

Formation of (proto-)Romance non-finite complementation: a tale of two prepositions:

Romance modal auxiliaries and prepositional infinitives are mutually exclusive, since, like English, auxiliaries only select bare infinitives whereas prepositional infinitives are mostly selected by lexical verbs (modal periphrasis aside, which will be excluded in this paper) (Ledgeway (2012a:119-121)). The wide distribution of this complementation pattern suggests proto-Romance formation (Vincent (1988:68-69), Ledgeway (2012a:158-179)), yet the total absence of Latin prepositional infinitives entails a different source for Romance prepositional infinitives, most likely Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives which suppletively cover the oblique functions of the Latin infinitive (Schulte (2007:99-109)). Assuming this, there is new and striking evidence in Latin that lexical verbs do select prepositional dependents, namely *de*-gerund/gerundive and *ad*-gerund/gerundive, the latter of which denotes purpose and is often found with verbs of command in classical Latin prose (Cicero's *Letters*, Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae*, Caesar's *Bella*) (cf Panchon (2003:384-388)) whereas the former is consistently used to express the content of reported speech and is construed with verbs of statement as well as those of command. This conforms to the general Romance distribution where *ad*-infinitive is used mainly with future-oriented verbs and *de*-infinitive with a wider range of verbs (Meyer-Lubke (1906:386-390)). Reanalysis reaches completion when, according to standard assumptions (Diez (1876:201), Meyer-Lubke (1906:386), Harris (1978:199)), the infinitive is generalized over the gerund/gerundive in its oblique functions, and the lack of nominal case endings on the infinitive weakens the *Agree* relation between the preposition and its nominal complement, which leads to its categorial reanalysis as a non-finite complementiser. A comparison with the famous English/Germanic modals and *to/zu*-infinitive reveals a fine-grained structure in the lower non-finite domain of the left-periphery (M(ood)/Fin) (Rizzi (1997)), since while *ad*-infinitive, like *to/zu*-infinitive, is reanalyzed from purposive adjunct to verbal complement of purpose-oriented verbs (Roberts and Roussou (2003:88-90)), *de*-infinitive is compatible with a wider range of verbs, which supports the postulation of two distinct types of non-finite complementisers (M_{realis}/M_{irrealis}), the dual formation of which (*ad/de*) seems to parallel the dual finite complementiser system (Ledgeway (2012b)).

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