

## **Tense in two types of nominalization of the infinitive in Portuguese**

**Goal:** In this text we propose the existence in European Portuguese of three types of “nominalization of infinitives”, more precisely, we will defend that in two of the nominalizations there is Tense, because what is nominalized is, in fact, CP and TP, two propositional domains, while in the so called nominal infinitive there is no Tense. The analysis will be made according to the framework of Distributed Morphology, in particular the development of this model by Alexiadou (2001) and Alexiadou, Iordachioia & Schäfer (2009), because this model analyses in an adequate way the scaling of verbal and nominal properties in mixed constructions such as these three types of infinitives.

### **2. Three types of « nominalization of the infinitive »**

In the literature some criteria have been proposed in order to distinguish a difference between nominal infinitive and verbal infinitive (Plann (1981), Bosque (1990), Miguel (1996), Hernanz (1999) and Ramirez (2003) for Spanish; Salvi (1983), Zucchi (1993) for Italian; Meinschafer (2007) and Sleeman (2009) for French:

- to have or not to have argument structure: if yes, is the argument expressed by *de DP*, a genitive, or by *DP*, an accusative, or by *PP*;
- the modification by an adjective or by an adverb;
- the choice of the determiner: all types or only the definite article, eventually followed by possessives;
- the possibility of plurality;
- to have or not to have a subject;
- to have or not to have auxiliaries;
- to have or not to have negation;
- and, in Portuguese, to have or not to have Inflected Infinitive.

The verification of all these criteria allows to show that EP, similarly to Spanish and Italian, has not only two but three types of “nominalization of the infinitive”: nominal infinitive, nominalization of an infinitive CP and nominalization of an infinitive TP. We will distinguish first nominal infinitive and the nominalization of CP and later the nominalization of TP.

-Nominal infinitive is characterized by the presence of a genitive, while the nominalization of CP is characterized by the presence of an accusative / PP or O argument, according to the type of V:

(1) O gritar das pessoas surpreendeu-nos. (the shoutINF of the people...) (nominal infinitive)

(1') \* O gritar as pessoas surpreendeu-nos. (the shoutINF the people...)

(2) O gritarem as pessoas surpreendeu-nos (the shoutINF+3pl the people...) (nominalization of CP).

(3) O ter ela escrito esses poemas não me espantou. (the haveINF+3sg she written these poems ...) (nominalization of CP)

- Nominal infinitive may be modified by an adjective, while nominalization of CP is modified by adverbs:

(4) O gritar constante das pessoas surpreendeu-nos. (the constant shoutINF of the people...)

(4') \* O gritar constantemente das pessoas surpreendeu-nos. (the shoutINF constantly of the people...)

(5) O ter ela constantemente gritado surpreendeu-nos. (the haveINF+3sg she shouted constantly...)

- Nominal Infinitive is characterized by the presence of different types of determiners, while the nominalization of CP is preceded a definite article:

(6) O ter ela gritado surpreendeu-nos / \* Esse / aquele ter ela gritado surpreendeu-nos.  
(the haveINF+3sg she shouted ... / that haveINF+3sg she shouted...)

-As the examples already show, nominal infinitive has no subject, while in the nominalization of CP a subject may be present:

(7) \* O gritar ela das pessoas surpreendeu-nos (the shoutINF she of the people...)

(8) O ter ela escrito esses poemas não me espantou. (the haveINF+3sg she written these poems...)

- Nominal infinitive is always non-inflected, (9), while the nominalization of CP may contain the inflected infinitive (10):

(9) \* O gritarem das pessoas surpreendeu-nos. (the shoutINF+3pl of the people...)

(10) O terem eles gritado surpreendeu-nos (the haveINF+3pl they shouted ...)

Nominalization of CP may contain negation, temporal, modal and aspect auxiliaries, which shows that it has a propositional status, while the nominal infinitive has no propositional nature:

(11) O não vivermos cem anos é uma sorte. (the non liveINF+1pl hundred years...)

(12) O termos ganho dinheiro é o que nos move. (the haveINF+1pl won money...)

(13) O poder ter escrito um poema foi ótimo. (the mayINF+3sg have written a poem...)

Portuguese has another possibility of nominalization of an infinitive, which seems to be a nominalization of TP:

(14) Esse teu gritar surpreendeu-nos (that your shoutINF surprised me)

(15) Esse teu escrever poemas é uma coisa linda ! (that your writeINF poems is a beautiful thing)

The analysis of this type of infinitive shows that:

-it cannot have inflection:

(16) \* Este nosso escrevermos à pressa só nos prejudica (this our writeINF+1pl....)

-it cannot have a subject:

(17) \* O seu contínuo ela gastar muito dinheiro. (her continuous she writeINF ...)

-it accepts negation:

(18) Este seu não falar é irritante (this her not speakINF...)

- it seems to accept auxiliaries:

(19) ? Este meu poder fazer coisas é maravilhoso (this my mayINF do things is marvellous....)

(20) Este ser ultrapassado constantemente pelos acontecimentos (this beINF constantly overtaken by happenings...)

- it may be modified by an adjective:

(21) Esse teu contínuo gritar é irritante (this your continuous shoutINF...)

-but it can also be modified by an adverb:

(22) O teu contínuo conduzir camiões imprudentemente representa um perigo (adapted from Ramirez 2003:122) (your continuous driveINF trucks carelessly represents a danger)

- it is typically preceded by an article or by a demonstrative and a possessive, as the above examples show; and this possessive seems to bind an empty subject:

(23) Esse teu gritar surpreendeu-nos (this your shoutINF surprised us)

- it contains a verb argument structure and mass and bare plurals are common as DO of the verbs, showing that the expression of activity is largely preferential for this type of construction):

(24) Este seu fazer constantemente piadas é de mais! (this her constantly makeINF jokes...)

- finally, this type of nominalization has a strong deictic value, hence the frequent presence of the demonstrative.

#### **Summary:**

All these properties show that in Portuguese, like in Spanish and Italian, there are three types of « nominalization of the infinitive »: a nominal infinitive, where a verb root is dominated, among others, by DetP and nP, without TP; a nominalization of CP, where a fronted auxiliary is in C, containing TP (cf. Plann 1981, Ramirez 2003, Raposo (1987); and an intermediate construction, without subject and without inflection, typically preceded by a possessive that seems to bind an empty subject position; as it may be modified by an adjective but also have a manner adverb, this construction has an intermediate nature, with nominal and verbal properties; some propositional properties show that it also contains a TP.

All this can be adequately described in a model like the one proposed by Alexiadou (2001) and Alexiadou, Iordachioia & Schäfer (2009), because the basis of a sentence, of a nominalization and of an infinitive is a verb root and not exactly a verb; so, there is no strict violation of the Endocentricity Principle but only a scaling of verbal and nominal properties that, in connection with the root, give rise to different categories. This study also confirms the idea of Ackema, P. & Neeleman, A. (2004) according to which different types of categories may be nominalized but subject to variation between grammars.

#### **Références**

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