

The inflected infinitive in Romance

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The infinitive is traditionally seen as the ‘uninflected’ verb form: it is the verb form without the tense, aspect¹, mood or subject marking (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1990: 256, who maintains that subject agreement is in general intimately connected to the finiteness of clauses; see also Adger 2007 and Nikolaeva 2007). However, some languages present inflected infinitives which agree with their subject in both person and number, as can be seen in the European Portuguese example cited in (1):

- (1) *Será difícil eles aprovar-em a proposta.* (EP)
It.will.be difficult they to.approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal
‘It will be difficult for them to accept the proposal’ (Raposo 1987:86)

In this example, the infinitive *aprovar*, ‘to approve’ agrees with its subject *eles* ‘they’ which is expressed by with the morpheme *-em* that is added to the bare infinitival form.

The inflected infinitive in the Romance languages is the subject of this thesis. Six languages of this family are characterized by the presence of inflected infinitives. Four of these are still spoken today: European Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, and dialects of Sardinian. Furthermore, the inflected infinitive is attested in Old Neapolitan (from the 13th through the late 16th century) and Old Leonese (Scida 1998: 180; Ledgeway 2012: 293-4). This latter language will not be included in this thesis because of the scarcity of data and literature. Other languages that present an inflected infinitive include Hungarian and Welsh (Miller 2003). The phenomenon is thus not limited to the Romance or Indo-European language family.

Inflected infinitives are an interesting phenomenon for linguistic research because they raise several questions. Firstly, as said above, the infinitive is

¹ The Latin infinitive is marked for aspect, since there was an opposition between *laudare* (‘to praise’) and *laudavisse* (‘to have praised’).

traditionally seen as an uninflected verb form that does not carry Tense, Aspect, Mood (TAM henceforth) or number, person or gender information (which we will refer to as φ -features throughout, following the generative tradition started with Chomsky 1981). An infinitive that bears person and number agreement challenges this intuitive view. The binary distinction between finite clauses and non-finite ones does not seem to apply to languages with an inflected infinitive. So what is finiteness? Is it a relevant notion for syntax?

Secondly, the inflected infinitive can tell us more about the morphosyntactic phenomenon of agreement and therefore about the operation *Agree* (Chomsky 2001 ff.) which plays a central role within generative syntactic theory. How and when does *Agree* apply? Is *Agree* related to the presence of (finite) tense?

The goal of this thesis is to give a syntactic account of inflected infinitival structures. The central question will be: what is the difference between clauses with a bare infinitive and those with an inflected infinitive? Are they the same or does the presence of inflection add something to the meaning and/or the interpretation of the sentence? The initial hypothesis is that the use of the inflection on the infinitive cannot be explained only by narrow syntax, but that discourse relations need to be considered as well, in order to be able to fully account for its use. An analysis of the inflected infinitive and its use can then maybe shed light on the bigger issues raised above.

This thesis is structured as follows. In Chapter 2, the inflected infinitive in the five languages will be described. Per language, the description will focus on its morphology, its distribution, and the contexts in which it can and cannot appear. Chapter 3 will discuss the previous syntactic approaches and show how these fail to fully account for its distribution. In Chapter 4, the relation between information structure and the inflected infinitive will be discussed. In Chapter 5, an analysis for inflected infinitive in EP will be outlined, which will be applied to the other languages in Chapter 6. The thesis will end with conclusions and issues left open for further research in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2. Data: inflected infinitives in Romance

This chapter describes the forms and the distribution of the inflected infinitive in both European and Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, Old Neapolitan, and Sardinian. Furthermore, a similar phenomenon in some Italian varieties will be discussed. The data have been collected partly from existing literature, but also through personal inquiry and fieldwork.

2.1 European Portuguese (EP)

2.1.1 Morphology and history

The inflected infinitive in EP is marked for agreement with its subject but it does not feature a morphological marker for tense, aspect or mood. The infinitive can however be marked for perfectivity analytically, by combining the infinitive of the auxiliary with a perfect participle.

The paradigm of the inflected infinitive for the verb *comer* ‘to eat’ is given in (1):

(1) <i>(eu) comer-∅</i>	(I) to.eat-AGR.1.SG
<i>(tu) comer-es</i>	(you) to.eat-AGR.2.SG
<i>(ele) comer-∅</i>	(he) to.eat-AGR.3.SG
<i>(nós) comer-mos</i>	(we) to.eat-AGR.1.PL
<i>(vós) comer-des</i>	(you) to.eat-AGR.2.PL
<i>(eles) comer-em</i>	(they) to.eat-AGR.3.PL

The same endings are attested for the other verb classes (i.e. the verbs ending in *-ar* and *-ir*, as well as irregular verbs). In regular verbs the inflected infinitive formally coincides entirely with the future subjunctive.

For the first and third person singular the agreement marker is null. The inflectional endings for the other persons given in (1) are partly the same as the normal finite verb agreement markers, which can be seen in the paradigm of the present indicative, given in (2):

(2) <i>(eu) com-o</i>	'I eat'
<i>(tu) com-e-s</i>	'you eat'
<i>(ele) com-e</i>	'he eats'
<i>(nós) com-e-mos</i>	'we eat'
<i>(vós) com-e-is</i>	'you eat'
<i>(eles) com-e-m</i>	'they eat'

The inflectional endings for the second person singular, the first person plural and the third person plural are the same in both paradigms. The first person has an *-o* ending in the present indicative, but it is absent in other tenses, where the first person is marked differently, e.g. with an *-a* in the imperfect, *-ei* in the future, and *-ia* in the conditional. The third person singular has no ending in both paradigms. For the second person plural, the inflection on the infinitive is different on the infinitive from the finite verb ending. The second person plural is obsolescent in Modern Portuguese (Cook 2013).

There are two main hypotheses on the development of the Portuguese inflected infinitive (Pires 2002: 144-5). According to the first hypothesis, the inflected infinitive was a spontaneous creation. The Latin *accusativus cum infinitivo* was in some cases replaced by a *nominativus cum infinitivo* in Romance. The presence of the nominative subject led to the addition of inflection on the infinitive. The second hypothesis is instead that the inflected infinitive derives from the Latin imperfective subjunctive. In Latin, both the infinitive and the subjunctive could be used in purposive clauses, and the finite complementizer *ut* could be omitted (Pires 2002: 147). These changes led to the re-interpretation of the imperfective subjunctive as an infinitive with person agreement.

Some southern dialects of Portuguese, the Algarve dialects, extended the inflection also to gerunds (Ledgeway 2012: 294; Lobo 2001), but these will not be discussed in this thesis.

2.1.2 Distribution

The inflected infinitive has a distribution similar to a bare infinitive: it occurs mostly in embedded contexts as in (3). It cannot appear in clauses that are introduced by the finite complementizer *que* (3):

- (3) a. *Será difícil os deputados aprovar-em a proposta.* (EP)
It.will.be difficult the deputies to.approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal
'It will be difficult for the deputies to approve the proposal'
(Raposo 1987: 86)

- b. **Será difícil que os deputados aprovar-em a proposta.*
(EP)
It.will.be difficult that the deputies approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal.
'It will be difficult that the deputies approve the proposal.'
(Raposo 1987: 86)

In (3), the infinitive agrees in person and number with subject *os deputados*. This same agreement is ungrammatical in (3), where the infinitival clause is introduced by the finite complementizer *que* 'that'.

The inflected infinitive can be used occasionally in a main clause, more specifically in a root exclamative, as in (4) and (5):

- (4) *Poder-es tu ajudar-me!* (EP)
To.be.able-AGR2.SG you to.help-me
'If only you could help me!' (Madeira 1994: 186)

- (5) *Nós, desligar-mos nossos telemóveis?* (EP)
We, to.turn.off-AGR.1.PL our mobile.phones
'Us, turning off our mobile phones?' (Clarke 2013: 5)

In these sentences, the inflected infinitive is not selected by a verb in a matrix clause and constitutes therefore the main verb of the sentence.

The subject of the inflected infinitive is nominative, as can be seen when we substitute the referential subject of (3) by a pronoun. Pronouns are case-marked

in EP. Only the nominative pronoun *eu* 'I' can function as subject (6), and not the oblique clitic pronoun *mim* 'me' (6):

(6) a. *Será difícil eu aprovar a proposta.* (EP)

It.will.be difficult I approve-AGR.1.SG the proposal

'It will be difficult for me to approve the proposal'

(adapted from Raposo 1987:86)

b. **Será difícil mim aprovar a proposta.* (EP)

It.will.be difficult me to.approve-AGR.1.SG the proposal

'It will be difficult for me to accept the proposal'

(adapted from Raposo 1987:86)

We can therefore conclude that the subject of the inflected infinitive bears nominative case.

Since EP is a pro-drop language, we expect that the subject can also be null. This is indeed the case, as seen in (7):

(7) *Será difícil aprovar-em a proposta.* (EP)

It.will.be difficult approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal

'It will be difficult for the deputies to accept the proposal'

(adapted from Raposo 1987:86)

The possible positions of the subject vary according to the type of clause in which the inflected infinitive appears. With declarative and epistemic complements, the lexical subject has to follow the inflected infinitive, as in (8):

(8) a. *Eu afirmo ter-em os deputados/*os deputados*

I claim to.have-AGR.3.PL the deputies/the deputies

ter-em trabalhado pouco. (EP)

to.have-AGR.3.PL worked little

'I claim that the deputies have worked little.' (Raposo 1987: 87)

b. *O Manel pensa ter-em os amigos/*os amigos*

The Manel thinks to.have-AGR.3.PL the friends/the friends

ter-em levado o livro. (EP)

to.have-AGR.3.PL taken the book.

'Manel thinks that his friends have taken the book.' (Raposo 1987: 98)

In unselected clauses, on the other hand, the postverbal position seems to be out in case of lexical verbs. When we invert the order of the subject and inflected infinitive in (6), here repeated in (9), we have an ungrammatical result (9):

(9) a. *Será difícil eles aprovar-em a proposta.* (EP)

It.will.be difficult they approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal

'It will be difficult for them to accept the proposal' (Raposo 1987:86)

b. **Será difícil aprovar-em eles a proposta* (EP)

It.will.be difficult to.approve-AGR.3.PL they the proposal

'It will be difficult for them to accept the proposal'

(adapted from Raposo 1987: 86)

However, when the inflected infinitive is an auxiliary verb, inversion is optional:

(10) a. *Surpreende-me eles ter-em perdido o comboio.* (EP)

It.surprises me they to.have-AGR.3.PL missed the train

'It surprises me that they have missed the train.' (Madeira 1994: 183)

b. *Surpreende-me ter-em eles perdido o comboio.* (EP)

It.surprises me to.have-AGR.3.PL they missed the train

'It surprises me that they have missed the train.' (Madeira 1994: 183)

Factive complements behave as subject clauses with respect to the subject position (Madeira 1994: 183), as can be seen in (11) and (12).

(11) a. *Lamento eles ter-em perdido os documentos.* (EP)

I.regret they to.have-AGR.3.PL lost the documents

'I regret that they have lost the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)

b. *Lamento ter-em eles perdido os documentos.* (EP)

I.regret to.have-AGR.3.PL they lost the documents

- 'I regret that they have lost the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)
- (12) a. *Lamento eles perder-em os documentos.* (EP)
 I.regret they to.lose-AGR.3.PL the documents
 'I regret that they lose the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)
- b. **Lamento perder-em eles os documentos.* (EP)
 I.regret to.lose-AGR.3.PL they the documents
 'I regret that they lose the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)

When the inflected infinitive is an auxiliary, as in (11), both orders are allowed; whereas only the preverbal subject position is allowed for lexical verbs, as in (12).

Inflected infinitives show a different pattern of clitic placement from bare infinitives (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005). For instance, in adjuncts that are introduced by a preposition, the clitic can appear in proclisis and enclisis when the verb is a bare infinitive (13), but has to be enclitic in the case of an inflected infinitive (13):

- (13) a. *Para vê-la outra vez, faria tudo.* (EP)
 for to.see-her.CL another time, I.would.do everything
 'In order to see her one more time, I would do everything.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 677)
- b. *Para a ver outra vez, faria tudo.* (EP)
 for her.CL to.see another time, I.would.do everything
 'In order to see her one more time, I would do everything.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 677)
- c. *Para a ver-mos outra vez, faríamos tudo.* (EP)
 for her.CL to.see-AGR.1.PL another time, we.would.do everything
 'In order for us to see her one more time, we would do everything.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 683)
- d. **Para ver-mo-la outra vez, faríamos tudo.* (EP)
 for to.see-AGR.1.PL- her.CL another time, we.would.do everything
 'In order for us to see her one more time, we would do everything.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 683)

In root infinitival clauses, as for instance an exclamative, the clitic can only appear in enclitic position, as shown in (14):

- (14) a. *Tu, dizer-es-me a verdade ...!* (EP)
 you to.tell-AGR.2.SG-me.CL the truth
 'You, telling me the truth ...!' (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 684)
- b. **Tu, me dizer-es a verdade ...!* (EP)
 you me.CL to.tell-AGR.2.SG the truth
 'You, telling me the truth ...!' (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 684)

Enclisis is also the only possibility in infinitival clauses which are the complement to epistemic verbs (15) and in subject infinitival clauses (16):

- (15) a. *A Maria disse ter-em-no visto ontem.* (EP)
 the Mary said to.have-AGR.3.PL-him.CL seen yesterday
 'Mary said that they saw him yesterday.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 684)
- b. **A Maria disse o ter-em visto ontem.* (EP)
 the Mary said him-CL to.have-AGR.3.PL seen yesterday
 'Mary said that they saw him yesterday.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 684)
- (16) a. *Convidar-mos-te para a festa seria uma boa ideia.* (EP)
 to.invite-AGR.1.PL-you.CL for the party would.be a good idea
 'To invite you to the party would be a good idea.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 684)
- b. **Te convidar-mos para a festa seria uma boa ideia.*
 (EP)
 you.CL to.invite-AGR.1.PL for the party would.be a good idea
 'To invite you to the party would be a good idea.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 684)

However, enclisis is not allowed when negation or an operator is present in the clause. In that case, as shown in (17), (18), and (19) only proclisis is allowed:

- (17) a. *Tu, não me dizer-es a verdade...!* (EP)
 you not to.me-CL to.tell-AGR.2.SG the truth
 'You, not telling me the truth . . .!' (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 685)
- b. **Tu, não dizeres-me a verdade...!* (EP)
 you not to.tell-AGR.2.SG-to.me-CL the truth
 'You, not telling me the truth . . .!' (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 685)
- (18) a. *A Maria disse só ontem o ter-em visto.* (EP)
 the Mary said only yesterday him.CL to.have-AGR.3.PL seen
 'Mary said that only yesterday did they see him.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 685)
- b. **A Maria disse só ontem terem-no visto.* (EP)
 the Mary said only yesterday to.have-AGR.3.PL-him.CL seen
 'Mary said that only yesterday did they see him.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 685)
- (19) a. *Não te convidarmos para a festa seria uma boa ideia.* (EP)
 not you.CL to.invite-AGR.1.PL for the party would.be a good
 idea
 'Not to invite you to the party would be a good idea.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 685)
- b. **Não convidarmos-te para a festa seria uma boa ideia.* (EP)
 not to.invite-AGR.1.PL-you.CL for the party would.be a good
 idea
 'Not to invite you to the party would be a good idea.'
 (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 685)

The three contexts in which enclisis was optional (as shown above), only allow proclisis when a negation or an operator precedes the verb (Raposo & Uriageka 2005: 685).

2.1.3 Selection

The inflected infinitive can be found in different embedded contexts. Firstly, it can appear in a subject sentence as seen in (3). Secondly, it can appear in a clause complement to factives (20), declaratives (21) and epistemic verbs (22):

(20) *Nós lamentamos eles ter-em recebido pouco dinheiro.* (EP)
We regret they to.have-AGR.3.PL received little money
'We regret that they have received little money.' (Raposo 1987: 97)

(21) *Eu afirmo ter-em os deputados trabalhado pouco.* (EP)
I claim to.have-AGR.3.PL the deputies worked little
'I claim that the deputies have worked little.' (Raposo 1987: 87)

(22) *O Manel pensa ter-em os amigos levado o livro.* (EP)
The Manel thinks to.have-AGR.3.PL the friends taken the book.
'Manel thinks that his friends have taken the book.' (Raposo 1987: 98)

When the inflected infinitive is selected for by a declarative or epistemic verb, the infinitive is usually an auxiliary; lexical verbs are marginally allowed but only when they denote a generic event or are stative verbs (Madeira 1994: 182; Ambar 1994, 1999).

The inflected infinitive can also be found with perception and causative verbs, but its use is subject to a restriction: it is only allowed when the lexical subject of the infinitive intervenes between the infinitive and the causative (23)/perception verb (24) respectively:

(23) a. *Eu fiz os alunos escrever-em a carta.* (EP)
I made the students to.write-AGR.3.PL the paper
'I made the students write the paper.' (Sitaridou 2007: 225)
b. **Eu fiz escrever-em os alunos a carta.* (EP)
I made to.write-AGR.3.PL the students the paper

'I made the students write the paper.'

- (24) a. *A Maria viu as amigas a chorar-em.* (EP)
The Maria saw the friends to cry-AGR.3.PL
'Maria saw her friends cry.' (Madeira 1994: 180)
- b. **A Maria viu chorar-em as amigas.* (EP)
The Maria saw to.cry-AGR.3.PL the friends
'Maria saw her friends cry.' (adapted from Madeira 1994: 180)

Thirdly, we find inflected infinitives in adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition, as shown in (25):

- (25) *A Maria entrou em casa sem os meninos ouvir-em.* (EP)
The Mary entered in house without the children to.hear-AGR.3.PL
'Mary entered the house without the children hearing her.'
(Raposo 1987: 97)

The inflected infinitive is more frequent in clausal adjuncts than the bare infinitive.

The inflected infinitive cannot appear as a complement to every verb that selects an infinitival complement; it is not allowed as the complement of a volitional (26), a modal (27) or an aspectual (28) verb² :

- (26) a. **Eu desejava os deputados ter-em trabalho mais.* (EP)
I wished the deputies to.have-AGR.3.PL worked more
'I wished that the deputies had worked more.' (Raposo 1987: 88)
- b. **Eu desejava ter-em os deputados trabalho mais.*(EP)
I wished to.have-AGR.3.PL the deputies worked more
'I wished the deputies had worked more.' (Raposo 1987: 88)

² These verbs are restructuring verbs. There seems to be a ban on inflected infinitives as complements to restructuring verbs; however, see Pountain (1995) and Vincent (1996) for some counterexamples (Adam Ledgeway, personal communication).

- (27) **Os meninos devem estar-em doentes.* (EP)
 The boys must to.be-AGR.3PL ill
 ‘The boys must be ill.’ (Fieis & Madeira 2014: 2)
- (28) **Os meninos começam a estar-em doentes.* (EP)
 The boys started to to.be.AGR.3.PL ill
 ‘The boys started to be ill.’ (Fieis & Madeira 2014: 2)

2.1.4 Movement and control

Movement out of a clause with an inflected infinitive is heavily constrained. Firstly, raising is impossible out of an inflected infinitive:

- (29) a. *Parecia as estrelas sorrir-em.* (EP)
 It.seems the stars to.smile-AGR.3.PL
 ‘It seems that the stars smile.’ (Quicoli 1996: 62)
- b. **As estrelas pareciam sorrir-em.* (EP)
 The stars they.seem to.smile-AGR.3.PL
 ‘The stars seem to smile.’ (adapted from Quicoli 1996: 62)
- c. *As estrelas pareciam sorrir.* (EP)
 The stars they.seem to.smile
 ‘The stars seem to smile.’ (Quicoli 1996: 62)

As seen in (29), a raising verb like *parecer* ‘to seem’, can select an inflected infinitive as its complement. If the subject of the infinitival clause raised to the matrix subject position, only a non-inflected complement is allowed (29). Extraction of the subject means loss of inflection on the infinitive (29).

Secondly, A'-movement to the edge of the clause seems impossible. Embedded interrogative clauses (30) or relative clauses (31) cannot contain an inflected infinitive:

- (30) a. **Eu não sei quem eles convidar-em para o jantar.* (EP)
 I not know who they to.invite-AGR.3.PL for the dinner
 ‘I do not know who they invite for dinner.’ (Raposo 1987: 103)

- b. **Nós não sabemos quem convidar-mos para o jantar.* (EP)
 We not know who to.invite-AGR.1.PL for the dinner
 ‘We do not know who to invite for dinner.’ (Raposo 1987: 103)
- (31) a. **Eu trouxe a faca com que eles cortar-em o queijo.* (EP)
 I brought the knife with which they to.cut-AGR.3.PL the cheese
 ‘I brought the knife for them to cut the cheese with.’ (Raposo 1987: 103)
- b. **Eles trouxeram uma faca com que cortar-em o queijo.* (EP)
 They brought the knife with which to.cut-AGR.3.PL the cheese
 ‘They brought a knife to cut the cheese with.’ (Raposo 1987: 103)

With epistemic and declarative verbs, as in (32), however, *wh*-extraction is possible (Raposo 1987: 98), as well as with adjuncts (33):

- (32) *Que amigos è que o Manel pensa ter-em levado o livro?* (EP)
 Which friends it.is that the Manel thinks to.have-AGR.3.PL taken the book
 ‘Of which friends does Manel think that they took the book?’
 (Raposo 1985: 98)
- (33) *A quem é que ele pediu para tu telefonar-es?* (EP)
 To who it.is that he asked for you to.call-AGR.2.SG
 ‘Who did he ask you to call?’

In these examples, an argument of the embedded infinitive has been moved out of the infinitival clause: in (32), the *wh*-element is the subject of the embedded clause; in (33) the indirect object is *wh*-fronted.

The subject of an inflected infinitival clause can be controlled by an argument in the matrix clause. However, the inflected infinitive is only allowed in a subset of control sentences. We adopt here the division into obligatory control (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC). The first type can be further divided into partial and exhaustive control (Landau 2000, 2004).

The inflected infinitive is not allowed with obligatory subject control, as in (34).

- (34) a. *Nós conseguimos sair* (EP)
 We managed to.leave
 ‘We managed to leave.’ (Pires 2001: 158)
- b. **Nós conseguimos sair-mos.* (EP)
 We managed to.leave-AGR.1.PL
 ‘We managed to leave.’ (adapted from Pires 2001: 158)

The subject of the embedded verb *sair* is necessarily identical to the subject of the main clause. This is therefore a case of exhaustive OC. In contrast, partial OC clauses allow an inflected infinitive:

- (35) *O Pedro prometeu à Ana reunir-em-se em Braga.* (EP)
 The Pedro promised to.the Ana to.meet-AGR.3.PL-refl in Braga
 ‘Pedro promised Ana to meet in Braga.’ (Sheehan 2013: 3)

In case of NOC, an inflected infinitive is also allowed:

- (36) *Prometemos à Maria comprar-mos-lhe um present.* (EP)
 We.promised to.the Maria to-buy-AGR.1.PL-to.her.CL a present
 ‘We promised Maria to buy her a present.’ (Madeira 1994: 181)

It depends thus on the type of subject control whether an inflected infinitive is allowed.

Object control clauses, on the other hand, always allow inflected infinitives:

- (37) *Eu persuadi os rapazes a vir-em mais cedo.* (EP)
 I convinced the boys to to.come-AGR.3.PL more early
 I convinced the boys to come earlier.’ (Madeira 1994: 181)

In (37), the object of the main clause *os rapazes* is the subject of the embedded infinitive, which agrees in person and number with it. This agreement is optional (Sheehan & Parafita Couto 2010: 2).

2.2 Brazilian Portuguese (BP)

2.2.1 Morphology and history

The situation for Brazilian is very similar to the one described above for EP. The inflection markers are the same as the ones in EP, but since the BP verbal system is reduced to four persons, BP shows agreement on the infinitive only for the plural persons, as seen in (38):

(38) <i>(eu) falar-∅</i>	to.speak-AGR.1.SG
<i>(você, ele, ela) falar-∅</i>	to.speak-AGR.2/3.SG
<i>(nós) falar-mos</i>	to.speak-AGR.1.PL
<i>(vocês, eles, elas) falar-em</i>	to.speak-AGR.2/3.PL

The verb paradigm seems to reduce further, as the first person plural forms are usually replaced by *a gente* ‘people’ with a third person singular verb.

If we compare these inflectional endings to the finite verb inflection, given in (39), we see that the markers are the same, except for the first person singular:

(39) <i>(eu) fal-o</i>	‘I speak’
<i>(você, ele, ela) fal-a-s</i>	‘You speak, he/she speaks’
<i>(nós) fal-a-mos</i>	‘We speak’
<i>(vocês, eles, elas) fal-a-m</i>	‘You/they speak’

However, the first person singular is marked with an *-o* only in the indicative present; in the other tenses and moods this marker is absent.

The origin of the inflected infinitive in BP is obviously the same as the origin of the inflected infinitive in EP. Its distribution and use are however slightly different as will be shown in the next section.

2.2.2 Distribution

The inflected infinitive can be used both in finite and non-finite contexts. As in EP, the finite contexts are restricted to exclamatives. In embedded contexts, the inflected infinitive cannot be introduced by the finite complementizer *que* (40). Only finite verbs can be introduced by *que* (40).

- (40) a. **É fácil que eles supor-em as coisas.* (BP)
It.is easy that they to.suppose-AGR.3.PL the things
'It is easy that they suppose the things.' (Da Luz 1998: 8)
- b. *Será fácil eles supor-em as coisas.* (BP)
It.will.be easy they to.suppose-AGR.3.PL the things
'It will be easy that they suppose the things.' (Da Luz 1998: 9)
- c. *Será fácil que eles suponham as coisas.* (BP)
It.will.be easy that they suppose.SUBJ the things
'It will be easy that they suppose the things.' (Da Luz 1998: 9)

In Brazilian Portuguese, both subject positions are allowed with epistemic, declarative, factive and volitional verbs (Da Luz 1998: 10). The subject can be a full DP, a pronoun or null.

Another difference is that enclisis on the inflected infinitive is not possible in European Portuguese, but is allowed in Brazilian Portuguese (Da Luz 1998: 11).

2.2.3 Selection

Generally, the inflected infinitive is found in the same infinitival contexts in BP as in EP. Firstly, it can be used in a subject clause as in (41):

- (41) *Não é óbvio passar-mos no exame* (BP)
Not it.is obvious to.pass-AGR1.PL in.the exam
'It is not obvious that we pass the exam.' (Da Luz 1998: 9)

Secondly, the inflected infinitive is used as complement to various types of verbs, such as epistemic (42), declarative (43) and factives (44):

- (42) *Eu penso terem os deputados trabalhado pouco* (BP)
 I think to.have-AGR.3.PL the deputies worked little
 ‘I think that the deputies have worked little.’ (Da Luz 1998: 12)
- (43) *O presidente afirmou se reunirem (sempre) às 6.* (BP)
 The chair claimed REFL to.meet-AGR.3.PL (always) at six
 ‘The chair said that they always meet at six.’ (Modesto 2009: 85)
- (44) *O presidente detestou fumar-em perto dele.* (BP)
 The chair hated to.smoke-AGR.3.PL around of.him
 ‘The chair hated that people smoked around him.’ (Modesto 2009: 88)

Furthermore, the inflected infinitive can be complement to a verb of perception, as in the following example:

- (45) *Ontem eu vi as Rockettes dançar-em.* (BP)
 Yesterday I saw the Rockettes to.dance-AGR.3.PL
 ‘Yesterday I saw the Rockettes dance.’ (Falcão Martins 2011: 27)

A difference between the use of the inflected infinitive in Brazilian and European Portuguese is that in Brazilian Portuguese, inflected infinitives are grammatical also as complements to volitionals (Da Luz 1998: 9). An example is given in (46):

- (46) *O presidente preferiu se reunir-em às 6.* (BP)
 The president preferred REFL to.meet-AGR.3.PL at.the six
 ‘The president preferred that they would meet at six.’
 (Modesto 2009: 85)

Other forbidden contexts in EP are grammatical for some BP speakers, such as e.g. aspectuals (47):

(47) %*Vocês não vão gostar quando os filhos de vocês*
 You not go to.like when the children of you
começarem a serem mal- tratados (BP)
 start to to.be-AGR.3.PL ill-treated
 ‘You’ll not like it when your children start being abused.’
 (Fieis & Madeira 2014: 8)

Furthermore, as in EP, the inflected infinitive is also found in adjuncts:

(48) *Fizeram-no para trabalhar-em felizes.* (BP)
 They.did-it for to.work-AGR.3.PL happy
 ‘They did it to work happily.’ (Da Luz 1998: 10)

2.2.4 Movement and control

An inflected infinitive is allowed in a relative clause, as can be seen in (49):

(49) *Não terão com que se aparelhar-em para a*
 not they.will.have with what REFL to.prepare-AGR.3PL for the
safra vindoura. (BP)
 harvest coming
 ‘They will not have [anything] with which to prepare themselves for the
 coming harvest.’ (Falcão Martins 2011: 29)

The head of the relative clause is the object of the inflected infinitive; there is no matrix verb in the relative clause on which the inflected infinitive depends.

In contrast with EP, in BP an inflected infinitive is possible in case of subject control; some dialects even allow inflection in case of exhaustive subject control (as seen with the aspectual in (47)). In case of object control, an inflected infinitive is possible too:

(50) *O Pedro convenceu a Dani a viajarem amanhã.* (BP)
 The Pedro convinced the Dani to to.travel-AGR.3.PL tomorrow.

‘Pedro convinced Dani that they should travel tomorrow.’

(Modesto 2009: 86)

The object of the matrix clause (*a Dani*) is understood as part of the subject of the inflected infinitive.

2.3 Galician

2.3.1 Morphology and history

The inflected infinitive is also productive in Galician, a language spoken in the North-West of Spain. The Galician inflected infinitive shows the same paradigm as EP, except for some phonological differences: some dialects have a 1st and 3rd singular ending in *-e* (Longa 1994: 24, fn. 1). The infinitival forms do not express temporal or modal information. The paradigm is given in (51) for the verb *andar*, ‘to walk’:

(51) <i>(eu) andar-Ø</i>	(I) to.walk-AGR.1.SG
<i>(ti) andar-es</i>	(you) to.walk-AGR.2.SG
<i>(el) andar-Ø</i>	(he) to.walk-AGR.3.SG
<i>(nós) andar-mos</i>	(we) to.walk-AGR.1.PL
<i>(vós) andar-des</i>	(you) to.walk-AGR.2.PL
<i>(eles,) andar-en</i>	(they) to.walk-AGR.3.PL

The endings are the same for all verb classes.

When we compare the inflectional endings with those of the finite inflection, we see that most endings are the same, except for the first person singular, which is *-o* in the present indicative. The paradigm for the present indicative is shown in (52):

(52) <i>(eu) and-o</i>	‘I walk’
<i>(ti) and-a-s</i>	‘You walk’
<i>(el) and-a</i>	‘He/she walks’

<i>(nós) and-a-mos</i>	'We walk'
<i>(vós) and-a-des</i>	'You walk'
<i>(eles) and-a-n</i>	'They walk'

On the origin of the Galician inflected infinitive, the same two hypotheses have been proposed as for the Portuguese inflected infinitive. The first hypothesis is that the inflected infinitive is a spontaneous creation; the second hypothesis proposes that it developed from the Latin imperfect subjunctive (Ferreiro Fernández 1995: 300).

Some Galician dialects have extended the use of the agreement endings also to other non-finite forms such as the gerund (Ferreiro Fernández 1995: 302), but these forms will not be discussed in this thesis.

There is an ongoing loss of the inflected infinitive in Galician, which may have been triggered by an increase in the occurrence of overt subjects with infinitives (Parafita Couto 2002: 63). There is also a lot of dialectal variation with regard to which verbs can select an inflected infinitive as its complement (Sheehan & Parafita Couto 2010).

2.3.2 Distribution

As in Portuguese, the inflected infinitive mostly appears in embedded contexts, as in (53). This embedded clause cannot be introduced by the finite complementizer *que* 'that' (53):

- (53) a. *É doado supoñer-en as cousas.* (Gal.)
 it.is easy to.suppose-AGR.3.PL the things
 'It is easy that they suppose the things.' (Longa 1994: 25)
- b. **É doado que supoñer-en as cousas.* (Gal.)
 it.is easy that to.suppose-AGR.3.PL the things
 'It is easy that they suppose the things.' (Longa 1994: 25)

In these two examples, the infinitive agrees with its non-expressed, third person plural subject, which is marked by the inflectional ending *-en*.

However, the inflected infinitive can also be used as a main verb in exclamatives, as seen in (54) and (55):

- (54) *¿Matares ti un home?* (Gal.)
 to.kill-AGR.2.SG you a man
 ‘You killing a man?’ (AMR 1986: 387)

- (55) *¡Que milagre vires hoxe tan cedo!* (Gal.)
 What miracle to.come-AGR.2.SG today so early
 ‘What a miracle, you coming so early today!’ (AMR 1986: 387)

In these sentences, we see the inflected infinitive used independently in a main clause, agreeing with the pronominal subject *ti* in (54) and agreeing with a null subject in (55).

Thirdly, the inflected infinitive can be substantivized. The resulting DP can be selected by a preposition, as in the examples in (56):

- (56) a. *Co teu portár-es-te asi,*
 With your to.behave-AGR.2.SG-CL.2.SG like.this
vas-nos virar tolos (Gal.)
 you.go-CL.1.PL.ACC to.turn crazy
 ‘With you behaving like that, you will make us crazy.’
 (AMR 1986: 386)
- b. *con aquel chamárenlles ás cousas polo seu,*
 with that to.call-AGR.3.PL-to.them the things by-the their
nome aclararon a situación. (Gal.)
 name they.clarified the situation
 ‘By calling the things by their name, they clarified the
 situation’ (AMR 1986: 386)

The presence of the D heads such as the possessive pronoun *teu* ‘your’ (56) or the demonstrative *aquel* (56) show that the inflected infinitive is treated as a

noun. The infinitive keeps its argument structure, since it can still appear with a direct object, as in (56).

The order of the inflected infinitive and its subject is quite free in adjunct clauses in Galician. The subject can appear both pre- and postverbally, as can be seen in (57):

- (57) a. *Para ir-es ti ó partido, ...* (Gal.)
 For to.go-AGR.2.SG you to.the game
- b. *Para ti ir-es ó partido, ...* (Gal.)
 For you to.go-AGR.2.SG to.the game
- c. *Para ir-es ó partido ti, ...* (Gal.)
 For to.go-AGR.2.SG to.the game you
 ‘For you to go to the game...’ (Parafita Couto 2002: 46-7)

The personal pronoun *ti* ‘you’ can immediately follow the verb (57), can immediately precede the inflected infinitive (57) or can appear at the end of the clause (57).

This is however not the case for subject clauses, where the subject has to follow the infinitive, as is shown in (58):

- (58) a. *Será difícil aprobar-en eles a proposta.* (Gal.)
 It.will.be difficult to.approve-AGR.3.PL they the proposal
 ‘It will be difficult that they approve the proposal.’ (S&PC 2011: 2)
- b. **Será difícil eles aprobar-en a proposta.* (Gal.)
 It.will.be difficult they to.approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal
 ‘It will be difficult that they approve the proposal.’ (S&PC 2011: 2)

The sentence is only grammatical when the subject *eles* ‘they’ follows the infinitive. The same holds for complements of declarative clauses, as can be concluded from the examples in (59):

- (59) a. *O mestre afirmou faceren os nenos as cousas.* (Gal.)
 The teacher claimed to.make-AGR.3.PL the boys the things

- ‘The teacher claimed that the boys made the things.’ (Longa 1994: 27)
- b. *O mestre afirmou os nenos faceren as cousas.* (Gal.)
 The teacher claimed the boys to.make-AGR.3.PL the things
 ‘The teacher claimed that the boys made the things.’ (Longa 1994: 27)

The subject of the inflected infinitive can be a full DP, pronominal (as in (58) above), and null as in the following example:

- (60) *Non esta claro aprobár-mo-lo exame.* (Gal.)
 not it.is clear to.pass-AGR.1.PL-the exam
 ‘It is not clear that we pass the exam.’ (Longa 1994: 26)

In (60), the first person plural subject is not expressed by a pronoun or a full DP.

With respect to clitic object pronouns, in affirmative clauses only enclisis is allowed. In negative clauses or when anteposed elements are present, both orders are allowed. Proclisis is preferred, but enclisis is also accepted (Álvarez 2003: 14):

- (61) a. *É moi feo non lles ir-mos á voda.* (Gal.)
 It.is. very ugly not to.them to.go-AGR1.PL to.the wedding
 ‘It is very ugly that we do not go to their wedding.’
 (Álvarez 2003: 14)
- b. *É moi feo non ír-mos-lles á voda.* (Gal.)
 It.is very ugly not to.go-AGR.1.PL-them.CL to.the wedding
 ‘It is very ugly that we do not go to their wedding.’
 (Álvarez 2003: 14)

As can be seen in (61), both orders are allowed.

2.3.3 Selection

The inflected infinitive can be used as in subject clauses as in (53). Furthermore, it can be used with impersonal verbs, as in (62) and (63):

- (62) *Cómpre non deixár-mo-nos levar pola ironía* (Gal.)
 It.is.necessary not to.let-AGR.1.PL-CL.us take by.the irony
 ‘We must not get carried away by the irony.’ (AMR 1986: 389)
- (63) *Convén ir-des abrindo camiño* (Gal.)
 It.is.convient to.go-AGR.2.PL paving way
 ‘It is convient that you go to pave the way.’ (AMR 1986: 389)

Furthermore, it can be used as complement to declarative verbs, such as *afirmar* ‘to claim’. An example is given in (64):

- (64) *O mestre afirmou fácer-mo-las cousas.* (Gal.)
 the teacher claimed to.make-AGR.1.PL-the things
 ‘The teacher claimed that we did the things.’ (Longa 1994: 27)

It is also found as a complement to nouns (65) or adjectives (66):

- (65) *Teñen a avantaxe sobre nós de coñecer-en ben*
 they.have the advantage above us of to.know-AGR.3.PL well
o latin. (Gal.)
 the latin
 ‘They have the advantage to us of knowing Latin well.’
 (AMR 1986: 388)
- (66) *Sodes, segundo o xulgado, merecentes de recibir-des*
 you.are, according.to the court, worthy of to.receive-AGR.2.PL
este premio. (Gal.)
 this award
 ‘According to the court, you are worthy of receiving this award.’
 (AMR 1986: 388)

Finally, we can find inflected infinitives in clausal adjuncts. The adjuncts can be introduced by various prepositions. Examples are given in (67):

- (67) a. *Fixérono para traballar-en ledos.* (Gal.)
 They.made-3sgAcc for to.work-AGR.3.PL happy
 ‘They did this to work happily.’ (Longa 1994: 28)
- b. *Isto non é para te recoller-es.* (Gal.)
 this not is for yourself to.retire-AGR.2.SG
 ‘This is not for yourself to collect.’ (Longa 1994: 28)

In contrast with Portuguese, the inflected infinitive cannot be used as complement to factive (68) or epistemic verbs (69):

- (68) **Lamentei traballar-en os meus amigos.* (Gal.)
 I.regretted to.work-AGR.3.PL the my friends
 ‘I regretted that my friends worked.’ (Longa 1994: 27)
- (69) **Xoan pensa xantar-en os pais moito.* (Gal.)
 Xoan thinks to.eat-AGR.3.PL the parents a-lot
 Xoan thinks that the parents eat a lot.’ (Longa 1994: 27)

Like in Portuguese, the inflected infinitive cannot be found after modals. An example with the *deber* is given in (70):

- (70) **Deben redactar-en ese documento para assina-lo.* (Gal.)
 They.must to.write-AGR.3.PL this document for to.sign-it
 ‘They have to write this document in order to sign it.’
 (De Freitas 2012:29)

The inflected infinitive cannot be used as a complement to a perception verb, as in (71):

- (71) **Eu vin os nenínos a traballar-em.* (Gal.)
 I saw the kids to to.work-AGR.3.PL
 ‘I saw the kids working.’ (Sheehan & Parafito Couto 2011: 8)

Álvarez, Monteagudo and Regueira (1986: 391) say in their grammar that the inflected infinitive can appear after perception verbs, but does so very rarely. The same holds for causative verbs; also here, a non-inflected infinitive is preferred (Álvarez, Monteagudo & Regueira 1986: 391).

2.3.4 Movement and control

Movement out of a clause with an inflected infinitive is limited. As in Portuguese, raising out of an inflected infinitival clause is impossible (Sheehan & Parafito Couto 2011: 4). Some speakers do however accept the sentence in (72):

- (72) *Os nenos parecen comer-en.* (Gal.)
 The boys seem to.eat-AGR.3.PL
 ‘The boys seem to eat.’

Here, the subject of the raising verb is also the subject of the inflected infinitival clause.

The inflected infinitive cannot be used in an embedded question (73) or within a relative clause (74):

- (73) **Nós non sabemos a quen convidar-mos.* (Gal.)
 We not know a who to.invite-AGR.1.PL
 ‘We do not know who to invite.’ (S&PC 2011: 9)
- (74) **Ela deunos un can para querer-mos.* (Gal.)
 She gave.us a dog for to.love-AGR.1.PL
 ‘She gave us a dog to love.’ (S&PC 2011: 9)

In these contexts, the uninflected infinitive is used instead (AM&R 1986: 390-2).

With respect to control, Galician is similar to Portuguese in the sense that it does not allow inflected infinitives with subject controlled verbs. In case of object control, the inflected infinitive is optional (Sheehan & Parafita Couto 2011).

2.4 Old Neapolitan

2.4.1 Morphology and history

The paradigm is given in (75). Only the plural forms show inflection markers, which are added to the infinitive:

(75)	<i>(yo) amare-∅</i>	(I) to.love-AGR.1.SG
	<i>(tu) amare-∅</i>	(you) to.love-AGR.2.SG
	<i>(illo) amare-∅</i>	(he) to.love-AGR.3.SG
	<i>(nuy) amare-mo</i>	(we) to.love-AGR.1.PL
	<i>(vuy) amare-vo/ve</i>	(you) to.love-AGR.2.PL
	<i>(lloro) amare-no</i>	(they) to.love-AGR.3.PL

For the second person plural, also *-ve* is attested, which is morphologically identical to the *-vo*; in Neapolitan, unstressed final vowels are generally reduced to [ə]. As in Portuguese, the inflected infinitive is marked for person but not for tense. The inflected infinitive is marked by a particle, *de* or *a*, which differentiates it from its non-inflected counterpart (Vincent 1996: 393).

Sometimes, the inflection is added to the apocopated infinitive, leading to the following paradigm:

(76)	<i>(yo) amar-∅</i>	(I) to.love-AGR.1.SG
	<i>(tu) amar-∅</i>	(you) to.love-AGR.2.SG
	<i>(illo) amar-∅</i>	(he) to.love-AGR.3.SG
	<i>(nuy) amar-mo</i>	(we) to.love-AGR.1.PL
	<i>(vuy) amar-vo/ve</i>	(you) to.love-AGR.2.PL
	<i>(lloro) amar-no</i>	(they)) to.love-AGR.3.PL

These apocopated forms are however less frequent than the ones in (75) (Ledgeway 2009: 584). The endings in both paradigms are the same for all verb classes. The adjunction of these endings often causes a stress shift forwards, as happens with the adjunction of enclitic pronoun. This might indicate that these

forms have perhaps not morphologised as the non-apocopated forms (Adam Ledgeway, personal communication).

When we compare the endings with the finite verb inflection, we notice that the verb endings are the same, except for the second person plural:

(77)	<i>(yo) amə (amo, amu)</i>	'I love'
	<i>(tu) amə (ame, ami)</i>	'you love'
	<i>(illo) amə (ama)</i>	'he loves'
	<i>(nuy) amammə (amammo)</i>	'we love'
	<i>(vuy) amatə (amate)</i>	'you love'
	<i>(lloro) amanə (amano)</i>	'they love'

As in the paradigm of the inflected infinitive, the singular forms all have the same ending (phonetically), which is [ə] but can be written as *o* or, very rarely, as *u* for the first person singular, as *e* or *i* for the second person singular and *a* (for the first conjugation) or *e* (for the other verbs) for the third person. In both the inflected infinitival forms and the indicative forms, the first person plural is marked by the ending *-mmo* and the third person plural by *-no*. The only difference is thus the second person plural.

Loporcaro (1986) has shown that the inflected infinitive was a productive phenomenon in Old Neapolitan and not just a literary invention as was previously thought (see e.g. Savj-Lopez 1900). The form is already attested in texts from the early 14th century. It is not a literary trait, since it also appears in the *Libro della Destructione de Troya*, which is considered to be written in Neapolitan without being heavily influenced by Latin or Tuscan (Loporcaro 1986: 200-1). The inflected infinitive had spread throughout the whole of Southern Italy by the late 15th century.

These forms are argued to derive from the Latin pluperfect indicative (Loporcaro 1986), which was used in old Neapolitan as conditional (cf. Ibero-Romance, e.g. *quisiera, pudiera*) The meaning of a conditional and infinitive can coincide, especially in embedded questions. Since the final vowel is reduced in Neapolitan, a conditional in (78) could have been reinterpreted as an inflected infinitive as in (78):

- (78) a. *Non saccio dove lo trovava*
 not I.know where it.objcl I.could.find
- b. *Non saccio dove lo trovare*
 not I.know where it.objcl to.find
 'I do not know where to find it.' (Ledgeway 2009: 588)

The inflected infinitive appeared first in the regular verb classes and spread later also to the irregular verbs with a rhizotonic perfect.

From the 16th century onwards, the inflected infinitive became more stylistically marked, appearing mostly in formal, documentary texts (Ledgeway 2009: 921). During this period, we see a relaxation of the syntactic principles that governed the use of the inflected infinitive (*ibidem*).

The lack of inflection for the singular has led to reinterpretation of these forms as canonical, non-inflected forms. These were then reinterpreted as bare infinitives licensing lexical subject. This caused the emergence of the personal infinitive and loss of the inflected infinitive (Ledgeway 2009: 590). To a lesser extent, inflection was also added to other non-finite verbs such as the gerund, the present participle, and the past participle (Vincent 1996, 1998; Ledgeway 2009; Loporcaro 1986), but these forms were lost as well.

2.4.2 Distribution

The distribution of the inflected infinitive is similar to the one described for Portuguese. As far as data allow us, this section will describe its distribution in possible and impossible contexts, as we have no negative evidence for obvious reasons. The use of the inflected infinitive is optional (Ledgeway 2009; Vincent 1996), as can be concluded from the following near minimal pair:

- (79) a. *chi so' venuti a dare-no-mme brega e vattagly*
 (ONeap.)
 who are come to to.give-AGR.3pl-to.me feud and battle
 'Who have come to me to give me feud and battle.'

(LDT 182.33-35, cited in Vincent 1996: 391)

b. *li quali cossì crudelemente so' venuti a destruyere tene e*
who so cruelly are come to destroy you and
la citate toa (ONeap.)
the city your

'Who have come so cruelly to destroy you and your city.'

(LDT 186.25-26, cited in Vincent 1996: 391)

The sentences are nearly the same from a semantic, syntactic and lexical viewpoint (Vincent 1996: 391), but only the infinitive of (79) is inflected.

The subject can be null, pronominal or a full DP. It can precede or follow the infinitive, as can be seen in the following near minimal pair:

(80) a. *per tanto pizola accaysune quanto fo quella de li*
for such small occasion as was that of the
Grieici essereno licenciate (ONeap.)
Greeks to.be-AGR.3.PL

'for such a small cause as was the one of the Greeks being sent away'

(LDT 75.10-11, cited in Ledgeway 2007: 927)

b. *per tanto pizola accaysune, quale fo chesta de*
for such small occasion which was that of
esserenno licenciate li Greci (ONeap.)
to.be-AGR.3.PL the Greeks

'for such a small cause, which was this of the Greeks being sent away'

(LDT 53.14-15, cited in Ledgeway 2007: 927)

The subject DP *li Gr(i)eci* 'the Greeks' can follow or precede the inflected infinitive *essereno* 'to be'.

Vincent (1998) argues that the relevant constraint for the subject of an inflected infinitive in Old Neapolitan is semantic as much as syntactic, since he finds examples where the agreement is *ad sensum* (Vincent 1998: 6) or where there is agreement with an argument from another clause which is not the subject.

The infinitive occurs mostly in non-finite contexts, However, the inflected infinitive can also be found after the finite complementizer *che*, according to a widespread model of anacolouthon (Ledgeway 2009: 925). An example is given in (81):

- (81) *Me pare che meritamente le raccontate tre vertute,*
 To.me it.seemsthat deservedly the told three virtues
l'una da l'altra causata, se possere-no ognuna da per
 the one by the other cause, REFL to.can-AGR.3PL each by for
sé per singulari odoriferi fiuri odorare. (ONeap.)
 Themselves for singular fragrant flowers smell
 'It seems to me that rightly the three said virtues, the one caused by the
 other, each of them can be smelled from its own fragrant flowers.'
 (Masuccio LXVI.28, cited in Ledgeway 2007: 925)

There seems to be no restriction on the type of verb: the infinitives of both lexical verbs and auxiliaries can be inflected (Ledgeway 2009: 929).

2.4.3 Selection

The inflected infinitive is attested in subject clauses, as seen in (82):

- (82) *Era cosa vulgare gectare-no le arme per l'aere.* (ONeap.)
 It.was thing vulgar to.throw-AGR.3.PL the weapons in the air
 'It was a vulgar act that they threw the weapons in the air.'
 (Brancati 184v.11 , cited in Ledgeway 2009: 923)

Furthermore, the inflected infinitive is often found as complement to a verb. (83) shows an example of a inflected infinitive complement to an epistemic verb; in (84) we have a factive complement; in (85) it is complement to a verb of perception:

- (83) *Non credevano de may lo vedere-no plu.* (ONeap.)
 Not they.believed of never him to.see-AGR.3.PL anymore
 ‘They did not expect to see him ever again.’
 (LDT 66.33, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 923)
- (84) *Nuy simo (con)tiente de no volere-mo canpare piú* (ONeap.)
 We are content of not to.want-AGR.1.PL live anymore
 ‘We are happy to not want to live anymore’.
 (De Rosa 52r.8-9, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 923)
- (85) *Vedimmo manifestamente li animali senza raysone questo*
 We.saw manifestly the animals without reason this
avere-no per usanza (ONeap.)
 to.have-AGR.3.PL for habit
 ‘We saw manifestly that the animals without reason had this as a habit.’
 (LDT 89.18-19, cited in Vincent 1996: 395)

The inflected infinitive can only occur as a complement of a verb of perception when the subject of the infinitive intervenes between the infinitive and the matrix verb (Vincent 1996: 402; Ledgeway 2009: 929).

Next to complement phrases, the inflected infinitive is found also in adjuncts, as in (86):

- (86) *Aprestavanoisse per volere-no descendere in terra* (ONeap.)
 They.prepared for to.want-AGR.3.PL go.down to earth
 ‘They got ready to disembark.’ (LDT 123.6, cited in Scida 1998: 177)

Furthermore, the inflected infinitive is selected by nouns (87) and adjectives (87):

- (87) a. *per che con desiderio de lo volere-no canoscere [...]* (ONeap.)
 because with wish to him to.want-AGR.3.PL to, know
 ‘because with the wish to want to know him, [...]’ (Vincent 1996: 395)
- b. *Stavano cossì ben disposti et acti de se*
 they.were so well willing and ready of REFL

volere-no ben defendere (ONeap.)
to.want-AGR.3.PL well to.defend
‘They were so wellwilling and ready to want to defend themselves
well’ (LDT 127.22-23, cited in Vincent 1996: 395)

When two infinitives are coordinated, either only the second form shows inflection (88), or both do (89) (Vincent 1996; Ledgeway 2010). Inflection is never found only on the first infinitive:

(88) *li Grieci erano costricti a voltare le spalle e*
the Greeks were forced to to.turn the shoulders and
fuger-no denante a li Troyani (ONeap.)
to.flee-AGR.3.PL in.front.of to the Trojans
‘The Greeks were forced to turn around and to flee in front of the Trojans.’
(LDT225.18-19, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 927-8)

(89) *Adunqua, ve plaza oramay movere-vo da questa*
So, to.you it.pleases now to.move-AGR.2.PL from this
vostra opinione, e mantinire-vo la fama [...] (ONeap.)
you opinion and to.keep-AGR.2.PL the fame
‘So, it pleases you now to move away from this opinion and keep the
fame [...]’ (LDT 216.33-34, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 927)

There are some contexts, in which an inflected infinitive is never found: after modals, causatives and after verbs of perception when the subject is not appearing immediately after the finite verb (Vincent 1996: 397). However, there are a few cases that appear to be exceptions to this generalization. An inflected infinitive can be selected by a modal verb when the infinitive is the second one in a series of two conjugated infinitives, as in (90):

(90) *[...] poteano largamente andare la gente per tempo plovioso, et*
They.could widely to.go the people in time rainy and
Recostare-no-sse in quilli luochy covierti [...] (ONeap.)
to.stay-AGR.3.PL-REFL in those places covered

‘the people could easily go [there] in rainy times and stay in these covered places’
(LDT 79.19-23, cited in Vincent 1996: 399)

Furthermore, there are few examples that contain inflected infinitives selected by the modal *potere* ‘can’, as in (91):

(91) *Et mira i cani che non ponno abagiare-no* (ONeap.)
And look the dogs which not they.can to.bark-AGR.3.PL
‘And look at the dogs which cannot bark.’
(Egloghe 1.56-60, cited in Vincent 1996: 400)

These examples can be explained by the necessity of rhyme in the texts (Vincent 1996: 401).

An inflected infinitive can also be found exceptionally as a complement to a causative verb (Ledgeway 2009: 930), as in the following example:

(92) *Lo pensiero del dì fa li cibi esser-no vili* (Oneap.)
The thought of.the day makes the food to.be-AGR.3.PL filthy
‘The thought of the day makes the food bad.’
(Brancati 75.15-16 cited in Ledgeway 2009: 930)

Usually, however, the causative auxiliary cannot be followed by an inflected infinitive (Vincent 1996, Ledgeway 2009: 929).

2.4.4 Movement and control

A’-movement to the edge of the clause is possible, as in (92), where we have a free relative:

(92) *Non sapenno che far-mo* (ONeap.)
not knowing what to.do-AGR.1.PL
‘not knowing what we should do’
(TVMA V.3, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 923)

There is no example of an inflected infinitive as a complement to the raising verbs *parere* and *mostrare*, which invariably select a non-inflected infinitive (Vincent 1996: 402; Ledgeway 2009: 932). This would lead us to conclude that subject raising out of an inflected infinitive is impossible as in the other languages described above. However, there are examples introduced by the preposition *da* ‘to’, which seem genuine cases of raising, as can be seen in the following example (Ledgeway 2009: 932):

(93) *Son certamente da esser-no remunerate* (ONeap.)
 They.are surely to to.be-AGR.3.PL remunerated
 ‘They surely have to be remunerated.’ (Ledgeway 2009: 932):

With respect to control, the inflected infinitive occurs in contexts of both obligatory control and non-obligatory control (Ledgeway 2007: 338). In the case of obligatory control, the controller can be both the subject (94) and the object (94).

(94) a. *se [nui] avertevamo de le andari-mo appriesso,[...]* (ONeap.)
 if [we] consider of them to.go-AGR.1.PL after
 ‘If we had intended to go after them, ..’
 (Ferraiolo 116r.3, cited in Ledgeway 2007: 338)

b. *se acordaro de non volere-no re* (ONeap.)
 REFL agreed of not to.want-AGR.3.PL king
 ‘They agreed that they would not want a king.’
 (De Spechio II.1.3, cited in Ledgeway 2007: 338)

c. *li quali tu commanderray de liberare-no-sse* (ONeap.)
 the ones you will.order of to.free-AGR.3.PL-REFL
 ‘who you will order to free themselves’
 (LDT 104.201, cited in Vincent 1996: 394)

In (94), the first person plural subject of the inflected infinitive *andarimo* ‘to go’ can only be understood to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause;

in (94) the subject of the infinitive *volereno* is necessarily coreferential with the third person plural subject of the matrix verb *se acordaro*. In (94), the subject of the inflected infinitive is the object of the matrix verb, i.e. the relative pronoun *li quali*.

Cases of non-obligatory control are cases in which the inflected infinitive forms a complement clause or an adverbial clause. It is in these contexts that the inflected infinitive is mostly used, since the interpretation of its subject is grammatically free (but might be restricted by pragmatic factors (Ledgeway 2009: 922). In non-obligatory control contexts, the subject of the inflected infinitive can have a split antecedent, as in the following two sentences:

- (95) a. *meglyo credo che fosse stato pre tene e pre mene*
 better I.believe that it.was been for you and for me
de avere-mo facta la vita nostra in uno luoco
 of to.have-AGR.1.PL made the life our in a place
solitario (ONeap.)
 solitary
 ‘I think it would have been better for you and me to have lived our life in a solitary place.’

(LDT 186.33-187.1, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 927)

- b. *ayo ià certa speranza de lo potere-mo*
 I.have already certain hope of him.CL to.be.able-AGR.1.PL
avere alle mano (ONeap.)
 to.have to.the hands
 ‘And I have already a certain hope to be able to have him in our hands.’

(LDT 250.24, cited in Ledgeway 2009: 927)

In (95), the subject of the infinitival clause is first person plural, whereas its antecedent is split in the pronouns *tene* ‘you’ and *mene* ‘me’; in (95), one of the two antecedents, namely the addressee, is implied. This can happen under the right pragmatic conditions, i.e. when it is pragmatically prominent and therefore easily retrievable (Ledgeway 2009: 927).

2.5 Sardinian

2.5.1 Morphology and history

The inflected infinitive is used only in the Logudorese-Nuorese dialects, spoken in the center of the island, in the northernmost dialects of Ogliastra and in some varieties of the Barbagia di Belvì (Pisano 2008: 28). The paradigm of the inflected infinitive is given for the verb *kantare* ‘to sing’ in (96):

(96)	<i>(deo) kantáre-po</i>	(I) to.sing-AGR.1.SG
	<i>(tue) kantáre-s</i>	(you) to.sing-AGR.2.SG
	<i>(issu) kantáre-t</i>	(he) to.sing-AGR.3.SG
	<i>(nois) kantáre-mus</i>	(we) to.sing-AGR.1.PL
	<i>(bois) kantáre-zis</i>	(you) to.sing-AGR.2.PL
	<i>(issos) kantáre-n</i>	(they) to.sing-AGR.3.PL

The endings are the same for all verb classes, as well as for the irregular verbs.

If we compare these forms to the finite verb inflection, as given in paradigm of the present indicative in (97), we see that the markers are the same, except for the first person singular and the second person plural:

(97)	<i>(deo) kant-o</i>	‘I sing’
	<i>(tue) kant-a-s</i>	‘you sing’
	<i>(issu) kant-a-t</i>	‘he sings’
	<i>(nois) kant-a-mus</i>	‘we sing’
	<i>(bois) kant-a-tis</i>	‘you sing’
	<i>(issos) kant-a-n</i>	‘they sing’

The ending for the first person singular is not found elsewhere in the regular verbal paradigm. It has probably been extended to the inflected infinitive in analogy with other frequently used verbs, such as *appo* ‘I have’, *fippo* ‘I was’, and *deppo* ‘I must’ (Scida 1998: 168). The ending for the second person plural in the inflected infinitive is the same as the ending for the imperfect indicative.

The inflected infinitive can also be analysed as the imperfect of the subjunctive: this is the historical source of the verb forms (Jones 2003; Pittau 1972). They have derived directly with very little change from Latin. Not all dialects have reanalysed the imperfect subjunctive as an inflected infinitive: there are dialects that only have forms remnant of the imperfect subjunctive but no inflected infinitive. Crucially, there are no dialects that have an inflected infinitive but do not have forms that have derived from the imperfect subjunctive (Pisano 2008: 45). In Campidanese, the imperfect subjunctive derives from the Latin plusquamperfectum so no interpretation as inflected infinitive was possible as in Logudorese (Jones 2003: 295).

The inflected infinitive is on its way of disappearing, probably due to the influence of standard Italian syntax, according to Pisano (2008: 29). His Nuorese informants consider its use quite unnatural, whereas it must have been still productive in the '60s and early '70s, as can be concluded from Pittau (1972, cited by Pisano 2008: 29).

2.5.2 Distribution

The verbal forms given in the paradigm of (96) are found in both finite and nonfinite contexts, since they can be analysed as the imperfect subjunctive or as an inflected infinitive. The forms are however only ambiguous in some cases, since the imperfect subjunctive has remained in use only for the auxiliaries *áere* 'to have' and *éssere* 'to be'.

Furthermore, all infinitival complement clauses are introduced by a particle, which can be *a* or *de*, usually depending on regional variation, unless one of the two prepositions is normally used when the verb selects an NP. Some infinitival clauses are never preceded by *a* 'to' or *de* 'of', such as interrogative infinitivals, complements to modals or causatives and nominal infinitives (Jones 2003: 272-3).

The subject always appears in postverbal position (Ledgeway 1998; Jones 1991):

- (98) a. *Non keljo a cantare-s tue.* (Sard.)
 Not I.want part to.sing-AGR.2.SG you
 'I do not want you to sing' (Jones 1991: 297)
- b. **Non keljo a tue cantare-s.* (Sard.)
 Not I.want part you to.sing-AGR.2.SG
 'I do not want you to sing.' (Jones 1991: 299)

This is another way of distinguishing the inflected infinitive from the imperfect subjunctive, where the subject precedes the imperfect subjunctive (Jones 1991: 299; Miller 2003: 64), as can be seen in (99):

- (99) *Non credo ki Frantziscu áerefe furatu su dinari.* (Sard.)
 Not I.believe that Frantziscu has.subj stolen the money
 "I do not believe that Frantziscu stole the money." (Jones 1991: 298)

The subject of an inflected infinitive can be a full DP (100), pronominal (100) or null (100):

- (100) a. *Non credo de éssere-t giratu Juanne* (Sard.)
 not I.think of to.be-AGR.3.SG returned Juanne
 'I do not think that Juanne has returned.' (Jones 1991:308n. 4)
- b. *Non keljo a cantare-s tue* (Sard.)
 Not I.want PART to.sing-AGR.2.SG you
 'I do not want you to sing' (Jones 1991: 297)
- c. *Non keljo a cantare-n.* (Sard.)
 Not I.want PART to.sing-AGR.3.PL
 'I do not want them to sing.' (Miller 2003: 61)

The use of the inflected infinitive is optional; it is not required by the presence of an overt subject, as in Portuguese. In fact, Sardinian systematically allows nominative subjects with uninflected infinitives (Mensching 2000; Jones 1991; Jones 1993). Examples are given in (101) and (102):

- (101) a. *Non cheljo a vennere tue.* (Sard.)
 Not I.want. PART to.come you
 'I do not want you to come.' (Jones 2003: 294)
- b. *Non cheljo a bi vennere-s tue.* (Sard.)
 Not I.want part there to.come-AGR.2.SG you
 'I do not want you to come (there).' (Jones 2003: 292)
- (102) a. *Su postinu est colatu prima de arrivare jeo.* (Sard.)
 The postman is passed before part to.arrive I
 'The postman came by before I arrived.' (Jones 1991: 295)
- b. *Su postinu est colatu prima de arrivare-po jeo* (Sard.)
 The postman is passed before part to.arrive-AGR.1.SG I
 'The postman came by before I arrived.' (Jones 1991: 297)

The examples in (101) and (102) form minimal pairs with (101) and (102). Since in both contexts the infinitive is grammatical with and without the inflection, we can conclude that the inflection on the infinitive is truly optional.

2.5.3 Selection

The inflected infinitive can appear as a complement to volitionals (103) and epistemic verbs (104):

- (103) *Non keljo a bi vennere-s tue.* (Sard.)
 Not I.want PART there to.come-AGR.2.PL you
 'I do not want you to come there.' (Jones 2003: 292)
- (104) *Non credo de éssere-t giratu Juanne* (Sard.)
 not I.think of to.be-AGR.3.SG returned Juanne
 'I do not think that Juanne has returned.' (Jones 1991:308n. 4)

Furthermore, the inflected infinitive can appear in adjuncts introduced by prepositions, as in (105):

- (105) a. *Babbu at fattu cussu pro essere-mus cuntentos nois.* (Sard.)
 Dad has done this in.order.to to.be-AGR.1.PL happy we
 ‘Dad has done this so that we would be happy.’ (Jones 1991: 299)
- b. *Cheljo cantare una cathone prima de sinch’andare-n.* (Sard.)
 I.want to.sing a song before reflexive.ne to.go-AGR.3pl
 ‘I want to sing a song before they leave.’ (Jones 2003: 291)

The inflected infinitive is primarily used when the subject of the infinitive is independently specified or when the reference is understood as a potential controller (Jones 2003: 292).

The inflected infinitive is absolutely ungrammatical with modals, as can be seen in (106):

- (106) **Devo accabbare-po custu travellu.* (Sard.)
 must.1sg to.finish-AGR.1.SG this work
 ‘I must finish this job.’ (Miller 2003: 62)

Other impossible contexts include complements to the causative verbs *fácherre* ‘to do’ and *lassare* ‘to let’, to perception verbs and the verbs in a future construction formed with the auxiliary *áere* ‘to have’ (Jones 2003: 293).

2.5.4 Movement and control

There is no raising construction in Sardinian, so there is no way to test A-movement out of an inflected infinitival clause. In the literature, no examples of inflected infinitives in embedded questions or relatives are given, so it is not possible to see whether A'-movement out of an inflected infinitive is allowed.

In controlled contexts, the inflected infinitive is not always allowed. When there is exhaustive control, no inflected infinitive is possible (this is the case with e.g. modals and aspectuals); only the bare infinitive is found. With partial control verbs, inflected infinitives are not totally excluded. A sentence like (107) is marginally allowed:

- (107) *ʔProvo a traballare-po.* (Sard.)
 I.try to to.work-AGR.1.SG
 ‘I try to work’ (Jones 2003: 293)

Object control structures, instead, generally allow an inflected infinitive:

- (108) *Juane nos at natu a colare-mus.* (Sard.)
 Juane us has told PART to.call-AGR.1.PL
 ‘John told us to come by.’ (Jones 2003: 291)

Miller (2003: 62) argues that the inflected infinitive distinguishes object from subject control: declarative verbs are generally interpreted with subject control, but with the agreement the object control is marked.

2.6 Italian dialects: inflected infinitives?

In some dialects of Italy, inflection can appear on the infinitive. These include Ligurian dialects (Cuneo 1998), Tuscan dialects (Cresti 1994) and Apulian dialects (Loporcaro 1986). In all of these dialects, a third person plural ending can be added to the infinitive of *essere*, ‘to be’ that follows a phonologically reduced modal verb. In this case, the inflection is added directly to the verbal root (Cuneo 1998: 124). In Cicagnino for example, the modal loses its morphology in a restructuring construction, which has to be in the present for the phenomenon to occur (Cuneo 1998: 122-3). No enclisis or clitic doubling is possible. An example is given in (109):

- (109) *Ti dev’èsi fùrbu!* (Cicagnino)
 you.SUBJ.CL must to.be-AGR.2.SG smart
 ‘You must be really smart!’ (meaning: you are really stupid)
 (Cuneo 1998: 122)

In Tuscany, only the verb *essere* can have an inflected infinitive when it follows the modals *dovere* ‘must’ and *potere* ‘can’; *volere* ‘want’ and *sapere* ‘to know, can’

are excluded. The inflection indicates that the two verbs form one verbal complex (Cuneo 1998).

Loporcaro (1986: 227-35) discusses the data from the Apulian dialects and considers the phenomenon a remnant of the Old Neapolitan inflected infinitive, since Neapolitan was used as a koinè in the whole Southern part of Italy. An example of the dialects of Altamurano is given in (110), where the sentence in (110) is the ‘normal’ one, with inflection on the finite verb, and (110) presents the same inflection on the infinitive instead of on the verb (Loporcaro 1986: 231):

- (110) a. *pótanə iess* (Altamurano)
they.can to.be
‘They can be.’ (Loporcaro 1986: 231)
- b. *pot éssə-nə* (Altamurano)
can to.be-AGR.3.PL
‘They can be’ (Loporcaro 1986: 231)

Their status as inflected infinitives is however questionable. The phenomenon is quite distinct from the inflected infinitives discussed above, as argued by Vincent (1996: 398). Firstly, the inflection seems to move from the reduced modal to the infinitive instead of being ‘added’ or ‘repeated’. The modal seems to lose its morphology. Secondly, the contexts in which these inflected infinitive-like forms appear are the opposite of those in which real inflected infinitives appear: in the case of Portuguese, Sardinian and Neapolitan there seems to be a ban on inflected infinitives after modals, which is the typical context for inflection on infinitives in the Italian dialects instead. Thirdly, the phenomenon is very limited: it only occurs in the third person singular, in the present tense and only with the verb *essere*, ‘to be’.

2.7 Conclusion

There are some striking similarities between the inflected infinitives in Portuguese, Sardinian and old Neapolitan. In all varieties, the infinitive is only

marked for person; there is no marking for tense, mood or aspect. Tense can however be marked by combining the infinitive of the auxiliary with a participle.

The form is mostly used in non-finite contexts; the use of inflected infinitives in the main clause seems a remnant of the imperfect subjunctive. This use is attested mostly in the Sardinian varieties, where the imperfect subjunctive is still in use for the auxiliary verbs. Furthermore, we find its use in exclamatives in EP, BP and Galician.

Its distribution is also very similar in the five languages: the inflected infinitive can occur in complement clauses and in adjunct clauses in all languages. Furthermore, in EP, BP, Galician and Old Neapolitan, the inflected infinitive is also found in non-selected clauses. There seems to be a general ban on the inflected infinitive in monoclausal structures or when there is exhaustive subject control; the restrictions seem however less strict in Old Neapolitan and in some dialectal varieties of both European and Brazilian Portuguese.

The main difference between the languages lies in the range of verbs that select an inflected infinitive as their complement: whereas in BP and Old Neapolitan epistemic, declarative, factive and volitional verbs can select an inflected infinitive, this is ungrammatical for volitionals in EP. Galician allows only declarative verbs to select an inflected infinitival complement. Sardinian allows the inflected infinitive as a complement to volitionals and epistemic verbs.

Furthermore, the word order patterns differ across the five languages: whereas word order seems quite free in Old Neapolitan and Brazilian Portuguese, in Sardinian the subject can only follow the infinitive; in European Portuguese, the patterns are quite complex and depend on the context the inflected infinitive is used in. Also Galician presents different word orders for subject clauses and complement clauses.

We find different degrees of optionality in the various languages. In Sardinian and Old Neapolitan, the inflection on the infinitive seems optional in general. In Galician and BP the inflection on the infinitive is optional in some cases, but the standard language requires it in others. In EP the inflected infinitive is obligatory when an overt subject is present in the infinitival clause. It is however optional in adjuncts and object controlled clauses.

Last, while a similar phenomenon is found in some Italian varieties, where the agreement morpheme is not located on the finite verb but on the infinitive, this phenomenon is not a genuine inflected infinitive, and will be hence left out of this work.

Chapter 3. Previous analyses

3.1 Descriptive/traditional approaches

Most work on inflected infinitives in Romance concerns EP, and, to a lesser degree, Galician, BP, and Old Neapolitan; there is very little literature on the Sardinian inflected infinitive.

A major descriptive contribution is offered by Maurer (1968). He describes the history and the syntax of the Portuguese inflected infinitive, not distinguishing between EP and BP. He states that there are a few cases in which only the inflected or only the bare infinitive can be used. For the uninflected infinitive, this is the case for instance when the infinitive has an impersonal meaning and lacks a specific agent. Furthermore, the uninflected infinitive is obligatory when it is used as an imperative. On the other hand, the inflected infinitive is obligatory when its subject is expressed in the context or when it is different from the matrix clause.

Furthermore, Maurer (1968) discusses those cases in which the use of the inflected infinitive is optional. He states that its syntax can give an '*impressão de anarquia*' (Maurer 1968: 151). There are several factors that most commonly influence the form of the infinitive, which can be grammatical or stylistic in nature. For instance, he notes that when a predicative complement accompanies the infinitive, it is almost always invariable. On the other hand, when the matrix verb is impersonal, especially when this is a gerund, an inflected infinitive is often used to indicate more clearly the agent which it is referring to. Secondly, the presence of a reflexive pronoun often leads to inflection (even when other infinitives in the same coordination structure are uninflected). Thirdly, an enclitic object pronoun is often combined with an uninflected infinitive. Fourthly, a bigger distance between the infinitive and the word it depends on increases the probability of inflection. Finally, when the infinitival clause precedes the matrix clause, the inflected infinitive is preferred.

Further influences of a more stylistic nature include the necessity of clarity, emphasis or liveliness of expression. Also euphonic motives can lead to the use of an inflected infinitive.

Gondar (1978) gives a similar description of the Galician inflected infinitive. After describing its occurrence and forms in different Galician dialects, he discusses its use. The inflected infinitive is mostly used in adjuncts. In some contexts the bare infinitive is more likely to be found, such as in complements of modal verbs, in complements of semi-modal verbs such as *conseguir*, *lograr*, *desexar*, *dubidar*, *pretender* and in periphrastic auxiliary constructions such as *haber de*, *ter que*, *ter de* and *comenzar a*. In these cases the use of the uninflected form makes more sense since both subjects are the same.

Pountain (1995) gives a pragmatic account of infinitives with overt subjects, including inflected infinitives. He argues that syntax alone cannot account for the appearance of the inflected infinitive, since the inflected infinitive is in a large number of cases optional. However, it seems that no two languages coincide exactly in the way they exploit the infinitival constructions with subjects. The pragmatic function of the inflected infinitive is mainly to assert or clarify the subject of the infinitive when it is dissociated from the matrix verb.

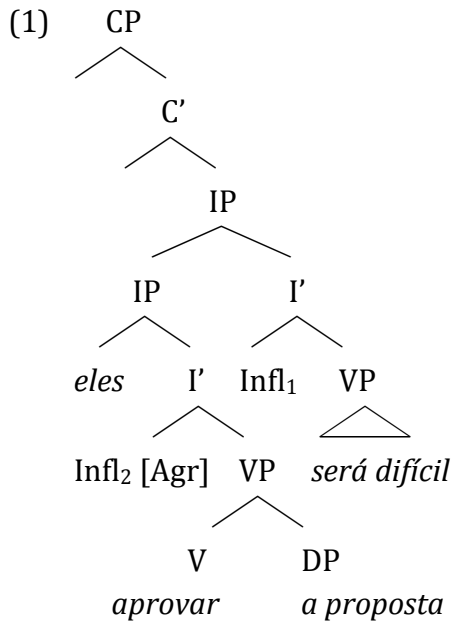
Our aim is to give a syntactic analysis; however helpful descriptive analyses are, they do not give an answer to our research question, which focuses on the difference between clauses with a bare infinitive and those with an inflected infinitive. Are they the same or does the presence of inflection add something to the meaning and/or the interpretation of the sentence? The next section will discuss previous syntactic approaches to the inflected infinitive.

3.2 Generative approaches

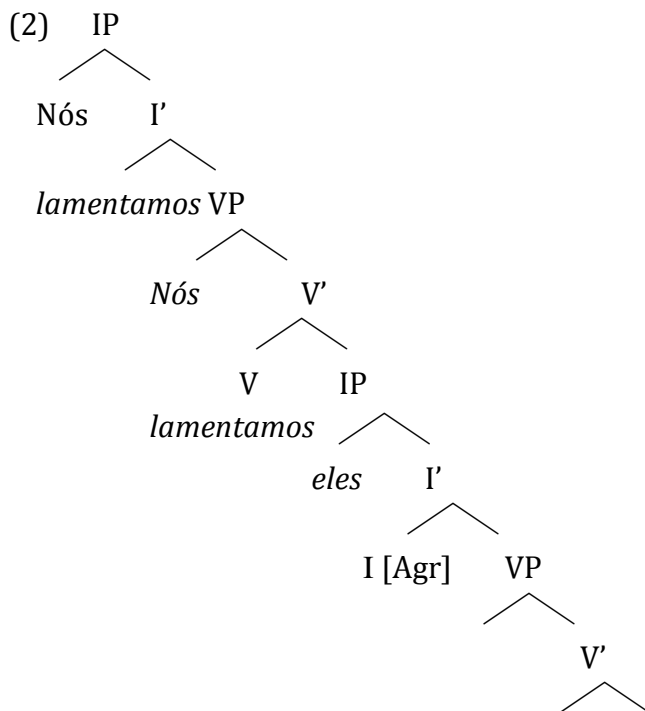
3.2.1 Raposo (1987)

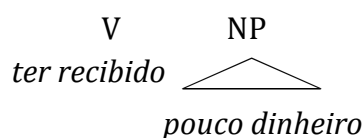
The first generative analysis of inflected infinitives is outlined in Raposo's (1987) influential paper. According to his analysis, the major properties of the inflected infinitive can be explained by assuming that Agr on Infl needs to be case-marked to be able to assign nominative case to its subject. For instance, in a subject

infinitival clause, the infinitival Infl₂ is able to assign nominative case to its subject because it is case-marked by the Infl₁ head of the matrix clause, as shown in (1):



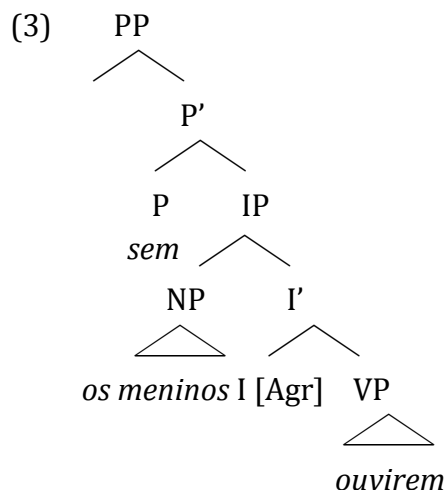
Similarly, in a factive complement, the infinitival Infl head finds itself in a case-marked position, as exemplified by the derivations in 0:



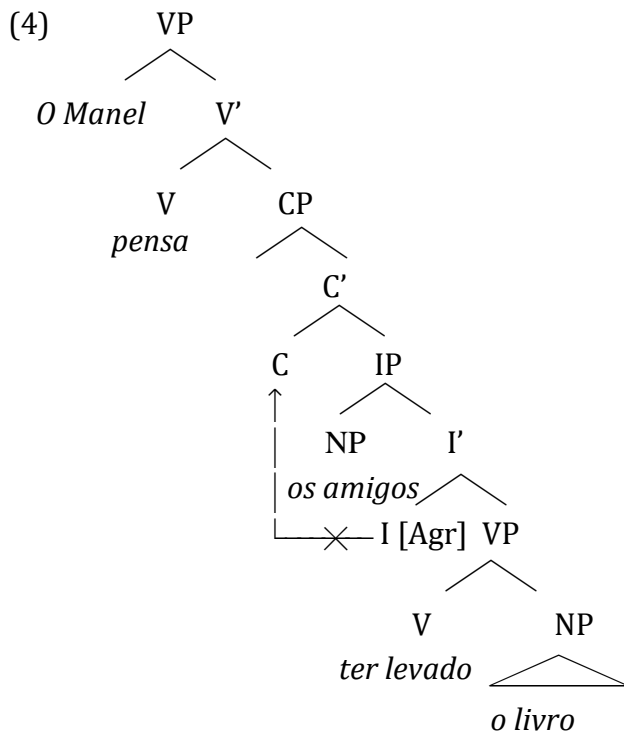


The IP is governed by the matrix verb, which assigns accusative case to the IP. This case percolates to the Infl, so that Agr can assign case to its subject *eles*.

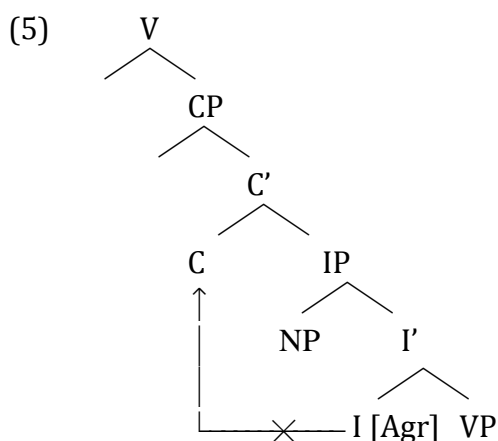
Also in a prepositional adjunct, the infinitival clause is assigned case:



A different analysis is proposed for a subset of inflected infinitival complements. This subset consists of the clauses selected by epistemic and declarative verbs, because these complements are CPs (instead of nominal IPs). When a CP is present, a potential external governor cannot assign case to the Infl head because of the interfering C head. Therefore, the infinitive has to undergo Infl-to-Comp movement. Only after moving to C⁰, the infinitive can be properly governed and case-marked. Further support for this claim is given by the fact that in the complements to epistemic and declarative clauses, the subject can only follow the infinitive. This is explained by the movement of the infinitive to C, whereas its subject remains in a lower position. The subject can then be case-marked by the trace which in turn is governed by the infinitive in C⁰. The derivation is shown in (4):



The impossibility of having inflected infinitival complements to volitionals is accounted for by arguing that volitional clauses lack a tense operator in C, in contrast with the epistemic and declarative clauses. This tense operator is crucial since it prevents the infinitival clause from becoming purely nominal and thus violating the selectional criteria of the main verb. Epistemic, declarative and volitionals all require a tensed complement and cannot select purely nominal complements (Raposo 1987: 101), as schematized in (5):



The impossibility of relative clauses and wh-elements with inflected infinitives can be explained by the doubly-filled COMP filter: the infinitive is

occupying C⁰, which can therefore not host another element (Raposo 1987: 103-4).

There are a few problems with Raposo's analysis, some of which have been pointed out in the subsequent literature. For instance, as Madeira (1994: 186) notices, the inflected infinitive is not always in a case position. An example is given by the inflected infinitive used as an exclamative. Also, the position of the negation *não* is consistently preverbal, even in the cases in which Raposo (1987) argues that the infinitive has moved to C, as shown in (6):

- (6) a. *Eu afirmo os amigos não terem levado o livro.* (EP)
I say the friends NEG to.have-AGR.3.PL taken the book
'I say that the friends have not taken the book.'
- b. *O Manel pensa não comerem os meninos a maçã.* (EP)
The Manel thinks NEG to.eat-AGR.3.PL the boys the apple
'Manel thinks that the children do not eat the apple.'

The negation is argued to be in a functional position (NegP) above the IP but below the CP (Zanuttini 1997). This means that the inflected infinitive cannot always be on C.

Furthermore, there is a paradox in assuming that the Agr on Infl is case-marked to be able to license the presence of its subject. The subject of an inflected infinitive is invariably marked as nominative, whereas the Agr itself is sometimes marked as nominative (in case of a subject infinitival clause), but mostly as accusative or an inherent case (in case of a complement or prepositional adjunct).

Finally, and most importantly, Raposo's (1987) analysis is not applicable to all our data. As described in Chapter 2, the inflected infinitive is allowed in BP in contexts that should be ruled out according to Raposo's description of EP, such as complements to modals, aspectuals and volitionals. Furthermore, the word order rules are very different for the other languages: in Sardinian only post-verbal subjects are allowed, whereas Galician and Old-Neapolitan are less restricted than EP.

Note, incidentally, that Raposo's (1987) analysis was formulated within the Government & Binding framework. Nowadays, most generativists have adopted the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), in which notions such as government have been done away with. The theory needs to be updated to the current theoretical assumptions. Furthermore, it is now argued that agreement does not necessarily take place in a Spec-Head relationship, but through the operation of Agree (Chomsky 2001 ff.). Finally, some complements are now analyzed as fulls CPs rather than IPs.

3.2.2 Later generative approaches

Later approaches take Raposo's analysis as a starting point, but differ as they mostly assume that all inflected infinitival complements are CPs (e.g. Vincent 1996; Longa 1994; Da Luz 1998). It is also generally assumed that the infinitive moves to C when there is infinitive-subject inversion (Madeira 1994; Longa 1994; Pires 2002).

Madeira (1994), for instance, adopts Raposo's analysis but departs from it by saying that the infinitive does not raise to C for case requirements but that this movement is caused by a feature in C. Basing herself on Galves (1992), she initially assumes that Agr is generated on C rather than on I. Agr can be generated on C because a nominal C can host nominal features. Infinitival C can therefore host auxiliaries which are pure bearers of ϕ -features (Madeira 1994: 189). When there is no subject inversion, the movement of the infinitive is blocked by an intervening projection. However, clitic placement data show that Agr needs to be in I. She therefore argues that that it needs to be checked by C or by I. When the C position is not available, the infinitive is assumed to move to a lower functional projection which nature is not discussed further.

The licensing of the subject is generally assumed to be licensed by agreement on the infinitive (e.g. in Raposo 1987, Vincent 1998). However, as Jones (2003: 293) points out, this analysis runs into problems when we consider the fact that some Romance varieties allow a nominative, referential (null) subject with a non-inflected infinitive (see Mensching (2000) for an overview of personal infinitives in the Romance varieties). This is also the case in Sardinian (Jones

1991), Galician (M. Carmen Parafito Couto, personal communication), Old Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2010) and some varieties of BP (Pires 2002). It seems thus improbable that the licensing of nominative subjects has to do solely with the presence of agreement.³

Other approaches focus on the relationship between inflected infinitives and control. Pires (2001, 2002, 2006) shows that only non-inflected infinitives consistently show properties of obligatory control. Inflected infinitives do not need local c-command, do not only permit a sloppy reading under ellipsis, and can have split antecedents. Inflected infinitives carry a complete φ -set, which allows their T to delete the nominative case feature on their subject DP. In case of an inflected infinitive, the subject does not move further upwards, whereas in case of bare infinitives, they need to move for case requirement. T of uninflected infinitives has an incomplete φ -set and therefore it cannot check case in EP or BP. In fact, the inflected infinitive is regularly advanced as an argument for the movement theory of control (for further discussion, see, Boeckx & Hornstein 2006, 2010; Ledgeway 2000; Modesto 2010; Sheehan 2013).

Ledgeway (1998) discusses the inflected infinitive in relation with other infinitival phenomena in Romance. Assuming that INFL consists of the two components Agr(eement) and T(ense), four logical possibilities of INFL specifications are predicted, since both T and Agr can have a positive and negative value. Indeed, we find forms for every specification within the Romance languages: [+T,+Agr] is instantiated by finite clauses; [+T,-Agr] by the personal infinitive, which are argued to have a tense operator; [-T, +Agr] by the inflected infinitive; and [-T,-Agr] is the specification of the bare infinitive (Ledgeway 1998: 8). Nominative case is maintained to be determined by Agr in a Spec-Head relation. Also Quicoli (1996) follows Raposo (1987) in assuming that the presence of an inflected infinitive is due to a parametric difference in the make-up of IP.

³ Jones (2003: 294) solves this problem by proposing that there is always agreement on the Sardinian infinitive, which can be optionally realized at PF but always there in the narrow syntax. The optionality of the inflected infinitive is thus only apparent and is reduced to optionality at PF.

3.3 Cognitive approaches

Generative approaches concentrated mostly on giving an analysis of how infinitival agreement takes place; however, they cannot give an explanation for optionality. Cognitive approaches may give us some more help to overcome this issue, since within cognitive frameworks research has been focusing on what factors influence the choice between the use of an inflected or a non-inflected infinitive.

Vanderschueren & Diependale (2013) follow Vesterinen (2006, 2011) by assuming that the choice between a more or less prominent form of the referential expression is directly linked with the degree of mental accessibility of the infinitival subject referent in the mind of the speaker. The mental accessibility depends on contextual variables, which include the presence of a pause between two clauses, the position of the infinitival clause with respect of the matrix clause, the distance between the two subjects and whether there are more possible subjects. Corpus research and self-paced reading tests in EP show that both forms are used equally frequently. Pause, position and distance influence the choice, but two of these variables (pause and position) are collinear. Semantic and syntactic autonomy is thus a determinant factor, as much as subject accessibility. However, no advantage with inflected infinitives over non-inflected ones could be shown with the reading times. The advantage is located rather in the part of the sentence following the infinitive, especially when there is lots of information to process.

A similar conclusion is reached by Vanderschueren & De Cuypere (2014), according to whom three factors increase the chances of having an inflected infinitive in an optional context: autonomy, subject accessibility and verbality. When other clues of verbal behavior are present, such as for instance reflexivity, it is more likely for a speaker to choose an inflected infinitive. Autonomous sentences such as adjuncts, which are not obligatory from a semantic nor from a syntactic point of view, are more likely to contain an inflected infinitive than obligatory complement clauses.

Soares da Silva (2008) also concludes that there are three types of factors that influence the use of an inflected infinitive: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic

ones. There is no purely formal prediction of the use of the inflected infinitive. He argues that the inflected infinitive has a greater conceptual independency than bare infinitive. The inflected infinitive involves a certain degree of subjectivity and is therefore more grounded than a bare infinitive but less than a finite clause since it lacks temporal determination (Soares da Silva 2008: 237).

Cognitive research seems thus to suggest that contextual and pragmatic factors are decisive in the choice of an inflected infinitive when its use is optional from a syntactic point of view.

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, there seems to be agreement on the idea that syntax determines the contexts in which the inflected infinitive can appear. Specifically, the structure must be biclausal and there cannot be obligatory subject control. Furthermore, the infinitive is generally assumed to move to a position within in the CP (Infl/Aux-to-Comp). The CP is considered to be the pragmatic domain of the sentence, where discourse relations are expressed.

Syntactic analyses typically focus on one or two language(s). In this thesis, we aim to give a unified account of the same phenomenon in these related languages, since we have seen in Chapter 2 that the inflected infinitive occurs in similar contexts in the five languages under consideration.

Even though the possible contexts of the inflected infinitive have been explained, however, the problem of optionality and variation does not find a satisfying answer within these analyses. Most articles focus on how agreement can take place within an infinitival clause, but leave aside the question why agreement should take place at all. What is it marking exactly? Especially in the varieties that license an infinitival subject also with non-inflected infinitives, what does the overt marking of agreement add to the sentence? According to both cognitive approaches and traditional grammarians, the decision of using an inflected infinitive is mostly influenced by discourse and contextual factors. How can we integrate this view in a generative approach? Chapter 4 will explore the relationship between the presence of inflection and discourse from a generative viewpoint.

Chapter 4. The subject of an inflected infinitive as a topic

4.1 Problems of optionality

In Chapter 2 we have seen that there is no consensus on the use of the inflected infinitive: it is optional in various contexts and to various degrees in different Romance varieties. There is both interspeaker and intraspeaker variation.

First of all, there is geographic variation: different dialects allow for different uses of the inflected infinitive (see Maurer 1968 for EP, Falcão Martins 2011 for BP, Gondar 1978 for Galician and Pisano 2008 for Sardinian). In Old Neapolitan we find diachronic variation: according to Ledgeway (2009: 921), the rules governing the distribution and selection of the inflected infinitive became less strict towards the 15th and 16th century.⁴

Furthermore, there is intraspeaker variation. The inflected infinitive is sometimes used and sometimes not used in the same context by the same speaker: it forms thus a case of *true optionality* in the sense that one and the same grammar allows the presence but also the absence of the form in some contexts. We find different degrees of optionality in various languages. In Sardinian and Old Neapolitan, the inflection on the infinitive seems obligatory in general. In Galician and BP the inflection on the infinitive is optional in some cases, but the standard language requires it in others. In EP the inflected infinitive is obligatory when an overt subject is present in the infinitival clause. It is however optional in adjuncts and object controlled clauses.

As was concluded in the previous chapter, the existing generative approaches cannot really account for the optionality of the inflected infinitive. Optionality is a general problem in generative grammar, since an optimal grammar would not

⁴This might be the case because by the later period it was a less 'native' phenomenon and writers were now simply imitating an archaic feature as a stylistic means in formal writing (Adam Ledgeway, personal communication).

use two different structures to express the same concept. However, speakers seem to have preferences and seem to know when to use an inflected infinitive rather than a bare form (cf. Sheehan & Parafita Couto 2011). Usually, in these cases the choice to use one form rather than the other is not based on morphosyntactic rules, but rather on pragmatics (cf. Pountain 1995).

In this chapter, we will explore whether we can establish an influence of discourse elements on the use of the inflected infinitive. As has emerged from the traditional, more descriptive approaches and the experimental research done on the inflected infinitive, pragmatic and contextual factors such as distance, clarity, and subject accessibility, seem to be decisive for the use of an inflected infinitive. We will therefore investigate the status of the subjects of the inflected infinitive in order to understand the connection between discourse and the inflected infinitive.

4.2 The status of Romance preverbal subjects

The status of the Romance preverbal subject is a matter of debate. It has been argued that preverbal subjects are in an A'-position, like left-dislocated topics, rather than a position within in the IP domain (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). According to their analysis, the EPP feature on T is satisfied by movement of V to T. The corresponding clitic for subject CLLD must be considered to be a combination of agreement morphology and PRO or *pro*.

We can ask ourselves what the status of the subjects of inflected infinitives is. Since inflected infinitives are mostly used when the subject shifts or when it is at a large distance from the infinitive, there are reasons to assume that its subject is a topic that shifts or that is being resumed. A similar analysis has been outlined in a different framework for the use of the personal infinitive in Old and Modern Sicilian (Bentley 2014). The personal infinitive has a distribution comparable to the inflected infinitive as it appears mostly in NOC contexts which constitute their own clausal domain. According to Bentley's analysis, the personal infinitive functions as a switch-reference mechanism in Old Sicilian.

The hypothesis that we wish to test in this chapter is that the subject of an inflected infinitive is a topic, which is not resumed by a pronominal clitic, but rather by the person agreement marked at the verb.

Three types of topics are distinguished since Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl's (2007) analysis: shifting topics, contrastive topics and familiar topics. The shifting topic occupies the highest position in the left periphery of the clause. It is always clitic resumed and therefore directly merged into the topic position, i.e. it is not a result of movement from an A-position, as proven by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 98).

The second type of topic is a contrastive topic. As the name implies, these topics are in contrast with another topic; the comment is true of this topic but not of the (group of) topics it is contrasted with. Contrastive topics and contrastive foci never co-occur in the same sentence (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: 101). This suggests that contrast is not an inherent property of foci or topics but rather a feature that is licensed in a A'-position in the left periphery.

The third type of topics are familiar topics, which occupy the lowest topic position. It can be realized in either periphery. A sentence can have multiple familiar topics, whereas there can only be one shifting topic and one contrastive topic.

Based on this tripartite typology of topic constituents, Frascarelli (2007) concludes that the recursive topic position as originally proposed by Rizzi (1997) should be replaced by the following hierarchy:

(1) [ForceP [ShiftP [GP [ContrP [FocP [FamP [FinP

In the remainder of this chapter, we will test whether the subject of an inflected infinitive has the properties of a shifting topic by applying tests for clitic left-dislocated elements. This would explain why the inflected infinitive tends to be used to indicate the change of subject from matrix clause to embedded clause; or to indicate a subject that is very distant from the infinitive.

4.3 Properties of left-dislocated topics

Clitic left dislocated topics are assumed to be a base-generated dependency (Cinque 1990, cited by Frascarelli 2007 and Sheehan 2007). Their properties can be used to test whether a preverbal subject is in an A'-position. Relevant properties of CLLD elements include their non-ambiguous scope; the impossibility of non-referential QPs; the lack of a fixed subject position and adverb placement. Other properties such as melody are hard to use as a diagnostic (Sheehan 2007: 47).

The first property regards the scope of CLLD elements. CLLD necessarily take wide scope, since they fail to reconstruct (Sheehan 2007: 48). So, if our subjects are CLLD topics, they should be able to only take wide scope. This can be tested by combining two operators in one sentence, as exemplified in the following Modern Greek sentence:

- (2) a. *Kapios fititis stihiothetise kathe arthro.* (Greek)
some student filed every article
'Some student filed every article.' (A&A 1998: 505)
- b. *Stihiothetise kapios fititis kathe arthro.* (Greek)
Filed some student every article
'Some student filed every article.' (A&A 1998: 505)

The first sentence is unambiguous: it means that there was one particular student who filed every article. The second sentence can have two readings: it can mean the same as the first sentence or it can mean that every article was filed by some student or other (Sheehan 2007: 55).

Furthermore, if the subject is a topic, non-referential QPs should not be allowed. Also bare NPs should be disallowed because they lack a specific interpretation. By using a bare NP or a non-referential QP as a subject, we can thus test whether the subject is clitic left dislocated.

In addition, since in theory the topic position is assumed to be recursive, the presence of another dislocated element should not block the presence of a preverbal subject.

Finally, we can test the position of the subject and the inflected infinitive by adding an adverb. Assuming Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of adverbs and functional heads, we can map the position of the inflected infinitive and its subject.

In what follows, we will test the hypothesis that the subject of an inflected infinitive is some kind of topic. We will do so by applying some of the tests discussed above: if the subject of the inflected infinitive has the properties of a left-dislocated element, the subject is a topic-like element, which would explain the influence that pragmatics have on the speaker's reasons for using an inflected infinitive. Since speakers of BP and Galician were easily accessible for the tests, they were carried out for these two languages.

The tests will show that the subjects of the inflected infinitive do not have the same properties as a clitic left-dislocated elements. The hypothesis that the subject of an inflective is a topic is thus to be rejected.

4.4 Testing the inflected infinitive subject

4.4.1 Tests for topics in BP

The first test regarded the scope of the subject of the inflected infinitive. The informant was asked first whether two interpretations were available in a normal finite sentence, which is given in (3):

(3) *Algum estudante leu cada um livro.* (BP)
Some student read every one book
'Some student read every book.'

The informant preferred *todos os livros* 'all books' as an object over *cada um livro*, 'every book'. Both scope interpretations were possible. This sentence was then used as an inflected infinitival complement in the following sentences:

(4) *Penso algum estudante ter lido todos os livros.* (BP)
I.think some student to.have-AGR.3.SG read all the books
'I think some student has read all the books.'

(5) *Será provável algum estudante ter lido todos os livros.* (BP)
 It.will.be probable some student to.have-AGR.3.SG read all the books
 'It will be probable that some student has read all the books.'

(6) *Afirmo ter algum estudante lido todos os livros.* (BP)
 I.claim to.have-AGR.3.SG some student read all the books
 'I claim that some student has read all the books.'

(7) *Lamento ter algum estudante lido todos os livros.* (BP)
 I.regret to.have-AGR.3.SG some student read all the books
 'I regret that some student has read all the books.'

In all these sentences, both scope interpretations are possible. The subject of the inflected infinitive does thus not necessarily take wide scope.

The second test uses a non-referential QP as a subject; this should not be possible when the subject is a left-dislocated element. The following sentences were proposed to a native speaker of BP:

(8) a. *Será difícil ninguém aprovar a proposta.* (BP)
 It.will.be difficult nobody to.approve-AGR.3.SG the proposal
 'It will be difficult that nobody approves the proposal.'

b. *O Manel pensa ninguém ter comido a maçã.* (BP)
 The Manel thinks nobody to.have-AGR.3.SG eaten the apple
 'Manel thinks nobody has eaten the apple.'

c. *O Manel afirma ninguém ter comido a maçã.* (BP)
 The Manel claims nobody to.have-AGR.3.SG eaten the apple
 'Manel claims that nobody has eaten the apple.'

d. *O Manel lamenta ninguém ter comido a maçã.* (BP)
 The Manel regrets nobody to.have-AGR.3.SG eaten the apple
 'Manel regrets that nobody has eaten the apple.'

Ninguém 'no-one, nobody' is a possible subject in all of these sentences. These sentences constitute however no decisive proof for the status of the inflected infinitive since some varieties of BP also allow nominative subjects with non-inflected infinitives.

Another non-referential QP is *poucos* 'some, a few'. If the subject of an inflected infinitive is a topic, a subject including the quantifier *poucos* should be less acceptable than a definite DP. The following sentences were however judged as normally acceptable:

- (9) a. *Será difícil poucos deputados aprovar-em*
 It.will.be difficult few deputies to.approve-AGR.3.PL
a proposta. (BP)
 the proposal
 'It will be difficult for few deputies to approve the proposal'
- b. *O Manel pensa poucos meninos ter-em comido a maçã.* (BP)
 The Manel thinks few children to.have-AGR.3.PL eaten the apple
 'Manel thinks few children have eaten the apple.'
- c. *O Manel afirma poucos meninos ter-em comido a maçã.* (BP)
 The Manel claims few children to.have-AGR.3.PL eaten the apple
 'Manel claims that few children have eaten the apple.'
- d. *O Manel lamenta poucos meninos ter-em comido a maçã.* (BP)
 The Manel regrets few children to.have-AGR.3.PL eaten the apple
 'Manel regrets that few children have eaten the apple.'

This is not an indication that the subject might be a topic. Indefinite subjects give the same result, which are ruled as in case the subject is a left-dislocated topic. The following sentences are however all normally acceptable:

- (10) a. *Será provável umas letras de recomendação*

It.will.be probable indef letters of recommendation
serem necessarias. (BP)

to.be-AGR.3.PL necessary

‘It will be probable that recommendation letters are necessary.’

b. *O Manel pensa serem umas leteras de*
The Manel thinks to.be-AGR.3.PL indef letters of
recomendação necessarias. (BP)

recommendation necessary

‘Manel thinks that recommendation letters are necessary.’

c. *O Manel afirma serem umas leteras de*
The Manel says to.be-AGR.3.PL indef letters of
recomendação necessarias. (BP)

recommendation necessary

‘Manel says that recommendation letters are necessary.’

d. *O Manel lamenta serem umas leteras de*
The Manel regrets to.be-AGR.3.PL indef letters of
recomendação necessarias. (BP)

recommendation necessary

‘Manel regrets that recommendation letters are necessary.’

(11) *È possível uns meninos ir-em a escola.* (BP)

It.is possible indef children to.go-AGR.3.PL to school

‘It is possible that children go to school.’

It can thus be concluded that the tests proposed by Sheehan (2007) and Anagnostopoulou & Alexiadou (1998) seem to indicate that the subject of an inflected infinitive is not a clitic left-dislocated element in BP.

4.3.2 Tests for topics in Galician

Some of the same tests were also applied to Galician inflected infinitival subjects. Since in Galician also a bare infinitive can have an expressed subject, we cannot use sentences in which the subject of the inflected infinitive is first or third

person singular. These two persons have no overt agreement ending and are thus ambiguous between personal or inflected infinitives.

The non-referential QP *niguén* is 3rd person singular, which is not marked by overt agreement morphology on an inflected infinitive. Its use as a subject is not thus a diagnostic for a topic as in EP, where only an inflected infinitive can be accompanied by an expressed subject. The same problem arises when we try to formulate a sentence with ambiguous scope: the subject containing ‘every’ or ‘some’ would have to be 3rd person singular.

A test that could be carried out is the use of non-referential QPs as a subject. This should not be possible if the subject of an inflected infinitive is a clitic left-dislocated topic. Therefore, we propose in (12) sentences with a non-referential QP as a subject of an inflected infinitive and in (13) their definite counterparts:

(12) a. *Será difícil aprobar-en poucos deputados a proposta.* (Gal.)
 It.will.be difficult to.approve-AGR.3.PL few deputies the proposal

‘It will be difficult for few deputies to approve the proposal.’

b. *Manel afirma ter-en poucos nenos comido a mazá.* (Gal.)
 Manel says to.have-AGR.3.PL few children eaten the apple

‘Manel says that few children have eaten the apple.’

(13) a. *Será difícil aprobaren os deputados a proposta.* (Gal.)

It.will.be difficult to.approve-AGR.3.PL the deputies the proposal

‘It will be difficult for the deputies to approve the proposal.’

b. *Manel afirma teren os nenos comido a mazá.* (Gal.)

Manel says to.have-AGR.3.PL the children eaten the apple

‘Manel says that the children have eaten the apple.’

Both sentences (12) and (13) are grammatical, so there is no contrast between non-referential QPs and fully referential DPs as a subject of an inflected infinitive as we would expect when the subject is a left-dislocated subject.

Similarly, bare NPs should not be possible as a subject if the subject is a CLLD subject. However, bare NPs are not possible in general in Galician, so these are not usable as a diagnostic to see whether the subject is located in an A'-position.

Finally, also indefinites should be ruled out if the subject of an inflected infinitival clause is a topic. This is tested in (14):

- (14) a. *É probable seren unhas cartas de recomendación*
 It.is probable to.be-AGR.3.PL indef letters of recommendation
necesarias. (Gal.)
 necessary
 'It is probable that letters of recommendation are necessary.'
- b. *Manel afirma seren unhas cartas de recomendación*
 Manel claims to.be-AGR.3.PL indef letters of recommendation
necesarias. (Gal.)
 necessary
 'Manel claims that letters of recommendation are necessary.'

None of the applicable tests as proposed by Sheehan (2007) seem to indicate that the subject of an inflected infinitive is a clitic left-dislocated element in Galician.

4.5 Conclusion

All the tests applied seem to indicate that the subject of an inflected infinitive is a standard preverbal subject occupying a canonical subject position rather than a left-dislocated element. We therefore conclude that the hypothesis that the use of the inflected infinitive is determined by pragmatics because of its subject being a topic-like, left-dislocated element is to be rejected. However, further

research into the pragmatic factors influencing the choice of an inflected over a bare infinitive is needed.

Another hypothesis that could be explored is to connect the optionality of the inflected infinitive to diachrony: in some of the languages studied, such as Brazilian Portuguese and Sardinian, the inflected infinitive is disappearing (for BP see Pires 2002; for Sardinian see Pisano 2008). It has already disappeared from Old Neapolitan and Old Leonese. This hypothesis could however not be explored any further within the limits of this thesis, and it will therefore be left open for further research.

Since the hypothesis that the subjects of inflected infinitives are topics was rejected, the next chapter will contain an analysis of the inflected infinitive in purely syntactic terms.

Chapter 5. An analysis of inflected infinitives in EP

5.1 Biclausality

It is generally assumed that inflected infinitives appear in biclausal constructions; specifically, they appear in a separate clause from the matrix verb selecting them. This differentiates inflected infinitives from constructions in which an infinitive is selected by e.g. a modal or restructuring verb. These latter constructions are assumed to be monoclausal, where the infinitive is merged as V and the auxiliary is directly merged in the inflectional domain (cf. Cinque 2004). Inflected infinitives, on the other hand, are considered to head their own clause and we will adopt this view in our analysis.

There are two main reasons to assume this biclausal structure for inflected infinitives. The first is that the two sentences can have two separate subjects, as we have seen in Chapter 2. An example is given in (2):

- (2) *Nós lamentamos ter-em eles recebido pouco dinheiro.* (EP)
We regret to.have-AGR.3.PL they received little money
'We regret that they have received little money.' (Raposo 1987: 97)

It is hard to accommodate the second subject *eles* which is agreeing with the embedded verb *terem recebido* within a monoclausal structure. If the lower subject *eles* is merged in Spec,vP, it enters in an Agree relation with T and it raises to Spec,TP because of the EPP feature present on T. The other subject present in the numeration (*nós*) can then not be merged and the derivation crashes. If the other subject is instead merged in the higher position, the case of the lower subject cannot be valued and the derivation would crash as well. So, since there are two agreeing subjects, we have to assume a biclausal structure.

The subject of the infinitive can also coincide with the subject of the matrix clause. However, this is mostly because of exhaustive subject control and crucially, in these cases the inflected infinitive is ruled out.

Furthermore, we can also use the same adverb twice: once in the matrix clause and once in the embedded inflected infinitival clause, as in (3) :

- (3) *É provavelmente difícil os deputados aprovar-em*
 It.is probably difficult the deputies to.approve-AGR.3pl
provavelmente a proposta. (EP)
 probably the proposal
 'It is probably difficult that the deputies probably approve the proposal.'

Assuming Cinque's (1999) adverbial hierarchy, we take the fact that two adverbs of the same type (and therefore located in the specifier of the same functional head) can co-occur in (3), as an indication that this sentence is biclausal.

The question now arises as to how much structure this embedded clause has. There are several reasons to assume that it has at least an inflectional domain or a TP: there is a subject which bears nominative case; the verb agrees with this subject; adverbs of the higher adverbial space can appear within the inflected infinitival clause, as in (3). Furthermore, as seen in Chapter 3, several scholars have argued that in the case of the infinitive – subject inversion, the infinitive raises to C (Madeira 1994, Longa 1994, Pires 2002). This would mean that there is a CP layer of present in some embedded clauses, at least in the ones that present inversion, as in (2).

The presence of a CP layer in an embedded clause is not obvious and depends on the type of embedded clause. For instance, Benincà (2006) argues that in dependent interrogatives access to the CP is blocked, since the projection hosting the wh-element is the lowest projection in the CP-domain; furthermore, Benincà & Poletto (2004) have shown that in Romance varieties, bridge verbs select full CPs as a complement, whereas non-bridge verbs select smaller portions of whole CPs.

An inflected infinitive appears thus in its own clause. In order to give an analysis of the inflected infinitive, we will first investigate the locus of the φ -

features within this infinitival clause, because it is the inflection on the *non-finite* verb that sets the inflected infinitive apart from other verbs forms. To understand the syntax and the distribution of the inflected infinitive, we must therefore first understand where its φ -probe is located.

Next, the different contexts of the inflected infinitive will be discussed, since it can appear in a selected (in case of a complement to epistemic, declarative or factive verb) or unselected clause (in adjuncts and unselected subject clauses). As we have seen, there are different distributions for the subject and the inflected infinitive depending on these contexts. These distribution differences need to be accounted for. It is therefore necessary to investigate the nature of the functional heads present in the inflected infinitival clause and their featural setup.

Finally, the impossible contexts for an inflected infinitive will also be accounted for. The analysis formulated for EP in this Chapter, will then be applied to the other Romance languages under discussion in the following chapter.

5.2 The locus of φ -features

In recent developments of Minimalism (Chomsky 2001, 2004) it is assumed that agreement is the result of a dependency relation between a *Probe* and a *Goal*. This holds for subject-verb agreement as well. We therefore assume that also the agreement found on the inflected infinitive is an instance of *Agree*, where a probe copies the φ -features from the subject which then appear as agreement on the infinitive.

Normally, the T head acts as a probe since it needs to value its φ -features. T probes in its c-command domain to find a DP with which it can agree in order to value these features. It has been argued that these features are originally located on C and that T inherits the features from C, when T is selected by C (Chomsky 2004). T is then complete and only in this case T has the semantic properties of Tense:

“T functions in the Case-agreement system only if it is selected by C, in which case, it is also complete. Further, in just this case T has the semantic properties of true Tense. These cannot be added by the ϕ -features, which are uninterpretable; they must therefore be added by C.” (Chomsky 2004: 115)

When T is not selected by C, it is a raising or ECM infinitival that lacks ϕ -features and tense (Chomsky 2001: 9).

In finite clauses, C selects T. As argued by Ouali (2008), there are then three logical possibilities: 1. C can transfer its features to T ('DONATE' in Ouali's terminology); 2. C does not transfer its features to T ('KEEP') or 3. C transfers the ϕ -features to T but also keeps a copy. All these three options are attested crosslinguistically, but they are not all equally economical. In fact, Ouali (2008) concludes that these three options are “ordered naturally under principles of efficient computation i.e. economy and ‘minimal search’, with (a) DONATE being the most ‘economical’ and (c) SHARE being the last resort and least ‘economical’.” However, Ledgeway (in press b) argues the contrary, i.e. that DONATE is the more marked and more complex option and KEEP is the simplest option.

We will leave considerations of economy aside in this thesis and adopt only the three possibilities with regards to the location of the ϕ -features: 'DONATE', 'KEEP' and 'SHARE' from Ouali's analysis. This last option leads to the expression of agreement on both the complementizer and the finite verb, as found in several Dutch dialects (see for complementizer agreement e.g. Van Koppen 2005 and Haegeman & Van Koppen 2012, who however argue that C and T both probe for different goals and therefore can have different ϕ -features). A Romance parallel of feature sharing and inheritance between T and C is given in Ledgeway & Lombardi (2014), where modal distinctions can be spelled out on the complementizer and the verb, or on only one of these two heads.

The question is what this approach to feature inheritance tells us about the agreement in inflected infinitives. First of all, if ϕ -features originate on C, C has to be present in an inflected infinitival clause; otherwise there would be no ϕ -probe with which the subject enters in an Agree relation. The next question is what

happens with these φ -features on C. Just as with finite clauses, they can be DONATED to T (yielding regular agreement on T), they can be kept on C or they can be present on both C and T.

As said above, according to Ouali (2008) the most optimal option is the first one, i.e. C DONATEs its φ -features to T. We hypothesize however that this is not the case in inflected infinitival clauses, since the option 'DONATE' is normally selected in finite root clauses in Romance and the inflected infinitive differs from a standard finite verb and has a different distribution, as was extensively discussed in Chapter 2. The syntax of the functional heads of this clause must thus be different from the syntax of a finite clause. We argue therefore that this difference lies in the locus of the φ -probe. More specifically, we hypothesize that the φ -probe is not DONATED to T as in finite clauses since infinitival T is defective in a way that will be clarified in the next section. The following section will then focus on the question whether the φ -features are KEPT on C or not.

5.3 Tense and TP in the infinitival clause

Before we can outline an analysis according to the hypothesis of the φ -probe not being located on T as in finite clauses, the defectiveness of the infinitival T needs to be established. We will focus on whether there is a link between finiteness and tense defectiveness.

One of the most influential theories on tense was formulated by Reichenbach (1947). This theory is based on three temporal primitive entities. The first moment in time is the time of the event described by the predicate, often represented by the letter E. The second time is the time of the utterance, the so-called speech time S. Thirdly, there is the reference time R, which is the moment with respect to which the event time is described. This third moment is necessary in the representation of more complex tenses such as the past perfect, which describes an event (E) that took place before another moment in the past (R).

In their morphosyntactic theory of aspect and tense, Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) adopt an approach in which tenses are regarded as relational expressions. Two tense heads in the derivation encode the temporal relation, namely between R

and S and between E and R. There is never a direct relation between S and E. They propose the following system of representation of those two tenses, where the Reichenbachian points in time (S, R and E) can overlap (marked with a comma) or precede (marked with an underscore):

(4) T1 = R & S (S_R = future, R_S = past, S,R = present)

T2 = E & R (E_R = perfect R_E = prospective, E,R = neutral)

As schematized in (4), the first tense encodes the relationship between the reference point and the speech point. When the speech act follows the reference point, we have a past tense; when the two points overlap, we have a present tense; finally, when the speech act precedes the reference point, we have a future tense. The second tense encodes the relationship between the event time and the reference point: when the event precedes the R, the tense is perfect; when R precedes E, the tense is prospective; if E and R overlap, the tense is neutral.

Since there is never a direction relationship between S and E, it is the R that connects the event with the context. If this context is extrasentential, it anchors the described event directly in the reality of the speech act. When the context is given within the sentence, R is provided by the auxiliary or by the superordinate clause (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997: 30).

An infinitival clause can only be marked for the second tense, as can be deduced from the fact that there exist perfective infinitival forms, but not for the first, since their temporal interpretation ultimately depends on the tense of the matrix clause (Bošković 1997). The second tense is also present in the case of infinitives that express an 'unrealized future' as described by Stowell (1982). In this case, the infinitive encodes the second type of tense (where R precedes E) but the interpretation of the R depends on the matrix verb (encoding the relationship between S and R).

A similar notion of tense dependence is used by Bianchi (2003), who argues that the meaning of finiteness relates to the way that the logophoric centre of the clause is identified. She expands the notion of finiteness in the sense that according to her proposal, finite clauses do not have only their tense directly linked to the speech event but also other properties of the speech or mental

event such as identification of persons and spatial relations. She defines the logophoric centre as follows (Bianchi 2003: 11):

- (5) A logophoric centre is a speech or mental event which comprises
- (i) an obligatory animate participant (Speaker/source)
 - (ii) an optional Addressee (for speech events)
 - (iii) a temporal coordinate
 - (iv) possibly spatial coordinates

and is associated with a Cognitive State of the participant(s) in which the proposition expressed by the clause must be integrated.

What distinguishes finite main clauses from subordinate finite or non-finite clauses is whether their logophoric centre is external or internal. As Bianchi (2003: 215) states: 'finite verb forms displaying absolute tense and full-fledged person agreement are anchored to the external logophoric centre, corresponding to the speech event. On the contrary, a subset of non-finite clauses, namely control clauses, is anchored to an internal logophoric centre: a contextually introduced speech or mental event distinct from the speech event.' This continues the view proposed in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) but it shifts the distinction from the opposition between finite and non-finite verb forms to main clauses vs. subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses can have finite verb forms, but their tense is often dependent on the matrix clause (the so-called Sequence of Tense phenomenon/*consecutio temporum*).

The presence or absence of a connection to the speech event is thus what distinguishes [+finite] from [-finite] tense (Bianchi 2003: 8). This information is syntactically encoded in the Fin⁰ head. A [-finite] Fin head encodes an internal logophoric center, which is constituted by the speech event denoted by the matrix clause (Bianchi 2003: 13). In this way, the participants of the embedded clause are to be identified as the participants of the matrix clause. This is the phenomenon of control.

In conclusion, the tense of an infinitival clause cannot express its relation to the speech event directly: this is either because the R is missing (in Giorgi & 74

Pianesi's terminology) or because the sentence lacks an internal logophoric centre. This information is encoded in the Fin head. Embedded or non-finite clauses have a negative specification for finiteness on the Fin head, which has consequences for the functional head that expresses the first tense as described by Giorgi & Pianesi (1997). The infinitive can express its tense only with respect to the event of the matrix clause, which constitutes the S and R or the logophoric centre. It is indeed generally assumed within generative literature that a negative specification for tense is what lies at the core of an infinitive (Adger 2007: 29). Rigau (1995) argues that this weak character of T is expressed by the infinitive morphological form.

We hypothesize that this defectiveness of the T1 head leads to it not being able to inherit the φ -features from C. It has been proposed (Chomsky 2000, 2001) that T needs to be φ -complete (crucially, to have a valued person feature) in order to be able to assign nominative case, but it has been shown that nominative case can be assigned also without having φ -agreement (see e.g. Carstens 2001). In a similar way, we propose that T needs to be 'tense-complete' to be able to host φ -features.

5.4 Agreement on C or on a lower functional head?

Since T is defective as shown in the last section, we hypothesize that it cannot inherit the φ -features from C. Both options 'DONATE' and SHARE are thus out. This leaves us with two possibilities: either the features are located on C ('KEEP') or, a possibility not mentioned by Ouali (2008), they are inherited by a different functional head in the derivation. This latter option has been proposed by Miyagawa (2010) for topic and focus movement in Japanese. The α P head, located between CP and TP, has a [-focus] feature that needs to be valued by a topic or focus constituent. According to his analysis, the reason that φ -probe is inherited by a lower head is that it must seek a way to find its goal, being unable to do so itself (Miyagawa 2010: 22).

Both possibilities offer advantages. Assuming that the infinitive raises to C and agreement takes place on C enables us to account for the fact that the inflected infinitive cannot appear with a finite complementizer (which is merged as C⁰),

only with non-finite complementizers which are merged in the lowest functional head of the CP-domain (Fin⁰). Furthermore, the subject-verb inversion that is necessary in some inflected infinitival contexts in EP is accounted for (see also Madeira 1994, Longa 1994, Pires 2002).

However, locating the φ -probe on C also encounters problems, one of which has been mentioned in Chapter 3: negation precedes the inflected infinitive. Since negation is analysed as a head below the CP (Zanuttini 1997), this is unexpected under a V-to-C analysis to inflected infinitives.

The fact that in some contexts we have subject-verb inversion leads us to expect that the functional head with the φ -probe is in those cases located higher than T, since the T is assumed to have an EPP feature in SVO languages.

If we take into account the verb classes that can select an inflected infinitival complement, i.e. declarative, epistemic, factive and impersonal verbs, we see that most of them can also select a finite clause of as a complement. In these cases, the finite complement is mostly in the subjunctive, rather than the indicative, except for the complements to declarative and epistemic verbs. The finite complements of some these verbs are thus marked for mood. Since the meaning of the complement does not change from the finite to the infinitival one, we can assume that also the infinitival complement has the same mood interpretation.

In fact, Cinque's hierarchy of functional heads based on the distribution of the adverbs, shows that there are four functional heads with Modal/Mood semantics located between T (Past/Future) and the CP domain:

- (6) [Mood_{speech act} [Mood_{evaluative} [Mood_{evidential} [Mod_{epistemic} [T(Past)
 [T(Future) [Mood_{irrealis} [Mod_{necessity} [Mod_{possibility} [Asp_{habitual} [Asp_{repetitive(I)}
 [Asp_{frequentative(I)} [Mod_{volitional} [Asp_{celerative(1)} [T(Anterior) [Asp_{terminative}
 [Asp_{continuative} [AsP_{perfect(?)} [Asp_{retrospective} [Asp_{proximative} [Asp_{durative}
 [Asp_{generic/progressive} [Asp_{prospective} [Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} [Asp_{P1Completive} [Voice
 [Asp_{celerative(II)} [Asp_{repetitive(II)} [Asp_{frequentative(II)} [Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}

We can check the position of the inflected infinitive with adverb placement, since Cinque (1999) argues that in the specifiers of these functional heads the corresponding adverbs are merged. In (7), a part of the structural hierarchy of adverbs with their corresponding heads is given (adapted from Cinque 1999):

(7) [*francamente* Mood_{speech} act [(a)*fortunadamente* Mood_{evaluative} [*alegadamente, evidentemente* Mood_{evidential} [*provavelmente* Mod_{epistemic} [*uma vez* T(Past) [*em seguida* T(Future) [*talvez* Mood_{irrealis} [*necessariamente* Mod_{necessity} [*possivelmente* Mod_{possibility} [*habitualmente, normalmente* Asp_{habitual}

So, by checking whether the inflected infinitive appears to the left or to the right of these adverbs, we can establish to which position the verb has raised.

In the following sections, we will propose the following analysis: since T(past/future, T1 in Giorgi & Pianesi's terms) is defective, it cannot inherit the φ -probe from C. The φ -probe is located instead on one of the Mood/Mod heads above T; the exact location depends on which head is selected by the matrix verb. The infinitival verb raises to this position to get its mood/modal interpretation and the agreement takes place with the subject since this head also contains a φ -probe. The analysis will be exemplified by derivations of inflected infinitival clauses in the next section.

5.5 Deriving inflected infinitives in EP

In this section, sample sentences will be derived according to the proposed analysis.

5.5.1 Selected complement clauses

As discussed in Chapter 2, an inflected infinitival complement can be selected by declarative, epistemic and factive verbs. In the first two cases, subject – verb inversion is obligatory and the verb is often an auxiliary (*ter* 'to have'). With factive verbs, the subject – verb inversion is only grammatical in case of an auxiliary; in case of a lexical verb, the subject has to precede the inflected infinitive.

An epistemic verb is a verb that expresses the degree of belief or knowledge of the complement. It gives an epistemic interpretation to the embedded clause. We

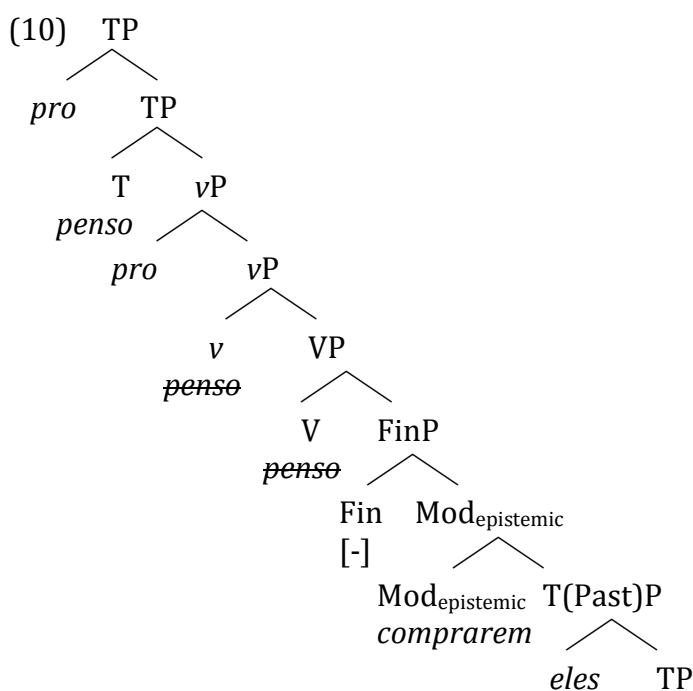
therefore expect that the verb raises to the $\text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic}}$ head. We can test the position of the verb with adverbs, as in has been done in (8):

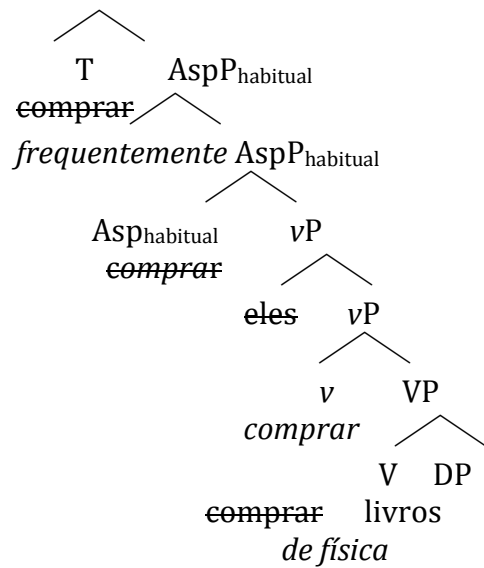
- (8) *Penso comprarem* ??*francamente/ evidentemente /necessariamente*
 I.think to.buy-AGR.3.PL honestly/evidently/neccessarily
/felizmente eles frequentemente *livros de fisica.* (EP)
 fortunately they frequently books of physics
 ‘I think they buy honestly/evidently/necessarily/fortunately frequently
 books of physics.’ (adapted from Ambar 1994:13)

The judgments indicate that the verb is probably not in a higher position than the highest position in the IP, since our informant does not like the verb raising over the highest adverbs. It can however precede the adverbs that are in the specifiers of the other mood heads of the clause. Furthermore, the obligatory verb-subject inversion is expected under our analysis, since the verb has to raise to a higher position while the subject is left in Spec,TP.

In (9), we have an example sentence with an inflected infinitive selected by the epistemic verb *pensar* ‘to think’. The derivation is given in (10):

- (9) *Penso comprarem eles frequentemente livros de fisica.*





The verb is merged with its complement, the DP *livros de fisica*. The verb then remerges as *v*, after which the external argument is merged with the *vP*. Since this example contains a generic event, the verb remerges in *Asp_{habitual}* to get its generic reading. The adverb *frequentemente* is merged in the specifier of this aspectual projection. The verb raises then to T. Due to the EPP feature present on T, the subject raises to spec,TP. Note that T can assign nominative case, but the reason why it would probe in its c-command domain and establish an Agree relation with the subject, remains unclear at this point. This is however a problem for all infinitives which license an overt subject, and will be left aside here. In any event, this is a further confirmation of the independence of case from agreement (Chomsky 2001 ff.).

The φ -probe is not located on T due to its defectiveness as argued above. Instead, it has been inherited by the *Mod_{epistemic}* head, to which the verb then raises to get its epistemic interpretation. The infinitive receives there its agreement. *Mod_{epistemic}* is then merged with *Fin*, where the non-finiteness is encoded. The *Fin* head is null, since there is no overt complementizer.

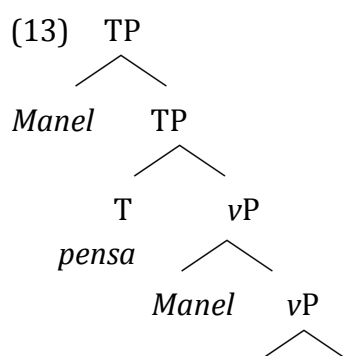
The inflected infinitive is often the auxiliary verb: auxiliary verbs are assumed to be merged higher than lexical verbs in the functional structure (cf. Pollock 1987; Roberts & Roussou 2003; Harwood 2014). This holds also for our data, if we have a look at differences in adverb positions between an inflected infinitive that is an auxiliary (11a) and a lexical verb (11b):

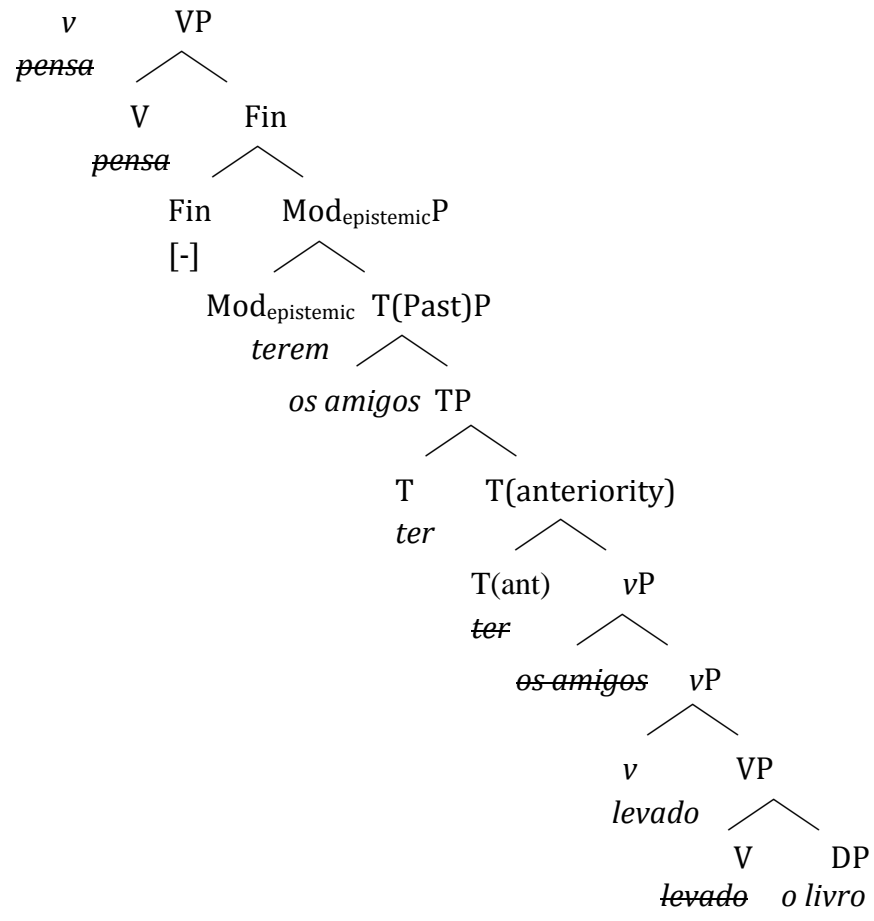
- (11) a. *Penso comprar* *francamente/* *evidentemente*
/necessariamente
 I.think to.buy-AGR.3.PL honestly/evidently/neccessarily
/felizmente eles frequentemente livros de fisica. (EP)
 fortunately they frequently books of physics
 ‘I think they buy honestly/evidently/neccessarily/fortunately frequently
 books of physics.’ (adapted from Ambar 1994:13)
- b. *O Manel pensa terem francamente /evidentemente /necessariamente*
 The Manel thinks to.have-AGR.3.PL honestly /evidently /neccessarily
/felizmente os amigos levado o livro. (EP)
 Fortunately the friends taken the book.
 ‘Manel thinks that friends have
 honestly/evidently/neccessarily/fortunately taken the book’
 (adapted from Raposo 1987: 98)

In the example with the auxiliary, *francamente* can follow the inflected infinitive, whereas this is not preferable in case of the lexical verb. We deduce that the auxiliary can move to a higher position. Since it is not clear at this point which projection this could be, the sample derivation will feature the same position for both the auxiliary and the lexical verb.

The derivation is shown in (13):

- (12) *O Manel pensa ter-em os amigos levado o livro.* (EP)
 The Manel thinks to.have-AGR.3.PL the friends taken the book.
 ‘Manel thinks that his friends have taken the book.’ (Raposo 1987: 98)





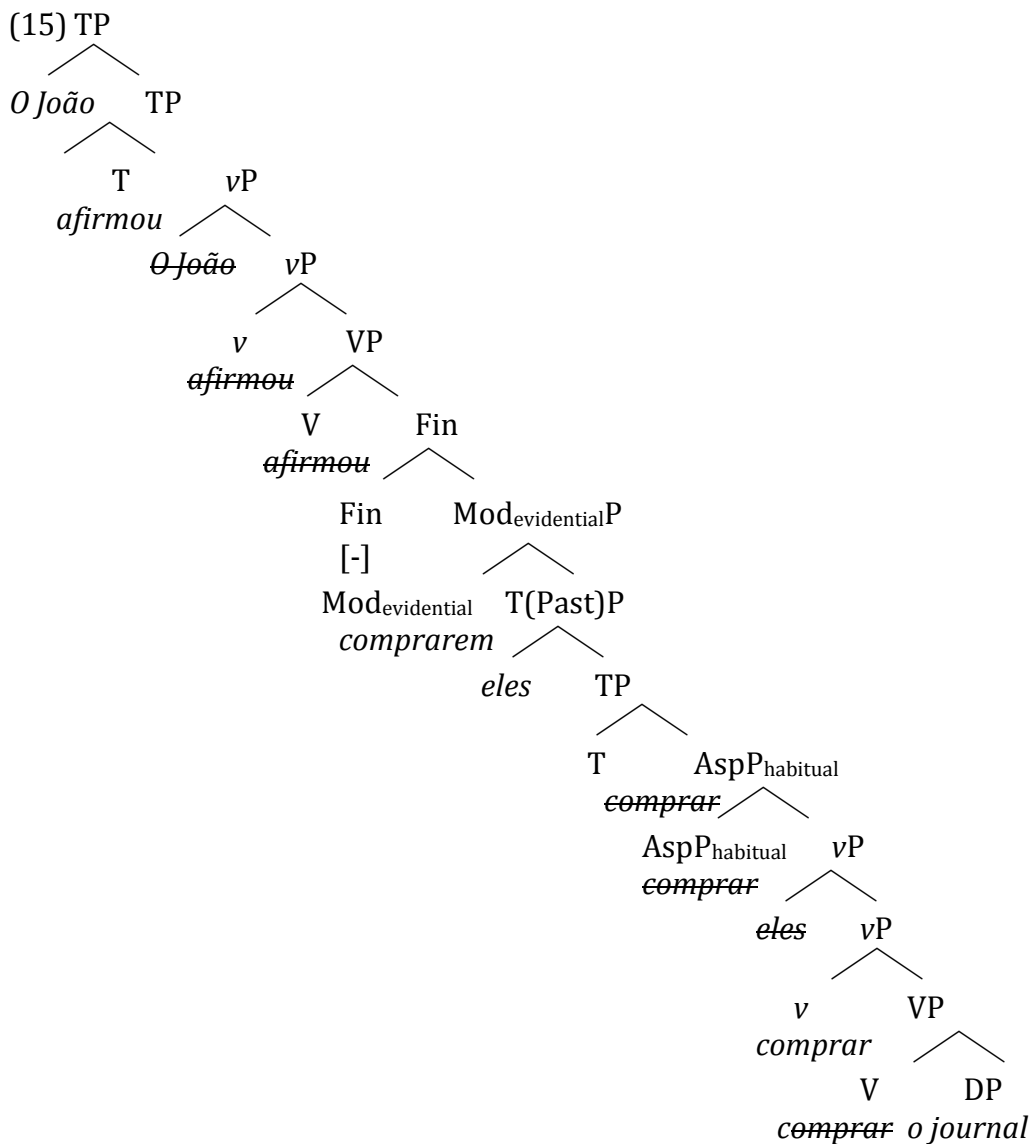
The verb *levado* is first merged in VP. It assigns case to its complement *o livro*. The verb then remerges as *v*, after which the external argument *os amigos* is merged with it. The auxiliary is then merged in T(antiority) to express the anteriority to the reference point R (which will be given by the matrix clause). The auxiliary *ter* remerges as T. This higher T is defective since this clause is non-finite. Therefore, it does not inherit the φ -probe from C.

The φ -probe is instead inherited by the $Mod_{epistemic}$ head, which is selected by the main verb, which is the epistemic verb *pensar* ‘to think’. This head probes for φ -features, which are present on the subject. The verb moves to this functional head to get its modal interpretation and agreement appears on the infinitive.

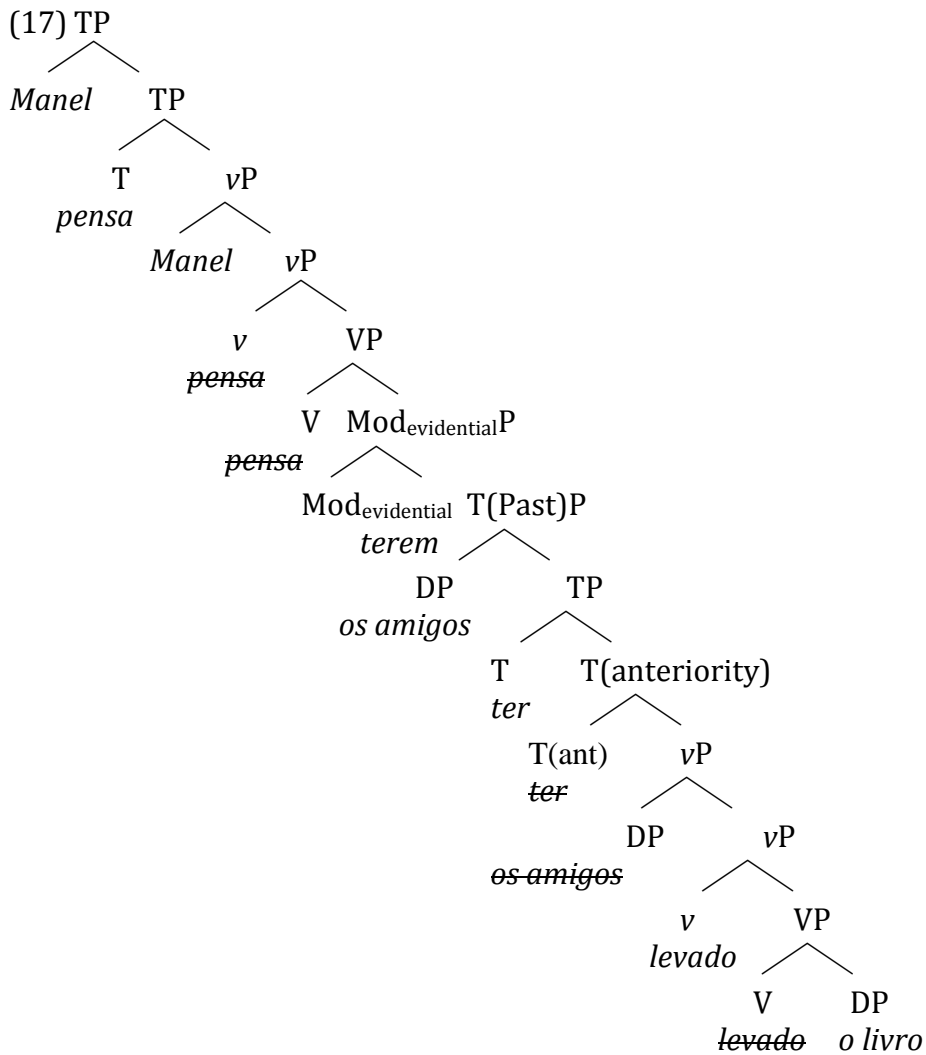
The derivation of a declarative complement is very similar to an epistemic complement, except for the functional head on which the φ -probe is located. Declarative verbs indicate that the content of their complement is known to the speaker because he heard some saying so. We therefore assume that the inflected infinitive moves to the evidential head.

The adverb placement is the same as for complements to epistemic verbs (João Costa, personal communication), so we can deduce that also here, the auxiliary can raise to a higher position than the lexical verb. Also in this case, the subject inversion is obligatory, and the verb has to be an auxiliary (16) or to denote generic or habitual event (14).

- (14) *O João afirmou comprarem eles o jornal todas as sextas-feiras.*
 The João claims to.buy-AGR.3.PL they the newspaper all the (EP)
 Fridays.
 'João claims that they buy the newspaper every Friday.' (Ambar 1994: 4)



- (16) *Eu afirmo ter-em os deputados trabalhado pouco.* (EP)
 I claim to.have-AGR.3.PL the deputies worked little
 'I claim that the deputies have worked little.' (Raposo 1987: 87)



The question now remains why obligatory inversion is only possible with auxiliaries or lexical verbs that indicate a habitual event. We have to stipulate some feature on the epistemic and evidential head that can be checked only by non-telic verbs. Only lexical verbs that denote a generic event can raise to the position; verbs marked for telicity cannot. Perfective verbs are usually telic, but this telicity is expressed on the participle, not necessarily on the auxiliary. Ambar

(1994) proposes an analysis based on Kayne's (1993) idea that the auxiliary *have* is assimilated to *be*, yielding the possibility of an habitual/generic reading.

This same restriction holds for the Italian Aux-to-Comp construction, characteristic of formal registers, where not only auxiliaries but also stative verbs can raise to C, whereas eventive verbs cannot (Raposo 1987; Ledgeway 2000). The latter category needs an internally organized Tense to bind its eventive variable, which is absent in the infinitival clause. This variable can also be bound by an auxiliary (Ledgeway 2000: 296-7). Auxiliaries can thus check the non-telicity/stativity feature on the verbal head expressing evidentiality or epistemicity. Eventive events cannot check this feature and therefore, they cannot raise to this position where the φ -probe is located, hence the impossibility of eventive verbs appearing in an inflected infinitival complement to epistemic or declarative verbs.

In contrast with declarative and factive complements, an inflected infinitive which is selected by a factive verb such as *lamentar*, does not show subject-verb inversion, as in (18). This inversion is however optional with auxiliaries (19):

- (18) a. *Lamento eles perder-em os documentos.* (EP)
 I.regret they to.lose-AGR.3.PL the documents
 'I regret that they lose the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)
- b. **Lamento perder-em eles os documentos.* (EP)
 I.regret to.lose-AGR.3.PL they the documents
 'I regret that they lose the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)
- (19) a. *Lamento eles ter-em perdido os documentos.* (EP)
 I.regret they to.have-AGR.3.PL lost the documents
 'I regret that they have lost the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)
- b. *Lamento ter-em eles perdido os documentos.* (EP)
 I.regret to.have-AGR.3.PL they lost the documents
 'I regret that they have lost the documents.' (Madeira 1994: 183)

Factive verbs express the speaker's feeling about the event expressed by the embedded clause. In Portuguese and in other Romance languages, these factive verbs select the subjunctive mood for a finite complement. We therefore assume

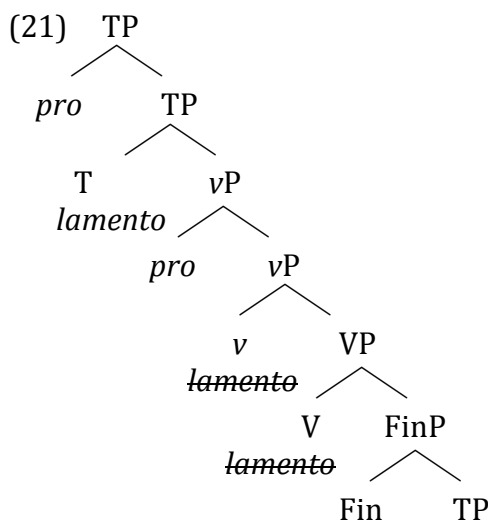
that the inflected infinitive has the same specification for mood and therefore merges in the same position, i.e. Mood_{realis/irrealis}. This is confirmed by the fact that subject-verb inversion is not obligatory; the inversion depends on whether or not the subject has to raise to T because of the EPP feature; the problem of inversion in factive complements is the same as the inversion in any other clause.

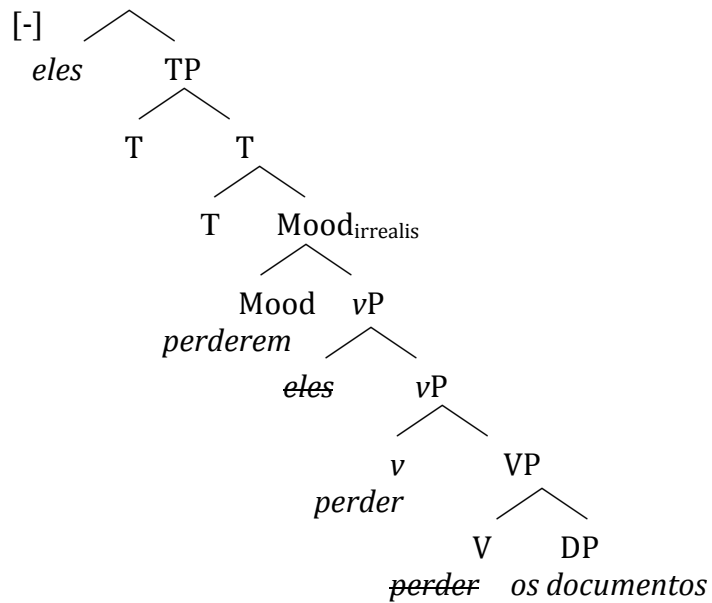
The adverb placement data on adverb placement are slightly more complicated, as can be seen in (20):

- (20) *Nós lamentamos eles francamente /evidentemente /necessariamente*
 We regret they frankly /evidently /necessarily
/felizmente ter-em francamente /evidentemente
 fortunately to.have-AGR.3.PL frankly evidently
/necessariamente /felizmente recebido pouco dinheiro. (EP)
 necessarily /fortunately received little money
 ‘We regret that they have frankly/evidently/necessarily/fortunately
 received little money.’ (adapted from Raposo 1987: 97)

The verb can both precede and follow the highest adverbs; this can maybe be explained by the fact that the inflected infinitive in this case is an auxiliary verb, which tend to raise to a higher position.

The derivation of (18) is given in (21):





This analysis is in contradiction with the mirror principle (Baker 1985), as the Mood head is located lower than T, whereas the morphology from T (the infinitival morphology) is preceding the agreement morphology. This is however not a problem if we assume that lexical items are inserted at a post-syntactic level; the linearization of morphemes takes place at PF.

5.5.2 Unselected subject clauses

The inflected infinitive in EP can also appear in unselected clauses which function as a subject. The semantics of the verbs that have an inflected infinitive as subject are very different; however, also here the finite counterparts of the inflected infinitive is usually a subjunctive clause. We therefore assume that also in this case, the φ -probe is located on the Mood head right below the T head.

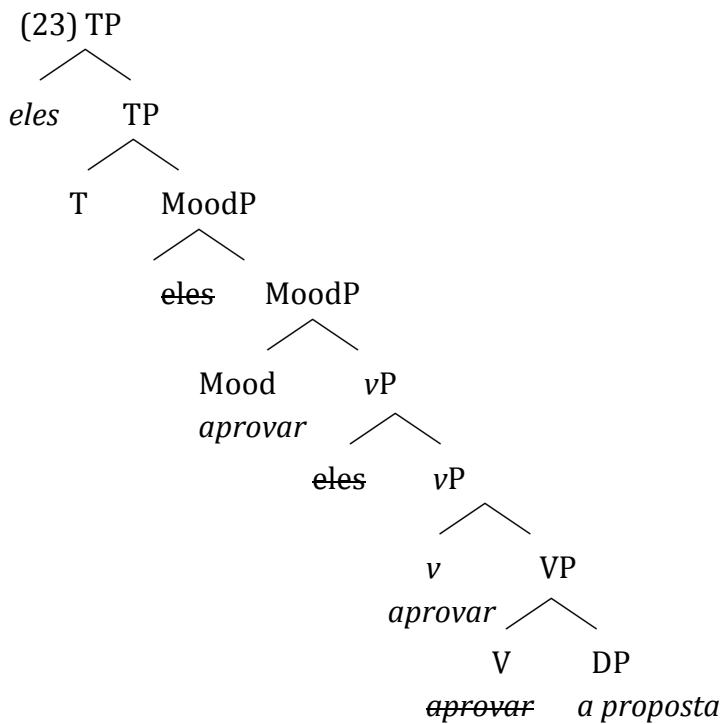
This is confirmed by the fact that in these unselected clauses, subject – verb inversion is not obligatory; it is however possible with auxiliary verbs. Another confirmation comes from the fact that the higher adverbs are preferably placed before the verb, as can be seen in (22):

- (22) *Será difícil os deputados ^{??}francamente /evidentemente*
 It.will.be difficult the deputies frankly evidently
/necessariamente /felizmente aprovar-em a proposta. (EP)

necessarily /fortunately to.approve-AGR.3.PL the proposal
 'It will be difficult for the deputies to
 frankly/evidently/necessarily/fortunately approve the proposal.'

(adapted from Raposo 1987: 86)

The derivation is given in (23):



The verb is first merged as V. It assigns case to its complement *a proposta*. The verb then remerges as v, after which it merges with the external argument *eles*. T assigns nominative case to the external argument. Since the Fin-head is encoded for [-Fin], there is no tense marking on the auxiliary. The verb therefore has the *-ar-* infinitival morphology.

As hypothesized above, the C head is endowed with φ -features that need valuing, but which cannot be transferred to T. In this case, no modal head is selected by a matrix clause. Instead, the inflected infinitive is merged in a Mood_{irrealis}. The subject can then remain in spec,vP or move up to spec,TP, which leads to the two possible orders for unselected clauses.

5.5.3 Adjuncts

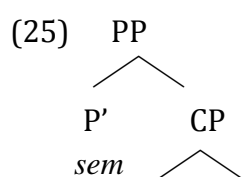
Inflected infinitives are very frequent in adjuncts, which can be introduced by temporal and modal prepositions. Rigau (1995) argues that temporal adjuncts selected for by a preposition have to be analysed as CPs.

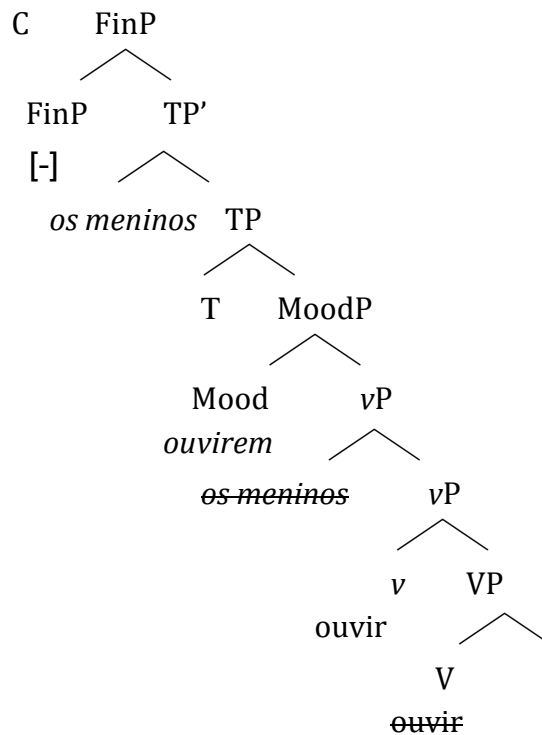
Like unselected clauses, adjuncts can also have several modal interpretations, since adverbs can express a goal, a non-factive event, a cause etc. We find however no difference in the syntactic behavior of the inflected infinitive and its subject across different types of adjuncts so we assume that the syntactic structure is the same for all adjuncts. We assume therefore that the inflected infinitive in clausal adjuncts is invariably located $\text{Mod}_{\text{irrealis}}$.

We can again verify the position of the inflected infinitive by looking at adverb placement:

- (24) A *Maria entrou em casa sem *francamente*
 The Mary entered in house without frankly
 /?evidentemente /*necessariamente /?felizmente os meninos
 evidently /necessarily /fortunately the children
 *francamente /evidentemente /necessariamente /?felizmente
 frankly /evidently /necessarily /fortunately
ouvir-em. (EP)
 to.hear-AGR.3.PL
 ‘Mary entered the house without the children
 frankly/evidently/fortunately/necessarily hearing her.’
 (adapted from Raposo 1987: 97)

The adverbs cannot or only marginally precede the subject; they, however, appear between the subject and the infinitive (with exception of *francamente*).





The verb *ouvir* is merged as V without selecting a complement. It remerges as *v* and then combines with the external subject DP *os meninos*. The verb raises to Mood to get its irrealis interpretation. Since the clause is negatively marked for finiteness, Tense cannot inherit the φ -probe, which is instead located on the Mood head, which enters in an Agree relation with the subject. The subject raises later to Spec,TP due to the EPP feature present on T, yielding the correct word order.

Also in this context, inversion is only allowed with an auxiliary. This can be explained by the tendency of auxiliaries to raise higher than lexical verbs.

5.5.4 Causative and perception constructions

With causatives and perception verbs, an inflected infinitive is only allowed when the subject of the infinitive (which is the object of the matrix verb) appears between these two verbs. Since there is a φ -probe present, we assume that in these cases the causative and the perception verb select a full CP.

However, when we check the adverb positions with respect to the inflected infinitive, we see that almost none of the higher adverbs are allowed in the causative complement, neither preceding (26) or following the infinitive (27):

(26) *Eu fiz os alunos *francamente /*evidentemente*
 I made the students frankly /evidently
*/*necessariamente /*felizmente escrever-em a carta. (EP)*
 necessarily /fortunately to.write-AGR.3.PL the letter
 'I made the students frankly/evidently/necessarily/fortunately write the letter.'

(27) *Eu fiz os alunos escrever-em *francamente*
 I made the students to.write-AGR.3.PL frankly
*??evidentemente /*necessariamente /felizmente a carta. (EP)*
 Evidently necessarily fortunately the letter
 I made the students frankly/evidently/necessarily/fortunately write the letter.'

With perception verbs, none of the higher adverbs are allowed in the infinitival clause (João Costa, personal communication).

It is unclear at this point how these causative and perception verb complements should be analysed, since they present an inflected infinitive (and should therefore have a CP according to our analysis) but they seem to lack the functional structure of the upper IP domain. This issue will be left aside for now and needs to be accounted for in future research.

5.6 Impossible contexts

In this section, we will establish whether our analysis can also account for the impossible contexts, i.e. whether our analysis predicts in which contexts inflected infinitive cannot appear correctly.

Our analysis predicts that the inflected infinitive cannot appear in monoclausal contexts, because if there is one clause, there is just one φ -probe: the probe on T. This is the case for modals and temporal auxiliaries: the finite

verbs are merged directly within the IP domain, whereas the infinitival verb stays in the lower domain. This predication is borne out: as has been discussed in Chapter 2, the inflected infinitive in EP cannot appear after modals.

Furthermore, the inflected infinitive cannot appear as a complement to raising verbs. Raising verbs select a TP as their complement; there is thus no CP in the complement of the raising verb present, hence no φ -features are present. This explains why an inflected infinitive cannot appear as a complement to a raising verb.

In addition, the inflected infinitive is excluded with exhaustive subject control verbs. Landau (2000) mentions several verb classes that select an exhaustively subject controlled complement: implicatives, aspectuals and modals. These verb types can all be analysed as leading to monoclausal structures; hence the impossibility of selecting an inflected infinitival complement. The assumption that there is only one φ -probe in a monoclausal structure, predicts correctly that the inflected infinitive cannot appear in these contexts. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that, when biclausal structures change into monoclausal ones, one of the two φ -probes is lost. This has happened in the development of aspectual particles in Salentino, where the auxiliaries which developed into particles, lost their agreement in the process (Ledgeway in press a).

Finally, there seems to be a ban on elements in the CP: no overt complementizer or *wh*-element is allowed in an inflected infinitival clause. Raposo (1987) explained this with V-to-C movement of the infinitive. However, since our analysis does not include V-to-C movement, these two phenomena have to be explained otherwise.

The impossibility of having the finite complementizer *que* can be readily explained by the negative specification of the Fin head. The clauses with an inflected infinitive are non-finite since the tense interpretation is ultimately dependent on the matrix clause, as argued above. Fin is thus negatively specified, and as such it is incompatible with the finite complementizer *que*. Instead, there is no complementizer present in EP.

The impossibility of extracting *wh*-elements out of inflected infinitival clauses might be due to the fact that these clauses are islands; however, these are mere

speculations and more extensive research is needed for these particular constructions.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have outlined an analysis based on the hypothesis that the T(past/future, T1 in Giorgi & Pianesi's terms) is defective in infinitival clauses: since it is defective, it cannot inherit the φ -probe from C. The φ -probe is located instead on one of the Mood/Mod heads in the IP domain; the exact location depends on which head is selected by the matrix verb. In case of epistemic verbs, the inflected infinitive raises to Mod_{epistemic}; in case of declarative verbs, in case of declarative verbs, the infinitive has merged as Mood_{evidential}. We see that when the verb selecting the infinitive can also select a subjunctive finite complement, the inflected infinitive raises to the same position, i.e. Mood_{irrealis}. The verb selects thus an irrealis complement, which can be finite or non-finite.

The different head containing the φ -probe explain the different word patterns that the inflected infinitival clauses present. In case of declarative and epistemic predicates, the verb raises to a position higher than T, yielding inversion, whereas in all other cases it is merged on Mood_{irrealis}. This functional head is lower than T, leading to a preverbal subject. Auxiliaries move higher in the functional structure, which leads to the possibility of having inversion in case of perfective infinitives. The exact position or meaning of the raising of the auxiliary infinitive remains however unclear.

The infinitival verb raises to this position to get its semantic interpretation and the agreement takes place with the subject, since this head also contains a φ -probe. The mood interpretation is the reason for the verb to move: it has to check an [irrealis] feature. Verb-movement is thus feature-driven in this analysis (cf. Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014; Niculescu 2015). Furthermore, it has been shown for English that also non-finite verbs raise for inflectional meanings (Harwood 2014).

Several issues could however not be explained by our analysis: the constructions involving causative and perception verbs, and the optionality of the inflected infinitive. These issues will be left open for further research.

Chapter 6. Extending the analysis to the other Romance inflected infinitives

6.1 BP

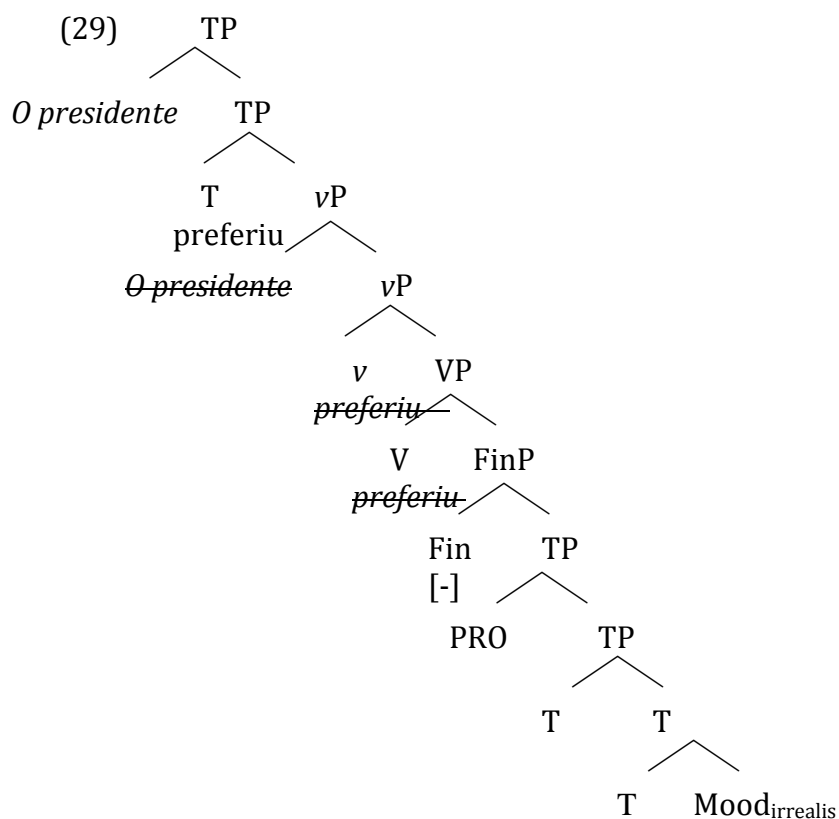
In general, the inflected infinitive in BP is very similar to the inflected infinitive in EP. The first difference is that in BP, also volitionals can select an inflected infinitival clause as their complement, whereas this is ungrammatical in EP. The volitional verb selects a Mood_{irrealis} head. The derivation of a inflected infinitive selected by a volitional verb is given in (28):

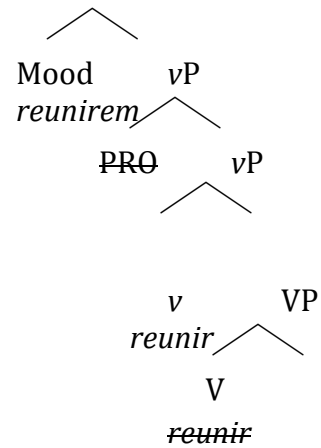
(28) *O presidente preferiu se reunirem às 6.* (BP)

The president preferred REFL to.meet-AGR.3.PL at six

‘The president preferred that they would meet at six.’

(Modesto 2009: 85)





Furthermore, BP differs from EP in that it allows both subject positions in all contexts. We can explain this by postulating an optional EPP feature on the head on which the φ -probe is located.

6.2 Galician

The distribution of the inflected infinitive in Galician is very similar to EP. However, the inflected infinitive is only selected as a complement by declarative verbs. It mostly occurs in adjuncts or in unselected clauses.

The word order in subject clauses is different from the other contexts: in unselected clauses, the subject can only follow the inflected infinitive; in all other contexts, the subject can also precede the inflected infinitive, or appear at the very end of the clause.

As in European Portuguese, the inflected infinitive cannot be selected by raising verb and modals, since these complements lack a CP and hence lack a φ -probe. The analysis proposed in above can therefore directly be applied to the Galician data as well.

Differently from EP, Galician does not allow for inflected infinitives to appear to complements to epistemic and factive verbs. These verbs select thus for a different type of complement than declaratives. The complement of epistemic or factives can be different in two ways, according to our analysis: they can lack a CP altogether, leading to the lack of a φ -probe in the embedded clause, or they have a CP which is not provided with a φ -probe. The first option seems improbable because the epistemic and factive verbs can select a finite CP, which

leads us to expect that also the non-finite complements are CPs. However, it is not clear at this point why the CP lacks the φ -probe. This is an issue which requires further research.

6.3 Old Neapolitan

The inflected infinitive in Neapolitan is always preceded by the prepositions or infinitival complementizers *a* or *de*. Standard Italian has *di* as infinitival complementizer which is argued to be merged in the Fin head (Rizzi 1997). We assume the same locus of merge for the Old Neapolitan complementizers.

The contexts in which an inflected infinitive can appear are the same in Old Neapolitan as in EP, with the exception that also volitionals can select an inflected infinitive in Old Neapolitan.

Unfortunately, no examples of inflected infinitives with an adverb were found in the online database of the OVI. There is thus no way of establishing the exact position of the inflected infinitive against adverb positions.

The impossible contexts are the same as in the other languages: monoclausal constructions such as modals and auxiliaries; causatives. These constructions can be assumed to be monoclausal. Our analysis then correctly predicts that there cannot be agreement on the infinitive since there is no second C-head from which a lower functional head can inherit the φ -probe.

There are also no examples of inflected infinitives with raising verbs attested. This is predicted by our analysis, since raising verbs do not select a CP as a complement. There is therefore no φ -probe in the embedded clause present, so no agreement can take place on the infinitive. The embedded subject can only enter in an Agree relation with the matrix verb.

In Old Neapolitan, use of the inflected infinitive is optional. There is no way of accommodating this optionality within our analysis, except for the assumption that sometimes C is selected without any φ -probe; the mechanism behind the presence of absence of a φ -probe remains however unaccounted for.

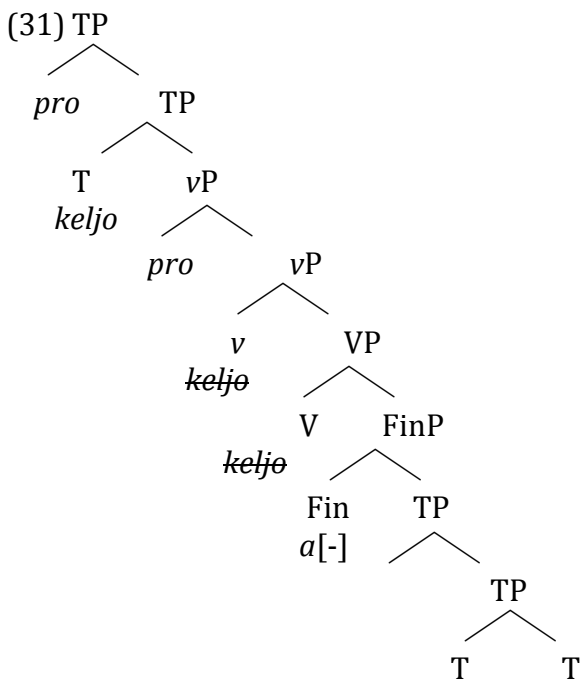
6.4 Sardinian

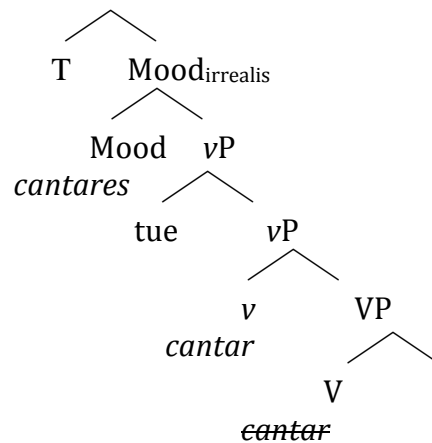
The distribution of the inflected infinitive in Sardinian is quite similar to the one described above for EP. The major difference between the two varieties is that in Sardinian the subject always appears postverbally. This can be explained by assuming that the infinitival T does not have a EPP feature, and that the subject enters in a Agree relation with it for its case. The infinitival subject is indeed always postverbal, independently from the presence of person agreement (Mensching 2000: 33).

Furthermore, in Sardinian case-assignment and the licensing of a infinitival subject has to be treated separately from infinitival agreement; as discussed in Chapter 2, Sardinian allows nominative subjects also with non-inflected infinitives.

In Sardinian, the inflected infinitive is found in complement clauses, selected for by different kinds of verbs, such as volitionals and epistemics. An example is given in (30) with its derivation in (31):

- (30) *Keljo a cantares tue* (Sard.)
 I.want to to.sing-AGR.2.PL you
 'I want you to sing.' (Jones 1991: 297)





The inflected infinitive is merged as *V*, remerges as *v* and then as *Mood_{irrealis}*, since it has been selected by the volitional *keljo*. The subject is merged in *spec,vP* and remains *in situ*, due to the absence of an EPP feature on *T*. It enters in an Agree relation with *T* to get its nominative case. *T* does not inherit the φ -probe since the clause is non-finite (as specified on the *Fin* head, lexicalized by the non-finite complementizer *a*) and *T* is thus defective. Instead, the φ -probe is inherited by *Mood_{irrealis}*.

The impossible contexts in Sardinian are comparable to the impossible contexts in EP. Firstly, the inflected infinitive cannot be selected by modal auxiliaries. This is predicated by our analysis since sequences of modals and infinitives are monoclausal structures. The φ -probe is located on the *T* head and there is no extra φ -probe for the infinitival agreement. The same holds for the future auxiliary *áere* ‘to have’, which is directly merged in IP domain, while the infinitive is located in the VP domain. Also here, the auxiliary moves to the *T* head where the φ -probe is located, hence no agreement is possible on the infinitive.

Finally, the inflected infinitive is impossible in causative constructions, which are analysed as monoclausal by Jones (2003: 293). If his analysis is correct, this explains why the inflected infinitive cannot be a complement to a causative verb.

In Sardinian, the inflected infinitive is also truly optional, which is a problem for the current analysis.

6.5 Conclusion

The variation between the five languages is mostly related to differences in contexts. This is a selectional issue and can be explained by the properties of the lexical items. Another difference has to do with word order patterns: in EP there is obligatory inversion only in some contexts, and has to do with the fact that these two verb classes do not select the Mood_{irrealis} (as they do not select for subjunctive but indicative finite complements). The infinitive raises to a higher position in these cases (Mod_{epistemic} and Mood_{evidential}).

Finally, the EPP feature has to be parametrized: in most languages the subject moves to spec,TP after agreeing with T; however, this is never found with infinitivals in Sardinian.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

The inflected infinitive is attested in various Romance languages: European Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, Sicilian and Old Neapolitan. In Chapter 1, the formulated research question focused on the difference between structures with bare infinitives and structures with an inflected infinitive.

Chapter 2 described the morphology, distribution and (im)possible contexts of the inflected infinitives in these languages. There are some striking similarities. In all varieties, there is only marking for person, not for tense, mood or aspect. The form is mostly used in non-finite contexts; the use of inflected infinitives in the main clause seems a remnant of the imperfect subjunctive. This use is attested mostly in the Sardinian varieties, where the imperfect subjunctive is still in use for the auxiliary verbs. Furthermore, we find its use in exclamatives in EP and Galician.

Its distribution is also very similar in the five languages: the inflected infinitive can occur in complement clauses and in adjunct clauses in all languages. Furthermore, in EP, BP, Galician and Old Neapolitan, the inflected infinitive is also found in unselected clauses. There seems to be a general ban on the inflected infinitive in monoclausal structures or when there is exhaustive subject control; the restrictions seem however less strict in Old Neapolitan and in some dialectal varieties of both European and Brazilian Portuguese.

The main difference between the languages lies in the range of verbs that select an inflected infinitive as their complement. Furthermore, the word order patterns differ across the five languages: whereas word order seems quite free in Old Neapolitan and Brazilian Portuguese, in Sardinian the subject can only follow the infinitive; in European Portuguese, the patterns are quite complex and depend on the context the inflected infinitive is used in. Also Galician presents different word orders for subject clauses and complement clauses.

We find different degrees of optionality in the various languages. In Sardinian and Old Neapolitan, the inflection on the infinitive seems optional in general. In Galician and BP the inflection on the infinitive is optional in some cases, but

standard languages requires it in others. In EP the inflected infinitive is obligatory when an overt subject is present in the infinitival clause. It is however optional in adjuncts and object controlled clauses.

Finally, a similar phenomenon of some Italian varieties was discussed, whereby the agreement morpheme is not located on the finite verb but instead on the infinitives. It was concluded however that these are not inflected infinitives and hence, this phenomenon was not left out of this thesis.

In Chapter 3, the existed literature was reviewed. There seems to be agreement on the idea that syntax determines the contexts in which the inflected infinitive can appear. That is, the total structure has to be biclausal and there cannot be obligatory subject control. Furthermore, the infinitive is generally assumed to move to a position within in the CP (Infl/Aux-to-Comp). The CP is considered to be pragmatic domain of the sentence, where discourse relations are expressed.

Even though the possible contexts of the inflected infinitive have been explained, however, the problem of optionality and variation does not find a satisfying answer within existing analyses. Therefore, in Chapter 4 the hypothesis that the subjects of inflected infinitives are topics, was tested. The tests all seem to indicate that the subject of an inflected infinitive is a ‘normal’ preverbal subject rather than a left-dislocated element. However, further research into the pragmatic factors influencing the choice of an inflected over a bare infinitive is needed.

In Chapter 5, an analysis was outlined based on the hypothesis that the T(past/future, T1 in Giorgi & Pianesi’s terms) is defective in infinitival clauses: since is defective, it cannot inherit the φ -probe from C. The φ -probe is located instead on one of the Mood/Mod heads above T; the exact location depends on which head is selected by the matrix verb. In case of epistemic verbs, the inflected infinitive raises to $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$; in case of declarative verbs, in the infinitive has merged as $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$. We see that when the verb selecting the infinitive can also select a subjunctive finite complement, the inflected infinitive raises to the same position, i.e. $\text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}}$. The verb selects thus an irrealis complement, which can be finite or non-finite.

The different heads containing the φ -probe explain the different word patterns that the inflected infinitival clauses present. In case of declarative and epistemic predicates, the verb raises to a position higher than T, yielding inversion, whereas in all other cases it is merged on Mood_{irrealis}. This functional head is lower than T, leading to a preverbal subject position. Auxiliaries move higher in the functional structure, which leads to the possibility of having inversion in case of perfective infinitives. The exact position or meaning of the raising of the auxiliary infinitive remains however unclear.

The contexts in which an inflected infinitive is impossible can be explained by the fact that in most of these contexts, the CP layer of the infinitival clause is missing.

In the Chapter 6, this analysis was applied to the other languages and it was concluded that the variation among the languages is a result of selectional properties of the verb classes in the various languages and the parametrization of the EPP feature on T.

The proposed analysis of Chapters 5 and 6 has unfortunately some issues it cannot account for and which need to be resolved in future research. The most important issue is the problem of optionality. The optionality of the inflected infinitive could have an explanation in diachrony or in pragmatics. Other issues include the exact structure of complements to causative and perception verbs.

In conclusion, we have seen that finiteness in the traditional sense is not a binary notion, but rather a scalar one. Finiteness is traditionally associated with nominative subjects, person agreement, and tense, mood and aspect marking on the verb. The phenomenon of inflected and personal infinitives shows that these properties do not necessarily co-occur.

With respect to subject-verb agreement, it can be said that the φ -probe is not related to finite tense in the sense that finiteness is not required for the presence of subject-verb agreement. When a clause is non-finite, the φ -probe can be inherited by a different functional head in the inflectional domain. The two are related however in the sense that when finite tense is present, the φ -probe is located on the tense head. According to Bianchi (2003) (temporal) finiteness and person agreement are often correlated in languages, since both tense and person agreement are dependent on the logophoric centre of the clause.

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