

Finiteness across domains

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1. Introduction

The notion of finiteness has traditionally been related to tense. However considering semantic tense properties, neither a [+FINITE] \approx [+TENSE], nor a [-FINITE] \approx [-TENSE] correlation can be maintained since finite clauses can be tenseless (as in *sequence of tense* contexts), and non-finite clauses can be tensed (see Stowell 1982, Pesetsky 1992, Bošković 1997, Wurmbrand 2001, 2014b, among others). In cartographic approaches (Rizzi 1997), finiteness is typically encoded in the C-domain, and restricts (morphological) options for T. In this paper, we propose, based on the distribution of different types of complementation contexts in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS), that finiteness is neither associated with tense nor necessarily with a CP. Instead we propose that (non-)finiteness is a morphological feature which can appear either in the C-, T- or *v*-domains.

The tense properties split embedded complement clauses into three broad groups as in (1): tenseless (typically restructuring), irrealis future, and propositional clauses. In Wurmbrand (2001, 2014a, b, 2015a, b), it is argued that the minimal structures these types of embedded clauses can have are different: the former can be just *v*Ps, future contexts require a TP/ModP, and propositional clauses project full CPs. If English allows such size restructuring (see Wurmbrand 2015a for evidence) and the embedded complement in (1a) can be a TP/CP-less *v*P, then the infinitival marker cannot solely be a T or C element – instead, the realization of a [-FINITE] feature would have to be associated with a *v*P-head in (1a).

- (1) a. *Leo tried/began/managed* [_{vP} to eat (*tomorrow)]. tenseless: *v*P
 b. *Leo decided/planned* [_{TP} to eat (tomorrow)]. irrealis, future: TP
 c. *Leo claimed* [_{CP} to be eating (*tomorrow)]. propositional, simultaneous: CP

The distribution of complement clauses in BCS leads to a similar conclusion, however, for the feature [+FINITE]. As shown in (2), all three types of embedded clauses can be expressed via (morphologically) finite clauses.

- (2) a. *Jovan je pokušao da čita knjigu.*
 Jovan AUX tried DA read.3.SG.PRES.IMPFV book
 ‘Jovan tried to read the book.’
 b. *Jovan je odlučio da čita knjigu.*
 Jovan AUX decided DA read.3.SG.PRES.IMPFV book
 ‘Jovan decided to read the book.’
 c. *Jovan je tvrdio da čita knjigu.*
 Jovan AUX claimed DA read.3.SG.PRES.IMPFV book
 ‘Jovan claimed to be reading the book.’

If finiteness were (solely) a matter of the CP domain, BCS embedded clauses should be non-transparent and behave like the ‘strongest’ boundaries, finite CPs. However, this is not

the case. As shown in Progovac (1993a, b, 1994, 1996), Stjepanović (2004) (P/S), tenseless and future complements (their *S-complements*) show certain restructuring (i.e., size reduction) effects, whereas propositional complements (their *I-complements*) are non-transparent full clausal complements (see Table 1; for the properties marked P/S see the works cited).

Table 1: Properties of clausal complements in BCS

Table 1	<i>Claim</i>	<i>decide</i>	<i>Try</i>
Tense	propositional, [+TENSE]	future irrealis, <i>woll</i>	Tenseless
Clitic climbing [P/S]	No	Yes, marginally	Yes
NPI/NC licensing by matrix NEG [P/S]	No	Yes	Yes
<i>wh</i> ordering [P/S]	Matrix » embedded	Free	Free
<i>da</i> V.PRES	*perfective	✓ perfective	✓ perfective
Infinitive possible	No	Yes	Yes
Long passive (with INF)	No	No	Yes
Adverb positions	{ <i>da</i> } ADV {* <i>da</i> }	{ <i>da</i> } ADV { <i>da</i> }	{?-* <i>da</i> } ADV { <i>da</i> }
Size	CP	TP/ModP	vP

In this paper we argue that BCS does not only distinguish between transparent and non-transparent complement clauses, but also makes the three-way distinction as indicated in the table. This then means, however, that reduced clauses – TPs and vPs – can nevertheless be marked as finite, which is possible if, as we suggest, (non-)finiteness is not a property of a particular domain but can be marked in any clausal domain.

2. Aspect – A window into the composition of the tense domain

The first indicator of different compositions of clausal complements in BCS and English is the distribution of perfective/non-progressive aspect. In particular, in present tense contexts, episodic interpretations are not available with perfective/non-progressive verbs, as shown in (3) for both languages.

- (3) a. *Mary *sleeps/✓is sleeping right now.* *non-progressive (E)
 b. *Milan prevodi / *prevede pesmu. *perfective*
 Milan translate.3.SG.PRES.IMPFV / *translate.3.SG.PRES.PFV poems (BCS)
 ‘Milan is translating a poem.’/*‘Milan has translated a poem (just now).’

In embedded contexts, future and tenseless complements allow perfective/non-progressive aspect even under episodic interpretations in English (4a,b) and in BCS (4c,d).

- (4) a. *John decided to eat a frog tomorrow.* future
 b. *John tried to eat a frog yesterday.* tenseless
 c. *Odlučila sam da sutra prevodim / prevedem pesmu.*
 decided AUX.1SG DA tomorrow translate.1.SG.PRES.IMPFV / ...PFV poem
 ‘I decided to be translating a poem tomorrow.’ (imperfective)
 ‘I decided to translate the (entire) poem tomorrow.’ (perfective)
 d. *Pokušala sam juče da prevodim / prevedem pesmu.*
 tried AUX.1SG yesterday DA translate.1.SG.PRES.IMPFV / ...PFV poem
 ‘I tried to be translating a poem yesterday.’ (imperfective)
 ‘I tried to translate the (entire) poem yesterday.’ (perfective)

However, as shown in (5a-c), non-progressive is not possible in propositional complements, whether finite or non-finite in English, and perfective is excluded in BCS (5d).

- (5) a. *John believes/claims that Mary *sleeps/✓is sleeping right now.*
 b. *John believes Mary to *sleep/✓be sleeping right now.*
 c. *John claims to *eat/✓be eating right now.*
 d. *Verujem da Jovan prevodi / *prevede pesmu.*
 believe.1.SG.PRES DA Jovan translates.3.SG.PRES.IMPFV / *...PERF poem
 ‘I believe that John is translating a poem (right now).’ (imperfective)
 Intended perfective interpretation: ‘I believe that John has translated a poem (just now).’

To account for the aspectual distribution in simple and embedded clauses, Todorović (2015b), Wurmbrand (2014b), argue that the restrictions are the result of incompatibilities of perfective aspect¹ and the temporal domain above aspect. In particular, a perfective event, as per (6a), needs to include the event time within the reference time. This predicts that whenever the reference time for the perfective is too short an interval, the requirements of the perfective cannot be satisfied, rendering the perfective infelicitous in such environments, and only allowing imperfective/progressive as in (6b).

- (6) a. PERFECTIVE: $\lambda P.\lambda t.\lambda w.\exists e [\text{time}(e) \subseteq t \ \& \ P(w)(e)]$ [Kratzer 1998]
 Informally: event time must be included in the reference time
 b. IMPERFECTIVE: $\lambda P.\lambda t.\lambda w.\exists e [t \subseteq \text{time}(e) \ \& \ P(w)(e)]$
 Informally: reference time must be included in the event time

Given that the availability of aspect depends on the reference time interval introduced by the clausal temporal components, the (un)availability of the perfective in clausal complements in turn can provide insight into the composition of the temporal-modal domain above it.

Since the reference time intervals introduced by past, future, and perfect are indefinitely long (unless further restricted), the event time interval can be included in the reference time interval and perfective events are allowed in such contexts. We propose that this is also what happens in the embedded future contexts in (4a,c): a silent future element WOLL (see Abusch 1985, 1988) is projected, which extends the reference time, thereby allowing perfective.

On the other hand, the reference time intervals introduced by semantic present tense, as in (3), is a very short interval. Since the event time cannot be included in this short interval, perfective is impossible. In the works mentioned, we propose that propositional complements in (5) also introduce a very short reference interval – the attitude holder’s (AH) ‘now’, i.e., the time which the speaker believes to be his/her ‘now’. In complements with a simultaneous interpretation (which is the only interpretation in propositional infinitives in English, unless perfect *have* is added), there is a present (finite) or *zero* (non-finite) tense, which is ordered with respect to the AH now, making this short interval also the reference time for the perfective. Since the reference time is too short to include the event time, perfective is correctly predicted to be impossible in these complements in both languages.

¹ According to a common view, progressive can be treated as imperfective aspect, and non-progressive as perfective, at least for the purpose of this paper.

Lastly, although tenseless complements also trigger a simultaneous interpretation in (4b,d), embedded perfective is possible, in contrast to propositional infinitives. In Wurmbrand (2014b) this fact is taken as evidence for a difference in structure: propositional complements involve an AH ‘now’ and *zero* tense, whereas tenseless complements are tense and TP-less altogether (see the works cited for further details and motivation). Thus, the availability of perfective leads to the syntactic and semantic classification in (7).

- (7) a. *believe, claim* [CP AH NOW [TP PRES/Ø [vP ...]]] A(ttitude)H(older) NOW
 b. *decide, expect* [TP WOLL [vP ...]]
 c. *try, begin* [vP ...]

3. Propositional complements

In order to integrate finiteness into the structure of clausal complements in English and BCS, we start with a discussion of the temporal properties of propositional complements in the two languages. In English, embedded finite propositional complements can typically occur with any temporal orientation, as in (8a). Infinitives, on the other hand, show temporal restrictions imposed by the matrix verb: specifically, propositional verbs cannot combine with future infinitives, as in (8b,c).

- (8) a. *John believes/claims that Mary slept well/will sleep well/is sleeping right now.*
 b. **John believes Mary to sleep well tomorrow.* *FUT
 c. **Leo claims to sleep/be sleeping in the garage tomorrow.* *FUT

Unlike English, BCS observes no such restrictions – propositional *da* complements allow overt future, as in (9a). Note that this is not simply a general property of *da* complements, since tenseless *da* complements (9b) cannot involve a future interpretation.

- (9) a. *Jovan veruje/tvrđi da će sledeće godine sagraditi kuću.*
 Jovan believes/claims DA will next year build.INF.PFV house
 ‘Jovan believes/claims that he will build a house next year.’
 b. **Jovan pokušava da će sledeće godine sagraditi kuću.*
 Jovan tries.3.SG.IMPV DA will next year build.INF.PFV house
 *‘Jovan tries to build a house next year.’

When it comes to non-finite complementation, BCS still allows infinitives (with frequency and preferences varying in different regional varieties). Crucially, infinitives are impossible in propositional contexts, as in (10a), whereas they can occur in future and tenseless contexts, as in (10b,c). The distribution is summarized in Table 2.

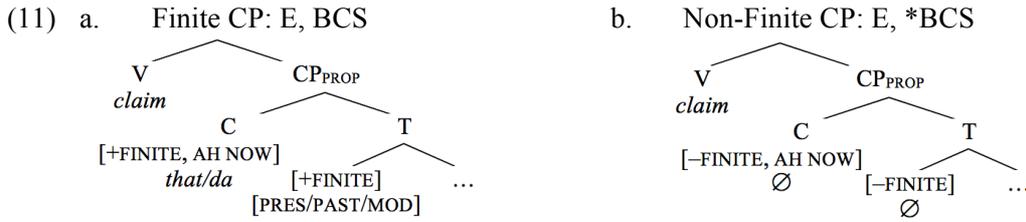
- (10) a. *Tvrđim {da čitam / *čitati} ovu knjigu.*
 claim.1SG {DA read.1SG / *read.INF.IMPV } this book
 ‘I claim to be reading this book.’ [Vrzić 1996: 305, (22a,b)]
 b. *Odlučila sam {da čitam / čitati} ovu knjigu.*
 decide.SG.FEM AUX.1SG {DA read.1SG / read.INF.IMPV } this book
 ‘I decided to read this book.’
 c. *Pokušala sam {da čitam / čitati} ovu knjigu.*
 tried.SG.FEM AUX.1SG {DA read.1SG / read.INF.IMPV } this book

‘I tried to read this book.’

Table 2: Temporal properties of propositional complements

Table 2	Finite	Non-finite
<i>claim, believe</i> (E)	no temporal restriction	simultaneous; <i>zero</i> tense
<i>tvrditi, verovati</i> (BCS)	no temporal restriction	*

The structure we propose for propositional complements is given (11). In both finite, (11a), and non-finite complements, (11b), a CP hosting the context variable and speaker coordinates is projected. In English, C can be specified for [+FINITE] or [-FINITE], where [-FINITE] selects a *zero* tense. In BCS, on the other hand, where infinitives have been disappearing, as a language-specific property, C can only be [+FINITE] (see section 6 for some remarks on the typology of finiteness). This restriction in BCS and the complementation structures in (7) then capture the lack of infinitives with propositional but not future and tenseless complements: only propositional complements require a CP, which must be finite in BCS. In turn, the possibility of infinitives in future and tenseless complements serves as an indicator of the possible lack of a CP.



4. Future complements

We continue the discussion with complements of verbs like *decide*, which require an embedded future interpretation, as shown in (12) for English and (13) for BCS. In both cases, the embedded event must occur in the future with respect to the matrix event.²

- (12) a. *Leo decided to sleep in the garage tomorrow.* FUT
 b. **Leo decided to have slept in the garage.* *PERFECT
 c. **Leo decided to be eating a frog right then.* *SIMULTANEOUS
- (13) a. *Jovan je odlučio da spava / spavati u garaži.*
 Jovan AUX.3.SG decided DA sleep.3.SG.PRES.IMPV / sleep.INF.IMPV in garage
 ‘Jovan decided to sleep/that he would sleep in the garage.’ ✓FUT
 *‘Jovan decided to be sleeping in garage right then.’ *SIMULTANEOUS
- b. **Jovan je odlučio da je spavao u garaži.*
 Jovan AUX.3.SG decided DA AUX.3.SG slept.3.SG.MASC in garage
 ‘Jovan decided to have slept in the garage.’

Such mandatory future-orientation, we propose, stems from a selectional property of certain matrix verbs, which is implemented structurally via a covert modal WOLL quantifying over possible future world-time pairs. The distribution of such a covert modal is not free,

² In some contexts ‘decide’ may also allow a perfect interpretation as in *He decided (to pretend) to have slept in the garage*. However, in this example, the meaning of ‘decide’ has been coerced to that of ‘pretend’.

sent tense plus WOLL) and hence *da* must be in C, CC becomes impossible.³

- (16) a. *Ona ga je odlučila / planirala da posjeti.*
 she him AUX decided / planned DA visit.3.SG.PRES
 ‘She decided/planned to visit him.’ [Stjepanović 2004: 197, fn. 14, (ia)]
- b. *Milan {*ga} kaže da {✓ga} vidi.*
 Milan {*him} says DA {✓him} see.3.SG.PRES
 ‘Milan says that he can see him.’ [Progovac 1993a: 119, (12-13), among others]
- c. **Petar ga je odlučio da će da vidi.*
 Peter him AUX decided DA will DA see
 ‘Peter decided to see him.’

In addition to future selecting verbs (verbs that semantically require an irrealis complement), we argue that there are additional licensors of WOLL, such as irrealis C, which occurs in exclamatives/wishes, as in (17a), and in questions, as in (17b-d). All these environments are future-oriented and crucially have modal flavor (see also Todorović 2015a).

- (17) a. *Da ti se sve želje ostvare!*
 DA you.DAT SE all wishes come.true.3.PL.PRES
 ‘May all your wishes come true!’
- b. *Da Vesna pročita ovu knjigu?*
 DA Vesna read.3.SG.PRES this book
 ‘Should Vesna read this book?’ [Vrzić 1996: 292: (2a)]
- c. *Da li da Vesna pročita ovu knjigu?*
 Q DA Vesna read.3.SG.PRES this book
 ‘Should Vesna read this book?’ [Vrzić 1996: 292: (2b)]
- d. *Koju knjigu da Vesna pročita?*
 which book DA Vesna read.3.SG.PRES
 ‘Which book should Vesna read?’ [translation corrected] [Vrzić 1996: 292: (2c)]

Declaratives without exclamative/imperative force, on the other hand, do not license WOLL; instead, an overt modal is required, as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. **Da Vesna pročita ovu knjigu.*
 DA Vesna read.3.SG.PRES this book
 ‘Vesna should read this book.’ [Vrzić 1996: 292: (2d)]
- b. *Vesna treba pročitati ovu knjigu.*
 Vesna should read.INF this book
 ‘Vesna should read this book.’ [Vrzić 1996: 292: (2e)]

The distribution of covert modality (which we assume is triggered by WOLL) can be derived from the assumption that WOLL must be identified structurally by an irrealis element. Interrogative, exclamative, and imperative C have been analyzed as modal or irrealis elements (see e.g., Palmer 2001: 172-173), and thus the difference between (17) and (18a), schematized in (19), follows.

³ A question arising is how future is selected in cases like (16c). We tentatively assume that in these cases, future is transmitted via an irrealis C (Pesetsky 1992).

(19) a. C_{INTERROGATIVE} [IRR] [TP/ModP WOLL [F: ___]] (17)

b. *C_{DECLARATIVE} [TP/ModP WOLL [F: ___]] (18a)

In our account, the feature combination of T/Mod in (17) is [+FINITE, WOLL], which again is only possible in irrealis contexts. As in *decide* complements, the visible present tense in (17) is not a semantic tense. Unlike BCS, English does not allow such configurations. As shown in (20a), finite questions cannot involve a modal interpretation (an overt modal would be necessary). We assume that this is due to a lexical gap – [+FINITE, WOLL] does not have a spell-out in English. Note, however, that covert modality is found in non-finite contexts: non-finite questions (20b), and infinitival relatives (20c), express exactly such a modal interpretation, which shows that, like in BCS, T can be specified as a covert WOLL, i.e., WOLL that is not licensed by tense but by an irrealis element.

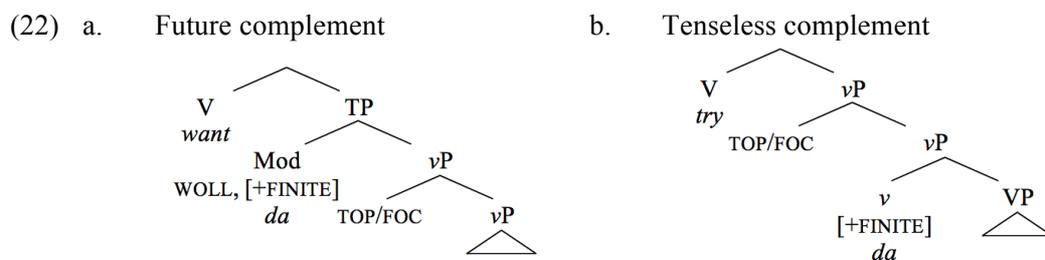
- (20) a. *Which book is John reading/does John read?* *WOLL
 b. *John wonders which book to read.* ✓ WOLL
 Can mean: ... *which book he should read*
 c. ... *a book (for John) to read.* ✓ WOLL
 Can mean: *a book John should/could read* (Hackl and Nissenbaum 2012)

5. *Da* in different domains

In this section, we provide further motivation for the low positions of *da* in T/Mod or *v*. Sočanac (2011) notes that future complements and tenseless complements differ regarding whether adverbs (see below for a refinement) or topics can occur between *da* and the verb.

- (21) a. *Hoćeš / *Možeš da brže dođeš?*
 want.2.SG / *can.2.SG DA quicker come.2.SG
 ‘Do you want to/ can you come quicker?’ [Based on Sočanac 2011: 64, (25a), (26a)]
 b. *Hoću / *Moraš da Ivana pozoveš.*
 want.1.SG / *must.2.SG DA Ivan.TOP invite.2.SG
 ‘I want you to/You must invite Ivan.’ [Sočanac 2011: 64, (25b), (26b)]

Assuming a topic/focus position at the edge of the *vP*-domain (Stjepanović 1998, 1999, 2003), this distribution follows if *da* can either occur in T/Mod or in *v* as in (22).



Topics or focalized adverbs can appear after *da* in future complements (e.g., complements of *hteti* in (21)) since *da* is in Mod, but not after *da* in tenseless complements (e.g., complements of *moći* and *morati* in (21)), which typically lack a TP/ModP (see below for vacuous

T/Mod projection) – thus *da* is in *v* in these cases as in (22b).

We treat *da* as a finiteness ‘visualizer’. The modal WOLL (without accompanying tense) and *v* are not morphologically realized. If these heads are inserted with a [+FINITE] feature, *da* can be seen as the morphological spell-out of this feature (subject to certain restrictions, see below). We hypothesize that *da* spells out [+FINITE] on a clausal head (C, T, *v*), if no other feature of that head overtly expresses finiteness. For instance, if there is a semantic tense feature in T, the verb realizes that feature (either via lowering or V-movement) and [+FINITE] is made visible via the (true) tense feature and would not be spelled out in addition as *da*. It is important again that the morphological present tense we see in future and tenseless infinitives in (22) is not the result of a semantic present tense feature, but the default spell-out of a verb selected by a [+FINITE] T or *v*. In other words, *da*/[+FINITE] T and *v* in (22) select a morphological present tense form, which is semantically vacuous.

Let us look in more detail at the distribution of (low) adverbs in the three types of complements. As shown in (23) for one variety of BCS, tenseless complements prefer the order adverb » *da*, future complements allow either order, and propositional complements only allow the order *da* » adverb.

(23) a.	<i>Počeli</i>	<i>su</i>	{?* <i>da</i> } ⁴	<i>brže</i>	{✓ <i>da</i> }	<i>stižu.</i>	Tenseless
	started.PL.MASC	are	{?*DA}	quicker	{✓DA}	arrive.3.PL.PRES.IMPFV	
	‘They started to arrive quicker.’						
b.	<i>Odlučili</i>	<i>su</i>	{✓ <i>da</i> }	<i>brže</i>	{✓ <i>da</i> }	<i>hodaju.</i>	Future
	decided.PL.MASC	are	{✓DA}	quicker	{✓DA}	walk.PRES.3.PL.PFV	
	‘They decided to walk quicker.’						
c.	<i>Kazali</i>	<i>su</i>	{✓ <i>da</i> }	<i>brže</i>	{* <i>da</i> }	<i>stižu.</i>	Propositional
	said.PL.MASC	AUX	{✓DA}	quicker	{*DA}	arrive.3.PL.PRES.IMPFV	
	‘They said they are coming quicker.’						

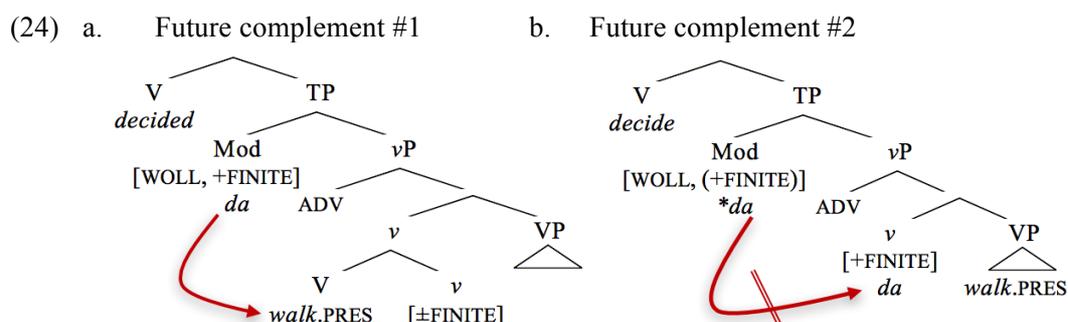
The structure for tenseless complements deriving the low position of *da* was given in (22b). In future contexts, the embedded clause projects both *v* and T/Mod, and if *da* can be either in T/Mod or in *v*, as we suggest, the two options in (23b) are correctly derived. One question arising at this point is whether it is possible to have two *da*’s within one clause. We show below that this is indeed the case in propositional complements, but it is not possible in future complements – in (23b) only one *da* can be realized. We preliminarily suggest that there is a selectional restriction of *da* – every *da* has to occur with a (separate) finite verb afterwards.

⁴ The contrast is clearer in *i*-focus constructions such as i.. The *da* – ADV order improves if the ADV is defocused, e.g., by focusing the verb, ii.(thanks to B. Arsenijević for pointing this and the examples below out to us):

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| i. | <i>Mogli</i> | <i>su</i> | {✓ <i>i</i> <i>brže</i> } | <i>da</i> | {* <i>i</i> <i>brže</i> } | <i>stignu.</i> |
| | could.3.PL | AUX | {FOC quicker} | DA | {*FOC quicker} | arrive.3.PL.PRES.PFV |
| | ‘They could have arrived even faster.’ | | | | | |
| | [B. Arsenijević, p.c.] | | | | | |
| ii. | <i>Mogli</i> | <i>su</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>brže</i> | <i>STIGNU,</i> | |
| | could.3.pl | aux | da | quicker | arrive.3.pl.pres.pfv | |
| | <i>mesto što su iskoristili tu jednu kartu da brže odu u park.</i> | | | | | |
| | ‘They could have <u>arrived</u> faster instead of using that one ticket to go to the park faster.’ | | | | | |

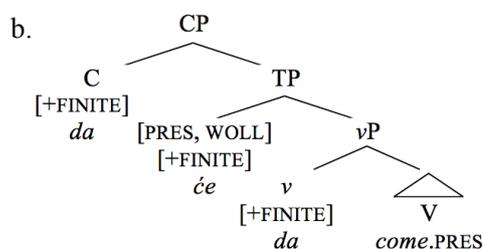
We tentatively assume that in ii, the adverb is adjoined to VP (instead of *v*P), but the distribution of *i*-focus constructions in different embedding contexts requires further research.

As shown in (24a), if T/Mod is [+FINITE] and realized as *da*, the lower *v/V* head needs to spell out as a finite verb. The same is the case for *da* in *v* in (24b), which again requires V to be finite. What is excluded, however, is spelling out an additional *da* in T/Mod in (24b), since that *da* would not ‘select’ a finite verb, but just another *da*, which we assume is impossible. The higher [+FINITE] feature is thus not spelled out as *da* in (24b), possibly because the feature is deleted at spell-out. We leave a further formalization of this selectional restriction of *da* open, since it requires a more in-depth commitment to how selection is implemented.



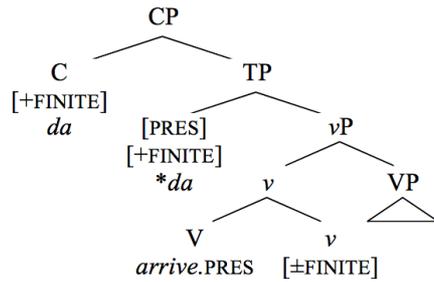
The selectional restriction of *da* predicts that two *da*'s are possible, as long as each *da* is followed by a finite verb. This is exactly what we find in (25). Since in this case, the tense domain carries both a (true) tense feature and WOLL, the T/Mod head is spelled out as *će* ‘will’. If C and *v* also include a [+FINITE] feature, both heads are spelled out as *da*, since each of them is followed by a finite verb.

- (25) a. *Kaže da će da dođe.*
 says DA will.3.SG DA come.3.SG.PRES
 ‘He says he will come.’ [Sočanac 2011: 55, (8)]



Finally, propositional complements as in (23c) (without a finite auxiliary in T) only allow the higher *da*. The structure is given in (26). Since T has a semantic tense feature, this feature is realized on V and no *da* is spelled out in T. There are several ways in which the relation between T and V can be established (lowering, head movement, feature valuation, morphological merger), and it is not essential for this paper which relation is adopted. The only concept we need is that there is a dependency between T and V and that this dependency cannot reach across spell-out domains. Thus for T to ‘see’ V, since *vP* is a phase and VP a spell-out domain, V has to move at least to *v*, as illustrated in (26). With V being in *v*, there is no need to spell-out *v* as *da*, since the now complex *v* head is already marked for finiteness through the verb. Lastly, C, which can only have the feature [+FINITE] in BCS, is spelled out as *da* since it selects a finite T+V (possibly V undergoes further movement to T) as required.

(26)



=(23c)

6. Towards a typology of finiteness

In section 3, we have seen that propositional complements must be finite in BCS. English represents the opposite case: all types of complements can be non-finite, however, tenseless complements typically resist to being finite.

- (27) a. ??*Leo tried that he would win.*
 b. *Leo decided that he would leave.*
 c. *Leo claimed that he left/will leave.*

Table 3: Distribution of finiteness

	Finite		Non-finite		Unexpected		
	English	BCS	English	BCS	Language X	Language Y	Language Z
<i>Try</i>	✗	✓	✓	✓	[+FINITE]	[±FINITE]	any value
<i>decide</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	[±FINITE]	[−FINITE]	[±FINITE]
<i>Claim</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗	any value	any value	[−FINITE]

The ‘degree’ of finiteness can differ across languages, however, there is a clear generalization: when *v* is finite (as diagnosed, e.g., by the availability of finite *try*-complements), T and C can be finite as well, but not vice versa. Similarly, if a language allows non-finite propositional complements, it also allows non-finite future and tenseless complements. This is indicated in the finiteness scale in (28), with BCS (as discussed so far) and English restricting the finiteness values at different ends of the scale. In what follows, we illustrate another variety of BCS which combines the special settings of English and BCS#1 as noted in (28c).

- (28) [+FINITE] ← C — T — v → [−FINITE]
- a. [CP [+FINITE] [TP [±FINITE] [vP [±FINITE]]]] BCS#1
 b. [CP [±FINITE] [TP [±FINITE] [vP [−FINITE]]]] English
 c. [CP [+FINITE] [TP [±FINITE] [vP [−FINITE]]]] BCS#2

In some varieties (roughly Bosnian), speakers use infinitives more frequently and may prefer infinitives over *da* complements in tenseless and future complements. In our approach, this is implemented by the lack (or dispreference) of a [+FINITE] vP domain (due to extensive bilingualism within BCS and resulting possible dialectal code switching, judgments are not categorical but gradient). Interestingly, in these varieties, the low position of *da* with respect to adverbs is more marked and dispreferred (unless the adverb is focused in which case we assume that it moves to a higher position).

- (29) a. *Odlučili su brže hodati.*
 decided.PL.MASC AUX quicker walk.INF

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