Obligation, prohibition, non-finite complementation

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Infinitives vs. Gerunds: quantification & tense

- Infinitives cannot be definite events (unlike gerunds):
  - (8) Amar tomar gaan go-paper genre non pore
    I your song sing-shrink mind fall
  - (9) Amar tomar gaan go-paper genre non pore
    I your song sing- infinitive mind fall
    Indt: I remember your singing.

- Infinitives are incompatible with definite classifier (prohibition):
  - (10) Tomar gaan go-paper genre non pore
    I saw the event of your singing.
    Indt: I saw the event of your singing.
  - (11) *Toma-le go-paper genre non pore
    I saw the event of your singing.
    Indt: I saw the event of your singing.

- With an adverb of quantification, a quantificational reading is unavailable; thus, the infinitive cannot be set-denoting, unlike English POSS-ing gerunds (Portner '89):
  - (12) jama hocho je-te je-te je-te je-te
    I usually B-DAY city go-INF force do

- Infinitives only pick out one specific non-event (unlike English POSS-ing gerunds which do not permit an ζ reading):
  - (13) Jas Bke Dilli jete bolechilo
    Jas told Bob go-INF to Delhi

- Stowell ('82), Duffley ('00), Landau ('00), Morita ('12) posit a crucial distinction between infinitives and gerunds:
  - (14) Jen remembered [bringing the wine]. GER > MATRIX
  - (15) Bo tried [repairing the brakes]. GER unrealized or PRES

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- Proposal: Obligation & prohibition verbs differ in argument structure.
  - Obligative verbs only take tenseless propositions (sets of worlds), while prohibitive verbs take both tenseless propositions & (tenseless) sets of events.

- Our proposal builds on a partial view of the world (modeling a concept from artificial intelligence, and aligned with the framework of Local Models Semantics in computer science) (Ghidini & Giunchiglia '93, '02, a.o.)