

**Sardinian inflected infinitives and control**

Some Logudorese-Nuorese varieties of Sardinian feature an infinitive that inflects for person and number, on a par with other Romance languages such as Portuguese, Galician and Old Neapolitan (cf. Maurer 1968; Gondar 1978; Loporcaro 1986; Raposo 1987; Vincent 1996, 1998, Jones 1992, 1993; Ledgeway 1998; Sitaridou 2002; 2009). An example is given in (1), where the infinitive *cantare* 'to sing' agrees with its subject (*tue* 'you.sg'), marked with the morpheme *-s* (taken from Jones 1992, 297):

- (1) *Non keljo a cantares tue.*  
Not I.want part to.sing-AGR.2.SG you  
'I do not want you to sing.'

Inflected infinitives are interesting for syntactic research since, among other things, they form a challenge for the theories of control. There is a general idea in the literature that inflected infinitives do not occur in obligatory control contexts (cf. Jones 1993; Pires 2006). However, it has been shown that inflected infinitives can actually be found in controlled contexts in Portuguese (cf. Raposo 1987; Modesto 2010; Sheehan 2014, to appear; Sheehan and Parafita Couto 2011). Furthermore, inflected infinitives pose a serious challenge for the movement theory of control formulated by Hornstein (1999) and subsequent work, especially since there can be instances of partial control (Landau 2000, 2004; Modesto 2010; Sheehan 2014, to appear).

For Portuguese inflected infinitives, it has been shown that there is a split between control types: only local exhaustive subject control never allows inflected infinitives, whereas all other types of control do allow inflection on the infinitive, albeit to different degrees. This same split has been described for Galician inflected infinitives and Russian case concord (Sheehan and Parafita Couto 2011; Sheehan 2014, to appear). However, the relation between control and the possibility of inflected infinitives has not been systematically studied for Sardinian, which is the aim of the present research.

In this poster presentation, I will present new Sardinian data, collected through online questionnaires, and analyse the different types of control in Sardinian infinitival complements. It will be shown that Sardinian is similar to Portuguese and Galician, since it allows control in NOC contexts and in partial control; however, it differs slightly from above-mentioned languages, as it seems to prefer uninflected infinitives in both local and non-local subject control to inflected ones. Only in cases of partial control, inflection on the infinitive is

allowed. Two possible analyses, one in terms of control as movement and one in terms of control as an Agree dependency, will be explored and compared to one another.

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