

**A Study of Finnish Infinitives**  
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## **1. Introduction**

Infinitives do not receive much attention in the linguistic literature, although there are many interesting questions that concern them. Some questions are: What is the exact difference between an infinitive and a participle? What syntactic category do infinitives belong to? They have both nominal and verbal features, but do not behave exactly like either nouns or verbs. If they do not belong to any one category, how do we label them in a syntactic tree model? Is it at all important to label them? What criteria must a part of speech fulfill in order to be called an infinitive? Cross-linguistically, can infinitives be grouped according to what features they have (e.g. person inflection vs. no person inflection)?

It is necessary to establish how infinitives behave in specific languages before undertaking the cross-linguistic research required to answer the questions above. The main goal of this thesis is to contribute to the general knowledge of infinitives by exploring the behavior of infinitives in Finnish. I will describe the infinitival forms of Finnish, establish which function each one of them has, and examine their behavior in different clausal contexts. Chapter 2 provides a list of all the infinitives and briefly introduces each one of them. In chapter 3, I will motivate my exclusion of some of the infinitives from the subsequent discussion. In chapter 4, the infinitives are divided in two groups of semantic arguments or modifiers. Chapter 5 concerns object case assignment across infinitives, and chapter 6 examines extraction out of infinitives. In chapter 7, I will explore the relationship between the different infinitival behaviors presented in this thesis.

## 2. A Sketch of the Finnish Infinitives

Traditional grammars of Finnish describe thirteen different classes of infinitives. Although they differ from each other in behavior and morphology, these verb forms are all called infinitives since they do not inflect for tense or person. It is disputable whether these forms should all be categorized together as infinitives, but for the purposes of this thesis I will accept the traditional view. In this chapter, I will list the thirteen different infinitives of Finnish and then briefly discuss each one of them. The first column of the list below provides the full name of each type of infinitive, the second one lists the abbreviations that will be used for the different infinitives throughout this thesis, and the third column provides an example of the verb *tanssia*<sup>1</sup> 'to dance' in the form of each one of the infinitives. Following traditional grammar, the infinitives are divided into five main groups according to their infinitive morphemes. The traditional names of the five groups and their morphemes are in bold text. The first three groups are divided into subgroups according to their case endings.

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<sup>1</sup> When I give examples of verbs, I will use the "plain form" of infinitive I.

**Infinitive I, a**

Infinitive I, "plain form"

infl-a

tanssi-a

Infinitive I, translativ

infl-TRA

tanssi-a-kse-ni<sup>2</sup>**Infinitive II, e**

Infinitive II, inessive

inflII-INE

tanssi-e-ssa

Infinitive II, instructive

inflII-INS

tanssi-e-n

**Infinitive III, ma**

Infinitive III, inessive

inflIII-INE

tanssi-ma-ssa

Infinitive III, elative

inflIII-ELA

tanssi-ma-sta

Infinitive III, illative

inflIII-ILL

tanssi-ma-sta ~~an~~

Infinitive III, adessive

inflIII-ADE

tanssi-ma-lla

Infinitive III, abessive

inflIII-ABE

tanssi-ma-tta

Infinitive III, instructive

inflIII-INS

tanssi-ma-n

Infinitive III, agentive

inflIII-AGE

tanssi-ma+ending

**Infinitive IV, minen**

Infinitive IV

inflIV

tanssi-minen

**Infinitive V, mais**

Infinitive V

inflV

tanssi-mais-illa-an

The other non-finite verbforms, the participles, are not included in this list, since they will not be discussed in this thesis. In Finnish, participles and infinitives differ in that participles can vary with respect to voice (active or passive) and number (singular or plural) whereas the infinitives do not show these distinctions.

Some of the infinitive morphemes change according to the the rules of Finnish vowel harmony. For example, a form with *-ma-* is morphologically identical to a form with *-mä-*. The vowels that undergo vowel harmony in Finnish are a/ä, u/y, and o/ö.

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<sup>2</sup> Infl-TRA always ends with a possessive suffix. -ni is the first person singular possessive suffix.

I will now provide a brief presentation of the use of each infinitive. It will become clear that the motivation for grouping the infinitives this way, is the morphological shape of their derivational morpheme. For example, all forms of the infIII contain the morpheme *-ma-*. I will use the traditional labels provided in table 1, even though it could be argued that the infinitives should be grouped and labeled differently.

### 2.1. Infinitive I, "plain form"

The infinitival form infI-a does not carry any meaning in itself. It is used after certain main verbs, that select for<sup>3</sup> infI-a. As can be seen in (1), the verb *yrittää* 'to try' is one of the verbs that takes infI-a as its infinitive.

- (1) Minä yritän tanssi-a.  
I try to.dance-infI-a  
'I try to dance.'

Other examples of main verbs that select for infI-a are *voida* 'to be able', *haluta* 'to want', and *aikoa* 'to intend'. InfI-a is also used after certain verb+adjective expressions (for example *on helppoa* 'it is easy'), and certain verb+noun expressions (for example *on syytä* 'have reason to'). The subject of infI-a is usually phonologically empty. I will assume it is a PRO, controlled by the subject of the finite verb. However, if the main verb is *antaa* 'to let', *sallia* 'to allow', *suoda* 'to allow', or *käskää* 'to order', the subject of the

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<sup>3</sup> In chapter 4, I will discuss the motivation for saying that some types of infinitives can be selected for by main verbs.

infl-a form will be different from the subject of the finite verb. The subject of the infinitive will then be in genitive case, as exemplified in (2):

- (2) Minä sallin sinun tanssi-a.  
I-NOM<sup>4</sup> allow you-GEN dance-infl-a  
'I let you dance'

As can be seen in (2), the infinitival subject can be interpreted as the object of the finite verb as well as the subject of the infinitive. However, it cannot be the object of the finite verb syntactically, since no verbs in Finnish take genitive objects. In (3), it is shown that *sallia* normally takes an accusative object:

- (3) Laki sallii tämän.  
law allows this-ACC  
'The law allows this.'

Since genitive objects do not exist in Finnish, it can be assumed that the genitive subject of infl-a really is the syntactic subject.

## 2.2. Infinitive I, Translative

The infinitive infl-TRA is associated with the meaning 'in order to'.

- (4) Minä muutin Ruotsiin saad-a-kse-ni paremman työn.  
I moved Sweden-ILL<sup>5</sup> get-infl-TRA+ps1s<sup>6</sup> better job  
'I moved to Sweden in order to get a better job.'

The only similarity of this form with infl-a, the other form of the first infinitive, is that they share the *-a* (sometimes called *-ta*) ending. Infl-TRA adds *-kse-* and a possessive

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<sup>4</sup> NOM=nominative case

<sup>5</sup> ILL=illative case, 'to, into'

<sup>6</sup> possessive suffix, first person singular

suffix to this ending. The possessive suffix is obligatory and refers to the subject, *minä*. The subject of the infI-TRA is always PRO, controlled by the subject of the finite verb of the sentence.

### 2.3. Infinitive II, Inessive

InfII-INE replaces a 'when'- or 'while'-clause. The subject of the infinitive is genitive, as can be seen in (5).

- (5) Auringon paista-e-ssa linnut lauloivat.  
 sun-GEN shine-infII-INE birds sang  
 'The birds were singing while the sun was shining.'

If this is a pronominal genitive subject, the infinitive will bear a possessive suffix. In (6), the possessive suffix *-si* agrees in number and person with the pronoun *sinun*, which is the subject of the infII-INE form.

- (6) Sinun tull-e-ssa-si kotiin huomasin että sinä olit sairas.  
 you-GEN come-infII-INE-ps2s home I.noticed that you were sick  
 'When you came home, I noticed that you were sick.'

Note that the infII-INE in (5) does not contain a possessive suffix, since its subject is a lexical noun. For third person, if the subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the finite verb, the infinitive ends with a possessive suffix and no infinitival subject appears:

- (7) Pekka näki hirven kulki-e-ssa-an metsässä.  
 Pekka saw elk walk-infII-INE-ps3s in.forest  
 'Pekka saw an elk when he was walking in the forest.'

The third person singular possessive suffix *-an* is coreferent with *Pekka*, the subject of the finite verb. For first and second person, it is optional whether the pronoun is overt.

## 2.4. Infinitive II, Instructive

InfII-INS and infII-INE are similar in meaning. They are both used when an action is taking place at the same time as the main action of the sentence. The difference is that infII-INE is used when two parallel actions are taking place; something happens while something else is going on (refer back to examples (5-7)), whereas infII-INS denotes the manner in which an action is being performed or accompaniment:

- (8) Hän tuli kotiin itki-e-n.  
he came home cry-infII-INS  
'He came home crying.'

These two forms also differ with respect to their subject. The subject of infII-INS is almost always PRO, controlled by the subject of the finite verb, and there is no possessive suffix attached to the infinitive (see example (8)). With a few verbs, the subject of the infinitive can be different from the subject of the finite verb. In these cases, the infinitival subject has genitive case, and some speakers will allow a possessive suffix on the infinitive, while others will not. Both (9) and (10) are therefore acceptable sentences, though most speakers allow only (10):

- (9) Opettaja teki sen minun näht-e-ni.  
teacher did it I-GEN see-infII-INS+ps1s  
'The teacher did it in front of my eyes.'

- (10) Opettaja teki sen minun nähd-e-n.  
teacher did it I-GEN see-infII-INS  
'The teacher did it in front of my eyes.'

These two sentences are identical, except for the possessive suffix *-ni*, that appears in (9), but not in (10).



## 2.5. Infinitive III, Inessive

InfIII-INE is selected for by certain main verbs. This infinitival form does not carry a meaning in itself (at least not in any obvious way; in chapter 4, I will discuss whether or not it is possible to assign meaning to infIII-INE, infIII-ELA, and infIII-ILL). It is used together with stative verbs, such as *istua* 'to sit' and *olla* 'to be' (see example (11)), or with perception verbs, such as *nähdä* 'to see' or *kuulla* 'to hear' (see example (12)).

- (11) Minä seison kadulla katsele-ma-ssa autoja.  
I stand on.street watch-infIII-INE cars  
'I am standing in the street watching the cars.'

- (12) Minä kuulen hänet laula-ma-ssa laulua.  
I hear he sing-infIII-INE song  
'I hear him sing a song.'

When the main verb is a stative verb, as in example (11), the subject of the infinitive is PRO controlled by the subject of the main verb. When the main verb is a perception verb, as in example (12), the subject of the infinitive will be PRO controlled by the object of the main verb. Although *hänet* in (12) is perceived as being both the object of the finite verb and the subject of the infinitive, we know that it is syntactically the object of the main verb rather than the subject of the embedded infinitive, since it gets its case-marking from the main verb. Partitive of negation<sup>7</sup> is assigned to *hänet* if the main verb is negative.

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<sup>7</sup> If a verb does not idiosyncratically case mark its direct object, the direct object will be in partitive case if the verb is negated.

(i) Minä luen kirjan  
I read book-ACCUSATIVE

(ii) Minä en lue kirjaa.  
I not read book-PARTITIVE

- (13) Minä en kuule häntä laula-ma-ssa laulua.  
 I not hear him-PART sing-infIII-INE song  
 'I don't hear him sing a song.'

Since the verb *kuulla* in (13) is negated, the object *häntä* bears partitive case. Compare this to (12), where the object *hänet* is in accusative, since the sentence is affirmative.

## 2.6. Infinitive III, Elative

InfIII-ELA is selected for by certain verbs, for example *pelastaa* 'to save, rescue', *tulla* 'to come' and *lakata* 'to stop'. In the infIII-ELA forms we find the *-ma-* morpheme that we saw in infIII-INE. InfIII-ELA also resembles infIII-INE with respect to subjects. The subject of the infinitive is PRO controlled either by the subject of the finite verb(14) or by the the object of the finite verb(15).

- (14) Nyt minä lakkaan pelaa-ma-sta.  
 now I stop play-infIII-ELA  
 'I stop playing now.'
- (15) Pekka pelasti minut hukku-ma-sta.  
 Pekka saved me drown-infIII-ELA  
 'Pekka saved me from drowning.'

If the verb *pelastaa* of (15) is negated, then *minut* will appear in partitive case, *minua*. Although this NP is always perceived as both the object of the finite verb and the subject of the infinitive, it always takes whatever case the finite verb requires for its object. For example, *kieltää* 'to forbid' requires a partitive NP when this NP is followed by an infinitive. That is why *sinua* 'you' in (16) is partitive.

- (16) Minä kiellän sinua laula-ma-sta.  
 I forbid you-PART sing-infIII-ELA

The verb *laulaa* does not lexically case mark its subject as partitive. When it is finite, the subject will be in nominative, which is the most common case for subjects of finite verbs.

- (17) Minä laulan usein.  
I-NOM sing often  
'I sing often.'

Since the verb *laulaa* does not require a partitive subject, it is clear that *sinua* in (16) is the syntactic object of *kieltää*.

## 2.7. Infinitive III, Illative

Like infIII-INE and infIII-ELA, infIII-ILL appears together with certain main verbs and it does not carry any meaning in itself. Examples of verbs that take an infIII-ILL infinitival object are *ruveta* 'to begin', *auttaa* 'to help', and *käskää* 'to order'. In addition, infIII-ILL is used together with some *olla* 'to be' + adjective expressions, such as *olla valmis* 'be ready' and *olla halukas* 'be willing'. As was the case with infIII-INE and infIII-ELA, the subject of infIII-ILL is syntactically either PRO controlled by the subject of the finite verb (18) or by the object of the finite verb (19):

- (18) Minä olen valmis tanssi-ma-an.  
I am ready dance-infIII-ILL  
'I am ready to dance.'
- (19) Minä autan häntä pese-mä-än auton.  
I help him-PART wash-infIII-ILL car  
'I help him wash the car.'

The verb *auttaa* in (19) requires a partitive object, and that is why its object *häntä* is in partitive. In (20-21), we see the accusative-partitive variation:

(20) Minä jätin Kallen kotiin luke-ma-an.  
I left Kalle at.home read-infIII-ILL  
'I left Kalle at home to study.'

(21) Minä en jättänyt Kallea kotiin luke-ma-an.  
I not left Kalle at.home read-infIII-ILL  
'I didn't leave Kalle at home to study.'

The fact that the accusative *Kallen* is partitive *Kallea* after a negated verb, shows that it is syntactically the object of the main verb and not the subject of the infinitive.

We have seen in examples (11-21) that infIII-INE, infIII-ELA, and infIII-ILL are similar in the following ways:

- (a) They all have the morpheme *-ma-*.
- (b) They are all subcategorized for by main verbs.
- (c) These forms do not take their own syntactic subjects. The subject is PRO, controlled either by the subject or the object of the finite verb.

We will now see that the other infIII forms only share (a) with the inf-III three forms discussed above; with respect to (b) and (c) they are different (except for the archaic form infIII-INS).

## 2.8. Infinitive III, Adessive

As mentioned above, infIII-INE, infIII-ELA, and infIII-ILL only occurs together with certain main verbs that selects for specific infinitival complements, for instance, *istua* 'to sit' selects for infIII-INE, *lakata* 'to stop' selects for infIII-ELA, and *auttaa* 'to help' selects for infIII-ILL. These three infIII forms differ from infIII-ADE in this

respect. *infIII-ADE* carries the meaning 'by' or 'through', and can be used together with any main verb, as long as the meaning of the sentence makes sense. Sentences (22) and (23) are examples of how *infIII-ADE* can be used:

- (22) Minä opin luke-ma-lla tämän kirjan.  
I learn read-*infIII-ADE* this book  
'I learn through reading this book.'

- (23) Hän elää kirjoitta-ma-lla kirjoja.  
he lives write-*infIII-ADE* books  
'He writes books for a living.'

The subject of an *infIII-ADE* is always PRO controlled by the subject of the main verb<sup>8</sup>.

## 2.9. Infinitive III, Abessive

*infIII-ABE* carries the meaning without:

- (24) Hän lähti sano-ma-tta mitään.  
he left say-*infIII-ABE* anything  
'He left without saying anything.'

Like *infIII-ADE*, *infIII-ABE* can be added to any clause, if it is acceptable with respect to the meaning of the whole sentence. The subject of *infIII-ABE* is usually PRO controlled by the subject of the main clause (see example (24)). However, sometimes the subject of *infIII-ABE* can be different from the subject of the main clause and the infinitival subject then has genitive case, as can be seen in example (25):

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<sup>8</sup> However, some speakers accept sentences like (i):

- (i) Hän jäi henkiin meidän attamalla häntä.  
he stayed alive our-GEN help-*infIII-ADE* him

These speakers allow *infIII-ABE* to have its own subject, which is then genitive.

- (25 ) Opettaja tuli sisään Leenan huomaa-ma-tta mitään.  
 teacher came in Leena-GEN notice-infIII-ABE anything  
 'The teacher came in without Leena noticing anything.'

Here, *Leenan* clearly is not the object of the main verb *tulla* 'to come'. *Tulla* is intransitive, and, as has already been mentioned, there are no genitive objects of Finnish.

## 2.10. Infinitive III, Instructive

InfIII-INS is almost never used in modern Finnish and it is only used together with one main verb, namely *pitää* 'ought to':

- (26) Minun pitää lähte-mä-n.  
 I-GEN ought.to leave-infIII-INS  
 'I ought to leave.'

The subject is always PRO controlled by the subject of the main verb. The subject of the main verb bears genitive case.

## 2.11. Infinitive III, Agentive

InfIII-AGE makes it possible for a verb to be used as an adjective. InfIII-AGE constructions can always be rewritten with a relative clause, which (27) and (28) demonstrate. (27) can be expressed as (28):

- (27) Pekan osta-ma auto on hyvä.  
 Pekka-GEN buy-infIII-AGE car is good  
 'The car that Pekka is buying/ has bought is good.'

- (28) Auto, jonka Pekka osti, on hyvä.  
 car that Pekka bought is good

InfIII-AGE takes a genitive subject (*Pekan* in (27)). If the genitive subject is a pronoun, a possessive suffix will be added to the adjectival infinitive. The infIII-AGE form will bear the same case as the noun it precedes:

- (29) *Istun sinun osta-ma-ssa-si veneessä.*  
 I.sit you-GEN buy-infIII-AGE+ine+s2ps boat-INE  
 'I sit in the boat that you bought.'

The *-ssa* in *ostamassasi* is the inessive case ending and the *-si* is the second person singular case ending.

## 2.12. Infinitive IV

InfIV is used together with the verbs *olla* 'to be' and *käydä* 'to go, visit'. *Olla* + infIV denotes compulsion or necessity:

- (30) *Hänen on lähte-minen.*  
 he+GEN is leave-infIV  
 'He must leave.'

*Käydä* + infIV implies that something fits or works well:

- (31) *Sinun käy tanssi-minen.*  
 you-GEN go/visit dance-infIV  
 'It works well for you to dance.' = 'You dance well.'

As can be seen in (30-31), the subject has genitive case.

InfIV is traditionally called an infinitive verb form only when it is used like in (30) and (31). However, this form is most often used in order to derive a noun from a verb. For example, the verb *tanssia* in infIV is a verbal noun, and that is how it is used in (32).

- (32) *Tanssi-minen on hauskaa.*  
 dance-infIV is fun  
 'It is fun to dance./Dancing is fun.'

In (32), infIV is a subject, but this form can also be an object:

- (33) *Minä pidän tanssi-mise-sta.*  
 I like dance-infIV-ELA  
 'I like to dance.'

These verbal nouns take different case endings, just like other nouns. In (33), for example, the infIV form *tanssimisesta* appear in elative case, because the verb *pitää* 'to like' requires elative on its objects. The verbal nouns can even be pluralized (see example (34)), even if this is unusual.

- (34) *Kun Maija pääsi yliopistoon, alkoivat hänellä luke-miset ja tentti-miset.*  
 when Maija got.in university began(3pers.pl)she-ADE read-infIV and take.exam-infIV  
 'When Maija started university, her readings and exams started.'

In (34), the verbal noun forms function as the subject of the second clause in the sentence.

Both *lukemiset* and *tenttimiset* have the plural ending for nouns, *-t*.

## 2.13. Infinitive V

InfV carries the meaning 'to be about to':

- (35) *Vieraat olivat lähte-mäisi-llä-än, kun minä tulin kotiin.*  
 guest were leave-infV when I came home  
 'The guests were about to leave when I came home.'

InfV is a construction that consists of the *olla* 'to be' and the verb + *-maisi-/mäisi-* + the adessive case ending (*-lla/-llä*) + possessive suffix.



### 3. Excluded Forms

Some of the infinitival forms that were presented in chapter 2 are not included in my research. The excluded forms are

- (a) infIII-INS, infIII-AGE, infIV, infV

The forms that will be discussed are

- (b) infI-a, infI-TRA, infII-INE, infII-INS, infIII-INE, infIII-ELA, infIII-ILL,  
infIII-ADE, infIII-ABE

However, there are a few uses of some of the infinitives in (b) that I will not try to account for either. This chapter presents the motivations for excluding the forms in (a) and some uses of the forms in (b).

#### 3.1. Infinitive III Instructive

The infinitive form infIII-INS is an archaic infinitive form that is virtually never used in spoken Finnish and only sparsely used in the written language. The form only occurs together with one verb; *pitää* 'must, shall', as exemplified in (1).

- (1) Hänen pitää lähte-mä-n.  
he-GEN must leave-infIII-INS  
'He must leave.'

The sentence in (1) can also be expressed with infI-a (see (2)), without any change of meaning.

- (2) Hänen pitää lähte-ä.  
he-GEN must leave-infI-a  
'He must leave.'

Speakers prefer sentences with *infl-a*, since *inflIII-INS* sounds old-fashioned and stilted. Since *inflIII-INS* is only used together with one verb, *pitää*, and it is not part of Finnish speakers' everyday language, it will not be considered further.

### 3.2. Infinitive III Agentive

It is disputable if "infinitive form" is a correct label for *inflIII-AGE*. The form is undoubtedly derived from verb stems, and it is morphologically similar to other forms of infinitive III. However, the usage is more adjectival than verbal, as was already shown in section 2.13. The *inflIII-AGE* form occurs before a noun, and, precisely like adjectives, it carries the same case as the noun it precedes. In section 2.13. we saw examples of sentences including this form, one of those examples is repeated here as (3).

- (3) Istun sinun osta-ma-ssa-si veneessä.  
 I.sit you-GEN buy-*inflIII-AGE-INE-2sps* boat-INE  
 'I sit in the boat that you have bought.'

There are characteristics of *inflIII-AGE* that would be very interesting to study<sup>1</sup>, but since this form behaves more like an adjective than an infinitive, it does not appear to be directly relevant to the issues that I will discuss.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the interesting features of *inflIII-AGE* is the ordering of the subjects and objects. Both the subject and object of *inflIII-AGE* can occur before this "adjectivized verb", as shown in (i).

(i) Minä istun Kallen Peterille ostamassa veneessä.  
 I sit Kalle-GEN Peter-ALL buy-*inflIII-AGE-INE* boat-INE  
 'I sit in the boat that Kalle gave to Peter.'

Furthermore, unlike regular adjectives, *inflIII-AGE* can bear possessive suffix.

### 3.3. Infinitive IV

The form *infIV* appears in two different contexts; either together with one of the two verbs *olla* 'to be' or *käydä* 'to go, visit', or else it appears as a nominalized verb. The use of *infIV* together with *olla* or *käydä* appears to be idiomatic. A phrase including *olla+infIV* implies the meaning 'must', which has nothing to do with the basic meaning of *olla* 'to be' (see example (4)). Similarly, a phrase including *käydä+infIV* implies the meaning 'be easy for someone to do something', which is not obviously connected to the basic meaning of *käydä* 'to go, visit' (see example (5)).

- (4) Ylioppilaan on luke-minen aamusta iltaan.  
student-GEN is read-*infIV* morning-ELA evening-ILL  
'A student must read from morning to night.' Or: 'Students must read all day.'

- (5) Hänen käy teke-minen se.  
he-GEN visit do- *infIV* it  
'He is good at doing it.' Or: 'It is easy for him to do it.'

It appears to be the case that the phrases formed with these two verbs and *infIV* are idiomatic expressions. Since the *infIV* as a verbform occurs only with two verbs, and the combinations create idiomatic expressions, I will not include these cases further.

The second usage of *infIV*, the nominalized verbform, will not be discussed either. Since the goal of this thesis is to examine properties of infinitivals, it does not seem worthwhile to include a form which is more like a noun than an infinitive<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that this nominalized verb form is not interesting. As was the case with *infIII-AGE*, the distribution of subjects or objects is quite interesting. For example, it is possible to have both a subject and an object before *infIV*. The subject and object will then both be in genitive case:

### 3.4. Infinitive V

The infinitival form infV sounds old-fashioned and stilted, and it is rarely encountered in spoken Finnish. The form always occurs together with the verb *olla* 'to be' and it denotes that something almost happens or is about to happen, as shown in (6).

- (6) Vieraat olivat lähte-mäisi-llä-än, kun minä tulin kotiin.  
guests were leave-infV-ADE-ps when I came home  
'The guests were about to leave when I came home.'

As can be seen in (6), the morpheme *-maisi-/mäisi-*<sup>3</sup>, which marks infV is always followed by adessive case and a possessive suffix. Except for the verbal stem, none of the morphemes that make up infV seem to contribute anything to the meaning of the form. There might be a historical explanation for why these morphemes have been connected in this particular construction, but I will not (and cannot) try to account for that here. Even though this form is productive in the sense that different verb stems can be used, it is now a frozen form in the sense that the same morphemes will always be added to the verb stem. For example, the infV form *hyppää-mäis-illä-än* can be created from the verb *hypätä* 'to jump', and the infV form *tanssi-mais-illa-an* can be created from the verb *tanssia* 'to dance'. There are thus two reasons why I have chosen not to include infV in my discussion. The first reason is that this form is rarely used in modern

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Minun kirjan lukemiseni hämmästytti häntä.  
I-GEN book-GEN read-infV surprised him-PART  
'It surprised him that I was reading the book.'

<sup>3</sup> In some traditional grammars, the *-ma-/mä-* morpheme is interpreted to be the same as the infIII morpheme. It is then unclear what the *-is-* morpheme is. I do not know if this form should be interpreted as infV or as one of the infIII forms. However, this is not an important distinction for me at the moment, since I will not include this form in the following chapters.

Finnish, and it is used exclusively in written language. The second reason is that it seems to be some kind of frozen, idiomatic expression.

### 3.5. Light Verbs and Infinitives

In sections 3.1.-3.4., I have presented the infinitives that I will not discuss in the following chapters. Of the eight forms that are left, I will only consider the basic, most common use of each one. I will not try to account for the constructions that consist of a light verb followed by an infinitive. A light verb is a verb that can be used in a sentence without adding its basic meaning. Light verbs are often used together with non-finite verb forms, and they seem to be used in constructions in order to provide a host for inflection, rather than in order to contribute to the meaning of the sentence. Examples of verbs that are used as light verbs in Finnish are *tulla* 'to come', *olla* 'to be', *saada* 'to get', and *käydä* 'to go, visit'. In (7-11), I will provide examples of constructions of light verbs and infinitives. Note that the subjects of sentences (8) and (11) have genitive case. I will assume that these are instances of idiosyncratic case marking.

*Olla* 'to be' + infl-a implies the meaning 'almost' or 'be about to'.

- (7) *Lapset olivat eksy-ä korvessa.*  
children were get lost-infl-a wilderness- INE  
'The children almost got lost in the wilderness.'

*Tulla* 'to come' + infl-a denotes obligation or compulsion.

- (8) *Minun tulee teh-dä se.*  
I-GEN come do-infl-a it  
'I must do it.'

*Tulla* 'to come' + infIII-ILL gives the sentence a sense of future.

- (9) Minä tulen lähte-mä-än pois.  
I come go-infIII-ILL away  
'I will go away.'

*Olla* 'to be' + infIII-ABE means 'refrain from doing something'.

- (10) Viisainta on olla mainitse-ma-tta mitään.  
wisest is be mention-infIII-ABE anything  
'It is wisest not to say anything.'

*Tulla* 'to come' + infIV gives the sentence a sense of compulsion or obligation (cf. section 3.3.).

- (11) Minun on lähte-minen.  
I-GEN is leave-infIV  
'I must leave.'

Sentences (7-11) exemplify only a few of the light verb constructions in Finnish.

I am going to assume that they are idiomatic expressions, each listed in one slot in the lexicon. The construction exemplified in (8), for example, would have all the following information listed in its entry of the lexicon:

genitive subject  
*tulla*, host of inflection  
infl-a  
meaning: obligation, compulsion

The fact the subject of *tulla* is nominative, when the meaning of the verb is 'to come', provides support for the analysis that this verb might be listed more than once in the lexicon. The details of this proposal might be wrong, but it seems clear that these constructions are some type of idioms, and they will therefore not be considered further.

#### 4. Arguments and Modifiers

In chapter three, some of the infinitive forms were eliminated from consideration. There are therefore nine forms left to examine. These forms can be divided into two groups: one group consists of infinitives that modify the main verb of a sentence, and one group consists of infinitives that are arguments of the main verb. In this chapter, I will first discuss the infinitives which are modifiers and justify this classification. I will then present the remaining forms, which are arguments. I will also try to establish whether the distribution of the infinitival arguments is completely idiosyncratic, or if it follows from the meaning of the sentence.

##### 4.1. Modifiers

It will be assumed here that infinitives are modifiers of the main verb rather than arguments if they have the two following characteristics: First, they are not specifically subcategorized for by the main verb, and second, their presence is not necessary to form a complete sentence<sup>1</sup>. The infinitives that have both these characteristics are infl-TRA, infII-INE, infII-INS, infIII-ADE, and infIII-ABE. As already shown in chapter two, each one of these forms is associated with a specific meaning, which is added to the meaning of the verb stem. For example, if the verb *syödä* 'to eat' appears as infl-TRA, *syödä-kseen*, the meaning will be 'in order to eat' (cf. section 2.2.).

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<sup>1</sup> It is an over-simplification to say that arguments are necessary in order to form a complete sentence. An infinitival argument can be left out of a sentence, but it will then be clear that something is missing. I will discuss this further in section 4.2.

Sentence (1) contains no infinitive, and it is a complete grammatical sentence, as stands.

- (1) Mika tuli kotiin.  
Mika came home  
'Mika came home.'

In (2-6) below, this sentence occurs together with different infinitives.

- (2) Mika tuli kotiin soitta-a-kse-en minulle  
Mika came home call-infI-TRA-ps me-ALL  
'Mika came home in order to give me a call.'
- (3) Mika tuli kotiin Leenan katsell-e-ssa televisiota.  
Mika came home Leena-GEN<sup>2</sup> watch-infII-INE television  
'Mika came home when Leena was watching television.'
- (4) Mika tuli kotiin viheltä-e-n.  
Mika came home whistle-infII-INS  
'Mika came home whistling.'
- (5) Mika tuli kotiin aja-ma-lla kanssa-ni.  
Mika came home drive-infIII-ADE with-1sgps<sup>3</sup>  
'Mika came home by riding with me.'
- (6) Mika tuli kotiin näke-mä-ttä varasta.  
Mika came home see-infIII-ABE thief  
'Mika came home without seeing the thief.'

Examples (2-6) show that the five infinitives listed above all have the characteristics for modifiers. They are not subcategorized for by the verb *tulla* 'to come' and they are not required in order to form a complete sentence, since *Mika tuli kotiin* can occur without an infinitive, as shown in (1).

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<sup>2</sup> The subject of this infinitive has genitive case. Refer back to section 2.3.

<sup>3</sup> First person singular possessive suffix.



The distribution of the infinitive modifiers completely follows from semantics. The speaker simply chooses the infinitive that denotes the meaning that is desired in the context.

#### 4.2. Arguments

I propose that *infl-a*, *inflIII-INE*, *inflIII-ELA* and *inflIII-ILL* are arguments of verbs. Specific verbs subcategorize for, or require, these infinitive forms. For example, the verb *lakata* 'to stop' subcategorizes for the form *inflIII-ELA*. Therefore, the sentence "He stops walking" must be expressed with *inflIII-ELA*, as in (7).

- (7) Hän lakkaa kävele-mä-stä.  
       he stops walk-*inflIII-ELA*  
       'He stops walking.'

The verb *lakata* cannot be followed by any other infinitive than *inflIII-ELA*. Expressing sentence (7) with another infinitive would therefore be impossible, as example (8) shows.

- (8) \*Hän lakkaa kävele-mä-ssä.  
       he stops walk-*inflIII-INE*  
       'He stops walking.'

Listed below are examples of verbs that require a particular infinitive argument.

*infl-a*:       *yrittää* 'to try', *haluta* 'to want', *sallia* 'to allow'  
*inflIII-INE*: *käydä* 'to go, visit', *seisoa* 'to stand', *nähdä* 'to see'  
*inflIII-ELA*: *lakata* 'to stop', *kieltää* 'to forbid', *pelastaa* 'to rescue'  
*inflIII-ILL*: *ruveta* 'to begin', *mennä* 'to go', *auttaa* 'to help'

Some verbs have a choice of more than one infinitival argument that they can occur with. Examples of verbs where this is possible are *juosta* 'to run' and *pistäytyä* 'to

stop by'. These verbs can be used either with *infIII-INE* or with *infIII-ILL*. The choice of infinitive is decided by the meaning of the sentence. If the speaker wants to imply that the subject of the sentence runs or stops by somewhere, and then returns, *infIII-INE* will be used (see (9)). Otherwise, *infIII-ILL* is the preferred option, as in (10).

- (9) Pekka juoksee osta-ma-ssa sanomalehden.  
Pekka runs buy-*infIII-INE* newspaper  
'Pekka runs to buy a newspaper (and comes right back).'

- (10) Pekka juoksee osta-ma-an sanomalehden.  
Pekka runs buy-*infIII-ILL* newspaper  
'Pekka runs to buy the newspaper (and he doesn't come back).'

The verb *juosta* 'to run' can also occur without any infinitival argument, as in (11).

- (11) Pekka juoksee nopeasti.  
Pekka runs fast  
'Pekka runs fast.'

There are thus several things that must be kept in mind along with the statement that infinitival arguments are subcategorized for by certain verbs. First of all, certain verbs take one form of infinitive or another as its argument, depending on the meaning of the sentence. In these cases, the choice is governed by the meaning of the sentence. Second, certain verbs *can* take an infinitive as their argument, but they can also occur without an argument. For these cases we say that if an infinitival argument is required, only one specific form (or two, as was the case with *juosta*) of infinitive can occur. There is also a third consideration: Some verbs always require an argument, but this argument can be either an infinitive or an NP argument. *Haluta* 'to want' and *palata* 'to return' are examples of such verbs, as illustrated in (12-15).

- (12) Minä haluan omenan.  
I want apple-ACC  
'I want an apple.'

(13) Minä haluan lähte-ä.  
I want leave-infI-a  
'I want to leave.'

(14) Minä palaan kaupungista.  
I return city-ELA  
'I return from the city.'

(15) Minä palaan matkusta-ma-sta Koiviston kanssa.  
I return travel-infIII-ELA Koivisto-GEN with  
'I return from traveling with Koivisto.'

In examples (12-13), we see that *haluta* 'to want' can occur both together with an NP ('an apple' in (12)) and with an infinitive ('leave' in (13)). We also see that *palata* 'to return' can occur with either an NP or an infinitive ('city' and 'travel' in (14-15)). The difference between these cases and the case of *juosta* 'to run', is that *haluta* and *palata* must always have some kind of argument, whereas *juosta* can occur without an argument of any kind. As far as subcategorization is concerned, however, one thing holds true: If the context is such that an infinitival argument is required, the main verb subcategorizes for a specific form of infinitive.

In section 4.1. above, it was concluded that the distribution of infinitival modifiers is completely governed by semantics. It was said that the speaker uses the infinitival modifier that denotes the desired meaning. On the other hand, the distribution of infinitival arguments is not as obviously connected to semantics. How, then, does a Finnish child learn when to use which infinitival argument? It is possible that every time a child learns a verb, he/she must also learn which infinitive form it requires. This information would then be listed in the lexical entry for each verb. Such a theory would

claim that no generalizations can be made about the distribution of infinitival arguments; each verb idiosyncratically selects for a given infinitive form. Some examples indicate that this is indeed the only thing that can be said. Consider (16-19), where four different verbs meaning 'to start' are illustrated.

- (16) Mika alkaa kirjoitta-a.  
Mika start write-infI-a  
'Mika starts to write.'
- (17) Mika ryhtyy kirjoitta-ma-aan.  
Mika starts write-infIII-ILL  
'Mika starts to write.'
- (18) Mika rupeaa kirjoitta-ma-an.  
Mika starts write-infIII-ILL  
'Mika starts to write.'
- (19) Mika aloittaa kirjoitta-misen.  
Mika starts write-infIV  
'Mika starts to write.'

These four sentences all mean the same thing, basically<sup>4</sup>. One of the verbs meaning 'to start', *alkaa*, takes an infI-a argument, two, *ruveta* and *ryhtyä*, take infIII-ILL arguments, and one, *aloittaa*, requires an NP complement, or the nominalized infinitive form, infIV. Examples like these make the distribution of infinitival arguments seem idiosyncratic. Why would *alkaa* 'to start' require a different infinitive than *ruveta* 'to start'?

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<sup>4</sup> In certain contexts, speakers might prefer one "start" sentence to another.

My guess as to how the infinitival arguments are distributed is that both semantics and idiosyncrasy is involved. For each verb that can take an infinitival argument, the child must learn whether it takes an *infl* form or an *inflIII* form. Once that is learned, the rest follows from the meaning of the main verb. If *infl* is idiosyncratically selected by the verb, then there is only one form that can be used, namely *infl-a*, since *infl-TRA* cannot function as an argument<sup>5</sup>. If *inflIII* is idiosyncratically selected by the verb, then there are still three infinitive forms to choose from; *inflIII-INE*, *inflIII-ELA*, and *inflIII-ILL*. It is possible to make generalizations about the distribution of the three *inflIII* arguments. When the sentence refers to an action that is going on at the reference time, then *inflIII-INE* is used, as exemplified in (20).

- (20) Minä istun luke-ma-ssa kirjaa.  
 I sit read-*inflIII-INE* book  
 'I am sitting reading a book.'

The *inflIII-ELA* form is used when an event will not (or should not) take place (see example (21)), or when an event has already taken place (see example (22)).

- (21) Minä kiellän sinua hyppää-mä-stä.  
 I forbid you jump-*inflIII-ELA*  
 'I forbid you to jump.'

- (22) Minä lakkaan hyppää-mä-stä.  
 I stop jump-*inflIII-ELA*  
 'I stop jumping.'

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<sup>5</sup> Remember also that the grouping of the infinitives is based on traditional grammar, which, in turn, is based on morphology. *inflIII-INE*, *inflIII-ELA*, and *inflIII-ILL* share many characteristics, so there is reason to believe that they belong to the same group. *infl-a* and *infl-TRA* seem to be grouped together only because *infl-TRA* looks like it is constructed by adding the translative morpheme *-kse-* to the *infl-a* form, not because they behave similarly in any way.

Finally, when a sentence refers to an event that will (or might or should) take place in the future, *infIII-ILL* is used, as for example in sentence (23).

- (23) Minä pakotan sinua hyppää-mä-än.  
I force you jump-*infIII-ILL*  
'I force you to jump.'

This proposal does not account for every imaginable example. Urpo Nikanne (personal communication) has pointed out a few of occurrences of *infIII-ILL* that do not follow from my prediction. For example, the occurrence of *infIII-ILL* after the verb *kelvata* 'to be good enough to' is a problem, since this verb does not seem to imply that anything will take place in the future. However, the predictions presented above work surprisingly well, and it might be possible to deal with the exceptions by saying that they *are* truly exceptions and that this is specifically noted in the lexicon. The point is that the choice among the three *infIII* forms seems to follow from a pattern, and once the speaker knows whether a verb selects *infI* or *infIII*, he/she should be able to guess which one of these forms to use.

Anne Vainikka (1989) presents a different account for the distribution of infinitival arguments in Finnish. She suggests that *infI-a* (which she calls TA-infinitive) has the distribution of a direct object. This is demonstrated in (24-25)<sup>6</sup>, where the verb *yrittää* is first used with *infI-a* as its complement (24) and then with an NP object as its complement (25).

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<sup>6</sup> Examples (24-17) are taken from Vainikka (1989), pages 272 and 252.

(24) Pekka yritti luke-a kirjan.  
Pekka tried read-infl-a book  
'Pekka tried to read a book.'

(25) Pekka yritti uutta tyyliä.  
Pekka tried new style  
'Pekka tried a new style.'

Vainikka also suggests, following Urpo Nikanne (1988), that infIII (which is equal to her MA-infinitive) has the distribution of a locative PP. Nikanne proposes that the MA-infinitive *is*, in fact, a locative PP. Examples (26-27) demonstrate this proposal. Example (26) shows the verb *tyytyä* 'be.satisfied' followed by infIII-ILL, and example (27) shows the same verb followed by an NP with illative case, which is presumably a locative case.

(26) Pekka tyytyi odotta-ma-an jonossa.  
Pekka was.satisfied wait-infIII-ILL line-INE  
'Pekka agreed to wait in line.'

(27) Pekka tyytyi jäätelöön.  
Pekka was.satisfied icecream-ILL  
'Pekka was satisfied with the icecream.'

This theory does not work perfectly either (see Vainikka (1989), p.318), and I will not try to establish here whether Vainikka's theory is better than the one proposed above.

I leave it to further research to establish the details about the distribution of infinitival arguments. What is important here is the difference between arguments and modifiers. In this chapter, I have presented two main differences. The first one is that infinitival arguments are subcategorized for by specific verbs, whereas modifiers are not. The second difference is modifiers are never required in order for a sentence to be

grammatical (as has already been shown in section 4.1), whereas arguments are. In examples (28-31) it will be shown that if an infinitival argument is taken out of a sentence, the sentence will either be ungrammatical, or it will be understood that there is an infinitive missing.

(28) Mika aikoo lähte-ä.  
Mika intend leave-infI  
'Mika intends to leave.'

(29) \*Mika aikoo.  
Mika intends

(30) Mika käskee minua tule-ma-an  
Mika orders me come-infIII-ILL  
'Mika asks me to come.'

(31) ?Mika käskee minua.  
Mika orders me  
'Mika orders me.'

The verb *aikoa* 'to intend' never occurs without an infinitival argument, as shown in (29). Like many other verbs that normally take an infinitival argument, *käskeä* 'to order' sometimes occurs without an overt infinitive, but it is then always understood that there is an infinitive missing. In sentence (31), for example, it is understood that Mika orders me *to do something*. He cannot order me, without having an action in mind that he wants me to perform.<sup>7</sup> This is comparable to the standard way of treating arguments of verbs

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<sup>7</sup> If the "understood infinitive" claim does not seem to make any sense, think about it this way: It is impossible to imagine an "understood infinitival modifier". Consider (i).

(i) Mika pakottaa Pekkaa.  
Mika forces Pekka.

It is clear that Mika forces Pekka to do something, even though there is no overt infIII-ILL (which is the infinitive form required by *pakottaa* 'to force'). Thus, there is an understood infinitival argument there. However, even though it would be possible to add any infinitival modifier to the clause, for example *sanomatta mitään* 'without saying anything', there is no "understood modifier there", i.e. no understood *sanomatta mitään*.



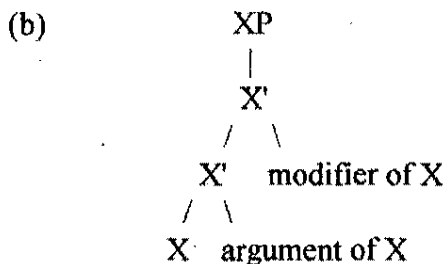
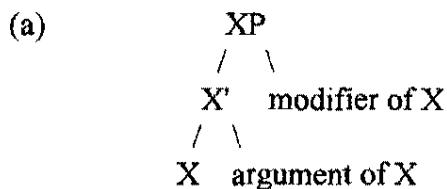
like *offer*. It is not ungrammatical to say a sentence like "The salesman offered a good deal", without an overt indirect object. However, it is always clear that the salesman offered a good deal *to somebody*.

I believe that the differences discussed in this chapter provide enough motivation to claim that infI-TRA, infII-INE, infII-INS, infIII-ADE and infIII-ABE are modifiers and that infI-a, infIII-INE, infIII-ELA and infIII-ILL are arguments. In the following two chapters, I will examine whether syntactic differences in behavior follow from this modifier/argument distinction.

## 5. Object Case Marking Across Infinitives

In chapters 5 and 6, I will investigate how the argument/modifier split discussed in chapter 4 correlates with two specific phenomena. The phenomenon that will be discussed in this chapter concerns case marking, and chapter 6 concerns extraction out of infinitival clauses. The goal is to examine whether or not there is a one-to-one mapping between the semantic argument/modifier distinction and these two syntactic phenomena. However, before getting into these issues, I will briefly outline my assumptions about positions of arguments and modifiers in syntactic phrase markers.

Semantic arguments are often assumed to map directly into syntactic complements, whereas modifiers map into syntactic adjuncts. In syntactic tree structures, it is standardly assumed that a complement is a sister of the head of which it is an complement, while an adjunct is attached higher up in the tree. Figures (a) and (b) show two possible tree structures that both include a complement and an adjunct.



To avoid confusion, I will keep using the terms arguments and modifiers, even when I am discussing syntactic tree positions

### 5.1. Object Case Marking in Finnish

Every direct object in Finnish gets its case in one of four ways:

- (i) Some verbs idiosyncratically case mark their direct objects for **partitive**, **elative**, or **illative** case.
- (ii) If the sentence is negated or denotes an uncompleted action, the case of the direct object is **partitive**. Vainikka (1993) proposes that if the feature <+COMPLETED> is missing, the direct object will always have partitive case.
- (iii) The object bears **nominative** case if neither (i) nor (ii) apply and the verb occurs in one of the three constructions (A-C).
  - (A) First and second person imperatives
  - (B) Impersonal passives
  - (C) "Unipersonal expressions". These are expressions, where the verb always occurs in third person singular and the subject is idiosyncratically case marked.
- (iv) The object bears **accusative** case, if (i-iii) do not apply.

The instances of case marking presented in (i-ii) always "win" over accusative/nominative objects. In general, if the sentence contains a nominative subject (overt or covert), the object will be accusative, and if there is no nominative subject in the sentence, the object will be nominative. Exceptions involve several unusual constructions, discussed by Toivonen (1994a). For present purposes, we will only be concerned with (iii-iv), which describe the instances of accusative and nominative objects.

Sentences that demonstrate the nominative/accusative distribution of (iii-iv) are given in (1-4).

(1) Osta kirja!  
buy-imperative-2sg<sup>1</sup> book-NOM  
'Buy the book!'

(2) Ostetaan kirja.  
buy-passive book-NOM  
'A book is bought.'

(3) Minun täytyy ostaa kirja.  
I-GEN must buy book-NOM  
'I must buy a book.'

(4) Minä ostan kirjan.  
I-NOM buy book-ACC  
'I buy a book.'

It is not clear that accusative and nominative are the best labels of these cases. The objects that are here labeled accusative are in traditional grammars called "accusative II" and the nominative objects are called "accusative I". Vainikka (1989) suggests that the nominative objects are actually caseless and that the *-n* ending on the accusative objects is in fact the same as the genitive *-n* ending. This proposal is not compatible with plural and pronominal objects (see Toivonen (1994b) for further discussion). Determining the best labels of the object cases is beyond the scope of this thesis, and I will keep calling them accusatives and nominatives, following Maling (1993) and Toivainen (1993).

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<sup>1</sup> Second person singular

The case of the object of an infinitive is sometimes influenced by the form of the main verb, as exemplified in (5-8).

- (5) Minä rupean luke-ma-an tämän kirjan<sup>3</sup>.  
 I-NOM start read-infIII-ILL this-ACC book-ACC  
 'I start reading this book.'
- (6) \*Minä rupean luke-ma-an tämä kirja.  
 I-NOM begin read-infIII-ILL this-NOM book-NOM
- (7) Minun täytyy ruveta luke-ma-an tämä kirja.  
 I-GEN must start read-infIII-ILL this-NOM book-NOM  
 'I must start reading this book.'
- (8)\* Minun täytyy ruveta luke-ma-an tämän kirjan.  
 I-GEN must begin read-infIII-ILL this-ACC book-ACC

The infinitival object of (5) bears accusative case, since the main verb of the same sentence does not stand in one of the three constructions in (iii) that requires a nominative object. In (6), it is shown that the sentence would, in fact, be ungrammatical if the infinitival object was nominative. The *täytyy* construction (7) requires a nominative object, and this causes the object of infIII-ILL to be nominative. An accusative object would make the sentence ungrammatical. Thus, the infinitival form used in (5-8), infIII-ILL does not block the influence of the main verb on the infinitival object. There are, however, infinitives across which the influence of the main verb does not reach. This is exemplified in (9-12).

- (9) Minä harjoittelen paljon voitta-a-kse-ni kilpailun.  
 I-NOM practice a.lot win-infI-TRA-1ps<sup>4</sup> contest-ACC  
 'I practice a lot in order to win the contest.'

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<sup>3</sup> Speakers often prefer partitive objects in sentences with *ruveta* 'to begin'. Examples (5-8) show the NOM/ACC distribution that will appear if the speaker does not require partitive objects.

<sup>4</sup> First person possessive suffix

- (10)\* Minä harjoittelen paljon voitta-a-kse-ni kilpailu.  
 I-NOM practice a.lot win-infl-TRA-1ps contest-NOM
- (11) Minun täytyy harjoitella paljon voitta-kse-ni kilpailun.  
 I-GEN must practice a.lot win-infl-TRA-1ps contest-ACC  
 'I must practice a lot in order to win the contest.'
- (12)\*Minun täytyy harjoitella paljon voitta-a-kse-ni kilpailu.  
 I-GEN must practice-infl-a a.lot win-infl-TRA-1ps contest-NOM

The two grammatical sentences, (9) and (11), both include an accusative infinitival object, although only the main verb of (9) allows this case form.

As discussed in chapter 4, the infinitive form used in example (5-8), *inflIII-ILL*, is an argument and the infinitive form used in (9-12) is a modifier. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, it is a standard assumption that arguments are sisters of a head, and modifiers are attached higher up in the tree. The following assumption now seems near at hand: Maybe the main verb can influence the case marking of an object of an infinitival argument, but not an object of an infinitival modifier. One reason why one is easily led to believe that this is true, is that an explanation why the main verb influences that objects of some infinitives but not others, could be expressed with c-command<sup>5</sup>. A main verb can perhaps influence an object it c-commands, but not an object it does not c-command. In order to make a proposal like this, it must first be established which infinitives that allow their objects to be influenced by the main verb, and which

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<sup>5</sup>In the linguistic literature, c-command is sometimes taken to mean what was originally called m-command. Note that what I call c-command is different from m-command. In this thesis, c-command relies on the definition involving the first branching node, and m-command relies on a definition involving the next higher maximal projection.

infinitives do not. In section 5.2., I will examine how the infinitival arguments behave with respect to case marking, and in section 5.3., the infinitival modifiers will be examined in the same way.

## **5.2. Object Case Marking Across Infinitival Arguments**

As established in chapter 4, the infinitival arguments are infl-a, inflIII-INE, inflIII-ELA, and inflIII-ILL. It will be shown in this section that these forms do not block case marking.

### **5.2.1. Infl-a**

Examples (13-16) include examples of sentences where the infinitive object is infl-a. Sentences (13-14) show that the object of the infinitive will be accusative if the main verb appears in a form that requires an accusative object.

- (13) Minä haluan luke-a kirjan.  
I-NOM want read-infl-a book-ACC  
'I want to read a book.'

- (14) \*Minä haluan luke-a kirja.  
I-NOM want read-infl-a book-NOM

Examples (15-16) show that if the main verb appears in a form that requires a nominative object, the object of infl-a will be nominative.

- (15) Halutaan luke-a kirja.  
want-passive read-infl-a book-NOM  
'One wants to read a book.'

- (16) \*Halutaan luke-a kirjan.  
want-passive read-infl-a book-ACC

### 5.2.2. InfIII-INE

Examples (17-20) demonstrate that infIII-INE is transparent to the main verbs influence on the case of the infinitival object.

- (17) Minä istun kirjastossa luke-ma-ssa tämän kirjan.  
I-NOM sit library-INE read-infIII-INE this-ACC book-ACC  
'I am sitting in the library and reading this book.'
- (18) \* Minä istun kirjastossa luke-ma-ssa tämä kirja.  
I-NOM sit library-INE read-infIII-INE this-NOM book-NOM
- (19) Istutaan kirjastossa luke-ma-ssa tämä kirja.  
sit-passive library-INE read-infIII-INE this-NOM book-NOM  
'People sit in the library reading this book.'
- (20)\* Istutaan kirjastossa luke-ma-ssa tämän kirjan.  
sit-passive library-INE read-infIII-INE this-ACC book-ACC

Many speakers prefer partitive case on the objects of these sentences before nominative or accusative. However, if they do not use partitive they use the case marking presented in (17-20).

### 5.2.3. InfIII-ELA

In examples (21-24), it is shown that the form of the main verb decides whether the object of infIII-ELA is nominative or accusative.

- (21) Minä kiellän sinua murhaa-ma-sta presidentin.  
I-NOM forbid you murder-infIII-ELA president-ACC  
'I forbid you to murder the president.'
- (22) \* Minä kiellän sinua murhaa-ma-sta presidentti.  
I-NOM forbid you murder-infIII-ELA president-NOM
- (23) Minun täytyy kieltää sinua murhaa-ma-sta presidentti.  
I-GEN must forbid-infI-a you murder-infIII-ELA president-NOM  
'I must forbid you to murder the president.'



- (24)\* Minun täytyy kieltää sinua murhaa-ma-sta presidentin.  
I-GEN must forbid-infI-a you murder-infIII-ELA president-ACC

Speakers prefer to use partitive after infIII-ELA as well as after infIII-INE, regardless of the form of the main verb. However, if the object is very specific, it is possible to use accusative or nominative. The case distribution then follows the pattern shown in (21-24).

#### 5.2.4. infIII-ILL

Sentences (25-28) show that the form of the main verb influences the object of infIII-ILL.

- (25) Hän sattui luke-ma-an tämän kirjan.  
he-NOM happened<sup>6</sup> read-infIII-ILL this-ACC book-ACC  
'He happened to read this book.'
- (26) \* Hän sattui luke-ma-an tämä kirja.  
he-NOM happened read-infIII-ILL this-NOM book-NOM
- (27) Satuttiin luke-ma-an tämä kirja.  
happened-passive read-infIII-ILL this-NOM book-NOM  
'One happened to read the book.'
- (28) \* Satuttiin luke-ma-an tämän kirjan.  
happened-passive read-infIII-ILL this-ACC book-ACC

Examples (25-26) show that if the main verb occurs in a form that normally takes an accusative object, the object of the infIII-ILL argument will bear accusative case.

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<sup>6</sup> The verb *sattua* means 'happen' in the sense of 'happen to do something accidentally'.

Examples (27-28) show that the object of an infIII-ILL argument bears nominative case, if it is required by the form of the main verb (here passive).

#### 5.2.5. Several Infinitival Arguments

It has been shown in examples (13-28) that the main verb can influence the object of all the infinitive arguments. This holds true even if there are several infinitivals in a sentence. If the main verb stands in a construction that requires a nominative object, the object of an infinitival argument will be nominative, even if several infinitive arguments occur between the main verb and then infinitival object. This is exemplified in sentence (29), in which three infinitives occur between the main verb and the object *kirja* 'book'.

- (29) Yritetään pyytää Pekkaa lähte-mä-än luke-ma-an kirja.  
try-passive ask-infI-a Pekka go-infIII-ILL read-infIII-ILL book-NOM  
'One/people try to ask Pekka to go and read the book.'

The verb *pyytää* 'to ask' and the verb *lähteä* 'to leave' both require infIII-ILL arguments, and therefore *lähteä* and *lukea* appear in that form. The object bears the nominative case required by the passive construction in the beginning of the sentence, even though there are one infI-a and two infIII-ILL arguments between the main verb and the object of the final infinitive *lukea* 'to read'. Sentence (29) would be ungrammatical if the object was accusative.

### 5.3. Object Case Marking Across Infinitival Modifiers

The infinitival modifiers do not follow the prediction made in section 5.1. as nicely as the infinitival arguments do. Recall that it was predicted that the form of the

main verb would influence the case of the object of an infinitival argument, but not the case of the object of an infinitival modifier. In this section, all the infinitives that were classified as modifiers in chapter 4 will be examined with respect to their object case marking.

### 5.3.1. Infl-TRA

As was already shown in (9-12), objects of infl-TRA are not influenced by what case any other verb in the sentence requires. This is demonstrated again in sentences (30-33).

- (30) Pekka säästää rahaa void-a-kse-en osta-a uuden auton.  
 Pekka-NOM saves money be.able-infl-TRA-s3ps<sup>7</sup> buy-infl-a new-ACC car-ACC  
 'Pekka saves money in order to be able to buy a new car.'

- (31) \*Pekka säästää rahaa void-a-kse-en osta-a uusi auto.  
 Pekka-NOM saves money be.able-infl-TRA buy-infl-a new-ACC car-ACC

- (32) Pekan täytyy säästä-ä rahaa void-a-kse-en osta-a uuden auton.  
 Pekka-GEN must save-infl-a money be.able-infl-TRA buy-infl-a new-ACC car-ACC  
 'Pekka must save money in order to be able to buy a new car.'

- (33)\*Pekan täytyy säästä-ä rahaa void-a-kse-en osta-a uusi auto.  
 Pekka-GEN must save-infl-a money be.able-infl-TRA buy-infl-a new-NOM car-NOM

The *täytyy* construction in (32-33) normally requires a nominative object. However, the sentence is ungrammatical if the object *uusi auto* 'new car' bears nominative case. The fact that sentences (30-31) contain two infinitives, and sentences (32-33) contain three infinitives, is not relevant here, since we have seen in (29) that the *täytyy* construction

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<sup>7</sup> Third person singular possessive suffix.

may require a nominative object across several infinitives. The difference between (29) and (32) is that (32) contains an *infl-TRA* form which is a modifier, while (29) contains only infinitival arguments. It thus seems like *infl-TRA* blocks the nominative assignment of the *täytyy* construction. The following sentences contain only one infinitive, a form of *infl-TRA*, but the main verb still cannot influence the object.

(34) Tule                      tänne näh-dä-kse-si lento-koneen!  
       come-imperative here see-*infl-TRA* airplane-ACC  
       'Come here to see the airplane!'

(35) \*Tule                      tänne näh-dä-kse-si lento-kone!  
       come-imperative here see-*infl-TRA* airplane

The imperative form normally requires a nominative object, but (34-35) show that the object of *infl-TRA* will not appear with a nominative case, even though the main verb is an imperative.

### 5.3.2. *InfII-INE*

The infinitive form *infII-INE* also blocks case assignment from the main verb.

This is demonstrated in (36-39).

(36) Minä tulin kotiin Leenan herättä-e-ssä Pekan.  
       I-NOM came home Leena-GEN wake-*infII-INE* Pekka-ACC  
       'I came home when Leena was waking Pekka up.'

(37) \*Minä tulin kotiin Leenan herättä-e-ssä Pekka.  
       I-NOM came home Leena-GEN wake-*infII-INE* Pekka-NOM

(38) Tultiin kotiin Leenan herättä-e-ssä Pekan.  
       came-passive home Leena-GEN wake-*infII-INE* Pekka-ACC  
       'One/people came home when Leena was waking Pekka up.'

(39) \*Tultiin kotiin Leenan herättä-e-ssä Pekka.  
       came-passive home Leena-GEN wake-*infII-INE* Pekka-NOM

The passive construction normally requires a nominative object. However, the object of infII-INE does not bear nominative case, even though the main verb of the sentence is passive. Since the object *Pekka* has accusative case in both (36) and (38), it can be concluded that objects of infII-INE cannot be influenced by the form of the main verb.

### 5.3.3. InfII-INS

The infinitival modifier infII-INS does not block the case marking of the main verb. Consider (40-43).

- (40) Minä juoksen viheltä-e-n tämän sävelmän<sup>8</sup>.  
 I-NOM run whistle-infII-INS this-ACC melody-ACC  
 'I run whistling the melody.'
- (41)\*Minä juoksen viheltä-e-n tämä sävelmä.  
 I-NOM run whistle-infII-INS this-NOM melody-NOM
- (42) Juostaan viheltä-e-n tämä sävelmä.  
 run-passive whistle-infII-INS this-NOM melody-NOM  
 One/people run whistling this melody.
- (43) \*Juostaan viheltä-e-n tämän sävelmän.  
 run-passive whistle-infII-INS this-ACC melody-ACC

Sentences (40-43) show that main verbs can assign case across infII-INS. When the main verb appears in a form that normally takes an accusative object, as in (40), the object of

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<sup>8</sup> Speakers often prefer partitive case in sentences like this. however, if they do choose to use accusative/nominative, the distribution is as shown in (40-43).

infII-INS will be accusative, but when the main verb appears in a form that takes a nominative object, as in (42), the object of infII-INS will be nominative.

#### 5.3.4. InfIII-ADE

The infinitive form infIII-ADE is also transparent to case marking. This is demonstrated in examples (44-47).

- (44) Minä opin luke-ma-lla tämän kirjan.  
I-NOM learn read-infIII-ADE this-ACC book-ACC  
'I learn through reading this book.'
- (45) \*Minä opin luke-ma-lla tämä kirja.  
I-NOM learn read-infIII-ADE this-NOM book-NOM
- (46) Opitaan luke-ma-lla tämä kirja.  
learn-pass read-infIII-ADE this-NOM book-NOM  
'One/people learn through reading this book.'
- (47) \*Opitaan luke-ma-lla tämän kirjan.  
learn-passive read-infIII-ADE this-ACC book-ACC

These examples show that infIII-ADE behaves like infII-INS with respect to case marking. Neither of these infinitival modifiers can block the case that is required by the main verb. Example (46) shows that when the form of the main verb, here a passive construction, requires a nominative object, the object of infIII-ADE will be nominative.

#### 5.3.5. InfIII-ABE

Objects of the form infIII-ABE are always partitive, unless the verb idiosyncratically assigns another case to its object (see (i) on page 2). The object of a sentence like (48) must therefore always be partitive.

(48)Minä opin luke-ma-tta tätä kirjaa / \*tämä kirja / \*tämän kirjan.  
 I learn read-infIII-ABE this book-PART/this book-NOM/this book-ACC  
 'I learn without reading this book.'

It is thus impossible to tell whether or not a main verb can influence objects of infIII-ABE.

#### 5.4. Summary

The goal of this chapter was to examine whether the argument/modifier split established in chapter four could explain the phenomenon presented in 5.1. In the beginning of this chapter, I suggested that it was possible that main verbs could influence the nominative/accusative case of objects that they c-command, even when the object occurs in an embedded clause. I assumed that infinitival arguments are sisters of verbs, and thus c-commanded by the main verb, whereas infinitival modifiers are sisters of V" or V', and thus not c-commanded by the main verb. In 5.2. it was shown that all the infinitival arguments follow my predictions. They allow the main verbs to influence the infinitival objects. However, the examples presented in section 5.3. show that some infinitival modifiers also allow main verbs to influence their objects, though I had predicted they would not. The forms infI-TRA and infII-INE do block the influence of the main verbs on the infinitival objects, but infII-INS and infIII-ADE do not. It is impossible to examine infIII-ABE in this respect, since this form never takes nominative/accusative objects.

## 6. Extraction out of Infinitival Clauses

In this chapter it will be shown that it is possible to extract direct objects out of some, but not all Finnish infinitival clauses. The goal is to establish which infinitive forms allow extraction and which ones do not. In the context of the previous two chapters, two plausible hypotheses concerning extraction behavior come to mind. The first hypothesis is that only the infinitives that were shown to be arguments in chapter 4 allow extraction, and the infinitival modifiers do not allow extraction. The other hypothesis is that the infinitives that in chapter 5 were proven to be transparent to NOM/ACC case marking allow extraction, and the other infinitives do not. In other words, we might expect that extraction behavior of infinitival forms patterns with one of the two behaviors discussed above. It will be shown that the first hypothesis is correct: The extraction behavior patterns with the argument/modifier distinction.

### 6.1. Infl-a

Example (1-2) shows that a direct object can be extracted from an infl-a form, which is an argument.

- (1) Minä haluan osta-a kirjan.  
I want buy-infl-a book  
'I want to buy a book.'

- (2) Mitä minä haluan osta-a t?  
what I want buy-infl-a  
'What do I want to buy?'



Examples (3-4) show that extraction of an object out of an infl-a form is possible even when the infinitive has an overt subject (cf. section 2.1.).

- (3) Minä annan Pekan osta-a kirjan.  
I let Pekka-GEN buy-infl-a book  
'I let Pekka buy a book.'

- (4) Mitä minä annan Pekan osta-a t ?  
what I let Pekka buy-infl-a  
'What do I let Pekka buy?'

These sentences demonstrate that it does not make any difference whether the infl-a form has an overt subject or not. In either case, extraction is possible.

## 6.2. Infl-TRA

Extraction out of infl-TRA, a modifier, is always impossible. Consider examples

(5-6).

- (5) Minä säästän rahaa osta-a-kse-ni punaisen auton.  
I save money buy-infl-TRA red car  
'I save money in order to buy a new car.'

- (6) \*Millaisen auton minä säästän rahaa osta-a-kse-ni t ?  
what.kind car I save money buy-infl-TRA  
'What kind of car do I save money in order to buy?'

In order to make sentence (6) grammatical, the infinitive itself must be placed in front of the main clause, as in (7).

- (7) Millaisen auton osta-a-kse-ni minä säästän rahaa?  
what.kind car buy-infl-TRA I save money  
'In order to buy what kind of car do I save money?'

Moving the object of infl-TRA to the front of the sentence without also moving the infl-TRA form is not possible. Thus, wh-movement of a direct object of infl-TRA is possible, but a wh-word cannot be moved across the main clause.

### 6.3. Infil-INE

Sentences (8-9) demonstrate extraction out of the modifier infII-INE:

- (8) Minä putosin nähd-e-ssä-ni Leenan poikaystävän.  
 I fell see-infil-INE Leena-GEN boyfriend  
 'I fell when I saw Leena's boyfriend.'
- (9) \*Kenen poikaystävän minä putosin nähd-e-ssä-ni?  
 whose boyfriend I fell see-infil-INE  
 'Whose boyfriend did I fall when I saw?'

Sentences such as (9), where a direct object has been extracted from an infII-INE clause, are always ungrammatical. It can thus be concluded that extraction out of infII-INE is impossible.

### 6.4. Infil-INS

The form infII-INS normally occurs without a direct object. Sentences such as (10) therefore sound a bit awkward, but they are not ungrammatical or incomprehensible.

- (10) Pekka tanssii laula-e-n virren.  
 Pekka dances sing-infil-INS hymn  
 'Pekka dances (while) singing a hymn.'

In (11), the infinitival object has been extracted and fronted.

- (11) \* Mitä Pekka tanssii laula-e-n t ?  
 what Pekka dances sing-infil-INS  
 'What does Pekka dance singing?'

The fact that sentence (11) and other similar sentences are ungrammatical indicates that it is impossible to extract out of infII-INS, which is a modifier.

### 6.5. infIII-INE

Sentences (12-13) show that an object of the infinitival argument infIII-INE can be extracted.

- (12) Pekka istuu luke-ma-ssa kirjaa.  
Pekka sit read-infIII-INE book  
'Pekka sits reading a book.'

- (13) Mitä Pekka istuu luke-ma-ssa / ?  
What Pekka sit read-infIII-INE  
'What does Pekka sit reading?'

The infIII-INE form can sometimes occur with an overt subject, which is syntactically the object of the main verb (cf. section 2.5.)

- (14) Minä näen hänet myy-mä-ssä sanomalehtiä.  
I see him sell-infIII-INE newspapers  
'I see him sell newspapers.'

- (15) Mitä minä näen hänet myy-mä-ssä / ?  
what I see him sell-infIII-INE  
'What do I see him sell?'

Sentences (14-15) show that direct objects of infIII-INE can also be extracted when an overt infinitival subject is present.

### 6.6. infIII-ELA

The argument infIII-ELA also allows extraction. This is shown by examples (16-17).

- (16) Pekka palasi osta-ma-sta autoa.  
 Pekka returned buy-infIII-ELA car  
 'Pekka returned from buying a car.'
- (17) Mitä Pekka pelasi osta-ma-sta t ?  
 what Pekka returned buy-infIII-ELA  
 'What did Pekka return from buying?'

It is also possible to extract direct objects out of infIII-ELA clauses with overt subjects, which are actually syntactic objects of the main clause (cf. section 2.6.). This is shown in (18-19).

- (18) Minä kiellän sinua murhaa-ma-sta presidenttin.  
 I forbid you murder-infIII-ELA president  
 'I forbid you to murder the president.'
- (19) Kenet minä kiellän sinua murhaa-ma-sta t ?  
 who I forbid you murder-infIII-ELA  
 'Who do I forbid you to murder?'

It can thus be concluded that it is possible to extract out of infIII-ELA, whether or not the sentence includes an overt infinitival subject.

## 6.7. infIII-ILL

The infIII-ILL is also an argument and it functions exactly like infIII-INE and infIII-ELA in that it allows extraction of direct objects out of this infinitive. This is shown in sentences (20-21).

- (20) Minä rupean pese-mä-än auton.  
 I begin wash-infIII-ILL car  
 'I begin to wash the car.'
- (21) Mitä minä rupean pese-mä-än t ?  
 what I begin wash-infIII-ILL  
 'What do I begin to wash?'

Like infIII-INE and infIII-ELA, infIII-ILL can have an overt subject, which is then syntactically an object of the main verb (cf. section 2.7.). Sentences (22-23) show extraction out of an infIII-ILL clause that has an overt subject.

- (22) Minä pyydään häntä osta-ma-an auton.  
 I ask him buy-infIII-ILL car  
 'I ask him to buy a car.'

- (23) Millaisen auton minä pyydän häntä osta-ma-an *t*?  
 what.kind car I ask him buy  
 'What kind of car do I ask him to buy?'

Since sentence (23) is grammatical, we know that extraction is allowed out of infIII-ILL with overt subject subjects, as well as out of infIII-ILL forms with overt subjects.

## 6.8. infIII-ADE

Most native speakers of Finnish do not allow extractions out of infIII-ADE forms such as the one in (24).

- (24) Pekka elää kirjoitta-ma-lla kirjoja.  
 Pekka lives write-infIII-ADE books  
 'Pekka lives on writing books.'

- (25) ??Mitä Pekka elää kirjoitta-ma-lla *t*?  
 what Pekka lives write-infIII-ADE  
 'What does Pekka live on writing?'

Even though some speakers find sentences like (25) at least marginally acceptable, if they are primed for the sentence, I will group infIII-ADE with the infinitives that do not allow extraction. The reason why I do that is that most of my informants find sentences

like (25) completely unacceptable. Note also that it is impossible to extract an adjunct from infIII-ADE.<sup>1</sup> An example of this is shown in (26-27).

- (26) Hän kuoli juo-ma-lla            litran viinaa viisi kertaa viikossa.  
       he died drink-infIII-ADE liter liquor five times week  
       'He died through drinking a liter of liquor five times a week.'
- (27) \*Montako kertaa viikossa hän kuoli juo-ma-lla            litran viinaa / ?  
       how.many times week he died drink-infIII-ADE liter liquor  
       'How many times a week did he die through drinking a liter of liquor?'

## 6.9. infIII-ABE

Consider sentences (28-29):

- (28) Hän lähti syö-mä-ttä        tätä.  
       he left eat-infIII-ABE this  
       'He left without eating this.'
- (29) \*Mitä hän lähti syö-mä-ttä?  
       what he left eat-infIII-ABE  
       'What did he leave without eating?'

In sentence (29), the object of infIII-ABE has been extracted and fronted to the beginning of the sentence. The fact that (29) is ungrammatical suggests that extraction out of infIII-ABE is impossible.

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<sup>1</sup> I stated in the beginning of this chapter that I would only examine extraction of direct objects. The example demonstrated in (26-27) is the only exception to this. The reason why I have not included adjunct extraction is that I do not have enough data yet to do so. However, judging from the data I have, it seems clear that if it is impossible to extract an argument out of an infinitive, it is also impossible to extract an adjunct.

## 6.10. Conclusion

The preceding discussion is by no means exhaustive. Much of the behavior of infinitives with respect to extraction is still unexplored. For example, speakers often accept extraction of arguments more readily than extraction of adjuncts, and they also prefer extraction of specific arguments (e.g. "which one of these three cars") over extraction of more vague arguments (e.g. "what"). Furthermore, Urpo Nikanne (personal communication) has pointed out to me that the acceptability of extraction is sometimes influenced by the choice of verb, and not only by the choice of type infinitive. For example, neither "What did he leave without saying?" or "What did he leave without eating?" are good in Finnish, but, according to Nikanne, the first one ("What did he leave without saying?") sounds better than the second. There is thus much more research that needs to be done, and the data presented in this chapter is very limited. However, this chapter does include at least one example of direct object extraction for each of the infinitive forms, and, based on these examples, the following generalization can be made. The infinitival forms *infl-a*, *inflIII-INE*, *inflIII-ELA*, and *inflIII-ILL* allow extraction, whereas the infinitives *infl-TRA*, *inflII-INE*, *inflII-INS*, *inflIII-ADE*, and *inflIII-ABE* do not. Recall from chapter 4 that the former set of infinitives were shown to be arguments of the main verb, whereas the latter set consists of modifiers of the main verb. It is now clear that the extraction behavior of infinitives exactly parallels the argument/modifier split which was formulated in chapter 4 on independent grounds.

## 7. Summary and Discussion

In this thesis I have examined the Finnish infinitives with respect to three different types of behavior, one of which I take to be semantic and the other two syntactic. In this chapter I will discuss the interrelationship between these three types of behavior. The table below summarizes the results from chapters 4-6.

	1. Semantic argument or modifier of main verb	2. Transparent to NOM/ACC case assignment	3. Allows extraction of direct object
<b>infl-a</b>	ARGUMENT	YES	YES
<b>infl-TRA</b>	MODIFIER	NO	NO
<b>inflII-INE</b>	MODIFIER	NO	NO
<b>inflII-INS</b>	MODIFIER	YES	NO
<b>inflIII-INE</b>	ARGUMENT	YES	YES
<b>inflIII-ELA</b>	ARGUMENT	YES	YES
<b>inflIII-ILL</b>	ARGUMENT	YES	YES
<b>inflIII-ADE</b>	MODIFIER	YES	NO
<b>inflIII-ABE</b>	MODIFIER	? <sup>1</sup>	NO

The intuitive assumption as to how the infinitival arguments and modifiers would behave syntactically was presented in the beginning of chapter 5. The infinitives were expected to fall into two syntactic groups that were parallel to the semantic groups. This simple hypothesis is borne out with respect to the syntactic phenomenon of extraction (column 3), since it is possible to extract direct objects out of infinitival arguments, but not out of infinitival modifiers. However, the NOM/ACC distinction does not pattern

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<sup>1</sup> Recall that this infinitive requires a partitive object.



with the other two. As shown in column 2, the form of the main verb can influence the objects of the four infinitival arguments *and* the objects of infII-INS and infIII-ADE, but not the objects of infI-TRA and infII-INE. Recall that infII-ABE is not relevant to this discussion, since its object always appear in the partitive case. I will present below two possible explanations for this asymmetry.

The first option is that case transparency has nothing to do with the argument/modifier distinction. Instead, the fact that infI-TRA and infII-INE may occur with a possessive suffix might be more relevant to their case-marking transparency. The four infinitival arguments and infIII-ADE (which is one of the two remaining modifiers under consideration) may not occur with a possessive suffix. As for the last one, infII-INS, recall from section 2.4. that it is very unusual to attach a possessive suffix to this form, and that most speakers never accept a possessive suffix on this infinitive. Moreover, my intuition is that infII-INS never occurs with both a possessive suffix and a direct object at the same time<sup>2</sup>. These factors make it seem plausible to group infII-INS with the infinitives that do not take a possessive suffix. Thus, it is possible that the same characteristic that allows infI-TRA and infII-INE to take a possessive suffix also allows them to assign case to their objects, regardless of what case the main verb requires<sup>3</sup>. In order to strengthen this hypothesis, it would be necessary to establish the exact function

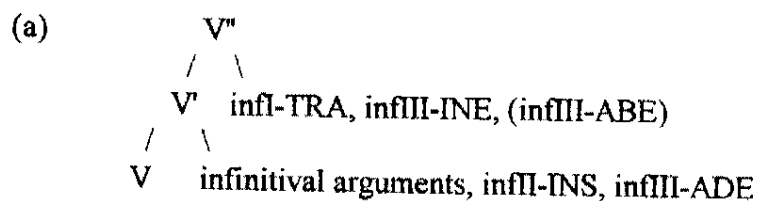
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<sup>2</sup> This is actually more than an intuition, because I have asked my informants about it, and I have not found any counterevidence. However, my informants do not at all like to add possessive suffixes to infII-INS, and some do not accept it at all, and this makes it hard to get clear judgments.

<sup>3</sup> Maybe infI-TRA and infII-INE are NPs or maybe they have some other higher projection.

of the possessive suffix and to clarify how the distribution of possessive suffixes relates to object case marking.

Another plausible hypothesis is that there is no one-to-one mapping between semantics and syntax. What is semantically an argument might not be a syntactic complement, and what is semantically a modifier might not be a syntactic adjunct. This offers an explanation for why the match between column 1 and 2 is not perfect. Although there are five semantic modifiers, there might only be two or three syntactic adjuncts. The infinitives would then be syntactically distributed as shown in model (a).



The obvious problem with this hypothesis is that it does not account for the constraints on extraction. Recall that it is possible to extract out of arguments but not out of adjuncts. However, model (a) appears not to be correct, since it suggests, contrary to fact, that it would be possible to extract out of infII-INS and infIII-ADE as well as out of the infinitival arguments, since they occur in the same syntactic slot, namely sister of V. Of course, we could stipulate that extraction out of infII-INS and infIII-ADE is blocked independent of syntactic position. Some other property of these two forms, perhaps a semantic property, makes extraction impossible. The problem with this hypothesis is that there is no obvious answer to the question of what this specific property might be.

Further research is required to explain why the three different infinitival behaviors presented in this thesis are not completely parallel. There are several topics that would be interesting to explore with this in mind. A first step might be to examine infinitives in other languages, both related and unrelated to Finnish. For example, Estonian, which is closely related to Finnish, has at least two infinitives, with different distribution from each other; *-ma* and *-da* infinitives. The *-ma* and *-da* infinitives both seem to be infinitival arguments, and one could investigate how the distribution of these forms corresponds to the distribution of Finnish infinitival arguments. It would also be interesting to examine how other languages express what in Finnish is expressed by infinitival modifiers, and then see how the forms of other languages behave with respect to syntactic behavior such as case marking and extraction. Issues within Finnish that are worth exploring are, for example, extraction of items other than direct objects, extraction out of idiomatic infinitival expressions, priming effects on extraction, partitive case marking across infinitives, and the distribution of the possessive suffix on infinitives and participles. The major result of this thesis, the parallelism of the semantically determined split described in chapter 4 and the syntactic split described in chapter 6, will, hopefully, contribute to our understanding of infinitives in all languages.

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~~sin~~<sup>4</sup> -- V-si

or:  $\sin \nu - \phi$

- can they be object controlled?

Ø.14