

An argument for true c-selection in clausal complementation

Asia Pietraszko

University of Rochester

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Is c-selection a necessary part of the theory of complementation?

What's the division of labor between syntax and semantics in clause selection?

(Grimshaw 1979, 1981; Pesetsky 1982, 1991; Pollard & Sag 1987; Larson et al. 1997; Odijk 1997; Moulton 2009; Roussou 2010; Kastner 2015, among many others)

Option 1: Clause selection targets syntactic features only

Option 2: Clause selection targets semantic features only

Option 3: Clause selection targets both syntactic and semantic features

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Selection patterns in Ndebele (Bantu, Zimbabwe) show us that:

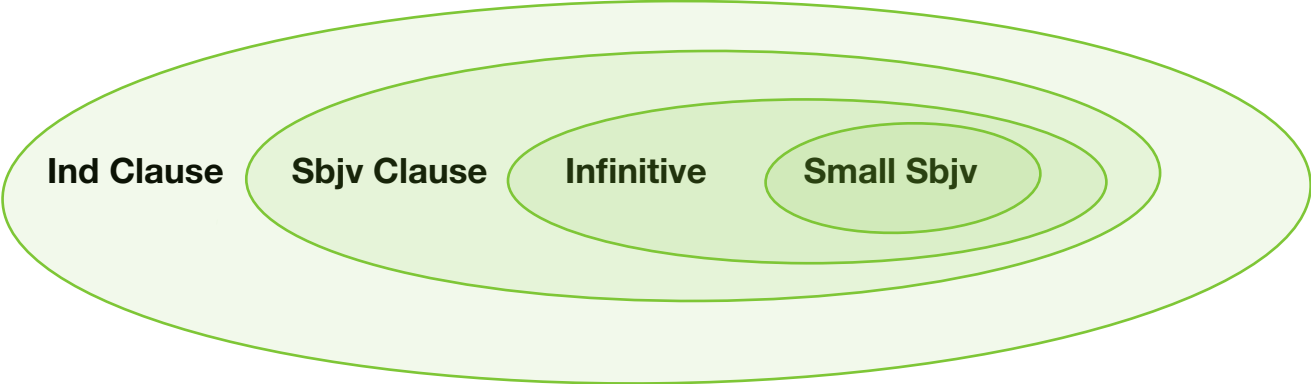
- Options 1 and 2 are inadequate.
- Syntactic selection targets only category features.

→ **C-selection is a necessary part of the theory of complementation.**

Four types of clause-like complements in Ndebele

- (1) a. Ngi-za-mane [(*ukuthi) ngi-pheke.] Small Sbjv
1sg-FUT-simply (*COMP) 1sg-cook.SBJV
'I will simply cook'
- b. Ng-a-jayela [(*ukuthi) uku-pheka.] Infinitive
1sg-PST-usually (*COMP) INF-cook
'I used to cook'
- c. Ngi-funa [ukuthi ngi-pheke.] Sbjv Clause
1sg-want COMP 1sg-cook.SBJV
'I want to cook'
- d. Ngi-cabanga [ukuthi ba-a-pheka.] Ind Clause
1sg-think COMP 2-PST-cook.IND
'I think that they cooked'

The 4 complement types differ in size



Syntactically opaque



Syntactically permeable

Temporally independent



Temporally integrated

Permeability for A-movement

- (2) Isuphu_i i-man-é [i-phek-w-e *t_i*] Small Sbjv
9soup 9s-simply 9s-cook-**PSV**-SBJV
'The soup was simply cooked'
- (3) Isuphu_i i-fun-w-a [uku-phek-w-a *t_i*] Infinitive
9soup 9s-want-**PSV**-FV INF-cook-**PSV**-FV
'Someone wants to cook the soup'
(Lit. The soup is wanted to be cooked)
- (4) Isuphu_i i-fun-w-a [ukuthi i-phek-w-e *t_i*] Sbjv Clause
9soup 9s-want-**PSV**-FV COMP 9s-cook-**PSV**-SBJV
'Someone wants to cook the soup'
(Lit. The soup is wanted that it be cooked)
- (5) *Isuphu_i i-catshang-w-a [ukuthi i-phek-iw-e *t_i*] Ind Clause
9soup 9s-think-**PSV**-FV COMP 9s-cook-**PSV**-PST
'The soup is thought to have been cooked'

Permeability for A-movement

- | | | |
|---|-------------|--|
| <p>(2) Isuphu_i i-man-é [i-phek-w-e <i>t_i</i>]
 9soup 9s-simply 9s-cook-PSV-SBJV
 ‘The soup was simply cooked’</p> | Small Sbjv | |
| <p>(3) Isuphu_i i-fun-w-a [uku-phek-w-a <i>t_i</i>]
 9soup 9s-want-PSV-FV INF-cook-PSV-FV
 ‘Someone wants to cook the soup’
 (Lit. The soup is wanted to be cooked)</p> | Infinitive | |
| <p>(4) Isuphu_i i-fun-w-a [ukuthi i-phek-w-e <i>t_i</i>]
 9soup 9s-want-PSV-FV COMP 9s-cook-PSV-SBJV
 ‘Someone wants to cook the soup’
 (Lit. The soup is wanted that it be cooked)</p> | Sbjv Clause | |
| <p>(5) *Isuphu_i i-catshang-w-a [ukuthi i-phek-iw-e <i>t_i</i>]
 9soup 9s-think-PSV-FV COMP 9s-cook-PSV-PST
 ‘The soup is thought to have been cooked’</p> | Ind Clause | |

Obligatory argument sharing (raising/control)

- (6) UZodwa u-mane [(*uJoni) a-pheke.] Small Sbjv
1Zodwa 1s-simply (*1John) 1s-cook.SBJV
'Zodwa simply cooks'
- (7) UZodwa u-funa [(*uJoni) uku-pheka.] Infinitive
1Zodwa 1s-want (*1John) INF-cook
'Zodwa wants to cook'
- (8) UZodwa u-funa [ukuthi uJoni a-pheke.] Sbjv Clause
1Zodwa 1s-want COMP 1John 1s-cook.SBJV
'Zodwa wants John to cook'
- (9) UZodwa u-cabanga [ukuthi uJoni u-phek-ile.] Ind Clause
1Zodwa 1s-think COMP 1John 1s-cook-PST
'Zodwa thinks that John cooked'

Obligatory argument sharing (raising/control)

(6) UZodwa u-mane [(*uJoni) a-pheke.]
1Zodwa 1s-simply (*1John) 1s-cook.SBJV
'Zodwa simply cooks'

Small Sbjv ✓

(7) UZodwa u-funa [(*uJoni) uku-pheka.]
1Zodwa 1s-want (*1John) INF-cook
'Zodwa wants to cook'

Infinitive ✓

(8) UZodwa u-funa [ukuthi uJoni a-pheke.]
1Zodwa 1s-want COMP 1John 1s-cook.SBJV
'Zodwa wants John to cook'

Sbjv Clause ✗

(9) UZodwa u-cabanga [ukuthi uJoni u-phek-ile.]
1Zodwa 1s-think COMP 1John 1s-cook-PST
'Zodwa thinks that John cooked'

Ind Clause ✗

Morphological tense agreement

- (10) a. Ngi-phinda [ngi-pheke /*nga-phéka]
1sg-again.PRES 1sg-cook.SBJV 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV
'I'm cooking again'
- b. Ngi-phind-é [nga-phéka /*ngi-pheke.]
1sg-again-PST 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV /*1sg-cook.SBJV
'I cooked again'





Small Sbjv



Morphological tense agreement

- (10) a. Ngi-phinda [ngi-pheke.] Small Sbjv ✓
 1sg-again.PRES 1sg-cook.SBJV
 ‘I’m cooking again’
- b. Ngi-phind-é [nga-phéka /*ngi-pheke.]
 1sg-again-PST 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV /*1sg-cook.SBJV
 ‘I cooked again’
- (11) Ngi-phind-é [uku-pheka /*uku-phek-ile /*uku-a-pheka.] Infinitive X
 1sg-again-PST INF-cook /*INF-cook-REC.PST /*INF-DIST.PST-cook
 ‘I cooked again’
- (12) Ngi-phind-é [ukuthi ngi-pheke /*nga-phéka.] Sbjv Clause X
 1sg-again-PST COMP 1sg-cook.SBJV /*1sg-cook.PST.SBJV
 ‘I cooked again’
- (13) Ngi-th-é [ukuthi ngi-ya-pheka /ngi-phek-ile.] Ind Clause X
 1sg-say-PST COMP 1sg-PRES-cook /1sg-cook-PST
 ‘I said that I cooked/cook’

Embedded T \prec Matrix T

- | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|---|
| (14) | Ngi-mane [ngi-pheke (#izolo).]
1sg-simply.PRES 1sg-cook.SBJV (#yesterday)
'I simply cook (#yesterday)' | Small Sbjv |  |
| (15) | Ngi-funa [uku-be ngi-phek-ile (#izolo).]
1sg-want-PRES INF-AUX 1sg-cook-PERF (#yesterday)
'I want to have cooked (yesterday)' | Infinitive |  |
| (16) | Ngi-funa [ukuthi u-be u-phek-ile (#izolo).]
1sg-want-PRES COMP 2sg-AUX 2sg-cook-PERF (#yesterday)
'I want you to have cooked (yesterday)' | Sbjv Clause |  |
| (17) | Ngi-cabanga [ukuthi u-phek-ile izolo.]
1sg-think-PRES COMP 2sg-cook-PST yesterday
'I think that you cooked yesterday' | Ind Clause |  |

Matrix T \prec Embedded T

(18) Ngi-phind-é nga-phéka (#kusasa).
1sg-again.PST 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV (#tomorrow)
'I cooked again (#tomorrow)'

Small Sbjv



(19) Ngi-a-funa uku-pheka kusasa.
1sg-PST-want INF-cook tomorrow
'I wanted to cook tomorrow'

Infinitive



(20) Ngi-a-funa ukuthi u-phek-e kusasa.
1sg-PST-want COMP 1sg-cook-SBJV tomorrow
'I wanted to cook tomorrow'

Sbjv Clause



(21) Ngi-a-cabanga ukuthi ngi-za-pheka kusasa.
1sg-PST-think COMP 1sg-FUT-cook tomorrow
'I thought that I would cook tomorrow'

Ind Clause



Syntactic opacity

	Small SBJV	Infinitive	SBJV Clause	IND Clause
Permeable to A-movement?	✓	✓	✓	✗
Requires argument sharing?	✓	✓	✗	✗
Permeable to tense agreement?	✓	✗	✗	✗

Temporal independence

	Small SBJV	Infinitive	SBJV Clause	IND Clause
Matrix T \prec Embedded T	✗	✓	✓	✓
Embedded T \prec Matrix T	✗	✗	✗	✓

Syntactic opacity

	Small SBJV	Infinitive	SBJV Clause	IND Clause
Permeable to A-movement?	✓	✓	✓	✗
Requires argument sharing?	✓	✓	✗	✗
Permeable to tense agreement?	✓	✗	✗	✗

Temporal independence

	Small SBJV	Infinitive	SBJV Clause	IND Clause
Matrix T \prec Embedded T	✗	✓	✓	✓
Embedded T \prec Matrix T	✗	✗	✗	✓

tenseless

future oriented

tensed



Event



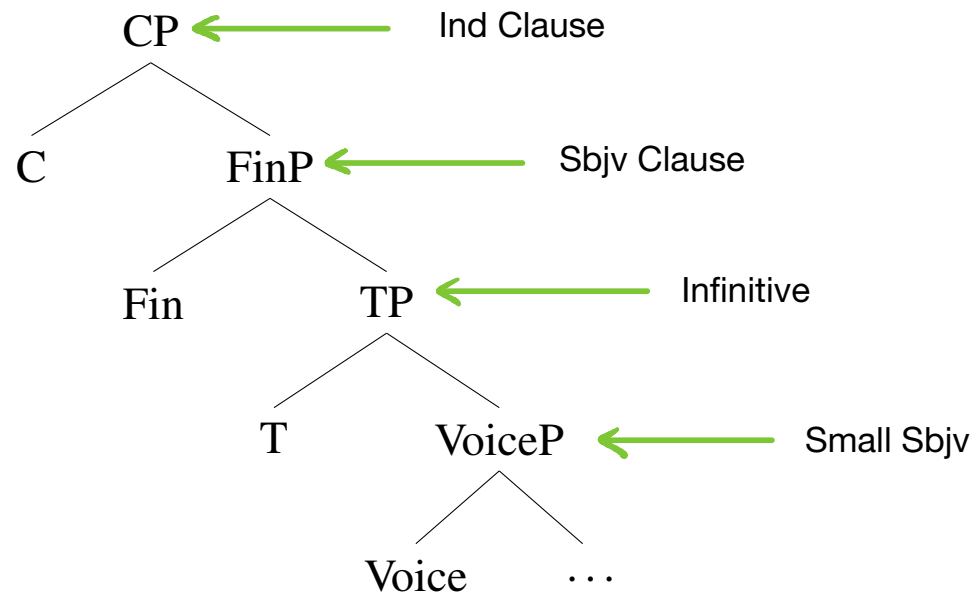
Situation

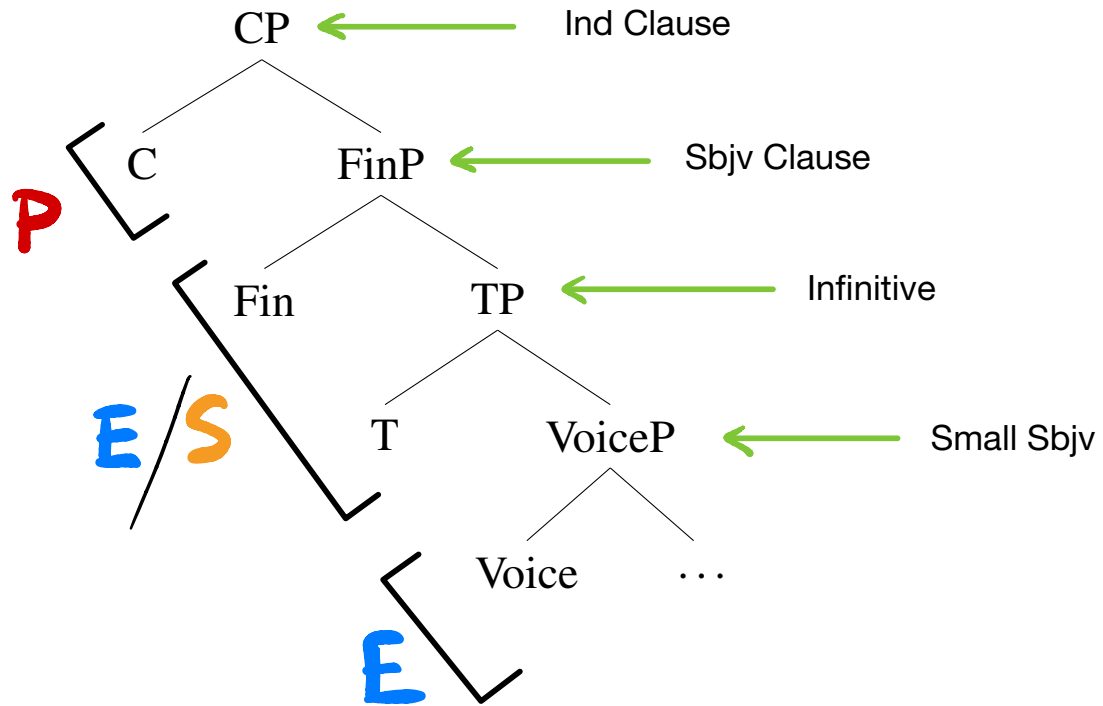


Proposition

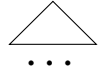
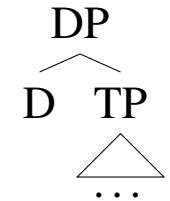
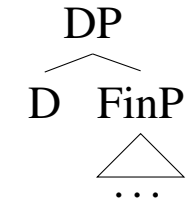
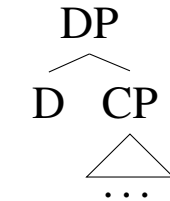
Ramchand & Svenonius 2014

(see also Rochette 1988, 1900; Stowell 1982; Pesetsky 1991; Lohninger & Wurmbrand 2020)





Final piece: All but Small Subjunctives are externally DPs (Pietraszko 2017, 2019)

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP 	DP 	DP 	DP 

Summary:

Clause type	Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	<i>Ind Clause</i>
Syntax	vP +FIN +SBJV	DP -FIN -SBJV	DP +FIN +SBJV	DP +FIN -SBJV
Semantics	Event	Event or Situation		Proposition

Against semantic selection only

phinda ('do again') can combine with three different clause types, **with no meaning difference:**

- (22) Ngi-phind-é [VoiceP nga-phéka (#kusasa).] Small Sbjv
1sg-again-PST 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV tomorrow
'I cooked again (#tomorrow) '
- (23) Ngi-phind-é [DP uku-pheka (#kusasa).] Infinitive
1sg-again-PST INF-cook tomorrow
'I cooked again (#tomorrow) '
- (24) Ngi-phind-é [DP ukuthi ngi-pheke (#kusasa).] Sbjv Clause
1sg-again-PST COMP 1sg-cook.SBJV tomorrow
'I cooked again (#tomorrow) '

Against semantic selection only

phinda ('do again') can combine with three different clause types, **with no meaning difference**:

- (22) Ngi-phind-é [VoiceP nga-phéka (#kusasa).] Small Sbjv E
1sg-again-PST 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV tomorrow
'I cooked again (#tomorrow) '
- (23) Ngi-phind-é [DP uku-pheka (#kusasa).] Infinitive E
1sg-again-PST INF-cook tomorrow
'I cooked again (#tomorrow) '
- (24) Ngi-phind-é [DP ukuthi ngi-pheke (#kusasa).] Sbjv Clause E
1sg-again-PST COMP 1sg-cook.SBJV tomorrow
'I cooked again (#tomorrow) '

Conclusion: All three (Small Sbjv, Inf and Sbjv Clause) are possible expressions of E.

Prediction: All predicates selecting for E should be able to combine with the three clause types.

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mane ('simply do') takes an E complement but allows only Small Subjunctives:

- (25) Ngi-man-é [VoiceP nga-phéka (#kusasa).] Small Sbjv ✓
1sg-simply-PST 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV tomorrow
'I simply cooked (#tomorrow)'
- (26) *Ngi-man-é [DP uku-pheka (kusasa).] Infinitive ✗
1sg-simply-PST INF-cook tomorrow
'I simply cooked (tomorrow)'
- (27) *Ngi-man-é [DP ukuthi ngi-pheke (kusasa).] Sbjv Clause ✗
1sg-simply-PST COMP 1sg-cook.SBJV tomorrow
'I simply cooked (tomorrow)'
- (28) *Ngi-man-é [DP ukuthi ngi-ya-pheka (kusasa).] Ind Clause ✗
1sg-simply-PST COMP 1sg-PRES-cook tomorrow
'I simply cooked (tomorrow)'

Prediction: All predicates selecting for E should be able to combine with the three clause types.

jayela ('usually do') takes an E complement but allows only Infinitives and Sbjv Clauses:

- (29) *Ngi-a-jayela [VoiceP nga-phéka (kusasa).] Small Sbjv ✗
 1sg-PST-usually 1sg-cook.PST.SBJV tomorrow
 'I used to cook (#tomorrow)'
- (30) Ngi-a-jayela [DP uku-pheka (#kusasa).] Infinitive ✓
 1sg-PST-usually INF-cook tomorrow
 'I used to cook (#tomorrow)'
- (31) Ngi-a-jayela [DP ukuthi ngi-pheke (#kusasa).] Sbjv Clause ✓
 1sg-PST-usually COMP 1sg-cook.SBJV tomorrow
 'I used to cook'
- (32) *Ngi-a-jayela [DP ukuthi ngi-*{ya/a}*-pheka (kusasa).] Ind Clause ✗
 1sg-PST-usually COMP 1sg-*{PRES/PST}*-cook tomorrow
 'I used to cook' (tomorrow)'

Three types of E-selecting predicates in Ndebele

	‘simply do’	‘usually do’	‘do again’
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗

Selection for semantic types fails to derive this variation.

Against syntactic selection only

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Inf Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
+FIN	−FIN	+FIN	+FIN
+SBJV	−SBJV	+SBJV	−SBJV

	‘simply do’	‘usually do’	‘do again’
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗

Against syntactic selection only

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Inf Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
+FIN	-FIN	+FIN	+FIN
+SBJV	-SBJV	+SBJV	-SBJV

	'simply do'	'usually do'	'do again'
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗

← Not natural classes

Against syntactic selection only

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Inf Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
+FIN	−FIN	+FIN	+FIN
+SBJV	−SBJV	+SBJV	−SBJV

	‘simply do’	‘usually do’	‘do again’
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗

Way out 1: Add a syntactic feature shared only by Infinitives and Sbjv Clauses

→ No independent evidence for such as feature.

Against syntactic selection only

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Inf Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
+FIN	-FIN	+FIN	+FIN
+SBJV	-SBJV	+SBJV	-SBJV

	‘simply do’	‘usually do’	‘do again’
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗

Way out 1: Add a syntactic feature shared only by Infinitives and Sbjv Clauses

→ No independent evidence for such as feature.

Way out 2: ‘usually do’ is a lexical accident: it can have either [Sel:DP_{-FIN}] or [Sel:DP_{+SBJV}]

→ Over a third of all collected predicates have this selectional profile.

There are 5 selectional profiles of clause-embedding verbs in Ndebele

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
# of verbs (total 34)	6	12	2	5	9
	simply do	want	do again	worry	be sad
	finally do	try	do first	blame	forget
	just do	usually do		know	think
	almost do	wish		believe	like
	sometimes do	must1		trust	hate
	cannot	must2			say
		ask			promise
		continue			be afraid
		choose			agree
		contemplate			
		avoid			
		manage			

An explanatory account of selectional patterns in Ndebele has the following components:

I. Assumptions about the category and denotation of each complement type:

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
E	E or S		P

II. Assumption about denotation correlates with clause size (Lohninger & Wurmbrand 2020):

- a. E-denoting constituents must be minimally vPs
- b. S-denoting constituents must be minimally TPs
- c. P-denoting constituents must be minimally CPs

III. Predicates may pose both syntactic and semantic selectional restrictions:

- a. semantic selection: **E, S, P**
- b. syntactic selection: **category features** (here, Voice and D)

Assumption:

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
E	E or S		P

Analysis:

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
Small Sbjv	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗
Infinitive	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓
Sbjv Clause	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓
Ind Clause	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
Selection for:	Voice	DP, E / S	E	P	DP

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
E	E or S		P

E: minimally a vP
S: minimally a TP
P: minimally a CP

11 logically possible combinations of a syntactic and a semantic type:

Selection for:	
1.	VoiceP, E
2.	VoiceP, S
3.	VoiceP, P
4.	DP, E
5.	DP, S
6.	DP, P
7.	VoiceP
8.	DP
9.	E
10.	S
11.	P

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
E	E or S		P

E: minimally a vP
S: minimally a TP
P: minimally a CP

11 logically possible combinations of a syntactic and a semantic type:

Selection for:	
1. VoiceP, E	
2. VoiceP, S	
3. VoiceP, P	
4. DP, E	Type 2: E-denoting Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
5. DP, S	
6. DP, P	
7. VoiceP	Type 1: Small Sbjv
8. DP	Type 5: Infinitive, Sbjv Clause or Ind Clause
9. E	Type 3: Small Sbjv, Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
10. S	Type 2: S-denoting Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
11. P	Type 4: Ind Clause

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
E	E or S		P

E: minimally a vP
S: minimally a TP
P: minimally a CP

11 logically possible combinations of a syntactic and a semantic type:

Selection for:	
1. VoiceP, E	
2. VoiceP, S	
3. VoiceP, P	
4. DP, E	Type 2: E-denoting Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
5. DP, S	=10 (all S-denoting clauses are nominalized in Ndebele)
6. DP, P	=11 (all P-denoting clauses are nominalized in Ndebele)
7. VoiceP	Type 1: Small Sbjv
8. DP	Type 5: Infinitive, Sbjv Clause or Ind Clause
9. E	Type 3: Small Sbjv, Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
10. S	Type 2: S-denoting Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
11. P	Type 4: Ind Clause

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
E	E or S		P

E: minimally a vP
S: minimally a TP
P: minimally a CP

11 logically possible combinations of a syntactic and a semantic type:

Selection for:		
1.	VoiceP, E	Vacuous: VoiceP can only denote Events
2.	VoiceP, S	Impossible: S requires minimally a TP
3.	VoiceP, P	Impossible: S requires minimally a CP
4.	DP, E	Type 2: E-denoting Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
5.	DP, S	=10 (all S-denoting clauses are nominalized in Ndebele)
6.	DP, P	=11 (all P-denoting clauses are nominalized in Ndebele)
7.	VoiceP	Type 1: Small Sbjv
8.	DP	Type 5: Infinitive, Sbjv Clause or Ind Clause
9.	E	Type 3: Small Sbjv, Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
10.	S	Type 2: S-denoting Infinitive or Sbjv Clause
11.	P	Type 4: Ind Clause

No selection for mood and finiteness

Small Sbjv	Infinitive	Sbjv Clause	Ind Clause
VoiceP	DP	DP	DP
+FIN	-FIN	+FIN	+FIN
+SBJV	-SBJV	+SBJV	-SBJV
E	E or S		P

If $[\pm\text{SBJV}]$ and $[\pm\text{FIN}]$ could be selected for, the system would overgenerate:

- No verbs selecting Infinitives only: selection for $[-\text{FIN}]$
- No verbs selecting everything but Infinitives: selection for $[\text{+FIN}]$
- No verbs selecting Small Subjunctives and Sbjv Clauses only: selection for $[\text{+SBJV}]$
- No verbs selecting Sbjv Clauses only: selection for $[\text{DP},\text{+SBJV}]$
- No verbs selecting Sbjv and Ind Clauses only: selection for $[\text{DP},\text{+FIN}]$

Conclusions

- An explanatory analysis of embedding patterns in Ndebele requires selection for both syntactic and semantic features ([Grimshaw 1979](#)).
- The syntactic features targeted by selection are category features → c-selection.
- Syntactic selection is local (sisterhood).
- Features related to mood and finiteness and not targeted by selection.

Conclusions

- An explanatory analysis of embedding patterns in Ndebele requires selection for both syntactic and semantic features ([Grimshaw 1979](#)).
- The syntactic features targeted by selection are category features → c-selection.
- Syntactic selection is local (sisterhood).
- Features related to mood and finiteness and not targeted by selection.

Theoretical implications

- These conclusions raise the question of whether finiteness and mood correspond to designated syntactic features, such as $\pm\text{FIN}$ and $\pm\text{SBJV}$.
(see e.g. papers in [Nikolaeva 2007](#); [Pietraszko 2017, 2018](#); [Lohninger & Wurmbrand 2020](#).)
 - The irrelevance of these features for selection is not due the absence of finiteness and mood contrasts in the language.
- The necessity of c-selection entails the necessity of syntactic selectional features (e.g. [Sel:X]).
 - Selection for features such as mood, finiteness, definiteness etc. could be syntactic or semantic.

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