Infinitive wh-relatives in Romance and syncretism at the left periphery

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Contents

1 Introduction

Infinitive *wh*-relatives (IWR):[1]

(1) a. Sto   cercando una persona con   cui   discutere questa proposta. It.:
         be.1SG seeking   a.F   person   with which discuss   this.F   proposal
         Cinque (1988, ex.28a)

         'I am looking for a person with who(m) to discuss this proposal.'
     b. Busca   un amigo en quien/en el   que confiar. Sp.: Hernanz (1999, sec.36.3.3.1)
         seek.3SG a   friend in whom/in the that rely
         '(S)he is looking for a friend on which to rely.'
     c. Necessitem una causa per la   qual lluitar. Cat.: Alsina (2002, sec.20.2.4.2)
         need.1PL   a.F cause for the.F which fight
         'We need a cause for which to fight.'

> **Question**
>
> Why is Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD) impossible in IWR?

(2) a. *Sto   cercando una persona con   cui   questa proposta discuterla. It.:
         be.1SG seeking   a.F   person   with which this.F proposal discuss.her
         Bianchi (1991)

         'I am looking for a person with who(m) to discuss this proposal.'
     b. *Busca   un amigo al   que sus   secretos confiarlos. Sp.
         seek.3SG a   friend to.the that his/her secrets   trust.them
         '(S)he is looking for a friend on which to trust his/her secrets.'
     c. *Necessitem una causa per la   qual als   carrers lluitar-hi.   Cat.
         need.1PL   a.F cause for the.F which at-the streets fight.INF.LOC
         'We need a cause for which to fight at the streets.'

Quick (wromg) answer: nonfinite sentences have a defective left periphery Hooper and Thompson (1973, 484).

> **Problem**
>
> Infinitive *wh*-interrogatives are compatible with CLLD.

(3) No sé,   d'aquest pernil, on   comprar-ne. Cat.: Villalba (2009)
     not know.1SG of-this   ham   where buy-of.it

One could argue that the relative-interrogative asymmetry is an intervention effect, namely CLLD is blocking the wh-relative.

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[1]Throughout the text I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. I will thus use the following abbreviations: COND=conditional, F=feminine, FUT=future, LOC=locative, PL=plural, PST=past, REFL=reflexive clitic, SG=singular, SBJ=subjunctive. As for languages, I use the following abbreviations: Cat.= Catalan, Fr.= French, It.= Italian, Port.= Portuguese Rom.= Romanian, Sard.= Sardinian, Sp.= Spanish.
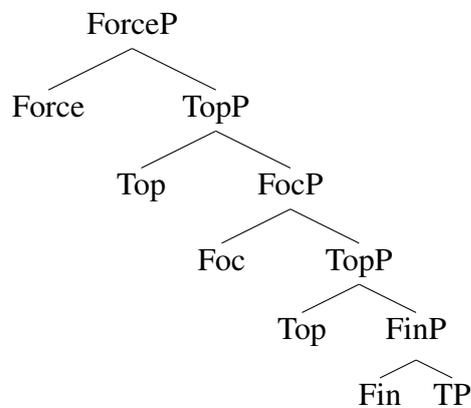
(4) a. la   persona amb qui d'aquest tema   en   vaig   parlar Cat.: Villalba (2009)
         the.F person   with who of-this   subject of.it PST.1SG talk
         'the person that I talked to about this subject'

     b. La   política   a la   que el máster se   lo regalaron   finalmente
         the.F politician.F to the.F that the master to.him it give.PST.3PL finally
         dimitió.   Sp.
         resign..PST.3SG
         'The politician that they gave a master degree resigned finally.'

     c. un uomo a cui,   il   premio Nobel, lo daranno   senz'altro   It.:
         a man   to whom the prize   Nobel it grant.FUT.3PL without-other
         Rizzi (1997, 289)

         'a man to whom the Nobel prize they will certainly grant'

Main goal

To investigate the extent and nature of the ban against CLLD in infinitive *wh*-relatives (IWR) and explore the consequences it raises for the commonly assumed left periphery of sentence (Rizzi, 1997):

(5)
```
                        ForceP
                       /      \
                   Force      TopP
                             /    \
                          Top      FocP
                                  /    \
                               Foc      TopP
                                       /    \
                                    Top      FinP
                                            /    \
                                         Fin      TP
```

Hypothesis

IWR display a maximally syncretic left-periphery, whereas *wh*-interrogatives have a fully-fledged one, for they selected.

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2 Description of IWR

IWR across Romance (on prepositional relatives, see sec. 6 and Napoli 1976; Bianchi 1991; Táboas 1995; Duarte et al. 2015, a.o.):

(6)   a.   Cerca   una ragazza con cui   uscire. (talian: Cinque (1988, 455)
           seek.3SG a.F girl   with whom go.out
           'He is looking for a girl to have a date with.'
      b.   No tenim   ni   un tronc en què reposar. Cat.: Alsina (2002, 20.2.4.2)
           not have.1PL neither a   log on what rest
           'We don't even have a log to rest on.'
      c.   Necesita (a) un hombre en   quien confiar. Sp.: Hernanz (1999, ex.349)
           need.3SG a man in   whom rely
           '(S)he needs a man to rely on.'
      d.   Kirco   una pinna kin sa   cale iscríere una líttera. Sardinian:
           seek.1SG aF pen   with theF which write   aF letter
           Jones (1996, 298)

           'I am looking for a pen with which to write a letter.'

- IWR involve the same relative/gap configuration and are formed with the same relative pronouns and adverbs that their finite counterparts.

- Extraction from IWR is impossible (complex NP constraint (Ross, 1967)):

(7)   a. *A qui busques raons   amb què convéncer?
          to who seek.2SG reasons with what convince
          '*Who(m) do you seek a reason to convince with?'
      b. *¿Qué$_i$ buscas   un sitio donde esconder t$_i$?
          what seek.2SG a   place where hide
          '*What do you seek a place to hide?'

3 The structure of infinitive clauses

- control vs. raising (on the categorial status of infinitive complements, Koster and May 1982; Chierchia 1984; Mensching 2000; Wurmbrand 2001; Egan 2008; Čakányová and Emonds 2017):

(8)   a. Mi   sembra, il tuo libro, di PRO conoscerlo bene.
         to.me seems the your book of   know.it   well
      b. *?Gianni sembra, il tuo libro, t conoscerlo bene.
         Gianni seems the your book know.it   well

(9)   *Mi sembra* [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TopicP}$ (*il tuo libro*) [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{TopicP}$ (*il tuo libro*) [$_{FinP}$ *di* [$_{TP}$ PRO *conoscerlo bene*]]]]]]]]

(10)   [$_{TP}$ *Gianni sembra* (**il tuo libro*) [$_{FinP}$ *di* [$_{TP}$ ~~Gianni~~ *conoscerlo bene*]]]]]]]]

- defective infinitive structure:

(11)   un *lloc* [$_{FinP}$ *on* [$_{Fin'}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ PRO *descansar*]]] 'a place to rest'

In the following section, we discuss the details of this proposal.

4 Truncation

The *truncation hypothesis* (Rizzi, 1993, 1994; Haegeman, 2003; Benincà and Poletto, 2004; Emonds, 2004; Shlonsky and Soare, 2011) claims that in certain infinitive clauses have a limited variety of discourse oriented material (i.e. topic, focus) in their left periphery.

4.1 Empirical support

Romance CLLD is widely found in subordinate contexts, as in the following examples from Spanish (Hernanz, 2011) (see Cinque 1977, 1990 and Villalba (2009) for Italian and Catalan, respectively):

(12)   a.   Juan niega   que **a María** le   hayan   dado el premio.
                John deny3SG that to Mary   to.her have.SBJ.3PL given the prize
                'John denies that Mary was given the prize.'
        b.   Pepe no se   acordaba   de que **esta novela** ya   la había
                Pepe not SELF remind.PST.3SG of that this.F novel   already her have.PST.3SG
                leído.
                read
                'Pepe did not reminded that he had already read this novel.'

In contrast, CLLD is not easily found in similar infinitive clauses:

(13)   a.   *Juan niega **a María** haberle   dado el premio.
                John denies to Mary   have-to.her given the prize
                'John denies having given the prize to Mary.'
        b.   *Pepe no se   acordaba   de **esta novela** haberla ya   leído.
                Pepe not SELF remind.PST.3SG of this.F novel   have-her already read
                'Pepe did not reminded having already read this novel.'

Also for fronting of non D-linked elements like negative polarity items:

(14)   a.   *Conec   bancs on   **mai** no guardar-hi els   diners.
                know.1SG banks where never not save.LOC   the.PL money.PL
                'I know about banks to never put my money on.'
        b.   Conec   bancs on   **mai** no hi   podria   guardar els   diners.
                know.1SG banks where never not LOC could.1SG save   the.PL money.PL
                'I know about banks which I could never put my money on.'

(15)   a.   ??Conozco bancos en los   que **nunca jamás** guardar mi dinero.
                know.1SG banks in the.PL that never   never save   my money
                'I know about banks to never put my money on.'
        b.   Conozco bancos en los   que **nunca jamás** podría   guardar mi dinero.
                know.1SG banks in the.PL that never   never could.1SG save   my money
                'I know about banks which I could never put my money on.'

normal	ForceP	TopP	FocP	TopP	FinP	TP
truncated	~~ForceP~~	~~TopP~~	~~FocP~~	~~TopP~~	FinP	TP

Table 1: Radical truncation analysis.

> **Problem**
>
> Since truncation is lack of structure above FinP, we are forced to assume that the *wh*-relative pronoun/adverb lands in FinP in infinitive clauses, but in ForceP in finite ones.

(16)   *un lloc* [$_{FinP}$ *on* [$_{Fin'}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ PRO *descansar*]]]
       'a place to rest'

(17)   *un lloc* [$_{ForceP}$ *on* [$_{Force'}$ Force [$_{TopP}$ [$_{FocP}$ [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ *la Maria descansa*]]]]]] 'a place where Mary is resting'

A possible solution: syncretism of features.

(18)   *un lloc* [$_{Fin/ForceP}$ *on* [$_{Fin/Force'}$ Fin/Force [$_{TP}$ PRO *descansar*]]]
       'a place to rest'

> **Problem**
>
> Generalized truncation of infinitive clauses doesn't extend to infinitive *wh*-interrogatives, which do allow CLLD.

(19)   a.   No sé,   **d'aquest pernil**, on   comprar-ne. (Cat.: Villalba 2009)
            not know.1SG of-this ham   where buy-of.it
            'I don't know where to buy this ham.'
       b.   No saben   **al gobernador** cuándo destituirlo. Sp.: Hernanz (2011)
            not know.3PL to-the governor when   depose-him
            'They don't know when to remove the governor.'

4.2   Variation across Romance

(20)   a. ??Non so,   tuo   fratello, quando chiamarlo.
            not know.1SG your brother when   call-him
            'I do not know when to call your brother.'
       b. ??Non so,   il   pane, dove   comprarlo.
            not know.1SG the bread where buy-it
            'I do not know where to buy the bread.'

(21)   (Barbosa, 2001, 44)
       a.   *Je me   demande à Jean, ce   que lui   a   donné Marie.
            I   REFL ask   to John that that to.him has given Marie
            'I wonder, to John, what has given M.'
       b.   *Sabes   ao   Pedro quando mais lhe   convirá   lá   ir?
            know.2SG to-the Pedro when   more to.him suit.FUT.3SG there go
            'Do you know, for Peter, when it is more convenient to go there?'

> **Interim conclusion**
>
> - The truncation analysis offers a simple solution for IWR, for it forbids focus or topic material in the left periphery.
>
> - This solution cannot be extended to infinitive interrogatives, which do allow CLLD.

5 Intervention

The distribution of elements in the left periphery are derived from intervention effects (Jiménez-Fernández, 2010; Abels, 2012; Authier and Haegeman, 2012; Haegeman, 2012; Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa, 2014), in fact a version of Rizzi's RELATIVIZED MINIMALITY (Rizzi, 1990, 2004).

(22) $wh_1 \ldots wh \ldots t_1$

   a. *How do you wonder *whether* John will solve the problem? Haegeman (2013)

   b. ??Chi non sai   *che cosa* ha   fatto? Rizzi (1982)
       who not know.3SG what thing have.3SG done
       'Who don't you know what did?'

(23) wh-[+d-linked]$_1 \ldots wh \ldots t_1$

   a. ?Which problem do you wonder **whether** John will solve? Haegeman (2013, 129)

   b. ?Which problem do you wonder how to solve? Friedmann et al. (2009, 83)

5.1 Rizzi's intervention effects in detail

(Rizzi, 1982, 50–51):

(24)   a. Il solo incarico che non sapevi   a chi   avrebbero   affidato è poi
            the only charge that not knew.1SG to whom have.SBJ.3PL entrusted is then
            finito proprio a te.
            ended exactly to you
            "The only charge that you didn't know to whom they would entrust has been
            entrusted exactly to you."

        b. Tuo fratello, a cui   mi   domando che storie   abbiano
            your brother, to whom wonder.1SG which   stories had.3PL told
            raccontato, era molto   preoccupato.
            was   very troubled
            "Your brother, to whom I wonder which stories they told, was very troubled."

(25)   a. *Chi ti domandi chi ha   incontrato?
            who you ask.2SG who has.3SG found
            "Who do you wonder who met?"

        b. ??Chi non sai   che cosa ha   fatto?
            who not know.2SG which thing has.3SG done
            "Who don't you know what did?"

   • D-linked wh-interrogative (Rizzi, 2001, ex.25a):

(26)   Quanti   problemi non sai   come risolvere?
        how.many.PL problems not know.2SG how solve

Possibility 1:

(27)   [$_{TopP}$ *problemi* Top [$_{FocP}$ *quanti* ~~*problemi*~~ Foc [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ *non sai come risolvere* ~~*quanti problemi*~~
        ]]]]

Possibility 2:

(28) [$_{FocP}$ *quanti* Foc [$_{TopP}$ ~~*quanti*~~ *problemi* Top [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ *non sai come risolvere* ~~*quanti problemi*~~]]]]

- Wh-interrogatives and CLLD:

Possibility 1:

(29) [$_{TopP}$ *problemi* Top [$_{FocP}$ *quanti* ~~*problemi*~~ Foc [$_{TopP}$ **CLLD** [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ *non sai come risol-vere* ~~*quanti problemi*~~ . . . **CLLD**]]]]]

Possibility 2:

(30) [$_{TopP}$ **CLLD** Top [$_{FocP}$ *quanti* Foc [$_{TopP}$ ~~*quanti*~~ *problemi* Top [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ *non sai come risolvere* ~~*quanti problemi*~~ . . . **CLLD**]]]]]

- *wh*-relatives and CLLD Rizzi (1997):

Possibility 1:

(31) [$_{ForceP}$ *a cui* [$_{TopP}$ **CLLD** Top [$_{FocP}$ ~~*a cui*~~ Foc [$_{TopP}$ ~~*a cui*~~ Top [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ . . . ~~*a cui*~~ . . . **CLLD**]]]]]]

Possibility 2:

(32) [$_{ForceP}$ *a cui* [$_{TopP}$ ~~*a cui*~~ Top [$_{FocP}$ ~~*a cui*~~ Foc [$_{TopP}$ **CLLD** Top [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ . . . ~~*a cui*~~ . . . **CLLD**]]]]]]

> **Problem**
>
> Rizzi's system makes the wrong predictions, for it predicts much more intervention effects than needed.

5.2 Abels' revisitation

Abels (2012) solution is specifying relative pronouns as both operators and topics, so that, by the Elsewhere Condition, they will be allowed to cross over the less specific element (CLLD), but not conversely.

(33) a. un uomo a cui, **il premio Nobel**, lo daranno   senz'altro
          a man to whom the prize   Nobel it grant.FUT.3PL without-other
          Rizzi (1997)

          'a man to whom the Nobel prize they will certainly grant'
      b. *A Gianni, ti   parleró   solo delle persone che senz'altro   gli
          to Gianni to.you talk.FUT.1SG only about people   that without-other to.him
          daranno   il premio Nobel. Abels (2012, ex.8b)
          give.FUT.3PL the Nobel Prize

5.3 Haegeman's radical solution

Haegeman (2013, ch. 4) solution: assume, with Cinque (1990), that Romance CLLD is base-generated, so it *never* creates intervention effects.

(34) a. ?Non so   a chi   pensi   che, **queste cose**, le   dovremmo dire.
         not   know.1SG to whom think.2SG that these   things DAT.3PL should.2PL say
         It.: Rizzi (2004, ex.27)

         'I don't know to whom you think that these things we should say them.'
     b. J'aimerais   savoir à qui   **ton   texte**, tu   comptes le
         I-like.COND.1SG know to whom your text you   count.2SG it   show
         montrer d'abord. Fr.: Haegeman (2013, 57)
         first
         'I would like to know to whom you are thinking of showing your text first.'

(35) a. ?Ecco lo studente a cui,   **il tuo libro**, lo darò.   It.:
         this-is the student to whom, the your book it give.FUT.1SG
         Haegeman (2013, 58)

         'This is the student to whom I'll give your book.'
     b. Voici l'étudiant à qui   **ton livre** je le donnerai.   Fr.:
         this.is the-student to whom your book I it give.FUT.1SG
         Haegeman (2013, 58)

         'This is the student to whom I'll give your book.'

- sensitivity to strong islands (see Cinque 1977, 408, López 2009, par. 6.2 and Villalba 2009, ch.2; cf. De Cat 2007 for French; beyond Romance, see (Iatridou, 1995, 18), (Grohmann and Etxepare, 2003, 143), (Anagnostopoulou, 1997, 156-7), Chomsky and Lasnik 1977, 91, Postal (1994, 175)):

(36) a. *A Giorgio, ieri   ho   conosciuto la   ragazza che gli   ha scritto
         to Giorgio yesterday have.1SG known   the.F girl   that to.him has written
         quelle insolenze.
         those insolent.words
         'To Giorgio, yesterday I met the girl who wrote those insolent words to him.'

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    b. *A Giorgio, chi può   credere alla calunnia che gli   abbiano   dato
       to Giorgio who can.3SG believe to-the slander   that to.him have.PST.3PL given
       dei   soldi?
       of.the money
       'To Giorgio, who can believe the slander that they gave him money?'

    c. *Di quel libro, mi   son   seduto in poltrona e   ne ho   letta una meta,
       of that book REFL be.1SG sit   in armchair and of.it have.1SG read a   half
       ieri.
       yesterday
       'Of that book, I sat in the armchair and read half of it yesterday.'

    d. *A Giorgio, che tu   gli   abbia   scritto vuol   dire che sei
       to Giorgio that you to.him have.PST.2SG written want.3SG say that be.2SG
       ancora innamorata.
       still   in.love
       'To Giorgio, that you wrote to him means that you're still in love.'

- CLLD can easily skip *wh*-islands, just as happens with *wh*-movement:

(37)   a. A Mara, no recuerdo   quién preguntó [(que) dónde la   había
         to Mara not remember.1SG who   asked   that   where acc.f.SG have.PST.1SG
         visto yo]. Suñer (2006)
         seen I

    b. Dinero, te   pregunta [(que) por qué no tiene].   Rivero (1980)
         money DAT.2SG ask.3SG that   for what not have.3SG

López (2009, 223):

(38)   a. Bon estudiant, el Joan diu que el Carles ho pot   ser.
         good student   the Joan says that the Carles so can.3SG be
         'A good student, Joan says that Carles can be one.'

    b. ??Bon estudiant, em   pregunto quan ho serà.
         good student   REFL ask.1SG when so be.FUT.3SG
         'A good student, I wonder when he will be one.'

(39)   a. D'històries, el Joan n'explicarà   el diumenge.
         of-stories   the Joan ot.it-explain.FUT.3SG the Sunday
         'Stories, Joan will explain on Sunday.'

    b. ??D'històries, em   pregunto com n'explicarà   el diumenge.
         of-stories   DAT.1SG ask.1SG how of.it-explain.FUT.3SG the Sunday
         'Stories, I wonder how he will explain on Sunday.'

Problem

CLLD DOES show intervention effects

- topic islands (Rochemont 1989, ex. 19,22,Lasnik and Saito 1992; Culicover 1991, 2013):

(40)   a. *¿A quién crees   que **el premio** se   lo dieron? Sp.: Goodall (2001, 201)
         to whom think.2SG that the prize   to.him it gave
         'Who(m) do you think that they gave the prize to?'

b. *Che cosa pensi   che **a Luigi**, gli   regalerai?   It.:
what thing think.2SG that to Luigi   to.him give.FUT.2SG
Frascarelli (2000, 153)

'What do you think that they will gave to Luigi?'
c. *Amb qui   creus   que, **de   Cuba**, en parla   Chomsky? Cat.:
with who(m) believe.2SG that about Cuba of.it talk.3SG Chomsky
Villalba (2009, ch.4) (see also Sheehan 2016, 348)

'With whom do you believe that Chomsky talks about Cuba?'
d. *A quem achas   que o prémio o   deram no   ano passado?
to whom think.2SG that the prize   CL.ACC gave in.the last year
European Portuguese: Sheehan (2016, 348)

e. ??Quem (que) a   Ana, ela convidou pra festa? Brasilian Portuguese:
who   that the Ana she invited t   to-the party
Quarezemin and Cardinaletti (2017, 389)

(41)   a. *I asked what, to Lee, Robin gave.
        b. *Lee forgot which dishes, on the table, you are going to put.
        c. *Robin knows where, the birdseed, you are going to put.

Cf. Haegeman (2013) evidence:

(42)   a. ?Non so   come pensi   che, **a Gianni**, gli   dovremmo parlare.
           not know.1SG how   think.2SG that to Gianni   to.him must.3PL   talk
           Rizzi (2004, 232)

           'I don't know how you think that, to Gianni, we should talk to him.'
        b. ?Non so   a chi pensi   che, **queste cose**, le   dovremmo dire.
           not know.1SG to who think.2SG that these.f things ACC.3PL.F must.3PL   say
           Rizzi (2004, 232)

           'I don't know to whom you think that, these things, we should say them.'

(43)   a. J'aimerais   savoir à qui   **ton texte**, tu   comptes   le montrer d'abord.
           I-like.COND.1SG know to whom your text   you count.2SG it show   first
           'I would like to know to whom you are thinking of showing your text first.'
        b. Voici l'étudiant   à qui   **ton livre** je le donnerai.
           this.is the-student to whom your book I it give.FUT.1SG
           'This is the student to whom I'll give your book.'

The examples always involve (i) indirect interrogatives, and (ii) local CLLD.

• Cf. direct interrogatives:

(44)   (Domani,) che   cosa (*a Gianni,) gli   dovremmo dire?
        tomorrow which thing to Gianni   to.him should.1PL say
        'Tomorrow, what should we say to Gianni?'

• Cf. nonlocal CLLD:

(45)   a.   ??El lingüista al   que reconozco   que **el libro** se   lo robé
            the linguist to-the that acknowledge.1SG that the book to.him it steal.PST.1SG
            es Coseriu.
            is Coseriu
            'The linguist which I acknowledge that I stole the book is Coseriu.'

         b.   ??¿A quién admitió   que **el libro** se   lo robó?
            to who(m) admit.PST.3SG that the book to.him it steal.PST.3SG?
            'Who did (s)he admit that (s)he stole the book?'

- The two interveners belong to different clauses:

(46)   a.   *¿De quién$_i$ admites   que **al profesor**$_k$ le   denunciaste   t$_k$ que
            of who admit.2SG that to-the teacher to.him denounce.PST.3SG that
            se   burlaba   t$_i$?
            REFL mock.PST.3SG
            'Of who(m) do you admit that you denounced to the teacher that (s)he mocked?'

         b.   *La persona a quien **a Juan** le   ordenaron   que matara   era
            the person to who to Juan to.him order.PST.1SG that kill.sbj.3SG be.PST.3SG
            un espía   ruso.
            spy Russian

- CLLD+*wh*-islands:

(47)   a.   *¿A quien no sabéis   **el libro** cuándo se   lo dieron?
            to who not know.3PL the book when to.him it give.PST.3pl

         b.   *La persona a quien no sabía   quién **el libro** se   lo dio
            the person to who not know.PST.3SG who the book to.him it give.PST.3SG
            era   un espía ruso.
            be.PST.3SG a spy Russian

- local vs. nonlocal CLLD and weak crossover (WCO):

(48)   a.   A cada niño$_i$, su$_i$ madre lo$_i$ acompañará   el primer día de escuela.
            to each child his mother him accompany.FUT.3SG the first day of school

         b.   *A cada niño$_i$, su$_i$ madre piensa que María lo$_i$ acompañará   el primer
            to each child his mother thinks that María him accompany.FUT.3SG the first
            día de escuela.
            day of school

> **Conclusion**
>
> CLLD displays intervention effects in Spanish and Catalan, which supports a movement approach to this construction.

Intervention analyses: Recap

Even though CLLD creates intervention effects, the asymmetry between IWR and finite relatives regarding CLLD cannot be explained as an intervention effect.

(49) a. ?Ecco lo studente a cui, **il tuo libro**, lo darò.   It.:
           this-is the student to whom, the your book it give.FUT.1SG
           Haegeman (2013, 58)

           'This is the student to whom I'll give your book.'
      b. *Sto   cercando una persona con cui **questa proposta** discuterla. It.:
           be.1SG seeking   a.F person with which this.F   proposal discuss-her
           Bianchi (1991)

           'I am looking for a person with who(m) to discuss this proposal.'

6   A new proposal: syncretism in the left periphery

We cannot assume a unified truncation analysis for both relatives *and* interrogatives.

6.1   Selection

In infinitive wh-interrogatives **the role of Force is crucial for linking the [+interrogative] feature of the sentence with the corresponding selectional requirements of the higher governing predicate** (see also Benincà and Poletto (2004); Grewendorf (2009); Haegeman and Hill (2013) for similar ideas, and Bresnan (1970); Chomsky and Lasnik (1977); Grimshaw (1979) for a initial discussion of the issue of complementizer selection in the context of English infinitive relatives).

- the [+interrogative] Force head is locally selected by the higher verb,

- whereas the interrogative *wh*-element landing lower in the CP-area (here in IntP) gets licensed by Agree through the standard probe-goal procedure (Chomsky, 2000, 2001).

(50)

V'
├─ V
│   └─ selection
└─ ForceP
    ├─ Force$_{[+int]}$
    │   └─ agreement
    └─ TopP
        ├─ Top
        └─ FocP
            ├─ wh
            └─ Foc'
                ├─ Foc$_{[+wh]}$
                └─ FinP
                    ├─ Fin$_{[-finite]}$
                    └─ TP
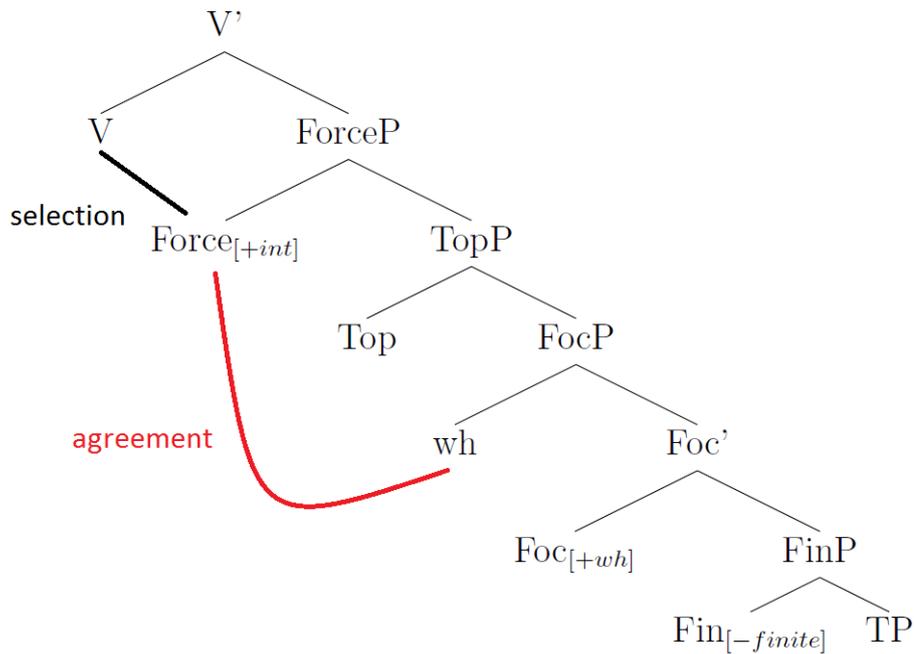
Relative clauses are not selected, so the crucial mediating role of Force is less clear at this point, regardless of your favorite analysis of relatives (see Borsley 1997; Bianchi 1999; Hulsey and Sauerland 2006). Hence, if truncation in IWR is not constrained by selectional issues, and TopP is linked to the presence of Force, a radical truncation analysis is plausible, as represented in Table 2.

	ForceP	TopP	FocP	TopP	FinP	TP
infinitive interrogative		CLLD	wh			
IWR	–	–	–	–	wh	

Table 2: IWR and infinitive interrogatives in Catalan and Spanish under the radical truncation analysis.

6.2 Syncretism

The projection of the features involved in the CP-domain allows several degrees of syncretism (Zubizarreta 1998, 100,Giorgi and Pianesi 1996; Bianchi 1999:

(51)   wh-interrogative

ForceP
├─ Force$_{[+int]}$
└─ TopP
    ├─ Top
    └─ FocP
        ├─ Foc$_{[+wh]}$
        └─ FinP
            ├─ Fin$_{[-finite]}$
            └─ TP

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(52) IWR

$$\text{FinP}$$
$$\text{wh} \quad \text{Fin'}$$
$$\text{Fin} \Big\| \begin{matrix} -finite \\ +wh \end{matrix} \Big\| \quad \text{TP}$$
$$\emptyset$$
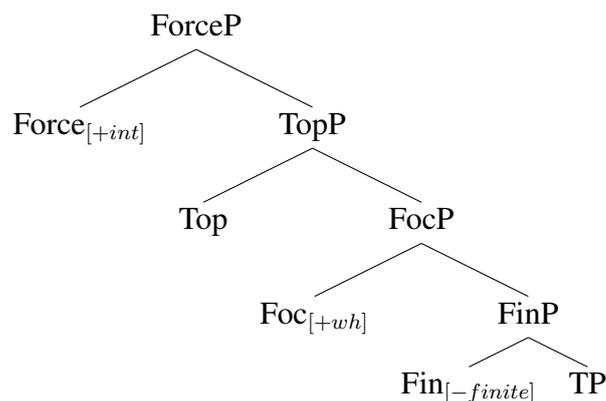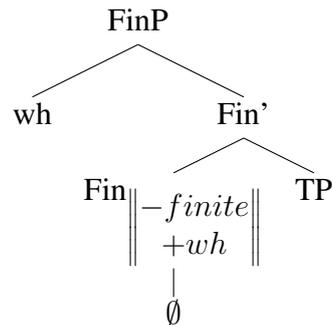
6.3 Prepositional relatives

(53) a. Les livres **à** lire sont   sur la   table.
          the.PL books to read be.3PL on the.F table
          'The books to read are on the table.'   Fr.: Giurgea and Soare (2010, 192)

  b. Cărtile   **de** citit   sînt   pe măsa.
      books-the.PL by read.SUP be.3PL on table
      'The books to read are on the table.'   Rom.: Giurgea and Soare (2010, 192)

  c. Cerco   un libro **da** leggere.
      seek.1SG a   book by read
      'I am looking for a book to read.'   It.: Cinque (1988, ex.28a)

  d. O peixe **para** grelhar   está aqui.
      the fish for   grill.INF is   here
      'The fish to grill is over here.'   European Port.: Duarte et al. (2015, ex.1a)

(54) a. Encara no té   un model **per** imitar.
          still   not have.3SG a model for imitate
          '(S)he still lacks a model to imitate.' Cat.   Alsina (2002, sec.20.2.4.3)

  b. Las   tierras por sembrar son difíciles   de vender.
      the.F.PL lands for plant   are difficult.PL of sell
      'The lands to be planted are difficult to sell.'   Sp. Hernanz (1999, 36.3.3.3)

(55) Busco   libros que leer.
      look.for.1SG books that read
      'I look for some books to read.'   Sp. Táboas (1995, ex.9a)

(56) No'isco   de b'andare (o nono).
      not-know.1SG of LOC-go   or not
      'I do not know whether to go there (or not).'   Sard.: Jones (1996, 291)

Cf. *wh*-interrogatives:

(57) a. En Pere no sap   si   fer-ho.
          the Pere not knows whether do-it
          'Peter doesn't know whether to do it.'   Cat. Rigau (1984, 251)

  b. Dudaba   si   hacer el cordero al   horno.
      doubt.PST.3SG whether do   the lamb   at.the oven
      '(S)he doubted whether (s)he would cook the lamb in the oven.'   Sp.

  c. Gianni non sa   se   andare al   cinema.
      John   not knows whether go   to-the cinema
      'John doesn't know whether to go to the cinema.'   It. Kayne (2000, 53)

- proposal for prepositional infinitive relatives:

(58)

```
                        FinP
                    /          \
              RelOp              Fin'
                             /        \
                          Fin          TP
                         ‖ −finite ‖
                         ‖   −wh   ‖
                             |
                             P
```
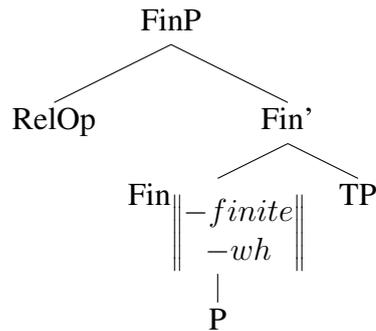
(59) a. Jean a   essaye **de** chanter. Fr.: (Kayne, 2000, 282)
          John has tried   of sing
          'John tried to sing.'
      b. Gianni ha tentato **di** cantare. It.: (Kayne, 2000, 282)
          John   has tried   of sing
      c. En Joan ha intentat **de** cantar. Cat.
          the John has tried   of sing
      d. Credo   **de** ti   connóskere. Sard.: Jones (1996, 264)
          believe.1SG of you know
          'I believe that I know you.'

Conclusions

1. The ban against CLLD in IWR cannot be explained in terms of intervention effects, but rather must be analyzed as a case of truncation in infinitive contexts.

2. As far as CLLD is a case of movement, intervention approaches could not explain why IWR contrasted with their finite counterparts.

3. Truncation cannot be extended to infinitive *wh*-interrogatives, which do allowed CLLD.

4. The contrast between IWR and interrogatives has been derived from the necessity of projecting ForceP in the latter, which are selected by a higher predicate.

5. This crucial difference between interrogatives and relatives is consistent with the existence of specialized prepositional complementizers for the latter but not for the former.

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