

## The defective structure of prepositional infinitive relatives in Romance: Consequences for the cartographic approach

Prepositional infinitive relatives (henceforth, PIR) are found in all Romance varieties:

- (1) a. As prendas a oferecer-lhe já foram compradas. Port. (Duarte et al., 2015)  
'The presents to offer him were already bought.'
- b. Il libro da recensire è lì sul tavolo. It. (Cinque, 2020)  
'The book to review is there on the table.'

This construction combines the syntax of a relative clause with a prepositional complementizer, and more importantly with an inherent root modal reading (2) and a prospective aspect (3) (Bianchi, 1991; Giurgea and Soare, 2010):

- (2) un libro da regalare ai miei figli.  
'a book (to be able/\*it is possible) to give to my children as a present.'
- (3) els llibres per llegir demà/\*ahir | \*els llibres per haver llegit ahir  
The books to be read tomorrow/yesterday | the books to have been read yesterday

In this communication I will show that the modal and aspectual properties of PIR are a direct consequence of their defective functional periphery, namely that they just project a FinP. Yet, this fact will raise important concerns for standard analysis of *in situ* focus as covert movement to FocP and of right-dislocation as left-dislocation plus remnant movement of TP.

**1.** PIR don't admit any of the elements appearing in the left periphery of sentence above FinP, like dislocates (4a), focus/negative fronted constituents (4b), nor emphatic polarity markers (4c):

- (4) a. \*Cercavo qualcosa da a voi regalare per Natale. [It. (Cinque, 2020)]  
I.was.looking.for something to to you give for Xmas/to you to give for Xmas
- b. \*Muchas tierras por jamás cultivar se concentran en Soria. [Sp.]  
'Many lands to be never sown are concentrated in Soria.'
- c. \*els exàmens per bé corregir [Cat.]  
'the exams to be certainly corrected'

From this data, we can conclude that (i) PIR have the same truncated structure proposed for infinitival *wh*-relatives and similar non-finite constructions (Hernanz, 2011; Villalba, 2019), and (ii) PIR involve a [-finite] complementizer in the head of FinP (we assume the raising analysis of relatives):

- (5) [DP [D' as [FinP prendas [Fin' a [TP PRO [T' ofreecer-lhe [VP tv tNP ]]]]]]]

**2.** If the structure of PIR is limited to FinP (5), we can explain the modal and aspectual restrictions these constructions display. As (Cinque, 1999, sec. 4.1) has shown extensively, epistemic modals adverbs appear very high in the sentence, above tense and negation, whereas root modal adverbs surface in lower positions, closer to the VP. Hence, we can predict root modal adverbs to be OK, but epistemic ones to be impossible, in PIR. This prediction is borne out:

- (6) els llibres per llegir \*potser/\*possiblement/opcionalment/obligatòriament Cat.  
the book for read maybe/possibly/obligatorily/compulsorily

Moreover, this proposal also extends to aspect, for Cinque places  $\text{Aspect}_{\text{prospective}}$  precisely at the same level that  $\text{Mod}_{\text{root}}$ , whereas  $\text{Aspect}_{\text{perfective}}$  is crucially higher in the structure, just as  $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$ . Hence, we can explain the pattern in (7), originally observed by (Bianchi, 1991):

- (7) \*Cerco un libro da aver letto (l'anno scorso).  
'I am looking for a book to have read last year.'

3. If the left-periphery of PIR is defective, important consequences follow for analysis of *in situ* focus or right-dislocation making use of the higher periphery of sentence (Frascarelli, 2000; Rizzi, 1997; Samek-Lodovici, 2006; Zubizarreta, 1998). In the case of focus, it is argued that *in situ* focus is covertly moved to the left peripheral FocusP; in the case of right-dislocation, it is argued that the dislocate is in the left peripheral TopicP, and the TP moves to a higher position. Obviously, if we lack a FocusP and TopicP in the left periphery in PIR, and these positions are necessary for deriving *in situ* focus and right-dislocation, these proposals predict both constructions to be impossible in PIR. Yet, this prediction is not fulfilled:

- (8) Els llibres per llegir només demà són a taula.  
'The books to be read only tomorrow are on the table.'
- (9) Els llibres per enviar-hi, a casa, són a taula.  
'The books to be send home are on the table.'

Both the *in situ* focus in (8) and the right-dislocate in (9) are possible, even though their left-periphery counterparts are totally impossible.

In conclusion, the defective nature of PIR prove to be a very fruitful playground for testing our current hypothesis concerning the universal functional architecture of sentences.

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