Modality and Complementizer Choice in French Infinitives[*]

Christine Tellier
Université de Montréal

SUMMARY

I investigate the two non-finite complementizers in French, *de* and *à*. It is argued that their distribution is not random; instead, they fulfil different functions. While *de* is the default non-finite complementizer, *à* tends to express modalities: teleological, deontic, conditional. These distinct properties are illustrated in both selected and non-selected contexts. The difference between the two complementizers is attributed to a different structural position: *de* is merged in Fin^0, while *à* is merged in a Modal or Mood head within TP, with subsequent raising to Fin^0.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article porte sur les deux complémenteurs infinitifs *de* et *à* en français. Je montre que leur distribution n'est pas aléatoire, mais qu'ils remplissent des fonctions différentes : *de* est le complémenteur infinitif par défaut, alors que *à* a tendance à exprimer des modalités : téléologique, déontique, conditionnelle. Ces propriétés distinctives s'observent dans les contextes tant sélectionnés que non sélectionnés. Structuralement, ces différences sont attribuées à des positions distinctes : *de* est fusionné dans Fin^0, alors que *à* est fusionné dans une tête fonctionnelle modale sous TP, et subséquemment déplacé à Fin^0.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last twenty years or so, driven by the important advances on the clausal periphery made by Rizzi (1997, 2001 and subsequent work), much research has been devoted to the nature and distribution of complementizers. While in Rizzi's original work these were held to occupy the higher and lower head positions in the CP field ($Force^0$ for declarative complementizers such as Italian *che*, Fin^0 for non-finite complementizers like *di*), scholars have since furthered the study of complementizers into a more fine-grained and dynamic approach, strengthening the link between

---

the low CP space and TP-contained elements such a Mood. This has been the case, for instance, in connection with languages and varieties (including some Italian dialects) that display dual complementizers. In many of these studies, the distributional differences are tied to mood and concern the declarative and/or subjunctive complementizers. Paoli (2007:1066), for instance, has proposed that the second complementizer *che*, found in subjunctive contexts in certain Northwestern Italian dialects, is merged in one of the higher TP-internal Mood^0 heads identified by Cinque (1999), from where it raises to the Fin^0 position to check its [+mood] features. A similar proposal is made by Damonte (2010:253) for certain Southern Calabrian dialects.[1]

While the body of research on declarative and subjunctive complementizers is substantial, very little has been said on non-finite complementizers. This is to be expected: as Rizzi (1997:284) points out, non-finite forms in general do not show mood distinctions or other TP-related characteristics such as person agreement and the like. In this context, I will examine the two French non-finite complementizers, *de* and *à*, and argue that they may be distinguished through another TP-related property: modality. More precisely, I suggest that *de* is the default non-finite complementizer, while *à* tends to lexicalize different modalities: goal-directedness, obligation/permission, conditionality. This is not to say, of course, that *every* instance of complementizer *à* displays these properties. To be sure, exceptions are to be expected given the pervasiveness of these two small words, *à* and *de*, in the language and the difficulties traditionally associated with their characterization.[2] However, I believe that what is described here constitutes a significant enough generalization. To capture these distinctions between *de* and *à,* I will propose that they are first-merged in different functional head positions : *de* in Fin^0 and *à* in a Modal (or Mood) head within TP.

2 THE COMPLEMENTIZERS *DE* AND *À*

2.1 *À* IS GOAL-DIRECTED

French has three non-finite complementizers, *de*, *à*, and *Ø,* which are not interchangeable, as shown in (1)[3] :

---

[1] There have also been proposals where complementizers are moved *within* the left periphery, for instance from Fin^0 to a higher head: see, among others, Rizzi (1997:318), Poletto (2000:150) and Ledgeway (2005:374). Other approaches instead take complementizers to be nominal elements, merged inside or outside the complement clause (see Roussou 2010 for Modern Greek).

[2] In selected contexts, there are bound to be exceptions, partly owing to the fact that until and including Classical French, the complementizers *à* and *de* alternated freely (Martineau & Motapanyane 2000); this alternation survives in a few cases, such as *continuer à/de* 'to continue to' or *commencer à/de* 'to begin to'. This paper deals with French; I make no claim as to whether the analysis extends to other Romance languages. In Italian, to take one example, *di* seems much more generalized and is used with many of the verbs that require *à* in French; and in other (non-selected) contexts where French imposes *à* (such as infinitival relatives, see section 4.1), Italian uses *da*.

[3] The categorial status of *à/de* (and Italian *a/di*) before infinitives has given rise to debates in the past: some authors considered them (or at least one of them, *de*) complementizers, while others analyzed them as prepositions in some infinitival contexts and complementizers in others; for discussion, see Kayne (1975:339), Kayne (1981), Huot (1981), Rizzi (1982:93-94), and Rochette (1988:172ff), among others. For Cinque (1990:36-37), both *a* and *di* before infinitive verbs are always complementizers in Italian; the same goes for French *à* and *de* (on which see Kayne 2000:286).

(1) Max accepte de/*à/*Ø déménager à New York.
    Max agrees *de à* move to New York
    'Max agrees to move to New York.'

(2) Léa hésite à/*de/*Ø confronter ses angoisses.
    Léa hesitates *à de* confront her fears
    'Léa hesitates to confront her fears.'

(3) Rosalie veut Ø/*à/*de reprendre ses études.
    Rosalie wants *à de* resume her studies
    'Rosalie wants to resume her studies.'

In this paper, I will be concerned with the first two cases. The choice of complementizer may appear idiosyncratic at first sight, but the question of how to characterize the choice between *à* and *de* in infinitives has long been a topic of discussion. I will adopt here some of the conclusions drawn by Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1996)—henceforth K&BZS.

    Building partly on Gougenheim's (1959) observations, K&BZS link the properties of the two infinitival complementizers to the semantics of the corresponding prepositions: *à* qua preposition expresses a relationship between an object and a point, be it spatial (dynamic, static) or temporal, cf. (4), whereas *de* indicates a source—spatial, temporal or metaphorical, cf. (5). [4]

(4) a. Max habite/va à Genève.
      Max lives/goes *à* Geneva
      'Max lives in/is going to Geneva'

    b. Il partira à huit heures.
      he will.leave at eight hours
      'He will leave at 8 o'clock'

    c. droit au but
      right to.the goal
      'right to the goal'

(5) a. Max arrive de Genève.
      Max arrives *de* Geneva
      'Max arrives from Geneva'

    b. Je l'ai eu de Julie.
      I it-have had *de* Julie
      'I got it from Julie'

---

[4] For earlier proposals based on inchoativity and/or event realization, see Cox (1983) and Rochette (1988:197; 247, fn. 33).

  c. citer de mémoire
     quote *de* memory'
     'to quote from memory'

K&BZS point out that the complementizers *à* and *de* are diachronically derived from the spatial use of the corresponding preposition. Thus *à* as a complementizer is goal-directed; *de* does not have this property.[5] The goal-directedness encoded by *à* reflects itself in the degree of involvement of the agent in the event. Compare the following:

(6) a. Il s'empresse à satisfaire ses patrons.
    'He strives to satisfy his superiors.'

  b. Il s'empresse d'ouvrir la porte.
    'He hurries to open the door.'

As K&BZS put it, in (6a), the agent "acts with zeal or enthusiasm, while (6b) expresses only physical exertion". The difference, which they characterize in terms of *degree of internal commitment*, is described in more detail as follows: in (6a), " the interpretation is certainly one of willingness on the part of the subject to carry out the event designated by the verb, while in [6b], it is easier to imagine a situation in which the subject must hurry due to external stress, despite actually being disinclined to perform the action" (p. 367).

   The degree of agent involvement toward attaining a goal is also what distinguishes, on the one hand, *chercher à* 'to seek to', *tendre à* 'to aim at', *s'appliquer à* 'to apply one's efforts to' from, on the other hand, *tenter de*, *essayer de*, *s'efforcer de* 'to try to'. According to K&BZS (p. 372), the verbs in the first group (with *à*) incorporate the notion of extended effort, while the verbs in the second group do not.

2.2 A STRUCTURAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN *DE* AND *À*

How can the goal-directedness of complementizer *à* be represented in the structure? I suggest that *à* lexicalizes one of the modal heads in the TP field. A plausible candidate, although not represented in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, would be teleological modality. Other modal heads may be used in other infinitives, as we will see. The distinction between *de* (and the null complementizer) and *à* is represented as follows[6]:

(7) a. $[_{FinP} [_{Fin} \text{de/}\emptyset] [_{TP} ...vP...]]$
  b. $[_{FinP} [_{Fin}] [_{TP} ... [_{Mod} \text{à}] ...vP...]]$

---

[5] Similarly for Sandfeld (1965: 215ff), for whom the complementizer *à* indicates the goal or outcome of an action (*en venir à* 'to end up', *parvenir/arriver/réussir à* 'to manage, to reach, to succeed', *contribuer à* 'to contribute', etc.), including resistance to the outcome (*renoncer à* 'to renounce', *résister à* 'to resist', *répugner à* 'to be loth to').

[6] This structural distinction is based on Canac Marquis' (1996:40) proposal for *tough*-constructions in French; as he shows, these constructions (which always involve *à*) lack a CP layer, and *à* is merged as a modal head selecting a bare VP. Certainly, the representation in (7b) allows for the possibility that *à* might occur in truncated infinitives. Based on different grounds, I proposed in Tellier (2001:356ff) a distinction like the one in (7) for control infinitives.

Assuming that Fin^0 carries a [-finite] feature, it will be checked by *de* or by the null complementizer in (7a). In (7b), in order to check the [-finite] feature, *à* will move to Fin^0.

How can we understand the link between agent involvement and the goal-directedness properties of *à* in the above examples? Following Marantz (1984), let us assume that the interpretation of the external argument is determined jointly by the verb and its internal argument. The internal argument (the infinitive clause) denotes a goal by virtue of the presence of *à*: thus the external argument is interpreted as involved in the attainment of that goal. This is consistent with the idea that, as (7b) illustrates, the complementizer *à* can encode goal-directedness independently of the verbs that select the infinitive.[7]

Let us now return to *à/de* and the distinctions observed with regard to teleological involvement on the part of the agent. As we will see, these differences are highlighted by a small group of verbs that exhibit alternations in their verbal form.

3   VERB ALTERNATIONS WITH ASPECTUAL *SE*-CLITICS

French, like other Romance languages, displays many types of *se*-clitics (apart from the one occurring with inherently pronominal verbs such as *se promener* 'to walk', *se douter* 'to suspect'); these include the middle (*Ces livres se vendent bien* 'These books sell well'), the reflexive (*Elle se regarde* 'She looks at herself'), the reciprocal (*Ils s'aiment* 'They love each other'), and so forth. There is, however, another instance of the *se*-clitic that has received little attention in the literature; it links pairs of verbs such as those in (8). One effect of this clitic is that the verbs it attaches to now appear with an infinitive in *à*, not *de*:

(8) a. attendre de   a'. s'attendre à
       'to wait'   'to expect'
      b. offrir de   b'. s'offrir à
       'to offer'   'to propose'
      c. refuser de   c'. se refuser à
       'to refuse'   'to refuse'
      d. résoudre de   d'. se résoudre à
       'to resolve'   'to bring oneself'
      e. risquer de   e'. se risquer à
       'to risk'   'to venture'
      f. décider de   f'. se décider à
       'to decide'   'to make up one's mind'
      g. essayer de   g'. s'essayer à
       'to try'   'to dabble'

Apart from a slight shift in meaning (as indicated by the English translations), and complementizer change, the addition of what I will call "aspectual *se*" has two main effects:[8] one

---

[7] There are exceptions to this correlation: some of the verbs that take *à*-infinitives can take a non-agentive external argument : *aider à* 'to help to', *conduire à* 'to lead to', *contribuer à* 'to contribute to', *obliger à* 'to force to', *parvenir à* 'to achieve', *tarder à* 'to be slow to'. It remains to be determined whether *à* in these contexts encodes the same goal-directedness interpretation. I leave the question aside for further research.

[8] The term "aspectual *se*" has been used to refer to constructions in Spanish that are entirely different from the one

aspectual, and the other related to the degree of internal commitment by the agent.

Aspectual *se* turns the achievement verbs in the left column into accomplishments. The former refer to the (punctual) end result of what is nevertheless an implied process; as such, they are not always incompatible with gradual adverbials, but most of them clearly are. By contrast, in the *se*-version, the emphasis is squarely on the process leading to the endpoint: hence the felicitousness of duration adverbials like *progressivement* 'progressively' and *peu à peu* 'little by little'. Compare the following examples:[9]

(9) a. *Elle a   progressivement/graduellement décidé de jeter   son vieux canapé.
          She   has progressively/gradually   decided *de* throw.away her old   sofa

     b. Elle s'est progressivement/graduellement   décidée à jeter   son vieux   canapé.
         She *se*-is progressively/gradually   decided *à* throw.away her old   sofa
         'She progressively / gradually made up her mind to throw away her old sofa.'

(10) a. *Théo a   résolu   peu à peu de partir au Nicaragua.
          Théo has resolved little by little *de* leave for Nicaragua

     b. Théo s'est résolu   peu à peu à partir au Nicaragua.
         Théo *se*-is resolved little by little *à* leave for Nicaragua
         'Théo made up his mind little by little to leave for Nicaragua.'

A second effect of aspectual *se* is this: with the verbs in the right column, the external argument is obligatorily an agent. Compare:

(11) a. La voiture refuse de démarrer.
          the car   refuses *de* start
          'The car refuses to start.'

     b. *La voiture se refuse   à démarrer.
          the car   *se* refuses *à* start
          'The car refuses to start.'

(12) a. Le vent   risque d'endommager la toiture.
          the wind risks *de*-damage   the roof
          'The wind risks damaging the roof.'

     b. *Le vent se risque à endommager la   toiture.
          the wind *se* risks *à* damage   the   roof

Even when the verb on the basis of which the *se*-verb is formed admits or requires an agent, the

---

[9] Note that all manner of *se*-verbs in French select *être* 'to be' as an auxiliary.

relationship of the agent to the event is modified. Exactly as we have seen in section 2.1, the agents in the *se*-verbs display a higher degree of commitment, that is, is much more involved in the process leading to the goal. This can be illustrated with the following examples:

(13) a. Ces   touristes attendent de prendre le   ferry.
         these tourists wait   *de* take   the ferry
         'These tourists are waiting to take the ferry.'

    b. Ces touristes s'attendent à prendre   le   ferry.
       these tourists *se*-wait   *à* take   the ferry
       'These tourists are expecting to take the ferry.'

(14) a. Mon père   refusait de vendre   des babioles   dans sa pharmacie.
         my father refused *de* sell   knick-knacks in   his pharmacy
         'My father refused to sell knick-knacks in his pharmacy.'

    b. Mon père   se refusait à vendre des babioles   dans   sa pharmacie.
       my   father *se* refused *à* sell   knick-knacks in   his pharmacy
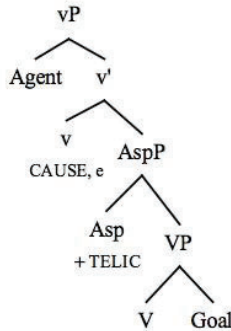   'My father refused to sell knick-knacks in his pharmacy.'

The examples in (13b) and (14b) involve the state of mind of the agents, who display a strong internal commitment toward the goal. In (13b), taking the ferry is the expected goal toward which the tourists are led through a process of thought, based on a number of assumptions or promises. In (14b), the refusal is strong, long-lasting, and is felt to arise from deep-seated convictions on the part of the agent. It could be uttered, for instance, in a context where the pharmacist's profound respect for his profession leads him to resist the turning of pharmacies into novelty stores. No such internal commitments are implied in (13a) and (14a).

        Let me summarize these observations. The addition of aspectual *se* to one of the verbs in (8a-g) yields the following properties :

(15) a.   Addition of a process
     b.   Agent as external argument
     c.   Internal commitment
     d.   Goal-directedness
     e.   Complementizer *à*

One question that arises concerns the structural representation of the aspectual *se*-clitic. I will not elaborate on this matter here, but I will make the following preliminary remarks. First, the addition of the aspectual *se*-clitic is likely to be an L-syntax process, as the application of Travis' (2000; 2010:159) diagnostics suggests: it is nonproductive, and it incurs idiosyncratic semantic shifts. Secondly, suppose we assume a structure like the one proposed by Travis (2010:119-120) for accomplishments, as in (16):

(16)

```
                vP
              /    \
         Agent      v'
                  /    \
                 v      AspP
              CAUSE, e /    \
                     Asp     VP
                    +TELIC  /  \
                           V    Goal
```

One possibility would be that aspectual *se* is merged into the v head, where it brings a contribution to the interpretation of the external argument.[10] I leave it to further research to determine more precisely how the properties listed in (15) are linked in such a structure.

Before concluding, I want to briefly point to other contexts where infinitives are found in French, with a view to extending the analysis proposed here. This section will remain quite speculative, pending in-depth investigation into both the constructions at hand and the problems that they may raise.

4   EXTENSIONS

4.1 INFINITIVAL RELATIVES

Infinitival (object gap) relatives in English always have a modal interpretation; they express goals and desires (bouletic modality), or obligation/permission with respect to a goal (deontic modality); for discussion, see, among others, Kjellmer (1975), Bhatt (2006), and Hackl & Nissenbaum (2012):

(17) a. This is the book to read if you want to understand Kant.   (= that you must read)
     b. There are many places to see if you want to have fun.   (= that you can see)

In French, infinitival (object) relatives have the same interpretive properties: the modal interpretation is obligatory. It is thus striking to observe that they are always introduced by *à*, never *de*:

(18) a.   C'est un livre à/*de lire.
           it-is   a   book *à/*de* read
           'It is a book to read.'

---

[10] I have replaced Travis' upper V (her V_1) by v. That *se* clitics in French may merge into the v (or Voice) head has been proposed by Labelle (2008) for reflexives and reciprocals.

b.   Ton   collègue te   présentera   le   problème à/*de résoudre.
     your colleague you will.present the problem *à/*de* to solve
     'Your colleague will show you the problem to solve.'

This is consistent with the view that *à* lexicalizes a Mod head, while *de* does not. Here the relevant heads in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy would be $Mod_{obligation}$ and $Mod_{ability/permission}$. Note that since the infinitive clause is not in any fashion an internal argument of the verb *présenter* in (18b), *à* clearly has no impact on the interpretation of the agent, *ton collègue*. This is a case where we can see that agent internal commitment, as discussed in Section 2, and the goal-directedness of *à*, though they are related to one another, are in fact independent.

One question that arises for the present analysis concerns subject-gap infinitival relatives. As the authors cited above have discussed with respect to English, subject-gap infinitival relatives such as *He was the first man to climb Everest* have very distinct properties: they can have a non-modal interpretation, they can refer to a past event, and they need to be licensed by a particular element, such as a superlative, but also *one*, *only* and ordinal numerals. The same is true in French;[11] yet, these subject gap infinitival relatives also involve *à*, even when they are not modal.

4.2 CONDITIONALS

Conditional clauses in French are normally expressed by a tensed *si*-clause, as shown in (19a); however, conditionals of a certain type (habitual, generic) can also be rendered by an infinitive with equivalent meaning, as shown in (19b). The sentence in (20) is a famous example of this use of the infinitive.

(19) a. Si tu sors   tous les soirs   dans les bars, tu   seras   crevé   dans un mois.
         If you go.out all   the evenings in the bars you will.be exhausted in   a   month

     b. À sortir tous les soirs   dans les bars, tu seras   crevé   dans un mois.
         à go.out all   the evenings in   the bars   you will.be exhausted in   a   month
         'If you go out in bars every night, you will be exhausted within a month.'

(20)   À vaincre sans   péril, on triomphe sans   gloire.   (Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid*)
       à vanquish without peril one triumphs without glory
       'If one vanquishes without peril, one triumphs without glory.'

Interestingly for our purposes, in infinitive conditionals, the complementizer is obligatorily *à*, never *de*.[12] This is consistent with the view advocated in this paper: here, *à* lexicalizes conditional modality. Which functional head does *à* correspond to? One possibility to explore, based on Haegeman's (2010) findings, could be $Mood_{irrealis}$.

---

[11] On these constructions, see Sleeman (2005).

[12] The following example from Québec French, mentioned in Martineau and Motapanyane (1996) and attributed to Villiard (1984), might seem to be a counter-example: *De prendre un verre, ça passerait le temps* ('If we had a drink, it would help pass the time'). However, I take the infinitive clause here to be not a protasis in a conditional, but rather a dislocated constituent, hence the obligatory presence of a resumptive clitic (here, *ça*). Similarly, in this variety of French: *(De) prendre un verre, j'aimerais bien ça* ('To have a drink, I would like that').

In her study of English conditionals, Haegeman (2010) adopts Bhatt and Pancheva's (2006) view that conditional clauses are derived by movement of an operator (called World Operator) to a specifier position in the left periphery. She argues that this operator originates in the Spec position of MoodP$_{irrealis}$, one of the higher mood positions in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. The present proposal is not incompatible with this idea: *à* could be thought of as the lexicalization of the Mood$_{irrealis}$ head; as before, it moves to Fin^0, again to check the [-finite] features of Fin^0. It remains to be determined, however, to what extent the protases in (19) and (20) truly carry an irrealis interpretation. I leave this question for further research.

5 CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have suggested that the two non-finite complementizers *de* and *à* have different properties: *de* is the default complementizer, merged in Fin^0, while *à* tends to express modalities: goal-directedness (teleological), obligation/permission (deontic), and conditional (irrealis). I have proposed to account for these differences in a structural way: *de* is merged in Fin^0, while *à* originates in TP: it is merged in one of the Modality/Mood functional heads, from where it undergoes movement to Fin^0.

REFERENCES

Armstrong, G. (2013). Agentive reflexive clitics and transitive *se* constructions in Spanish. *Borealis. An International Journal of Hispanic linguistics* 2:2, 81–128.

Bhatt, R. (2006) [1999]. *Covert Modality in Non-Finite Contexts*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bhatt, R. and R. Pancheva. (2006). Conditionals. In M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Volume I. Oxford: Blackwell, 638-687.

Canac Marquis, R. (1996). The distribution of *à* and *de* in tough constructions in French. In K. Zagona (Ed.), *Grammatical Theory and Romance Languages. Selected papers from the 25th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 35-46.

Cinque, G. (1990). *Types of A'-Dependencies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cox, T. J. (1983). Teaching the Unteachable: Prepositional Complementizers in French. *The French Review* 57:2, 168-178.

Damonte, F. (2010). Matching Moods. Mood Concord between CP and IP in Salentino and Southern Calabrian Subjunctive Complements. In P. Benincà and N. Munaro (Eds.), *Mapping the Left Periphery. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* vol. 5. New York: Oxford University Press, 228-256.

Gougenheim, G. (1959). Y a-t-il des prépositions vides en français? *Le français moderne* 27, 1-25.

Haegeman, L. (2010). The Movement Derivation of Conditional Clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41:4, 595-621.

Hackl, M. and J. Nissenbaum. (2012). A modal ambiguity in *for*-infinitival relatives. *Natural*

Language Semantics 20:1, 59-81.

Huot, H. (1981). *Constructions infinitives du français. Le subordonnant "de"*. Genève : Librairie Droz.

Kayne, R. (1975). *French Syntax. The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kayne, R. (1981). On certain differences between French and English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12:3, 349-371.

Kayne, R. (2000). *Parameters and Universals*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kemmer, S.E. and H. Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot. (1996). The semantics of 'empty prepositions' in French. In E. H. Casad (Ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics in the Redwoods*, part 1. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 347-388.

Kempchinsky, P. (2004). Romance *se* as an Aspectual Element. In J. Auger, J. C. Clements and B. Vance (Eds.), *Contemporary Approaches to Romance Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 239-256.

Kjellmer, G. (1975). Are relative infinitives modal? *Studia Neophilologica* 47, 323–332.

Labelle, M. (2008). The French reflexive and reciprocal *se*. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26:4, 833-876.

Ledgeway, A. (2005). Moving through the Left Periphery: The dual complementiser system in the dialects of Southern Italy. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 103:3, 339-396.

MacDonald, J. E. (2016). Spanish aspectual *se* as an indirect object reflexive: The import of atelicity, bare nouns, and leísta PCC repairs. *Probus* 29:1, 73-118.

Marantz, A. (1984). *On the nature of grammatical relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Martineau, F. and V. Motapanyane. (1996). Hypothetical infinitives and crosslinguistic variations in Continental and Quebec French. In J.R. Black and V. Motapanyane (Eds.), *Microparametric Syntax and Dialect Variation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 146-168.

Martineau, F. and V. Motapanyane. (2000). Infinitive subordinators and verb restructuring in French. In S. N. Dworkin and D. Wanner (Eds.), *New Approaches to Old Problems. Issues in Romance Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 217-231.

Paoli, S. (2007). The fine structure of the left periphery: Comp and subjects. Evidence from Romance. *Lingua* 117:6, 1057-1079.

Poletto, C. (2000). *The higher functional field. Evidence from the Northern Italian dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rizzi, L. (1982). *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 281-337.

Rizzi, L. (2001). On the position "Int(errogative)" in the left periphery of the clause. In G. Cinque and G. Salvi (Eds.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Oxford: Elsevier, 287-296.

Rochette, A. (1988). *Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Romance Sentential Complementation*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Roussou, A. (2010). Selecting complementizers. *Lingua* 120:3, 582-603.

Sandfeld, K. R. (1965). *Syntaxe du français contemporain. L'infinitif*. Genève: Librairie Droz.

Sleeman, P. (2005). The Com(p-)position of DP-internal infinitival clauses. In L. Brugè, G. Giusti, N. Munaro, W. Schweikert & G. Turano (Eds.), *Contributions to the thirtieth Incontro di Grammatica Generativa.* Venice: Università Ca' Foscari, 333-349.

Tellier, C. (2001). On some distinctive properties of parasitic gaps in French. In P. Culicover and P. Postal (Eds.), *Parasitic Gaps*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 341-367.

Travis, L. (2000). The L-syntax/S-syntax Boundary: Evidence from Austronesian. In I. Paul, V. Phillips and L. Travis (Eds.), *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics.* Dordrecht: Springer, 167-194.

Travis, L. (2010). *Inner Aspect: The Articulation of VP*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Villiard, P. (1984). *Infinitives hypothétiques disloquées, INFL et contrôle.* MA thesis, Université de Sherbrooke.