the kind of subject which they allow (only volitional subjects). These verbs are found mainly with a supine complement. A supine, unlike an infinitive or a subjunctive complement, cannot occur with prototypical raising verbs.

(67)   a.   *Ion pare   de alergat.
                 Ion seems SUP run- SUP
               Intended: 'John seems to be running.'
       b.   *Ion s- a   nimerit   de plecat   devreme.
                 Ion SE has happened SUP leave-SUP early
               Intended: 'John happened to be leave early.'
(68)   a.   Ion pare   să   alerge.
               Ion seems SBJV run-SBJV
               'Ion seems to be running.'
       b.   Ion s- a   nimerit a fi   acolo.
               Ion SE has happened INF be.INF there
               'Ion happened to be there.'

5. Conclusions

Romanian aspectual verbs do not behave uniformly as either verbs of control or as raising verbs. They actually differ from both. Following Mourounas & Williamson

(2019), I capitalized on the fact that these verbs take both a nominal and a clausal complement and enter the causative alternation. In Romanian anticausative aspectual verbs fall into two classes: marked and unmarked. The former project an expletive Voice Phrase, which hosts anticausative morphology: the voice clitic *se*. But only some aspectual verbs, which belong to the *termina* 'finish' class, have a marked anticausative variant. When they occur with a clausal complement, however, they are never marked, i.e. they behave as causatives. They project a Voice Phrase which licenses an external argument. The causative alternation does not extend to configurations with a clausal complement in their case. I argued that this is what explains their exclusively control-like behaviour. The other aspectual verbs have an unmarked anticausative variant, i.e. there is morphological syncretism between the marked and the unmarked forms. In their case, the alternation encompasses both nominal and clausal complements. This explains their hybrid raising-like/control-like behaviour. When they are causatives, they project a Voice Phrase which introduces an external argument. The embedded subject enters an obligatory co-indexation relation with the causative matrix subject. When they are unmarked inchoatives, they behave semantically and syntactically like unaccusatives. They do not project any Voice Phrase and do not introduce an external argument. They have raising-like behaviour.

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