

## The fine structure of the Sardinian inflected infinitival clause: verb movement and word order patterns

A number of Logudorese-Nuorese varieties of Sardinian feature an infinitive that can optionally inflect for person and number, on a par with other Romance languages such as Portuguese, Galician and Old Neapolitan (cf. Raposo 1987; Jones 1993; Ledgeway 1998; 2009; Vincent 1996; 1998; Mensching 2000; Sitaridou 2002; Pisano 2008; Ambar & Jiménez-Fernández 2017, a.o.). An example is given in (1), where the infinitive *cantare* ‘to sing’ agrees with its nominative subject (*tue* ‘you.SG’), marked with the morpheme *-s*:

- (1) *Non keljo a cantares tue.*  
 Not I.want to sing.INF.2.SG you.NOM.SG  
 ‘I do not want you to sing.’

(Jones 1992: 297)

Inflected infinitives generally occur in adjunct clauses, as well as in complement clauses to desiderative and epistemic verbs. They are excluded from monoclausal structures such as complements to restructuring predicates or causative verbs.

Even though the main syntactic characteristics of the inflected infinitive have been described in the literature (cf. Jones 1993 a.o.), it is worth investigating the fine structure of the inflected infinitival clause more closely. For instance, it has been noted that the preverbal subject position is unavailable in Sardinian inflected infinitives, as can be concluded from the impossibility of inserting a subject between *a* and the inflected infinitive (2). However, preverbal subjects seem to be acceptable for some speakers (cf. (3)):

- (2) \**Non keljo a tue cantares.*  
 Not I.want to you.NOM sing.INF.2.SG  
 ‘I do not want you to sing.’

(Jones 1992: 299)

- (3) %*Cherzo manedda a facheret su mandicu.*  
 I.want grandmother to make.INF.3.SG the meal  
 ‘I want grandmother to prepare the meal.’

The fact that the subject precedes *a* might indicate that the subject has been moved to the left periphery. Two questions arise about the clausal structure of an inflected infinitive: i) why is [spec,TP] unavailable and ii) is the left periphery of an inflected infinitive accessible? This talk will address the more general question of how much functional structure is projected in an inflected infinitival clause; whether it is a full, phasal CP like a finite clause or whether it is in some way reduced, as certain other types of non-finite clauses.

Investigating this clausal structure more closely is interesting as the inflected infinitive is not easily classifiable as a finite or non-finite form; it shows properties of both finite clauses and non-finite clauses. The presence of agreement, the licensing of nominative subjects, high verb movement (as shown in (4), where both HAS and LAS adverbs must follow the infinitive, cf. anonymous 2019) and obviation (cf. (5)) are characteristic of finite clauses; other properties are instead typical of non-finite clauses, such as the obligatory presence of the infinitival complementisers *a* or *de*, the absence of tense marking and the possibility to occur in control contexts (cf. (6), taken from Jones (1993: 278)):

- (4) a. *Gloria cheriat a mandigaren sempre (\*mandigaren) bene sos pizzinnos.*  
 Gloria wanted to eat.INF.3.PL always well the boys  
 b. *Mannedda cheret a mandigaremus como (\*mandigaremus).*

- Grandmother wants to eat.INF.1.PL now  
 ‘Grandmother would like us to eat now.’
- (5) *Gianni<sub>i</sub> cheret a andaret pro\*<sub>i/j</sub> a domu.*  
 Gianni wants to go.INF.3.SG to house  
 ‘Gianni want that (s)he goes home.’
- (6) *Juane nos at natu a colaremus.*  
 Juane us has told to call.INF.1.PL  
 ‘John told us to come by.’

(Jones 1993: 278)

The question about the quantity of functional structure projected in an inflected infinitival clause might tell us more about the relationship between clausal structure and finiteness.

The proposed presentation will illustrate the fine structure of the inflected infinitival clause with new data that have been collected from native speakers during fieldwork, focusing on word order patterns, verb movement, and the left periphery of the inflected infinitive in Sardinian. It will be shown that the Sardinian inflected infinitival clause is a CP, although with a limited availability of the left periphery (subject to interspeaker variation). Like other less-finite verb forms, including personal and inflected infinitives in other Romance languages, the inflected infinitive moves very high in order to anchor the event to the main clause event (cf. anonymous 2019); in Sardinian, this high verb movement makes the usual [spec,TP] subject position unavailable, leading to VOS/VSO word orders (anonymous forthcoming).

### Selected references

- Ambar, Manuela & Angel L. Jiménez-Fernández. 2017. Overtly/Non-overtly inflected infinitives in Romance. In Martin Bert Hans Everaert & van Riemsdijk Henk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, 1996–2037. second. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Jones, Michael Allan. 1992. Infinitives with specified subjects in Sardinian. In Christiane Lauefer & James Morgan (eds.), *Theoretical Analyses in Romance Linguistics: Selected papers from the Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages XIX, Ohio State University, April 21 23, 1989*, 295–309. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jones, Michael Allan. 1993. *Sardinian syntax*. London: Routledge.
- Ledgeway, Adam N. 1998. Variation in the Romance infinitive: the case of the Southern Calabrian inflected infinitive. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 96(1). 1–61.
- Ledgeway, Adam N. 2009. *Grammatica diacronica del napoletano* (Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Romanische Philologie 350). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Mensching, Guido. 2000. *Infinitive constructions with specified subjects: A syntactic analysis of the Romance languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pisano, Simone. 2008. L’infinito flesso in alcune varietà sarde moderne: coincidenza formale con l’imperfetto congiuntivo etimologico? *Bollettino linguistico campano* 13(1/2). 25–48.
- Raposo, Eduardo. 1987. Case theory and Infl-to-Comp: The inflected infinitive in European Portuguese. *Linguistic inquiry* 18. 85–109.
- Sitaridou, Ioanna. 2002. *The Synchrony and Diachrony of Romance Infinitives with Nominative Subjects*. University of Manchester.
- Vincent, Nigel. 1996. L’infinito flesso in un testo napoletano del Trecento. In Paola Benincà, Guglielmo Cinque, Tullio De Mauro & Nigel Vincent (eds.), *Italiano e dialetto nel tempo: saggi di grammatica per Giulio C. Lepschy*, 389–409. Rome: Bulzoni.
- Vincent, Nigel. 1998. On the grammar of inflected non-finite forms (with special reference to Old Neapolitan). *Copenhagen studies in language* 22. 135–158.