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INFLECTED INFINITIVE IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES [*]

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ABSTRACT Neste trabalho, serão focalizadas as propriedades do Infinitivo Flexionado (IF) do Português do Brasil (PB), com o objetivo de mostrar que o comportamento de IF em PB e em Português Europeu não é o mesmo. Segundo a análise aqui desenvolvida, todas as construções IF do PB são CPs plenos, e neste contexto Agr define as propriedades de licenciamento de sujeito.

1. INTRODUCTION

Although the phenomenon of Inflected Infinitive exists in European Portuguese (EP) as well as in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), Brazilian Inflected Infinitive (BII) has been interpreted as subject to the same principles which govern European Portuguese Inflected Infinitive (EII). Within the Government and Binding framework (GB), the situation has changed, and some reference has been made concerning specific properties, like clitic adjunction to the verb. I would like to show that the syntax of personal infinitive deserves the same attention. I shall focus on some of the main properties of Brazilian Inflected Infinitive, with special reference to the characteristics in which it differs from Galician. I intend to show the main differences observed in relation to the phenomenon which renders Brazilian Inflected Infinitive substantially diffferent from European Portuguese and Galician. Finally, I provide an analysis of the BII appearing as subject clause and as subcategorized complement, and discuss briefly the structure of the Inflected Infinitive clauses introduced by a preposition as well as some aspects related to clitics.

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2. *BII* DATA

2.1. Some generalizations

In Brazilian Portuguese as well as in European Portuguese, the inflection element of infinitives is not specified for Tense distinctions, but it may be specified for number and person (Agreement distinctions). The Agr-markers in BP are the same as in EP (1) and the same as in Galician (2) (cf. Longa 1994):

(1) BII and EII

1ª pes.sing.	-	eu ter-( )( ) (‘I have-INF’)
1ª pes.pl.	-	nós ter-mos (m) (os) (‘we have-INF+1pl’)
2ª pes.sing.	-	tu ter-es (es) (‘you have-INF+2sg’)
2ª pes.pl.	-	vós ter-des (d)(es) (‘you have-INF+2pl’)
3ª pes.sing.	-	ele/ela ter-( )( ) (‘he/she have-INF)
3ª pes.sing.	-	eles/elas ter-em (em) (‘they have-INF+3pl’)

(2) Galician

1ª pes.sing.	-	eu ter-( )( ) (‘I have-INF’)
1ª pes.pl.	-	nós ter-mos (m) (os) (‘we have-INF+1pl’)
2ª pes.sing.	-	ti ter-es (es) (‘you have-INF+2sg’)
2ª pes.pl.	-	vós ter-des (d)(es) (‘you have-INF+2pl’)
3ª pes.sing.	-	el ter-( )( ) (‘he/she have-INF)
3ª pes.sing.	-	eles ter-en (em) (‘they have-INF+3pl’)

Like European Portuguese, according to Raposo (1987), BPII cannot appear as an independent clause nor as a matrix clause (v.(4)). The same is true regarding to Galician (Longa, op.cit.) (v. (5)):

(4) a. *Eles comprarem novos computadores.
b. *Eles admitirem comprar novos computadores.

(5) a. *Eles arranxaren o muiño.
‘they arrange-lNF-3pl the mill’
b. *Eles admitiren chegar onte.
‘they admit-INF-3pl arrive-INF yesterday’

All BII, EPII and GII structures are only possible as embedded clauses, but without a complementizer:

(6) a.* É fácil que eles suporem as coisas.
‘is easy that they suppose-lNF-3pl the things’

b. Será fácil que eles suponham as coisas.
'will be easy that they suppose-lNF-3pl the things'
c. Será fácil eles suporem as coisas.
'will be easy they suppose-lNF-3pl the things'

(7) a.* É doado que supoñeren as cousas.
'is easy that suppose-lNF-3pl the things'
b. É doado supoñeren as cousas.
'is easy suppose-lNF-3pl the things'

2.2. Contexts in which there are some differences

2.2.1. Subject Clauses

In this context, a preverbal subject is possible in BP and in EP, but not in Galician. In EP the preverbal position for the subject is the canonical choice:

(8) a. Será difícil eles aprovarem a proposta. (Portuguese)
'be-FUT-3sg difficult they approve-lNF-3pl the proposal'
b. Non está claro aprobármo-lo exame. (Galician)
'not is clear pass-lNF-1pl-the exam'
c.* Non está claro nós aprobármo-la proposta. (Galician)
'not is clear we approve-lNF-1pl-the proposal'

2.2.2. Complements Subcategorized by Certain Predicates

BP Inflected Infinitives are allowed with matrix epistemic, declarative, factive and volitive verbs. EPII are allowed with matrix epistemic, declarative, factive, but not volitive verbs while GII can only appear in the subcategorization context of declarative verbs:

Epistemic verbs
(9) a. Eu penso terem os deputados trabalhado pouco.(Portuguese)
'I think-1sg have-INF-3pl the deputies worked little'
b.* Xoan pensa xantaren os pais moito. (Galician)
'Xoan thinks eat-l NF-1pl the parents a lot'

Factive verbs
(10) a. Eu lamento os deputados terem trabalhado pouco. (Portuguese)
'I regret-1sg the deputies have INF-3pl worked little'
b.* Lamentei traballaren os meus amigos. (Galician)
'regreted-lsg work-lNF-3pl the my friends'

Declarative verbs

(11) a. Eu afirmo terem os deputados trabalhado pouco. (Portuguese)
'I claim-1sg have-INF-3pl the deputies worked little'

b. O mestre afirmou facérmo-las cousas. (Galician)
'the teacher claimed-3sg make-lNF- lpl-the things'

Brazilian Portuguese allows the subject of the Inflected Infinitive to appear in preverbal or postverbal positions with epistemic, declarative, factive and volitive verbs. European Portuguese epistemic and declarative verbs do not allow the subject of the Inflected Infinitive to appear in preverbal position, while factive matrix verbs allow both preverbal and postverbal positions. In Galician, the Inflected Infinitive appearing in subcategorized complements of declarative verbs does not allow preverbal subjects either:

Declarative verbs

(12) a.* O mestre afirmou os nenos faceren as cousas. (Galician)
'the teacher claimed-3sg the boys make-INF-3pl the things'

b. O mestre afirmou faceren os nenos as cousas.
'the teacher claimed-3sg make-INF-3pl the boys the things'

2.2.3. Adjunct and Predicative Clauses

In BP, subjects of infinitival adjuncts and predicative clauses appear usually in postverbal position, but they can also appear in preverbal position which is probably possible due to the prepositional status of the construction.

Adjunct Clause

(13) a. Fizeram-no para trabalharem felizes. (Brazilian Portuguese)

b. Fixérono para traballaren ledos. (Galician)
'made-3pl-3sg Acc for work-lNF-3pl happy'

Predicative Clause

(14) a. Isto não é para tu (você) recolheres (recolher). (Brazilian Portuguese)

b. Isto non é para te recolleres. (Galician)
'this not is for yourself retire-lNF-2sg'

c. Para tu te curares/nós nos curarmos tens de/temos que passar de meia noite. (Brazilian Portuguese)[1]
'for you yourself cure-INF-2sg/we ourselves cure-INF-1pl have-2sg yourself/ter-1pl that pass midnight'

[1] Having the Galician example translated into BP seems to create a weird sentence, but that may be due to the person used (2sg) and not exactly to the structure, as the use of first person singular in the example attests.

d. Pra ti sanares téñenche que levar de meia nolte. (Galician)
'for you cure-INF-2sg have-lNF-2sgAcc that carry-INF by midnight'

2.2.4. Infinitives Subcategorized by Name (N) or Adjective (A)

These structures must be introduced by a preposition. See below:

(15) a. Admitiu o feito de fazerem a tarefa. (Brazilian Portuguese)
'admit-PAST-3sg the fact of make-lNF-3pl the task'
b. Estades desexosos de rematárde-lo traballo. (Galician)
'are anxious about finish-INF-2pl-the job'

According to GB, a dummy preposition must be introduced in order to license these constructions because N and A cannot assign structural Case to their complement.

2.2.5. Clitic Position

Some important differences can be found between BP, EP and Galician, as for the position of clitics: enclisis is not possible in this context in EP, but both enclisis and proclisis are allowed in BP and Galician:

(16)	a.	nos entenderem	entenderem-nos	(Brazilian Portuguese)
	b.	nos entenderem	* entenderem-nos	(European Portuguese)
	c.	nos entenderen	entenderennos	(Galician)
		1pl acc understand-lNF-2pl	understand-lNF-2pl-lpl acc	

3. RAPOSO'S ANALYSIS

According to Chomsky (1981), Agr may be specified for Case in pro-drop languages. The central hypothesis of Raposo derives from the following assertion:

> *In the absence of [+Tense], Infl (or Agr in Infl) is capable of assigning nominative Case to a lexical subject only if it is itself specified for Case.* (*in* Raposo, 1987: 92)

Raposo analyzes subject clauses and the complements of factive verbs, with subject-verb order, as bare IPs, without a CP level: the matrix Infl governs and assigns Case to the embedded Infl. For factive structures showing verb-subject order, epistemic, and declarative constructions, he proposes a CP structure: the Infl element of the matrix verb cannot govern the embedded Inf, and, consequently, cannot assign Case to it, because CP constitutes a barrier. However, following Belletti and Rizzi (1981), Raposo assumes that a maximal projection is not an absolute barrier in the sense that an element outside it can govern its specifier and head positions. In the case of CP structures, V

governs the head of CP; therefore, if the embedded Infl raises to C, it will be governed and assigned Case features. Thus, Infl-to-Comp raising is the crucial point in Raposo's proposal.

4. THE STRUCTURE OF SUBJECT CLAUSES

Consider the following sentences, and the structural representation proposed by Longa for (17b) (v. (17c)):

(17) a. Não é óbvio passarmos no exame. (Brazilian Portuguese)
'not is clear pass-INF-lpl-the exam'

b. Non está claro aprobármo-lo exame. (Galician)
'not is clear pass-INF-lpl-the exam'

c. non está claro [CP [C' [C aprobarmosi] [IP pro [I'[t'i] [VP ti o exame]]]]]

In Galician, Longa observes that in this S-structure representation, V, generated in the VP node, has raised to the head position of IP, picking up the features of Infl in this way. But this movement is not enough, because the embedded Infl is not governed and it can not receive Case in that position. For this reason, [V+I] must raise further to the head of CP. In this position, the embedded Infl will be governed and assigned Case features by the matrix Infl (cf. Belletti and Rizzi (1981), Rizzi (1982), Chomsky (1986), Raposo (1987)). As a consequence, the embedded Infl will be able to assign Case to its lexical subject (if present). If V does not raise to the C position, the embedded Infl will not be governed nor assigned Case, and therefore, will not be able to assign Case to its lexical subject. The embedded Infl could be governed by V if an IP is postulated, but the structure with a bare IP would not explain the verb-subject order.

Raposo suggests that the CP projection causes the verb-subject order. However, Raposo's analysis is empirically inadequate considering Galician data. The same can be said concerning BP data.

5. THE STRUCTURE OF SUBCATEGORIZED COMPLEMENTS

Consider the following sentences, and the structural representation proposed by Longa for (18b) (v. (18c)):

(18) a. O mestre clama fazermos as coisas. (Brazilian Portuguese)
'the teacher claim-PRES-3sg make-lNF-1pl-the things'

b. O mestre afirmou facérmo-las cousas. (Galician)
'the teacher claim-PAST-3sg make-lNF-1pl-the things'

c. o mestre afirmou [CP [C' [C facermosi] [IP pro [I' [I ti] [VP ti as cousas]]]]]

The analysis proposed by Longa for (18b) is the same as for the subject sentences. The embedded V+Infl must raise to the C position, because in that position it will be

governed and, thus, it will get Case features. But to postulate an IP projection for these structures is not enough. If such a projection is postulated, IP and I could be governed by V, but then there would be no explanation for the impossibility of the subject-verb order. For this reason, a bare IP analysis would not account for the obligatory verb-subject order.

6. THE STRUCTURE OF PREPOSITION + INFLECTED INFINITIVE

This construction is the most common. In Galician it is the only context in which a subject can appear in preverbal position:

(19) a. Por os meninos fazerem o seu trabalho, os beijarei. (Brazilian Portuguese)
'of the boys make-lNF-3pl the their job 3pl acc kiss-FUT-1sg'
b. De os nenos faceren o seu labor bicareinos. (Galician)
'of the boys make-lNF-3pl the their job kiss-FUT-1sg-3pl acc'
c. De(por) fazerem os meninos o seu trabalho, beijarei-os (Brazilian Portuguese)
d. De faceren os nenos o seu labor bicareinos. (Galician)

Longa raises the following questions about P + Inflected Infinitive constructions:
i) the categorial status: IP vs. CP;
ii) the position of the subject;
iii) the position of the clitics: enclisis vs. proclisis.

These three questions are related. It could be proposed for Galician and BP that the projection of the infinitive is an IP in (20a/c) and a CP in (20b/d), considering only the relative position of the verb and the subject in each case.

(20) a. De os meninos fazerem... (Brazilian Portuguese)
b. De fazerem os meninos ...
c. De os nenos faceren... (Galician)
d. De faceren os nenos...

Sentences (20 a/c) could be analyzed as not containing a CP projection, because the subject-verb order suggests that [V+Infl] is not in C. In (20 b/d), however, it can be maintained that raising of Infl to C takes place. Thus, Agr gets specified for Case features, and, therefore, it can assign Case to the lexical subject.

6.1. Some important evidence from contraction

However, there is a problem if we follow the hypothesis suggested for the example (20c): Benucci (1992)[2] proposes an analysis for equivalent constructions in European Portuguese (it is the same for BP) based on the possibility of contracting the preposition with the article. According to Longa, it is possible to adopt some ideas developed in Benucci (1992) and adapt them for Galician. According to Benucci's proposal, the analysis of (20c) as a P + IP projection would predict the possibility of contraction. However, this is not possible in Galician:

(21) a. De as cousas contiuaren así, teremos medo. (Galician)
'of the things continue-INF-3pl in-this-way have-FUT- lpl fear'
a'. *Das cousas continuarem ...
'of-the things continue-INF-3pl'
b. De os problemas considerárense, iraste.
'of the problems considered-lNF-3p go-FUT-2sg'
b'. *Dos problemas considerárense ...
'of-the problems considered-lNF-3pl'
c. De o neno vir, chorarei.
'of the boy come-lNF cry-FUT-Isg'
c'. *Do neno vir...
of-the boy come-INF-3sg

This generalization extends to the rest of prepositions which may be contracted with the article in an appropriate context. For instance, por ('by') can be generally contracted with the definite article o ('the') as in polo, but not in the context under consideration:

(22) a. Por os nenos viren, dareiche un premio. (Galician)
because the boys come-lNF-3pl giveFUT- lsg-2sgAcc a prize
b.* Polos nenos viren ...

The impossibility of having the contraction seems to lead us to two considerations:

1) In Galician, P does not seem to be CP-internal, in the sense of Kayne (1991) and Benucci (1992). The latter assumes Kayne's analysis, according to which P occupies the specifier position of the infinitival CP in certain cases, in order to account for the fact that contraction is possible, under certain specific conditions. In Galician contraction is not possible. This suggests that the preposition in the above examples is a true preposition generated outside CP. This is not the case for Brazilian Portuguese. In this language, contraction is possible, suggesting that the preposition is not a true preposition.

[2] It was not possible to obtain the text complete reference. It is an unpublished paper of which unique draft belonged to the author.

2) The impossibility of contraction raises the question of whether we can analyze the infinitive as a bare IP when the subject-verb order is present. If we did, there would be no way of ruling out contraction, following Rizzi (1990) and Benucci (1992). For this reason, it seems that when the subject-verb order is present, the construction must be analyzed as a full CP, not as a bare IP.

For infinitive constructions with verb-subject order it seems adequate to propose a CP projection, for reasons already seen: P + CP. In the case of subject-verb order the simplest hypothesis is that both elements are placed inside the IP projection. For Galician, Longa assumes that this IP is embedded in a CP because of the impossibility of contraction: if P were inside the CP projection, we would not expect anything preventing contraction

If we assume the D(eterminer) P(hrase) hypothesis (the infinitive is a DP projection) the explanation would be similar to the one proposed by Rizzi and Benucci: there would be two barriers, CP and DP, and no contraction would be allowed.

If the DP hypothesis is not assumed, the crucial factor for the (im)possibility of having contraction is the presence of two nodes, CP and IP, as opposed to the presence of only one node, IP, when contraction is possible, as in Portuguese. The second option, the presence of only an IP node, seems to be excluded by the Galician data.

Contraction is not possible in Galician in this context. However, a remarkable exception must be tackled: the impossibility of contracting P and the article in cases such as the following ones:

(23) a. de as nenas sanaren
‘of the girls cure-INF-3pl’

But see the examples below:

(24) a. antes de as nenas sanaren
‘before of the girls cure-lNF-3pl b.’
b. antes das nenas sanaren
‘before of-the girls cure-INF-3pl ‘

According to Longa, in (24b) contraction is perfectly possible. So, it seems that, in this case, the preposition de (‘of’) is not outside CP, but inside it. The particle antes (‘before’) would act as a true preposition. Therefore, Kayne’s and Benucci’s proposals that some Romance prepositions are CP-internal, occupying the [Spec,CP] position, seems to be right. The preposition “de” will be inside CP, and contraction is possible. The structure proposed for (24 b) is the following one:

(24c) [PP antes [CP d(e)[IP as nenas [I’ [I sanaren1] [VP t1]]]]]

Following Benucci, the IP projection does not count as a barrier because the particle governs it by induction.

6.2. Clitics

Comparing the behavior of clitics, on the other hand, one sees that clitics appearing in BPII and GII constructions show much more mobility than in European Portuguese equivalent constructions. In Galician the canonical position for clitics in these structures is the enclitic position: V + clitic, unlike Brazilian Portuguese:

(25) a. de nos encontrarmos (European Portuguese)
'of 1pl Acc meet-INF-1pl'
b.* de encontrármonos
c. de nos atoparmos (Galician)
'of 1pl Acc meet-INF-1pl'
d. de atopármonos
e. de o faceren
'of 3sg Acc make-InF-3pl'

The double possibility, enclisis and proclisis, allowed in BPII and Galician put the question of the status of prepositions and its relation with cliticization.

Longa explains that, according to Benucci, full prepositions may be assimilated to the que ('that') complementizer, but this is not possible in Galician. If strong prepositions were really complementizers, the expected thing would be proclisis, not enclisis. Clitics offer evidence that P does not occupy the first position of the clause because the canonical position is enclisis, not proclisis. The opposite seems to happen in Brazilian Portuguese since proclisis is more frequent and prepositions are like complementizers. There is a parallelism between P and the complementizer.

(26) a. Penso que Xoan o magullou/ *magullouno(Galician)
'think-1sg that Xoan 3sg Acc scratch-PAST-3sg/scratch-PAST-3sc-3sgAcc'
b. Pensamos para facérmolo.
'think-1pl for make INF-1pl-3sg Acc'
c. Penso que João o machucou/machucou-o (Brazilian Portuguese)
d. Pensamos para o fazermos/?fazermo-lo

In this case, if P and the complementizer were really equivalent, enclisis would not be expected in (26b) (which occurs in Brazilian Portuguese). However, if it is assumed that P is generated outside the CP projection, and if according to Benucci, clitics have to occupy the second position inside CP, then it is possible to account for the enclisis facts in Galician, according to Longa:

(27) a. [CP que o fagan
1st 2nd

b. para [CP facéren-o
1st 2nd

7. CONCLUSION

A comparison between Galician and Brazilian Portuguese data concerning Inflected Infinitive constructions raised the possibility of proposing that all the BII structures are full CPs, unlike EII ones under Raposo's analysis.

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