

INFINITIVES WITH OVERT SUBJECTS: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

1. Introduction

It is now generally realized that the inflected infinitive of Portuguese, far from being an idiosyncrasy of the language, is part of a phenomenon of overt subject marking with infinitives (OSI) which is very extensively attested in Romance. Indeed, there are grounds for thinking that in early Romance the use of overt subjects with infinitives was universal in a relatively restricted range of prepositional complement contexts.¹ Later developments have produced a situation in which three distinct language types have emerged:

Group 1. Those languages like Portuguese which have not only overt subjects with infinitives but also infinitives which are inflected for certain person/numbers (other known examples are Galician, Old Leonese, Old Neapolitan, and Sardinian).²

Group 2. Those languages which appear not to permit overt subjects with infinitives at all, of which modern standard French (though not all its dialects and registers) is a clear example.³

1. This is the general thrust of Theodoro MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito flexionado português* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1968), who builds on this basis the hypothesis that the Portuguese infinitive inflections are the result of the association of the infinitive with overt personal pronoun subjects rather than derivation from the Latin imperfect subjunctive, the theory previously favoured. I do not wish to open this contentious matter here, though I would signal that, despite Maurer Júnior's admirable consideration of the Portuguese data in the context of other Romance languages, he does not appear to realize the potential significance of the identity between the imperfect subjunctive and the personal infinitive in Sardinian.

2. The inflected infinitive is found only in the Logudorese-Nuorese dialects of Sardinian and is apparently always optional. In those dialects where only the bare infinitive is available, Sardinian falls into Group 3 rather than Group 1.

3. Marie-Thérèse VINET calls attention to the existence of overt infinitive subjects in what she deems to be 'conditional' structures of the type *La France battre le Brésil, ce serait inconcevable*, which indeed recall the *a* + infinitive of Portuguese and the *de* + infinitive of Portuguese and Galician used conditionally: 'Lexical subjects in French infinitives', in *Selected Papers from the XIIIth Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, ed. Larry D. King & Catherine A. Maley (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1985), 407-23. MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito*, 76, calls atten-

Group 3. Those languages which may be thought of as continuing the early Romance situation, Spanish, Italian, and Romanian all being in varying degrees examples of this position.

It must be stressed that, within Groups 1 and 3, languages are not necessarily identical as regards the contexts in which overt subject infinitives are permitted, nor, for that matter, even as regards the contexts in which infinitive complementation is permitted. Of the three mentioned in Group 3, Spanish makes by far the most extensive use of the phenomenon, in a way which in fact makes it in some respects more comparable to Portuguese than to Italian.⁴ Another dimension of the differences among the Romance languages which has not, I think, always been sufficiently stressed in the literature is that apparently parallel constructions may in fact have different register indices.⁵ I do not have space to investigate this in any depth here, but will of necessity refer to considerations of register in passing.

Recent interest in OSI constructions has been primarily syntactic. The preliminary assumption of Government-and-Binding theory that infinitives do not by their nature have person/number inflections or overt subjects claimed detailed attention for OSI structures by Government-and-Binding theorists, and this in its turn has led within Universal Grammar to the pursuit of a common account of certain aspects of Romance complementation, which has yielded important comparative insights. We have also recently been provided with valuable syntactically-based accounts of the inflected infinitives of Sardinian and Old Neapolitan.⁶ Such concentration on the syntax of OSI

tion to examples such as *Va chercher le journal pour moi lire* recorded in *français populaire* by Frei and Bauche. Old French yields many examples of prepositional infinitive complements with overt subjects: *ibid.*, 72; Karl-Hermann KÖRNER, 'Wie originell ist der flektierte Infinitiv des Portugiesischen?: Eine Studie zum Subjekt in den romanischen Sprachen', in *Portugiesische Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. J. Schmidt-Radefeldt (Tübingen: Narr, 1983), 77-104 (80).

4. James Hye-Suk YOON & Neus BONET-FARRAN, 'The Ambivalent Nature of Spanish Infinitives', in *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics: Selected Papers from the XVIII Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Urbana-Champaign, April 7-9, 1988*, ed. Dieter Wanner & Douglas A. Kibbee (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), 353-70, provide an interesting comparison of infinitive object complementation in certain kinds of European Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian.

5. Gunver SKYTTE, 'Il cosiddetto costruito dotto di accusativo con l'infinito in italiano moderno', *Studi di Grammatica Italiana*, 7 (1978), 281-315 (302-04), suggests that Italian object OSI complementation is always stylistically marked, full clause complementation being the preferred alternative structure.

6. Michael A. JONES, *Sardinian Syntax*, Romance Linguistics (London & New York: Routledge, 1993); Nigel VINCENT, 'Appunti sulla sintassi dell'infinito coniugato in un testo napoletano del '300', in *Italiano e dialetti nel tempo*, ed. Paola Benincà (Rome: Bulzoni, at press).

complement usage in Romance is very welcome: there are clearly local syntactic constraints of the type referred to in the preceding paragraph that must be charted. But the observations of commentators on the Portuguese inflected infinitive suggest that a satisfactory account of this phenomenon cannot come from a pursuit of the syntactic dimension alone. Some features of this Portuguese grammatical tradition are worth highlighting:

Principle A. The inflected infinitive is obligatory when the subject of the infinitive is either overtly present in the form of a personal pronoun or (plural) full noun, or (*Extension of Principle A*) is implied by some other feature of the discourse, such as the complement of a copular verb, or a reflexive pronoun.

Principle B. The bare infinitive is obligatory when the subject of the infinitive is impersonal.

Principle C. The inflected infinitive is in a large number of cases optional.

Principle D. Usage of the inflected infinitive corresponds to the degree of syntactic 'dissociation' of the infinitive from the main verb.

Principles A and B suggest that the inflected infinitive is triggered by an overt subject and is simply a required syntactic agreement, much like that of a finite verb form with its subject. But such a principle cannot account entirely for the use of the inflected infinitive, since the inflected infinitive frequently appears in the absence of such an overt subject, as indeed in the rather unsatisfactory Extension of Principle A. The 'optional' uses of the inflected infinitive referred to in Principle C are optional only if viewed from a strictly syntactic viewpoint; presence or absence of the personal inflection, as I shall suggest below, appears to be determined by pragmatic factors, such as the avoidance of ambiguity and the need to establish or re-establish the identity of the infinitive subject.⁷ Such pragmatic factors are also likely to be a motivation for Principle D, since the greater the degree of dissociation of the infinitive from the main verb, the greater the pragmatic need to establish its subject.

The object of this essay in honour of Clive Willis is to explore the pragmatic dimensions of inflected infinitive usage in Portuguese and examine to what extent similar principles govern OSI constructions generally in the Romance languages.

7. It is also clear that stylistic factors such as the avoidance of the accumulation of similarly inflected forms (MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito*, 244) intervene in the choice of bare or inflected infinitive, but I will not discuss this dimension here.

2. Non-coreferentiality

Bare infinitives in the Romance languages may be construed either as having an *impersonal* subject or as having a subject which is an element present elsewhere in the sentence. In the latter case, taking the Romance languages as a whole, the general rule is that the subject of the infinitive is coreferential with the *subject* of the main verb, unless the main verb belongs to a restricted set (most commonly verbs of causation, ordering, and perception) for which the subject of the dependent infinitive is coreferential with the *object* of the main verb. I shall accordingly for convenience refer to 'impersonal infinitives', 'subject-coreferential infinitives' and 'object-coreferential infinitives'.⁸

One obvious pragmatic hypothesis, therefore, is that an OSI construction will mark a deviation from these expected patterns of coreferentiality. Examples are:

(i) *Portuguese:*

- a. Depois de OS MEUS PAIS terem vendido a casa, tivemos de deixar a cidade⁹
'After my parents had sold the house, we had to leave the town'

Galician:

- b. Ela respondeu que xa a citaría para estaren xuntas¹⁰
'She replied that she would fix a time with her so that they could be together'

Spanish:

- c. María salió de la sala sin yo verla¹¹
'Maria went out of the room without my seeing her'

Sardinian:

- d. Juanne at tuncatu su barcone pro non s'istremparet SA JANNA¹²

8. The following typographical conventions are used: bold type is used for the infinitive, whether inflected or not, and its overt subject; the inflection and the lexical subject are underlined, and where a lexical subject is used with an inflected infinitive, the former is also in upper case. Translations have been kept as literal as is compatible with intelligibility.

9. Paul TEYSSIER, *Manuel de langue portugaise (Portugal-Brésil)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1976), 235.

10. Rosario ÁLVAREZ & others, *Gramática galega*, Biblioteca Basica da Cultura Galega (Vigo: Galaxia, 1986). See also Francisco G. GONDAR, *O infinitivo conxugado en galego* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago, 1978).

11. YOON & BONET-FARRAN, 'Ambivalent Nature', 355.

12. Michael A. JONES, 'Infinitives with Specified Subjects in Sardinian', in *Theoretical Analyses in Romance Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Nineteenth Linguistics Symposium on*

'Juanne sbut the window so that the door would not slam'

Italian:

e. L'amica, per essere Rosario lentiginosa, la chiamava semola di granturco¹³

'Because Rosario had freckles, her friend called her "maize bran"'

Romanian:

f. Fără veni Radu nu putem face nimic¹⁴

'Without Radu coming, we can do nothing'.

Group 3 languages appear uniformly to substantiate this hypothesis, but Group 1 languages behave rather variously. Use of an inflected infinitive alone, without an overt subject, seems relatively uncommon in Portuguese, and therefore the rule normally given is that the inflected infinitive is determined in such cases by the presence of an overt subject (Principle A), thus missing the coreferentiality dimension of these OSI constructions, which applies as in Group 3 languages. There appear to be no examples of this kind of non-coreferentiality attested in Old Neapolitan. The Sardinian data suggest broad similarity with Portuguese, but Sardinian, apparently uniquely, has the additional feature that an uninflected form can function non-coreferentially as if it were inflected or had an overt subject, if pragmatic conditions are favourable to the identification of the infinitive subject:

(ii) *Sardinian:*

Su postinu est colatu prima de arrivare¹⁵

'The postman came by before X (= someone else) arrived' (It is patent that the postman cannot pass by a place before arriving at it.).¹⁶

Romance Languages, Ohio State University, 21-23 April 1989, ed. Christiane Laeuffer & Terrell E. Morgan, *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, 4th s.: *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 74* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992), 295-309 (295 and 297).

13. Gunver SKYTTE, *La sintassi dell' infinito in italiano moderno*, *Études Romanes de l'Université de Copenhague: Revue Romane, Numéro Supplémentaire 27*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1983), II. 300.

14. Alf LOMBARD, *La langue roumaine: Une présentation*, *Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Série A: Manuels et Études Linguistiques 29* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), 294.

15. JONES, 'Infinitives', 296.

16. See also Max Leopold WAGNER, *La lingua sarda: Storia, spirito e forma* (Berne: Francke, 1951), cited by MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito*, 71.

The distinctive non-coreferential role of the OSI construction can be clearly seen in the following pairs of examples from Portuguese and Spanish:

(iii) *Portuguese:*

- a. Eu entrei em casa sem OS MENINOS verem¹⁷
 'I entered the house without the children seeing' (non-coreferential)
- b. Eu entrei em casa sem ver os meninos
 'I entered the house without (my) seeing the children' (subject-coreferential)

Spanish:

- c. Por no decir yo la verdad, el maestro castigó a toda la clase¹⁸
 'Because I did not tell the truth, the teacher punished the whole class' (non-coreferential)
- d. Por no decir la verdad, el maestro fue despedido
 'Because he did not tell the truth, the teacher was dismissed' (subject-coreferential).

Another kind of non-coreferential OSI use is encountered with subject complement constructions. Here, because the main verb does not have a personal subject (the infinitive clause itself being the subject), the bare infinitive is understood as itself impersonal, while the inflected infinitive is personal:

(iv) *Portuguese:*

- a. É fácil fazer isso
 'It is easy (for anyone) to do that'
- b. É fácil fazerem isso
 'It is easy for them to do that'.

This time, of the Group 1 languages, Sardinian does not share this feature, while Old Neapolitan does:¹⁹

17. Eduardo RAPOSO, 'Case Theory and Infl-to-Comp: The Inflected Infinitive in European Portuguese', *Linguistic Inquiry*, 18 (1987), 85-109 (88).

18. YOON & BONET-FARRAN, 'Ambivalent Nature', 353.

19. JONES, *Sardinian Syntax*, 284, reports that 'nominal infinitives' cannot be inflected or accompanied by a nominal subject.

(v) *Old Neapolitan:*

S(er)rà leya cosa ad averemonde grande avantayo²⁰

'It will be an easy thing for us to have great advantage from it'.

Examples can be found in the Group 3 languages, although they seem to be relatively restricted in terms of register:

(vi) *Spanish:*

a. Cantar yo ahora la *Traviata* sería interesante²¹

'It would be interesting for me to sing *La Traviata* now'

Italian:

b. L'avere egli compiuto i primi studi in Francia spiega...²²

'(The fact) that he completed his early studies in France explains...'

3. Coreferentiality

Inflected infinitives in Group 1 languages are not restricted to the marking of non-coreferentiality; they also appear in subject-coreferential complement contexts. At first sight it might seem that such use is not pragmatically motivated, since the marking of a coreferential subject is in accordance with the general pattern established in section 2, above and is hence strictly speaking redundant. Indeed, Group 3 languages generally do not have parallel OSI constructions in such circumstances, and to this point I shall return. One interpretation of this state of affairs is that the inflected infinitive constructions have in such cases become grammaticalized: this is the implication of the Extension of Principle A in Portuguese. Yet the optional nature of the infinitive inflection has led to more pragmatically based explanations of some usages. Several of the syntactic contexts involved are precisely those in which specification of the subject of the infinitive makes for greater clarity; they usually represent a dissociation, or distancing, of the infinitive from the main verb.

20. Michele LOPORCARO, 'L'infinito coniugato nell'Italia centro-meridionale: Ipotesi genetica e ricostruzione storica', *L'Italia Dialettale*, 49 (1986), 173-240 (202). This example and others are discussed in VINCENT, 'Appunti'.

21. YOON & BONET-FARRAN, 'Ambivalent Nature', 353.

22. SKYTTE, *La sintassi*, 301.

However, the interplay of the Extension of Principle A and the involvement of such pragmatic factors undeniably complicates the Portuguese situation.

3.1. Pragmatics and the syntactic context

I look first at the contexts in which subject-coreferential inflected infinitives appear. Such uses of the Portuguese inflected infinitive often seem to have to do with establishing, re-establishing, clarifying, or contrasting the subject of the infinitive:

3.1.1. Establishing the subject of the infinitive:

The inflected infinitive may establish the subject before it is stated by the main verb:²³

(vii) *Portuguese:*

Ao entrarem, depois de longa demora, foram delirantemente aplaudidos pela assistência²⁴

'When they came in, after a long delay, they were wildly applauded by those present'.

3.1.2. Re-establishing the subject of the infinitive

A clear example of this phenomenon is constituted by a sequence like the following, where the infinitive forms part of a completely independent clause which is not dependent on the preceding verb:

(viii) *Portuguese:*

Tivemos um acidente; como continuarmos a viagem?²⁵

'We have had an accident; how can we continue the journey?'

Several Group 1 languages, including Portuguese, appear to resist OSI complementation with modal auxiliaries.²⁶ However, Portuguese data such as (ix) show that severe dissociation of the infinitive complement, for example, by an

23. See, however, the guarded view of MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito*, 244.

24. *ibid.*, 244.

25. See also *ibid.*, 243.

26. See VINCENT, 'Appunti', and JONES, *Sardinian Syntax*, 280.

interpolated clause, may lead to the pragmatic need for re-establishing the subject of the infinitive, so overriding this rule:

(ix) *Portuguese:*

Temos a despeito do cansaço extremo que se abateu sobre o grupo de fazer / ²⁷fazermos a farnel para a caminhada de amanhã²⁷

'We have, in spite of the extreme tiredness that has descended on the group, to make the picnic for tomorrow's hike'.

For presumably similar reasons, Group 1 languages often appear to permit a second-occurring complement infinitive of a modal auxiliary to be inflected:

(x) *Portuguese:*

a. Temos de aprontar sempre um sorriso e mostrarmos-nos afáveis²⁸

'We always have to have ready a smile and show ourselves affable'

Old Neapolitan:

b. Sotto de li quale poteano largam(en)te andare la gente p(er) tie(m)po plovioso, e recostarennosse in quilli luochy covierti²⁹

'Under which people could walk around in rainy weather, and rest in those covered places'

Galician:

c. Poderán sementar nesa leira avea ou millo, ou deixárena a barbeito³⁰

'They will be able to sow in that plot oats or maize, or leave it fallow'.

3.1.3. Contrasting the subject of the infinitive, or for clarity

(xi) *Portuguese:*

a. Não sabemos onde buscarmos pão para tanta gente³¹

27. Example supplied by Milea SIMÕES FRÓES.

28. Maurice MOLHO, 'Le problème de l'infinitif en portugais', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 61 (1959), 26-73 (31).

29. LOPORCARO, 'L'infinito coniugato', 203.

30. ÁLVAREZ & others, *Gramática galega*, 394.

31. MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito*, 242. He considers the motivating context for the inflected infinitive here to be the indirect deliberative question. But the use of the inflection effectively signals a personal rather than an impersonal subject for the infinitive.

'We do not know where to seek bread for so many people'

Old Leonese:

- b. & a queste auer de suso dicho Recebimos de uos pora pagarnos debda conosciada que deuimos enna corte de Roma ...³²

'and the above-mentioned goods we receive from you so that we can pay the known debt which we owed at the court of Rome' ('we' contrasting with 'you' in a complex transaction).

3.2. The pragmatics of the choice between inflected and bare infinitive

The pragmatic motivation for the use of the subject-coreferential inflected infinitive is therefore different from that of the non-coreferential inflected infinitive. For non-coreferential infinitive complements, as we have seen, the inflected form is, for whatever reason, generally obligatory (except in the striking case of Sardinian (ii)), and distinguishes the infinitive subject from that of the main verb. For subject-coreferential infinitive complements, however, the identity of the infinitive subject is deducible, because of the expectation of coreference, whether the infinitive is inflected or whether it is not. In subject-coreferential infinitive complements, therefore, the inflection is typically optional, stressing or asserting the infinitive subject. Stated in this way, the difference here between an inflected and bare subject-coreferential infinitive would seem to be akin functionally to that between the presence and absence of subject pronouns with finite verbs in pro-drop languages.

It is at this point that a crucial structural difference between Group 1 and Group 3 languages becomes apparent. In the first place, we do not find that the use of OSI constructions in Group 3 languages extends so readily to these subject-coreferential contexts: translating Portuguese (viii), (ix), and (xa) into Spanish using an OSI construction, for example, produces results of only marginal acceptability:

(xii) *Spanish:*

- a. ?¡Habéis perdido tantas oportunidades excelentes! ¿Cómo recuperar vosotros ahora el tiempo perdido?

32. Erik STAAPP, *Étude sur l'ancien dialecte léonais d'après des chartes du XIIIe siècle* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell/Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1907; reissued in facsimile, Academia de la Llingua Asturiana: Llibreria de la Llingua Asturiana 18, Oviedo: Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, 1992), 91.

- b. ?Tenemos a pesar del cansancio extremo que ha caído sobre el grupo que hacer nosotros la merienda para la caminata de mañana
- c. ?Tenemos que aprontar siempre una sonrisa y mostrarnos nosotros afa-
bles.

Only very strong emphasis or contrast, the most marked of all the pragmatic functions noted above, will render such overt pronoun subjects fully acceptable:

(xiii) *Spanish:*

María quiere ir ella sola al cine³³

'Maria wants to go on her own to the cinema'.

(This sentence is acceptable only when *sola* attaches to *ella*: **María quiere ir ella al cine* is unacceptable.)

On the other hand, Group 1 languages seem quite readily to permit optional subject-coreferential OSI complementation, Sardinian and Old Neapolitan perhaps even more so than Portuguese:

(xiv) *Sardinian:*

- a. Amus ditsisu de nonk' andáre(mus)³⁴

'We decided not to go'

Old Neapolitan:

- b. Credevano de may lo vedereno plu³⁵

'They thought they would not see it again'.

When we were examining the behaviour of non-coreferential inflected infinitives, we were able to establish a fairly general parallel between the use of the inflected infinitive form in Group 1 languages and the presence of an overt subject pronoun in Group 3 languages. With subject-coreferential inflected

33. María Luisa HERNANZ CARBÓ, *El infinitivo en español* (Bellaterra: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1986), 344.

34. Michael A. JONES, 'Sardinian', in *The Romance Languages*, ed. Martin Harris & Nigel Vincent (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 314-50 (344), commenting that this is a less frequent usage.

35. LOPORCARO, 'L'infinito', 202.

infinitives, as we now see, this parallel does not hold. The inflected infinitive appears to denote a degree of assertion of the subject which lies somewhere between the use of the bare infinitive and the presence of an overt subject pronoun, which is used in a similar way in this context by both Group 1 and Group 3 languages; that is, only for very strong contrastive marking, or for clarity. They are more frequent with third person plural forms, which in Portuguese may have third or second person reference:

(xv) *Portuguese:*

Depois de VOCÊS serem nomeados, agradeceram-lhes
 'After you had been nominated, you thanked them'.

4. Verbs of causation, ordering and perception

The infinitive complement of this group of verbs is object-coreferential. This is indeed the natural interpretation for these complements, since subject-coreferentiality is pragmatically impossible unless the object of the main verb is reflexively coreferential with the subject ('I saw myself doing it', 'I told myself to do it'). This pragmatic fact is no doubt crucial to the availability of bare infinitive complementation with these verbs, since there is no possibility of their being interpreted as subject-coreferential.³⁶ The pronoun or noun phrase which functions as the object of the main verb and subject of the dependent infinitive has a structural ambiguity, and the syntax of these constructions is notoriously not clear-cut.³⁷

Taking Portuguese *mandar* 'to order' as an example, we see that its infinitive complement is inflected or non-inflected with a full noun subject according to position, and that an inflected infinitive is not permitted at all when the object of the main verb is a clitic pronoun; there is similar variation in Portuguese with the complements of *deixar* 'to let, allow', *ver* 'to see', and *ouvir* 'to hear':

(xvi) *Portuguese:*

a. Mandei entrar os alunos

36. Compare LOMBARD, *La langue roumaine*, 283: 'Parfois, quand aucune ambiguïté n'est à craindre, les langues de l'Ouest mettent l'infinitif là même où le sujet du verbe régi est l'objet (accusatif ou datif) du verbe régissant ...'

37. Case assignment for the objects of Italian verbs of this class is another, presumably related, issue.

b. Mandeí OS ALUNOS entrar(em)

'I ordered the pupils to go in'

c. Mandeí-os entrar(*em)

'I ordered them to go in'.

What is striking about (xvi a) is that the infinitive is uninflected despite the apparent presence of an overt subject (thus breaking Principle A); and this may be precisely because *os alunos* is construed as the object of *mandeí* rather than as the subject of *entrar*. In (xvi b), the possibility of an inflected infinitive may be motivated by the construing of *os alunos* as its subject; that is, (xvi b) would have a similar value to the full clause complement *mandeí que os alunos entrassem*. However, the Portuguese data may also perhaps be explained by appeal to the pragmatic factors previously proposed in connection with subject-coreference. The inflected infinitive is prohibited when it stands immediately after the main verb (xvi a and xvi c), but not when it is separated from the main verb by a noun phrase. This situation is therefore similar to the usages observed in 3.1.2, where the dissociation of main verb and infinitive seems to trigger the optional use of the inflected form for the pragmatic purpose of re-establishing the subject. We note once again how the need for pragmatic clarity may lead to an overriding of these rules: thus the inflected infinitive in:

(xvii) Portuguese:

Via-se passarem ao longe NUMEROSOS CAVALEIROS³⁸

'One could see many horsemen passing in the distance',

which has the effect of establishing a plural subject for *passar*, thus making clear that *via-se* is to be interpreted as an impersonal reflexive and not as a passive reflexive (contrast *Viam-se passar... numerosos cavaleiros* with a bare infinitive).

Correspondence with other Group 1 languages is only partial in this area. Vincent observes a phenomenon of dissociation similar to that suggested for Portuguese in Old Neapolitan, where an inflected infinitive is permitted after a verb of perception only if material is interposed between it and the main verb:

38. MAURER JÚNIOR, *O infinito*, 239

(xviii) Old Neapolitan:

Vedi(m)mo . . . li animali senza raysune questo avereno p(er) usanza³⁹

'We saw clearly dumb animals to have this as a custom',

and Sardinian and Old Neapolitan are reported as using inflected infinitives optionally in complements of verbs of ordering:

(xix) Sardinian:

Juane nos at natu a coláre(mus)⁴⁰

'Juane told us to go away',

which may be compared with Old Neapolitan:

(xx) Old Neapolitan:

Li quali tu co(m)anderray de liberarenosse⁴¹

'Whom you will order to free themselves'.

(Note that the prepositional nature of these complements may dissociate the infinitive somewhat from the main verb, a consideration which may also be relevant to the appearance of the inflected infinitive in *(xiv)*.) But Sardinian does not permit an inflected infinitive after the causatives *fákere* 'to make' and *lassare* 'to let, allow', and Vincent observes that Old Neapolitan behaves similarly with respect to *fare*. It is possible that the differences among the Group 1 languages in this last respect have to do with the fact that the causative construction with the cognates of *fare* is relatively under-developed in Portuguese (as in Spanish) by comparison with the Italo-Romance languages.

So far as I am aware, Group 3 languages show no parallel OSI construction in these environments.⁴²

39. LOPORCARO, 'L'infinito', 203.

40. JONES, *Sardinian Syntax*, 253.

41. LOPORCARO, 'L'infinito', 203.

42. Spanish has such constructions as *Le hizo callar a ella* 'I made her be quiet' which superficially resemble *(xvi c)*; but this is no more than the reduplicative pronoun construction regularly encountered in Spanish with finite verbs.

5. Conclusion

There are strong reasons for understanding the occurrence of OSI constructions in Romance as pragmatically motivated, although it would seem that no two languages coincide exactly in the ways in which they exploit these constructions. Languages without inflected infinitives tend to restrict OSI constructions to the signalling of non-coreferentiality, whilst languages with inflected infinitives also have subject- and object-coreferential OSI constructions, the pragmatic function of which is assertion or clarification of the infinitive subject when the infinitive is dissociated from the main verb on which it depends.⁴³

CHRISTOPHER J. POUNTAIN

Queens' College, Cambridge

43. I gratefully acknowledge the help of: Nigel Vincent, who generously made available his important article on Old Neapolitan prior to its publication; David Mackenzie, for furnishing material on Galician, especially Gondar's most helpful survey; Rosalina Goulão, for help with the Portuguese data; and Mílea Angela Simões Frões, for her generous electronic contribution on the subject to the LATAMLIN discussion list.