

Appendix (Inflected Infinitives)

As can be seen in (1) and (2), inflected infinitives can take lexical subjects or null subjects, unlike non-inflected infinitives, which must have a controlled PRO subject.

- (2) *A Maria lamenta não irem à festa.*
Maria regret-pres-3sg we/pro not go-inf-1pl to the party
'Maria regrets our not going to the party.'
- (3) *É provável [nós/pro chegarmos tarde].*
Be-pres-3sg probable we arrive-inf-1pl late
'It is probable that we will arrive late.'

Inflected infinitives display properties similar to both non-inflected infinitives and finite verbs. They act somewhat like normal embedded finite clauses, as in (2) and (3). Unlike normal finite verbs, however, inflected/personal infinitives must have a higher Case-assigning licenser. As a result, unlike normal finite verbs, they cannot occur as matrix predicates, as in (3).

- (3) **Elas chegarem em uma ora.*
They arrive-inf-3pl in an hour.
'They to arrive in an hour.'

Further unlike finite verbs, inflected/personal infinitives cannot occur after the complementizer *que* and are ungrammatical as embedded questions or relative clauses (unlike finite forms and uninflected infinitives), as in (4) and (5).

- (4) a. **É importante que nós sermos fortes.*
Be-pres-3sg important that we be-inf-1pl strong
'It is important that we are strong.'
- b. *É importante nós sermos fortes.*
Be-pres-3sg important we be-inf-1pl strong
'It is important that we are strong.'
- c. *É importante que nós sejamos fortes.*
Be-pres-3sg importante that we be-subj-1pl strong
'It is important that we are strong.'
- (5) a. **Não sabemos o que fazermos nesta situação.*
Not know-pres-1pl the what pro_i do-inf-1pl in this situation
'We do not know what to do in this situation.'
- b. *Não sabemos o que fazer nesta situação.*
Not know-pres-1pl the what PRO_i do-INF in this situation
'We do not know what to do in this situation.'
- c. *Não sabemos o que faremos nesta situação.*
Not know-pres-1pl the what pro_i do-fut-1pl in this situation
'We do not know what we will do in this situation.'

Like non-inflected infinitives, but unlike finite verbs, prepositions can license inflected infinitives, serving as yet another higher Case-assigning element, as in (6).

- (6) a. *O problema é para nós resolvermos.*
The problem is for we resolve-inf-1pl
'The problem is for us to resolve.'
- b. *Nós devemos pensar muito para resolver o problema.*
We, must-pres-1pl PRO_i think-inf a lot to PRO_i resolve-inf. the problem
'We must think hard to solve the problem.'
- c. **O problema é para nós resolvemos.*
The problem is for we resolve-pres-1pl
'The problem is for us to resolve.'

Inflected infinitives, like finite clauses but unlike non-inflected infinitives, are possible with A'-movement (e.g. *wh*-movement and topicalization). Unlike non-inflected infinitives and like finite clauses, they are not possible with A-movement (subject raising and passives).

- (7) **A'-movement (*wh*-movement)**
- a. **Que professores você lamenta que professores ter se jubilado?*
Which professors you regret-pres-3sg which professors have-inf retired
- b. *Que professores você lamenta que professores terem se jubilado?*
Which professors you regret-pres-3sg which professors have-inf-3pl retired
- c. *Que professores você lamenta que que professores tenham se jubilado?*
Which professors you regret-pres-3sg that which professors have-subj-3pl retired
'Which professors do you regret that they have retired?'

(8) A-movement (subject raising)

- a. *Os estudantes graduados parecem os estudantes graduados ter estudado muito.*
The graduate students appear-pres-3pl the graduate students have-inf studied a lot.
- b. **Os estudantes graduados parecem os estudantes graduados terem estudado muito.*
The students graduate appear-pres-3pl the graduate students have-inf -3pl studied a lot.
- c. **Os estudantes graduados parecem que os estudantes graduados estudaram muito.*
The students graduate appear-pres-3pl that the graduate students study-perf.-3pl a lot.
'The graduate students appear to have studied a lot.'

Additionally, Portuguese non-inflected and inflected infinitives differ significantly in properties of obligatory control (see Hornstein 1999; Landau 2003). Inflected/personal infinitives display properties of non-obligatory control (Pires 2001; 2006). As can be seen in (9) and (10), PRO, the subject of uninflected infinitives, must have a local c-commanding antecedent in the matrix clause, whereas the *pro* subject of inflected infinitives may be disjoint in reference from any DP in the sentence.

- (9) [Os nossos, amigos]_k lamentam PRO_i_k chegar tarde.

[The our_i friends]_k regret PRO_{i/k} arrive-INF late.

- (10) [Os nossos_i amigos] lamentam *pro_i* chegarmos tarde.
[The our_i friends] regret *pro_i* arrive-INF-1PPL late.

As it relates to possible readings under ellipsis, uninflected infinitives must take a sloppy reading, whereas inflected infinitives only correspond to a strict interpretation of the ellipsis site. Consider the following sentences in (11):

- (11) a. *O João lamenta ter chorado e a Maria também.* (= Maria lamenta ter chorado)
João, regrets PRO_{i/ij} have-INF cried and Maria too. (= Maria regrets having cried).
b. *O João lamenta termos chorado e a Maria também.* (*lamentamos nós termos chorado*)
João, regrets *pro_i* have-INF-1PPL cried and Maria too. (= Maria regrets us crying).

The elided material under (11a) can only be interpreted with the sloppy reading of ‘Maria herself regrets her own crying,’ as opposed to (11b), where the ellipsis material must be understood as the strict interpretation of the ellipsis site, which corresponds to ‘Maria laments our crying’.

Furthermore, inflected infinitives as compared to uninflected infinitives behave differently in terms of allowing (or not) split antecedents for embedded clause null subjects. Consider the following sentences in (12):

- (12) a. *A Maria José, convenceu o Roberto, PRO_{i/ij} a perdoar o Miguelinho.*
Maria José, convinced Roberto, PRO_{i/ij} to forgive-INF Miguel.
b. *A Maria José, convenceu o Roberto, *pro_i* a perdoarem o Miguelinho.*
Maria Jose, convinced Robert_i [that] *pro_{i/ij+k}* [they] to forgive-INF Miguel

In (12a) the subject PRO of the uninflected infinitive does not allow an interpretation where Maria José and Roberto can form a set that serves as its antecedent. Conversely, in (12b), the embedded *pro* can be co-referential with either a set of elements that includes Maria José and Roberto or Roberto and others from the discourse, yet, in light of the plural Agr-morphology of the inflected infinitive, it may not be co-referential with Roberto only. We test for non-native knowledge of the last two distinctions discussed in this section.

Context Sentence Matching Task

Sloppy reading context

Quando o nosso pai morreu a minha irmã chorou em frente de todos. Por isso, ela se sentia um pouco envergonhada. Mais tarde, ela me disse que estava muito orgulhosa de mim porque pensou que eu era muito forte. Ela nunca soube que eu tinha chorado também porque ninguém me viu chorar.

When our father died my sister cried in front of everyone. As a result, she felt a little embarrassed. Later, she told me that she was very proud of me because she thought I was very strong. She never knew that I had also cried because nobody saw me cry.

Which sentence(s) is (are) logical given the context?

- i. **Eu lamento ter chorado e a minha irmã também.**

I regret have-INF cried and the my sister too

‘I regret having cried and my sister does too.’

- ii. **Eu lamento termos chorado e a minha irmã também.**

I regret have-INF-1PL cried and the my sister too

‘I regret our having cried and my sister does too.’

- b. Strict reading context

Ontem era o dia da partida de futebol mais importante do ano. Eu pensei que fossemos ganhar, mas a gente perdeu. Agora estou muito triste e não quero sair. Realmente, eu não posso acreditar que não ganhamos. A minha namorada está muito triste também porque agora eu não quero sair de casa.

Yesterday was the most important day for soccer of the whole year. I thought we were going to win, but we lost. Now I am very sad and I don't want to go out. Truly, I just can't believe that we did not win. My girlfriend is also quite sad because now I don't want to leave my house.

Which sentence(s) is (are) logical given the context?

- i. **Eu lamento ter perdido e a minha namorada também.**

I regret have-INF lost and the my girlfriend too

‘I regret having lost and my girlfriend does too.’

- ii. **Eu lamento termos perdido e a minha namorada também.**

I regret have-INF-1PL lost and the my girlfriend too

‘I regret our having lost and my girlfriend does too.’