<u>**Inflected Infinitives**</u>

Introduction

Traditionally, the infinitive has been characterized by its defective morphology within the verbal paradigm: just like the gerund and the participle, it is usually associated with the feature of non-finiteness, which is reflected in its lack of tense/mood/aspect and person/number markers. However, in some cases, this characterization is in conflict with the existence of some infinitival constructions that involve inflection for person and number. This phenomenon has been captured by a variety of terms, such as "the personal infinitive," "the conjugated infinitive," or "the inflected infinitive." In the present article, we use the term "inflected infinitive" because it is the most transparent and the most widespread one among the current body of studies. The quintessential example of the inflected infinitive is the Portuguese one. However, one also finds the inflected infinitive in other Romance languages such as Galician, Mirandese, and some dialects of Sardinian. Furthermore, it is also attested in Old Neapolitan (from the 13th through the late 16th century) and Old Leonese. Outside the realm of Romance languages, the inflected infinitive is present in languages as diverse as Hungarian and Welsh, which illustrates that the phenomenon is not limited to the Romance or even Indo-European language family. Research on the (Portuguese) inflected infinitive dates back to the 19th century and has been a major source of linguistic debate from different points of view. Apart from the hybrid categorical status of the inflected infinitive between finite and infinite verb forms, an important source of discussion relates to the origin of the inflected infinitive. Several competing theories have emerged: whereas some scholars posit a Latin origin, others argue in favor of a spontaneous Luso-Romance development. Another recurring issue is the alternation with the non-inflected infinitive. Earlier studies on the topic were both prescriptive and descriptive in nature, allowing for variation in usage of both infinitival forms. Later, the Chomskyan revolution heralded a formalistic approach to describe the variation on the basis of formal transformation rules. More recently, the infinitive alternation has also been described from a cognitive point of view, where the choice between both forms is supposed to reflect different underlying cognitive schemas.

General Overviews

This section provides information on resources that give general descriptions of the inflected infinitive such as Monographs, Grammars, and Textbooks.

Monographs

The theoretical enigma that arises from the "contradictio in adjecto" (Sten 1952, p. 86) of an infinitive that bears person and number agreement has been described and accounted for in several monographs adopting both theoretical and empirical perspectives and applied to diverse languages. One of the most comprehensive overviews of the inflected infinitive in Romance languages is provided by Scida 2004, which proposes a syntactic explanation of the inflected infinitive within the framework of Relational Grammar. In the same vein, Groothuis 2018, cited under *The Inflected Infinitive from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective* offers a more recent state of the art of different approaches to the complex nature of the inflected infinitive. Groothuis 2015 also gives a syntactic account of the phenomenon in a variety of Romance languages within the generative syntactic theory. A generative perspective is also adopted by Tóth 2000, which offers a syntactic account of empirical data of the inflected infinitive in Hungarian. Empirical, corpus-based studies on the topic are provided by Gondar 1978 on the inflected infinitive in Galician and by Vanderschueren 2013, which offers the most advanced empirical analysis of the phenomenon.

Gondar, Francisco G. 1978. *O infinitivo conxugado en galego*. Anexo 13 de Verba. Santiago de Compostela, Spain: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
Provides a detailed study about the vitality of the inflected infinitive in Galician derived from the questionnaires of the *Atlas Lingüístico Galego*. Based on a quantitative, corpus-based description of its uses in Medieval and Modern Galician, the author formulates the hypothesis of a Spanish influence on the syntactic restrictions inherent to the present-day inflected infinitive in Galician.

Groothuis, Kim. 2015. The inflected infinitive in Romance. Research Master thesis in Linguistics, Leiden University.
This study gives a syntactic account of the inflected infinitival structures in five Romance languages: European Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, Sardinian, and Old Neapolitan. The research focuses on the question of whether the presence of inflection in the inflected infinitive also adds something to the interpretation of the sentence compared to the non-inflected infinitive.

Scida, Emily. 2004. *The inflected infinitive in Romance languages*. New York: Routledge.
This book analyzes the use of the inflected infinitive in Romance languages within the framework of Relational Grammar, aiming at providing a comprehensive account for the distribution of the inflected infinitive. The focus is essentially on the syntactic restrictions underlying the use of the inflected infinitive.

Sten, Holger. 1952. L'*infinitivo impessoal et* l'*infinitivo pessoal* en portugais moderne. *Boletim de Filologia* 13:83–142, 201–256.
According to Sten, the use of the inflected infinitive can be explained by psychological factors. On the basis of the distinction between marked versus unmarked form, he identifies the inflected infinitive as the marked form. Adducing long lists of examples, the author argues that there are certain domains that are exclusively reserved for the inflected infinitive (e.g., cases with different subjects). This text is written in French.

Tóth, Ildikó. 2000. *Inflected infinitives in Hungarian*. PhD diss., Faculteit der Letteren.
Studies the syntactic and semantic properties of inflected infinitival constructions in Hungarian. This phenomenon has led to various theoretical questions in different areas of the theory of grammar, which are confronted with empirical data provided by inflected infinitives in Hungarian. The author develops an analysis of these Hungarian data in terms of anaphoric agreement.

Vanderschueren, Clara. 2013. *Infinitivo y sujeto en portugués y español: Un estudio empírico de los infinitivos adverbiales con sujeto explícito*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 377. Berlin: De Gruyter.
The goals of this study are two. First is to determine the variation between inflected and uninflected infinitives in Portuguese. The second goal is cross-linguistic in nature and is to compare the differences between infinitives with lexically overt subjects in Spanish and Portuguese. This study stands out from the previous ones because of its strong empirical focus, by combining corpus-based and experimental data.

Grammars

The presence of an inflected infinitive has been discussed in several grammars, primarily in Portuguese, but also in other languages such as Hungarian as described in Kiss 2002. Although some works, such as Perini 1977, try to prescribe rules for the presence versus absence of the inflected infinitive, others explicitly argue that the choice between both infinitival forms cannot be captured with strict rules, but is rather determined by stylistic considerations. This perspective is exemplified most prominently by Vázquez Cuesta and Mendes da Luz 1971 and Cunha and Cintra 1984. Contemporary grammars, such as Raposo, et al. 2013, do not seem to focus especially on the particularity of the inflected infinitive within the system, but consider both infinitival forms to be interchangeable in most contexts.

Cunha, Celso, and Lindley Cintra. 1984. *Nova gramática do português contemporáneo*. Lisbon, Portugal: Edições João Sá da Costa.
Cunha and Cintra state that previous attempts by grammarians to describe the choice between inflected and non-inflected infinitive has proven insufficient and unfruitful. Instead of prescribing rules, it is more a stylistic choice determined by factors such as the emphasis and clarity of the expression. Therefore, it is more appropriate to speak of "tendencies of use" instead of postulating straightforward rules.

Kiss, Katalin É. 2002. *The syntax of Hungarian*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.
In chapter 9, Kiss offers a descriptive account of the agreeing infinitives with a (dative) case-marked subject in Hungarian, focusing on three aspects: their formal properties, their distribution, and the source of the dative case. The presence of the agreement marker on the infinitive seems to correlate with whether or not the lexical subject belongs to the infinitive: where it is thematically part of the infinitive phrase, agreement is obligatory.

Perini, Mário A. 1977. *Gramática do infinitivo português*. Petrópolis, Brazil: Editora Vozes.
In his grammar, Perini offers one of the first descriptions of the inflected infinitive from a generative perspective (see especially chapter 2). According to the author, the use of the inflected infinitive is agrammatical when it co-occurs with another verb form that has identical

referent subject. In order to explain this agrammaticality, he postulates a surface rule called "Filtro de Dupla Desinência" (Double Desinence Filter).

Raposo, Eduardo Buzaglo Paiva, Maria Fernanda Bacelar do Nascimento, Maria Antónia Coelho da Mota, Luísa Segura, and Amália Mendes. 2013. *Gramática do português*. Lisbon, Portugal: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
See especially chapter 37 on the (non-)inflected infinitive. The authors consider that, like finite clauses, constructions with an inflected infinitive have clausal status because of their reference to a subject. Special attention is paid to the ambiguity between inflected and non-inflected infinitive in the first- and third-person singular. According to the authors, cases where the same context admits both the inflected and the non-inflected form are more often rule than exception.

Vázquez Cuesta, Pilar, and Maria A. Mendes da Luz. 1971. *Gramática da língua portuguesa*. Lisbon, Portugal: Edições 70.
Vázquez Cuesta and Mendes de Luz define the inflected infinitive as one of the most difficult subjects of Portuguese syntax. They state that the inflected infinitive can be used in all the syntactic constructions where a non-inflected infinitive is possible, except when the infinitive does not accept the presence of a subject. In practice, the choice between both infinitive forms is motivated by stylistic considerations.

Textbooks
In spite of the general consensus on the enigmatic character of the Portuguese inflected infinitive, there are still few textbooks on the phenomenon. In this section it is worth mentioning Said Ali 1957, which assigns an expressive function to the inflected infinitive, and Tôrres 1967, which approximates the inflected infinitive with finite clauses. A more recent—generative— account can be found in Martins and Carrilho 2016.

Martins, Ana Maria, and Ernestina Carrilho. 2016. *Manual de linguística portuguesa*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter.
Chapter 17 of this book examines the inflected infinitive in adult grammar and in the context of L1 acquisition (see also Duarte, et al. 2016, cited under the Acquisition of the Inflected Infinitive). Although restricted to generative linguistics, it offers a clear overview of the distribution of the inflected infinitive in subordinate clauses (distinguishing between free and restricted distribution), as well as the interpretation of the subject of infinitival clauses.

Said Ali, M. 1957. *Dificuldades da língua portuguêsa*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Livraria Acadêmica.
Said Ali reduces the use of the inflected infinitive to three rules: (1) presence of an overt subject; (2) need to emphasize the agent and underscore the subject of the action for the sake of clarity and comprehension; (3) intent to emphasize the person to whom the action refers. In other words, according to this author, the choice for the inflected infinitive mainly relates to stylistic concerns.

Tôrres, Artur de Almeida. 1967. *Dicionário de dificuldades da língua portuguêsa e regência verbal*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Fundação Getúlio Vargas.

Tôrres focuses on the affinity between the inflected infinitive and finite clauses. He argues that the inflected infinitive is used only when it can be substituted by a finite construction. He also mentions the distance between the main verb and the infinitive as a favorable factor for the appearance of the inflected infinitive, since this distance creates the need to clarify the agent by means of flexion.

The Origin of the Inflected Infinitive

The origin of the inflected infinitive has been the subject of considerable debate. Several theses have been put forward, which, according to Scida 2004, can be classified into four main groups. The oldest theory on the origin of the inflected infinitive is the Creative Theory and posits a spontaneous development within Portuguese itself. According to this view, the principal motivation for the development of the inflected infinitive resides in the occurrence of an overt subject with the infinitive. This theory was first proposed by Diez 1973 and later adopted by other works such as Maurer 1968. Second, the Analogy Theory, developed by Meyer-Lübke 1894, claims that the inflected infinitive emerged in Portuguese due to analogy with the future subjunctive. A third Composite Theory proposed by Martin 1960 is a combination of the first two theses. Finally, the Imperfect Subjunctive Theory posits a common Latin origin of the inflected infinitive in the Latin imperfect subjunctive. Proponents of this theory are, among others, the authors of Wernekke 1885, Wireback 1994, Martins 2001, Scida 2004, and Harris 2013. Finally, beyond the Portuguese case, Miller 2003 traces the origin of the inflected infinitive in several major languages.

Diez, Friedrich. 1973. *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Vols. 1–3. Geneva, Switzerland: Slatkine.
Originally published in 1836–1844. Diez claims that the development of the infinitive with a nominal subject has been decisive for the emergence of the Portuguese inflected infinitive. According to the author, these constructions are derived through a process of reduction on the basis of equivalent finite structures, such that a Portuguese sentence like *basta que somos dominantes* is reduced into *basta sermos dominantes* (it is enough that we are dominant).

Harris, Michael. 2013. The origin of the Portuguese inflected infinitive through a corpus analysis. In *Selected proceedings of the 16th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Edited by Jennifer Cabrelli Amaro, Gillian Lord, Ana de Prada Pérez, and Jessi Elana Aaron, 303–311. Somverville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
This corpus-based study empirically assesses the four hypotheses on the origin of the inflected infinitive. The results of the corpus study suggest that the inflected infinitive most likely developed from the Latin imperfect subjunctive origin, since it occurs in contexts similar to those where the imperfect subjunctive occurred in Late Latin, especially in purpose clauses. The use of a corpus-based, statistical methodology is what distinguishes this research.

Martin, John W. 1960. Remarks on the origin of the Portuguese inflected infinitive. *Words* 16:337–343.
This study supports the idea that the inflected infinitive does not derive from Latin, but is, instead, a syntactic and morphological innovation of the Portuguese language. According to the author, the principal reason behind this innovation lies in a formal syncretism that existed

between the Ibero-Romance uninflected infinitive and the first- and third-person singular of the future subjunctive: due to this similarity, personal endings were added to the infinitive.

Martins, Ana Maria. 2001. On the origin of the Portuguese inflected infinitive: A new perspective on an enduring debate. In *Historical linguistics 1999*. Edited by Laurel J. Brinton, 207–222. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Based on the comparison between the syntax of the Old versus Modern Portuguese inflected infinitive, the author proposes that—contrary to Modern Portuguese—Old Portuguese inflected infinitives shared nominative case assigning properties with finite clauses, being more finite-like than they are in Modern Portuguese. This study thus provides empirical evidence in favor of the hypothesis that traces its origin back to a Latin finite form, namely the imperfect subjunctive.

Maurer, Theodoro Henrique, Jr. 1968. *O infinito flexionado português: Estudo histórico-descritivo*. São Paulo, Brazil: Companhia Editora Nacional.
Maurer gives evidence in support of the Creative Theory proposed by Diez 1973. He not only provides an exhaustive critical overview of the different hypotheses, but also offers an empirical approach through the analysis of examples from medieval texts.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1894. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Fues.
Meyer-Lübke claims that the inflected infinitive in Portuguese emerges due to analogy with the future subjunctive. Based on the analogy between the infinitive and the third-person singular of the future subjunctive, he suggests a process of reanalysis whereby the infinitive adopts the verb endings from the future subjunctive.

Miller, D. Garry. 2003. Where do conjugated infinitives come from? *Diachronica* 20.1: 45–81.
This study stands out for tracing the origin of the inflected infinitive in a variety of languages (Modern Greek, Portuguese, Old Neapolitan, Sardinian, Hungarian, Evenki, West Greenlandic). Miller makes a strong empirical claim that inflected infinitives require salient triggers and cannot arise spontaneously. Two common sources are identified: (1) purposive subjunctives (e.g., Romance languages) and (2) pronominal elements (e.g., Hungarian, Welsh).

Scida, Emily. 2004. *The inflected infinitive in Romance languages*. New York: Routledge.
The second section of this book provides a comprehensive overview of the different theories that have been advanced to explain the origin of the inflected infinitive in Romance languages. Based on a thorough comparison of the syntactic environments common to both the imperfect subjunctive and the inflected infinitive, the study reveals an overall pattern of correspondence, especially in adverbial clauses expressing purpose, which corroborates the Latin imperfect subjunctive origin.

Wernekke, Hugo. 1885. *Zur Syntax des portugiesischen Verb*. Weimar, Germany: Realgymnasium Weimar.
Wernekke was the first one to claim a common Latin origin of the inflected infinitive in Romance languages. He proposes that the omission of the conjunctions *ut* and *quid* in subordinate clauses with the Latin imperfect subjunctive would have favored the interpretation of the subjunctive as an infinitive with verbal endings. Wernekke identifies volitional clauses as the principal environment in common for the Latin and Romance forms.

Wireback, Kenneth J. 1994. The origin of the Portuguese inflected infinitive. *Hispania* 77:544–554.
Based on a corpus study of 153 sentences from Old Portuguese texts dated 1400 CE or earlier, Wireback rejects the Creative Theory and supports the Imperfect Subjunctive Theory. However, he proposes an important modification to the latter, by locating the origin of the inflected infinitive in purpose clauses, rather than in volitional contexts.

The Inflected Infinitive from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective

Although the majority of the work published on the inflected infinitive focuses on Portuguese, a considerable number of studies are dedicated to the phenomenon in other languages. Most of these studies adopt a contrastive perspective. One of the most comprehensive cross-linguistic overviews is provided by Groothuis 2018, which takes into account five Romance languages. Jansegers and Vanderschueren 2010 compares the Portuguese inflected infinitive with its Galician counterpart. Sheehan, Blokzijl and Parafita Couto 2020, on the other hand, focuses on the Galician inflected infinitive. Luz 1998 and Fiéis and Madeira 2017 contrast different varieties of Portuguese, whereas Salotti 1999 and Carrera de la Red and Rodrigues 2006 focus on the identification of the Spanish equivalents of the Portuguese inflected infinitive. In the Italo-Romance domain, Ledgeway 1998 proposes a new candidate for the category of inflected infinitives from the dialects spoken in southern Calabria, and Vincent 1998 studies the grammar of the inflected infinitive in Old Neapolitan. More recently, Groothuis 2020 focuses on the inflected infinitive in Sardinian. Finally, beyond the Romance languages, Sheehan 2014 even compares the inflected infinitive to Russian constructions.

Carrera de la Red, Micaela, and José Maria Rodrigues. 2006. Las equivalencias en español del infinitivo flexionado portugués: Una perspectiva contrastive. *Boletin de Linguistica* 18.26: 63–101.
This article offers a contrastive study of the similarities and differences between the Portuguese inflected infinitive and the Spanish infinitive. The analysis of written data taken from Saramago's *Memorial do convento* and its translation into Spanish shows that the lack of translation equivalence in Spanish is essentially due to pragmatic values conveyed by the Portuguese inflected infinitive, such as its use as discourse marker or clause connector.

Fiéis, Alexandra, and Ana Madeira. 2017. The Portuguese inflected infinitive across varieties. In *Studies on variation and change in varieties of Portuguese*. Edited by Pilar Barbosa, Conceição Paiva, and Celeste Rodrigues, 280–299. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
This study investigates the properties of the inflected infinitive in different varieties of Portuguese: European Portuguese, spoken Mozambiquean, Angolan, and Brazilian Portuguese. It is argued that there are three types of inflected infinitives, which differ in their degree of finiteness: besides the traditional inflected infinitive, there is also an inflected infinitival form with characteristics of finite verb forms and a form which behaves like an uninflected infinitive, or "pseudo-inflected infinitive."

Groothuis, Kim. 2018. Empirical and analytical problems of the Romance inflected infinitive: The state of the art. In *Comparative and diachronic perspectives on romance syntax*. Edited by

Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Adina Dragomirescu, Irina Nicula, and Alexandru Nicolae, 289–324. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

This chapter offers a critical overview of different approaches that have been proposed in order to account for a wide range of linguistic questions raised by the existence of inflected infinitives. First, it gives a description of the morphology and distribution of the inflected infinitive in five Romance languages: European and Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, Sardinian and Old Neapolitan. The study also offers a comprehensive review of both descriptive approaches and generative analyses to the Romance inflected infinitive.

Groothuis, Kim. 2020. Gli infiniti flessi sardi nelle strutture a controllo. In *Il sardo in movimento*. Edited by Eva-Maria Remberger, Maurizio Virdis, and Birgit Wagner, vol. 5, 151–168. Vienna: Vienna University Press; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

This study focuses on the inflected infinitive in Sardinian and analyses the relationship between inflected infinitives and control contexts, i.e. the phenomenon of interpreting the implicit subject of an infinitive as coreferential to an argument in the matrix clause or the broader context. Contrary to what has been assumed in previous studies, the empirical evidence examined in this paper shows that Sardinian inflected infinitives can be used in specific control constructions, although their distribution is restricted.

Jansegers Marlies, and Clara Vanderschueren. 2010. El infinitivo flexionado gallego: ¿Entre portugués y castellano? *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 74:415–441.

This study empirically inquires if the use of the present-day Galician inflected infinitive is still comparable with that of its Portuguese counterpart. To this end, a corpus of Portuguese, Galician, and Spanish translations of English and French literary works is compiled. The comparative analysis reveals that both the divergences with Portuguese and some particular tendencies in Galician can be attributed to a syntactic influence from Spanish.

Ledgeway, Adam. 1998. Variation in the Romance infinitive: The case of the Southern Calabrian inflected infinitive. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 96.1: 1–61.

In spite of the intrinsic variation in function and form inherent to the Romance infinitive, Ledgeway proposes the infinitive as a macrocategory. This allows for the incorporation of new members into the infinitival category. Through a comparison with other Romance infinitives, the author demonstrates that the complement clauses introduced by the subordinators *mu/ma/mi* in dialects spoken in southern Calabria, which have traditionally been considered finite, should be accorded infinitival status.

Luz, Geraldo A. da. 1998. Inflected infinitive in Romance languages. *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos, Campinas* 34:7–17.

Written from the perspective of the Government and Binding Theory, this study shows that, although the Brazilian inflected infinitive has been interpreted as subject to the same principles which govern European Portuguese and Galician inflected infinitive, there are some fundamental differences between these varieties, which suggests the syntax of Brazilian inflected infinitive merits its own analysis.

Salotti, Luciana S. R. 1999. Las equivalencias en español del infinitivo flexionado portugués. *Anuario Brasileño de Estudios Hispánicos* 9:77–87.

This study concentrates on the inflected infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese and has been written principally for didactic purposes, to facilitate learning, teaching, and translation of Spanish for native Brazilians. The main question is to know how the Spanish language supplements the lack of the Portuguese inflected infinitive.

Sheehan, Michelle. 2014. Portuguese, Russian and the Theory of Control. In *Proceedings of the 43rd annual meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*. Vol. 2. Edited by Hsin-Lun Huang, Ethan Poole, and Amanda Rysling, 115–126. Amherst, MA: Graduate Linguistics Student Association.
The novelty of this contribution resides in the comparison between Portuguese and Russian. The study reports on data from a number of online questionnaires and provides a generative account of the Portuguese data which might be extended to Russian. It is argued that the distribution of Portuguese inflected infinitives in instances of obligatory control behave similarly to case independence in languages such as Russian.

Sheehan Michelle, Blokzijl Jeffrey, and Parafita Couto M. Carmen. 2020. Inflected infinitives in Galician. In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*. Edited by Irene Vogel, vol. 16, 260–273. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
The purpose of this study is to document the acceptability of inflected infinitives in Galician based on a large-scale audio survey, supplemented by spoken corpus data. The data suggest that the syntactic contexts in which inflected infinitives are accepted are much broader than in the normative literature. There is, however, some inter-speaker variation, which appears to correlate most strongly with L1 (Spanish/Galician) and gender: men and L1 Spanish speakers tend to be more accepting of the inflected infinitive.

Vincent, Nigel. 1998. On the grammar of inflected non-finite forms (with special reference to Old Neapolitan). *Copenhagen Studies in Language* 22:135–158.
Based on the study of Neapolitan texts from the earliest attestations in the 13th through to the late 16th century, the author discusses three environments of inflections (inflected infinitives, gerunds, and participles) and relates this to the more general question about what is finiteness.

The Acquisition of the Inflected Infinitive
Studies on the acquisition of the inflected infinitive only emerged until recently and are largely restricted to the generative paradigm (see also Generative Approach). Whereas Duarte, et al. 2016 and Santos, et al. 2013 focus on L1 acquisition, the acquisition of inflected infinitives also raises important questions related to second language acquisition. Rothman 2009 and Rothman and Michael 2007, for example, connect the acquisition of the inflected infinitive to more general questions related to acquisition theory. Other studies are more comparative in nature: Iverson and Rothman 2008, for example, focuses on the developmental path in the acquisition of syntactic knowledge versus syntax-semantics interface knowledge in L2 acquisition. Rothman, et al. 2013 studies the acquisition of the inflected infinitive according to its dialectal variation, comparing European and Brazilian Portuguese. Madeira 2016 offers a brief overview of these studies on the acquisition of the inflected infinitive in L2.

Duarte, Inês, Ana Lúcia Santos, and Anabela Gonçalves. 2016. O infinitivo flexionado na gramática do adulto e na aquisição de L1. In *Manual de linguística portuguesa*. Edited by Ana Maria Martins and Ernestina Carrilho, 453–480. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter.

This chapter delves into the inflected infinitive in adult grammar and in the context of L1 acquisition. Based on longitudinal data from spontaneous speech, it is shown that the inflected infinitive emerges in early stages of L1 acquisition and that the different contexts of use emerge at different stages: children start using the inflected infinitive in adverbial contexts (final subordinate clauses) before producing it in other contexts.

Iverson, Michael, and Jason Rothman. 2008. The syntax–semantics interface in L2 acquisition: Genericity and inflected infinitive complements in non-native Portuguese. In *Selected Proceedings of the 10th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Edited by Joyce Bruhn de Garavito and Elena Valenzuela, 78–92. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Starting from the hypothesis that interface phenomena should be harder to learn than purely syntactic phenomena, this study tests advanced L2 Portuguese learners for both their syntactic knowledge (properties of control) and syntax-semantics interface knowledge (genericity effect on inflected infinitive complements of epistemic predicates). The study demonstrates that they acquire native-like knowledge of both purely syntactic and syntax-semantics interface properties of inflected infinitives.

Madeira, Ana. 2016. Second language acquisition. In *The handbook of Portuguese linguistics*. Edited by W. Leo Wetzels, Joao Costa, and Sergio Menuzzi, 578–590. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

In this chapter, the author presents an overview of some of the research questions that have been at the core of current research on the acquisition of Portuguese. The focus is restricted to the generative paradigm (see Generative Approach) and concentrates on five topics, among which the inflected infinitive is briefly touched upon.

Rothman, Jason. 2009. Knowledge of A/A'-dependencies on subject extraction with two types of infinitives in non-native Portuguese adult bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 13.1: 111–140.

The main question addressed in this paper—the extent to which advanced English learners of L2 Brazilian Portuguese have access to inborn universal linguistic properties within the domain of inflected infinitives—embodies a longstanding debate within generative L2 acquisition theorizing between Full Accessibility and Partial Accessibility approaches. The data demonstrate that the uninterpretable features inherent to the inflected infinitives can be acquired, supporting thus Full Accessibility approaches.

Rothman, Jason, Inês Duarte, Acrisio Pires, and Ana Lúcia Santos. 2013. How early after all? Inflected infinitives in European and Brazilian Portuguese L1 production. In *Advances in language acquisition*. Edited by Stavroula Stavrakaki, Marina Lalioti, and Polyxeni Konstatinopoulou, 164–172. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.

Assuming that inflected infinitives display dialectal variation in the colloquial varieties of European and Brazilian Portuguese, this study demonstrates that inflected infinitives in these varieties show different acquisition paths in early child data that seem to relate directly to major differences in the colloquial dialects of Brazilian and European Portuguese, respectively. Late

acquisition of inflected infinitives in Brazilian Portuguese is argued to mirror the general loss of inflection in that variety.

Rothman, Jason, and Michael Iverson. 2007. To inflect or not to inflect is the question indeed: Infinitives in second language (L2) Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 6.2: 3–28.
With the goal of testing the predictions of two different approaches—Full Access and Partial Access—this study investigates the acquisition of inflected infinitives by English and Spanish/English bilingual adult learners of L2 Portuguese. The data demonstrate that advanced adult learners achieve native-like interpretative knowledge of the grammatical distribution of inflected versus uninflected Portuguese infinitives.

Santos, Ana Lúcia, Jason Rothman, Acrisio Pires, and Inês Duarte. 2013. Early or late acquisition of inflected infinitives in European Portuguese? Evidence from spontaneous production data. In *Generative linguistics and acquisition: Studies in Honor of Nina M. Hyams*. Edited by Misha Becker, John Grinstead, and Jason Rothman, 65–88. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
This study examines the emergence of inflected infinitives in young European Portuguese children's spontaneous production data, aiming at answering the question as to when and how do inflected infinitives first emerge productively in child European Portuguese. Written within a generative framework, the authors argue that the earliest emergence is restricted to adverbial final clauses introduced by *para* "for," because the corresponding structures of theses contexts are formally less complex.

Theoretical Approaches to Inflected Infinitives

An infinitive that bears person and number agreement challenges the traditional definition of the infinitive as an uninflected verb form that does not convey tense, aspect, mood, or number and person information (see the separate *Oxford Bibliographies* article in Linguistics "Tense, Aspect, and Mood"). Rising to this theoretical challenge, the phenomenon of the inflected infinitive has been described within several theoretical frameworks. Each paradigm presents solutions for the analysis of the enigmatic matter of the inflected infinitive from a unique perspective. As indicated in the section Monographs, Scida 2004 proposes an analysis within the framework of Relational Grammar. In the present section, we present the studies realized within both the Chomskyan and Langackerian analyses of the inflected infinitive.

Generative Approach

A significant body of research on the inflected infinitive has been completed within the generative framework, covering a series of formalistic descriptions of the distribution of the inflected infinitive on the basis of formal transformation rules. These studies aim at determining the underlying syntactic structure and distribution of the inflected infinitive based on properties such as case assignment and the presence or absence of tense and agreement. The best-known generative analysis of inflected infinitives is presented in the seminal paper Raposo 1987. Later generative studies use Raposo's analysis as a starting point. Within this same generative vein, we find among others the works Madeira 1994 and Pires 2006 on the Portuguese inflected infinitive. Longa 1994 and Parafita Couto 2004 focus on the Galician phenomenon, and Quicoli 1996 contrasts Portuguese and Spanish. A psycholinguistic eye-tracking experiment in Brazilian Portuguese is proposed by Modesto and Maia 2017. For a comprehensive overview of the main

references within generative syntax, see the separate *Oxford Bibliographies* article in Linguistics "Generative Syntax."

Longa, Víctor M. 1994. The Galician inflected infinitive and the theory of UG. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.1: 23–44.
Following Raposo 1987, this study is written under the Government and Binding Theory, but departs from Raposo's analysis in assuming that the behaviors of the inflected infinitives in Portuguese and Galician are not the same: they differ in some essential properties like the basic order (subject-verb versus verb-subject) and the position of clitics. It is assumed that all inflected infinitival complements are full Complementizer Phrases.

Madeira, Ana M. 1994. On the Portuguese inflected infinitive. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 6:179–203.
Madeira adopts the analysis of Raposo 1987 in several aspects, but departs from it in others by assuming that all inflected infinitival clauses are Complementizer Phrases. She remarks that the inflected infinitival clauses are not always restricted to case position. According to her alternative approach, the infinitive does not raise to Complementizer for case requirements but this movement is rather triggered by some agreement feature in Complementizer itself.

Modesto, Marcello. & Maia, Marcus. 2017. Representation and Processing of the Inflected Infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese: an eye-tracking study. *Revista de Estudos da Linguagem, Belo Horizonte*, 25.3: 1183–1224.
This study examines the syntactic representation and the psycholinguistic processing characteristics of null subjects of inflected nonfinite complement clauses in Brazilian Portuguese. After presenting a general review of the Theory of Control in generative syntax and the diachronic peculiarities of Brazilian Portuguese, an eye-tracking experiment is carried out.

Parafita Couto, María del Carmen. 2004. Agreement and focus in Galician inflected infinitives. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* 27:66–91.
This study aims at describing and explaining the three possible positions of the subject in Galician inflected infinitives, which can occur in postverbal, preverbal, and sentence final position. Adopting the Minimalist approach, the author shows that the most common unmarked word order is obtained when the subject is either in postverbal position or dropped, whereas the other two positions are reserved for the subject in focus.

Pires, Acrisio. 2006. *The minimalist syntax of defective domains: Gerunds and infinitives*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Chapter 3 in this book proposes a Minimalist analysis of Portuguese infinitives and investigates more precisely the case and control properties of subjects in inflected and non-inflected infinitives. It shows that the morphosyntactic properties of (non)-inflected infinitives correlate with different treatments of obligatory and non-obligatory control.

Quicoli, Antonio C. 1996. Inflection and parametric variation: Portuguese vs. Spanish. In *Current issues in comparative grammar*. Edited by Robert Freidin, 46–80. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.

Quicoli's study focuses on parametric effects of inflection in infinitival constructions of Spanish and Portuguese. He demonstrates how the properties of these constructions in the two languages follow from the principles of the Government and Binding Theory. It is argued that the presence versus absence of infinitival agreement in Portuguese versus Spanish, respectively, results from different choices of values of a proposed universal parameter, the "I-Parameter."

Raposo, Eduardo. 1987. Case theory and Infl-to-Comp: The inflected infinitive in European Portuguese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18.1: 85–109.
Raposo's study is formulated within the Government and Binding framework. According to his analysis, the distributional properties of inflected infinitival clauses can be explained by case theory and follow from the fact that agreement in its inflection node needs to be case-marked in order to assign nominative case to its subject. Available online by subscription.

Cognitive and Usage-Based Approaches
Although the generative approaches provide a solid formalistic approach on how infinitival agreement occurs in contexts where the inflected infinitive is acceptable, they fail to account for optionality. In other words, the formal transformation rules are unable to clarify the apparent optional character of the infinitival flexion in contexts where the use of either an inflected or a non-inflected infinitive is possible. It is precisely this variation in use that is at the heart of the cognitive approach to the phenomenon. This theoretical framework starts from the premise that language does not constitute a cognitive ability separated from the other human faculties, but rather that it is closely related to the other cognitive processes. As a consequence, linguistic structures reflect the structures of other cognitive domains of the human being, and the choice for different linguistic expressions to refer to the same reality is thus intrinsically connected with the mental representation of that reality. Applied to the phenomenon of the inflected infinitive, within the cognitive framework research has been focusing on what factors influence the choice between the two infinitive forms, which, according to Silva 2008, is supposed to be associated with conceptual schemas. Vesterinen 2011, by contrast, relates the choice to cognitive processes underlying the use of both infinitives. Importantly, cognitive linguistics defines itself as a usage-based model of language, which has the methodological implication that their analyses are based on actual usage data in corpora. Examples of advanced empirical analyses on the inflected infinitive are found in Vanderschueren and De Cuypere 2014 and Vanderschueren and Diependaele 2013. For a comprehensive overview of the main references within cognitive linguistics, see the separate Oxford Bibliographies article in Linguistics "Cognitive Linguistics."

Silva, Augusto Soares da. 2008. The Portuguese inflected infinitive and its conceptual basis. In *Asymmetric events*. Edited by Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 227–243. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
This study proposes a conceptual analysis of the Portuguese inflected infinitive, and focuses on the way in which different infinitival forms profile different aspects of the event. The inflected infinitive is described as an objective construal of a process type. The author posits a continuum of event asymmetry in which the inflected infinitive occupies an intermediate position between a finite verb form and the bare infinitive.

Vanderschueren, Clara, and Kevin Diependaele. 2013. The Portuguese inflected infinitive: An empirical approach. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 9.1: 161–186.

This study empirically tests the hypothesis of Vesterinen 2011 by using both corpus and experimental (self-paced reading) data. On the basis of their findings, the authors argue for an elaboration of Vesterinen's accessibility account: besides subject accessibility, the syntactic-semantic autonomy of the infinitival clause turns out to be one of the decisive factors behind the choice of the infinitive form, and both are signs of a higher principal of sentence complexity.

Vanderschueren, Clara, and Ludovic De Cuypere. 2014. The inflected/non-inflected infinitive alternation in Portuguese adverbial clauses: A corpus analysis. *Language Sciences* 41.B: 153–174.
The innovative aspect of this study lies in the fact that abstract principles formulated in the former scholarship are subjected to a rigorous empirical analysis of actual corpus data. On the basis of a multifactorial analysis, three main factors are identified that increase the likelihood an inflected infinitive will appear in an optional context: higher autonomy, lower subject accessibility, and stronger verbality of the infinitive.

Vesterinen, Rainer. 2011. *A cognitive approach to adverbial subordination in European Portuguese: The infinitive, the clitic pronoun* se *and finite verb forms*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.
In chapter 2 of his book, Vesterinen focuses on the cognitive processes underlying the infinitival alternation in adverbial clauses. The author poses the hypothesis that the choice between the inflected and non-inflected infinitive is related to the degree of mental accessibility of the subject: the use of the inflected infinitive reflects the need to emphasize the infinitival subject in contexts where its referent is less cognitively accessible.

Inflected Infinitive versus Infinitive with Overt Subject

The Portuguese inflected infinitive construction has been frequently related to and contrasted with cognate constructions in Portuguese and other Romance languages. In this section, we focus on the comparison between the inflected infinitive and the infinitive with a (nominative) lexical subject: both constructions explicitly mark the subject of the infinitive. Contrary to the inflected infinitive, Meier 1955 and Mensching 2000 show that the infinitive with lexical subject (e.g., in Spanish: *sin tu saberlo* "without you knowing it") is more widespread in the different Romance languages. Often, the greater spread of the infinitival construction with lexical subject in Romance languages has led to scholars putting it on a par with the inflected infinitive construction, where both constructions are treated as a single construction. Schulte 2007, for example, considers the infinitive with lexical subject and the inflected infinitive as one and the same. Other works such as Pountain 1995 and Vanderschueren 2013 recognize the affinity between both constructions, but argue in favor of a separate treatment, based on their use in fundamentally different contexts.

Meier, Harri. 1955. Infinitivo flexional portugués e infinitivo personal español. *Boletín de Filologia de la Universidad de Chile* 8:267–291.
Meier classifies the syntactic environments in which explicit lexical subjects appear in Romance infinitives. He emphasizes word order: whereas the sequence subject + infinitive usually appears in Portuguese, Old French, and Old Spanish, the reverse order is found in Modern Spanish, Italian, and Catalan. His statement that infinitives with lexical subject in Spanish are as frequent

as inflected infinitives in Portuguese has been countered by the empirical analysis of Vanderschueren 2013.

Mensching, Guido. 2000. *Infinitive constructions with specified subjects: A syntactic analysis of the Romance languages*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
Mensching's study stands out because it analyzes the phenomenon of specified subjects in infinitive clauses taking into account all Romance languages (mainly Portuguese, Italian, French, and Spanish, with minor paragraphs on Sardinian, Romanian, Occitan, and Catalan), in both diachronic and dialectal varieties. He interprets the results from a generative (minimalist) framework, examining how overt subjects in infinitive clauses are licensed and what determines their position and their case.

Pountain, Chris. 1995. Infinitives with overt subjects: A pragmatic approach. In *Portuguese, Brazilian and African studies: Studies presented to Clive Willis on his retirement*. Edited by Tom F. Earle and Nigel Griffin, 11–25. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips.
According to Pountain, the Portuguese inflected infinitive is part of a larger phenomenon of overt subject marking with infinitives, which is widely attested in Romance. He offers a pragmatic approach of infinitives with overt subjects, including inflected infinitives. It is argued that in early Romance the use of lexical subjects with infinitive was universal in some prepositional complement contexts. Later, this situation has diversified and evolved into three language types.

Schulte, Kim. 2007. *Prepositional infinitives in Romance: A usage-based approach to syntactic change*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
Schulte offers an extensive corpus-based analysis on prepositional infinitival clauses with overt subjects in Spanish and Portuguese (see especially chapters 2 and 3 of the book). On the basis of an overview of the different approaches to the syntax of infinitival clauses, as well as extensive statistical analyses, the author stresses the central role of pragmatic usage patterns in these constructions.

Vanderschueren, Clara. 2013. *Infinitivo y sujeto en portugués y español: Un estudio empírico de los infinitivos adverbiales con sujeto explícito*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 377. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Chapter 6 of this book focuses on infinitival constructions with overt subject. An extensive empirical analysis sheds light on the factors (related to the clausal and adverbial nature) that distinguish the use of infinitives with lexically overt subjects in Spanish and Portuguese. The results suggest that the Portuguese constructions are more clause-like: they behave more like finite clauses and appear in a wider variety of constructions than in Spanish.