

Manuel Delicado Cantero

Prepositional Clauses in Spanish

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Cynthia Allen
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Manuel Delicado Cantero

Prepositional Clauses in Spanish

A Diachronic and Comparative Syntactic Study

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
A	adjective
Acc	accusative
AdvP	adverb phrase
Agr	agreement
AgrP	agreement phrase
ANAPH	anaphoric
AP	adjective phrase
ARTFL	<i>American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language</i>
BADIP	<i>BAnca Dati dell'Italiano Parlato</i>
C	complementizer
COMP	complementizer
compl	complement
CORDE	<i>Corpus Diacrónico del Español</i>
CP	complementizer phrase
CRP	Case Resistance Principle
CRPC	<i>Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo</i>
D	determiner
DAT	Dative
DP	determiner phrase
E-language	externalized language
EPP	extended projection principle
F	feature
FinitenessP	finiteness phrase
FNT	Functional Nominalization Thesis
ForceP	force phrase
FUT	future
G	grammar
GEN	Genitive

I-language	internalized language
INF	infinitive
INFL	inflection
K	Kase
KP	Kase phrase
MCVF	<i>Modéliser le changement: les voies du français corpus</i>
N	noun
n	little noun
nP	little noun phrase
NP	noun phrase
OVI	<i>Opera del Vocabolario Italiano</i>
P	preposition
PL	plural
Poss	possessor/possessive
PossP	possessor phrase
PP	prepositional phrase
Q	quantifier
QP	quantifier phrase
RAE	Real Academia Española
refl	reflexive 3rd person pronoun
S	stage
SG	singular
Spec	specifier
T	tense
θ	theta
TP	tense phrase
V	verb
v	little verb
VP	verb phrase
vP	little verb phrase
Wh	interrogative/relative

Chapter 1

Introduction

1 Topic of study

This book addresses the syntactic description and evolution of Spanish argumental prepositional finite clauses introduced by *que* ('that'). Particular attention is devoted to the examination of previous hypotheses and to the combination of the insight gained by traditional studies and the theoretical advances offered by current formal syntactic approaches to clausal complementation, always keeping the data at its center. Argumental finite clauses with *que* are situated within the general syntax of prepositional groups, namely prepositions with nouns, basic infinitival clauses, indirect interrogative finite clauses, and adjunct (adverbial) prepositional clauses, as appropriate.

Argumental prepositional finite clauses are common in present-day Spanish. While grammatical in Portuguese as well, this configuration does not seem to be shared by other closely related languages such as French or Italian. Observe the following set of examples with argument clauses complementing the prepositional verb *acordarse* (to remember) and the corresponding equivalents in the aforementioned languages:

- (1) a. *Me acuerdo de que él era pequeño* Spanish
Me recall.1SG of that he was little
- b. *Lembro-me de que ele era pequeno* Portuguese
Recall.1SG-me of that he was little
- c. *Je me souviens (*de) qu'il était petit* French
I me recall.1SG of that-he was little
- d. *Mi ricordo (*di) che lui era piccolo* Italian
Me recall.1SG of that he was little
'I recall that he was little.'

While in Spanish and Portuguese the preposition *de* ('of') is permitted before a finite clause headed by the complementizer *que* ('that'), in French and Italian the same syntactic configuration is ungrammatical.

Furthermore, in older stages of Spanish such clauses are not generally attested (Tarr 1922; Serradilla 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Barra 2002, among others). Observe the missing preposition in the following 15th century sentence, featuring the verb *membrarse* ('to remember'), a prepositional verb:

- (2) *no se miembra que fauoresció la toma de cantalapiedra*
 not refl recalls that favored.3SG the seize of Cantalapiedra
 ‘And he does not remember that he favored the seize of Cantala-piedra.’
 (*Letras*, Hernando del Pulgar, 15th c.)

Two comparative orientations that complement each other form the general outline of this research:

1. The first perspective is intralinguistic, and involves a diachronic description and discussion of relevant data regarding the evolution of Spanish argumental prepositional finite clauses, with attention to clausal argumenthood, clausal prepositional and non-prepositional licensing, and the role of syntactic analogy as the mechanism of change. Such historical overview serves as the basis for the description and analysis of current Spanish data.
2. The second perspective is crosslinguistic. It is centered around the description and discussion of the syntax of three other Romance languages – Portuguese, French, and Italian – both in their historical and current states. The purpose of this dimension of the study is to situate Spanish within a wider Romance context in order to compare grammatical/attested syntactic configurations and analyze and critique the theoretical repercussions of such comparisons, including to what extent apparent constraints against prepositional finite clauses are actually operative. Occasional data from Germanic languages – especially English and Swedish – are also brought into the discussion when relevant.

Two syntactic aspects are of particular importance:

1. The syntax of the combination between prepositions and clauses. In order to do so, theoretical points raised include the nature of prepositions (functional and lexical), the categorial nature of clauses (Complementizer Phrases or CPs) and complementizers (Cs), and the role of syntactic licensing (Case Theory). Combinations of prepositions with nouns and infinitival clauses are also discussed.
2. Given the nominal nature of prepositional objects, much attention is devoted to the issue of the nominality of the clause, especially the relation between nominality and the presence of a determiner with a clause, as described in very recent syntactic accounts of clausal nominalization (Panagiotidis and Grohmann 2009; and especially Kornfilt and Whitman 2011). Infinitival clauses are examined in greater detail in this matter.

2 Sources of data

The evidence presented in this book comes from different sources. Certain longer examples have been shortened to highlight the relevant syntactic configurations, making sure the interpretation remains clear and unaltered. When the example or group of examples comes from the same written source and page, the reference is inserted immediately above the examples, at the end of the previous paragraph (3a). When the examples are from different written sources or from different pages in the same source, each example or group of examples from the same page contains a reference next to it or under it (3b), or next to/under the last example in groups of examples (see, for instance, 29a,b in chapter 2). Here is an illustration of this system:

- (3) a. ... Consider the following examples (Smith 2060: 4567):
- (x) a. *Example ABC*
 - b. *Example DEF*
- b. ... Consider the following examples:
- (y) a. *Example GHI* García (2070: 23)
 - b. *Example JKL* Smith (2060: 4533)

The old data were compiled from a variety of scholarly publications (historical grammars, specialized articles, Ph.D. dissertations) and searches in corpora. The searches in these corpora were controlled for century but not for location, except for the case of historical Italian, where the examples are restricted to the Tuscany area. Here is the list:

1. Historical Spanish:
 - a. Davies, Mark, *Corpus del Español* <www.corpusdelespanol.org>
 - b. *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*: <www.cervantesvirtual.com>
 - c. Real Academia Española, *Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE)* <www.rae.es>
2. Historical Portuguese:

Davies, Mark and Michael Ferreira's *Corpus do Português*:
<www.corpusdoportugues.org>
3. Historical French:

Modéliser le changement: les voies du français corpus (MCVF), developed as part of a *Grands Travaux de recherche concertée (Conseil de recherches en*

sciences humaines du Canada) project directed by Dr France Martineau, from the *Département de français* at the *Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa*, Canada. <gtrc.voies.uottawa.ca/index_pg_fr.html>

4. Historical Italian:

Corpus *OVI (Opera del Vocabolario Italiano) dell'Italiano antico*, accessible through the website of the *Istituto Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* at the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche* and searchable with GattoWeb.

<www.oivi.cnr.it/index.php?page=la-banca-dati>

Several examples were obtained from having consulted *OVI* through the University of Chicago's ARTFL.

<www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI>

As for the present-day languages, the data was collected from multiple scholarly publications (grammars, papers, book chapters, etc.). Informants were also consulted. In the case of Spanish, I added my own examples when required and consulted with other native speakers (Lorena Andueza, Carolina Castillo, Melvin González, and Edith Hernández), as properly mentioned. As for Portuguese, Patrícia Amaral (Portugal) and Álex Amaral and Flávia Cunha (Brazil) provided me with examples and grammaticality judgements, as indicated in the text. Cécile d'Agaro did the same for French, and Sandro Sessarego was my informant for Italian, once again as properly indicated in the text. Several online corpora were also used for Portuguese, French, and Italian:

1. Portuguese

Corpus *de Referência do Português Contemporâneo (CRPC)*, *Centro de Linguística* at the *Universidade de Lisboa*, Portugal.

<www.clul.ul.pt/en/research-teams/183-crpc#cqp>

2. French

Corpus *LEXIQUUM*, *Secrétariat à la politique linguistique du gouvernement du Québec* and *Université de Montréal*, Canada.

<atour.iro.umontreal.ca/cgi-bin/lexiquum>

3. Italian

Corpus *BANca Dati dell'Italiano Parlato (BADIP)*, *Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz*, Austria. <badip.uni-graz.at>

Finally, several examples were taken from Google (indicated with URL and date of consultation), which has become a great source for colloquial data. The limited evidence from Germanic languages comes from grammars and other scholarly works.

3 Data in historical studies

Regarding historical data, it is customary to mention the limited availability of historical evidence as a factor which may question the value and weight of any conclusions. It is true that no historical study can have access to as much data as a present-day linguistic study, and that the recorded data may not be as pure (i.e. realistic, colloquial, non-formulaic, etc.) as desirable (Wanner 2000: 9–12; Fischer 2007: 12). Nevertheless, there is no other realistic solution than to make do with the resources at hand. Fortunately, in the case of Romance languages the evidence is sufficient for good results. Moreover, as expressions of the language of a speaker/writer or a group of them, historical texts are competent linguistic products as they are (Wanner 2000: 10).

Due to the lack of native speakers and negative evidence, for obvious reasons, it is methodologically inadequate to speak of grammatical or ungrammatical constructions in the way those terms are used in studies of present-day languages with living native speakers and their intuitions. Instead, *attested/unattested* is the actual category for old texts; the fact that some construction is not recorded does not imply that it was not in use at all. This does not mean that analyses of the recorded data may not lead to logical predictions in terms of grammaticality, but they always remain speculative.

The goals of this book allow me to overlook any potential problems regarding the reliability of old texts as faithful reflections of the spoken language of a specific point in time. Given the importance of the 16th and 17th centuries in this book – for reasons that will be made clear later on – whether a particular early example dated in the 14th century actually reflects the language of that time or that of a previous state would not substantially alter the syntactic discussions in this book.

4 Organization of the book

The book is organized in 7 chapters. The first chapter is this introduction. Chapter 2 introduces the necessary categories and the theoretical syntactic framework for the study. The first part introduces categories, starting with the concepts of complementizer (C) and the clause as complementizer phrase (CP), and their nominal distribution. The second important category is the preposition (P), divided into functional and lexical prepositions, following Rauh (1991, 1993, 2002), among many others. The concept of K(ase) is also introduced (Lamontagne and Travis 1987; Travis and Lamontagne 1992; Tremblay 1996). The next part

combines both categories and revolves around prepositional clauses, with special attention to the existing constraints in languages such as English, which has molded to a degree the existing literature on the subject (most notably, Stowell 1981). Other important questions with direct consequences for the study include the phrasal nature of the traditional subordinating conjunctions (Pavón 1999, 2003, among many others), the special nature of prepositional complementizers (following Rizzi 1988), and the syntactic discussion of the cases in which an expected preposition fails to appear (Cano 1977–78, among others).

The second part focuses on the theoretical framework. The first sections are devoted to Case Theory in a Chomskyan framework (Chomsky 1981, 1995), introducing the standard classification into morphological case and syntactic Case, and the subclassification between structural and inherent Case, the latter further differentiated from lexical Case (Woolford 2006). Of particular interest is the discussion of the literature on the finite clause as carrier of a Case feature (Stowell 1981; Bošković 1995; Lasnik, Uriagereka and Boeckx 2005, among many others). The following section concentrates on the issue of clausal nominality vis-à-vis clausal nominalization, and the role of the determiner, following recent works, especially Kornfilt and Whitman (2011). Infinitival clauses, as a point of comparison with finite clauses, are especially analyzed in this part. The next section deals with the problematic difference between arguments and adjuncts, where several criteria are examined. Recent works on the nominal nature of the Romance complementizers are particularly important (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011; Manzini 2010; Roussou 2010). The final section establishes the historical syntactic framework. It introduces the mechanisms of syntactic change (Harris and Campbell 1995; Wanner 2006) and comments upon the necessary link between more traditional approaches to change and formal Chomskyan approaches, especially by appealing to the role of E-language as locus of change and language creativity/innovations that will eventually provide the input for new I-languages (see Lightfoot 2006: 15).

Chapter 3 is one of the core chapters of this book in that it documents, examines, and analyzes prepositional finite clauses in historical Spanish. After illustrating prepositional phrases involving regular nouns (regular DPs) and infinitival clauses in older Spanish, in order to show that prepositions could indeed take non-clausal and clausal complements, it centers on the main topic in this book: the evolution of argumental prepositional finite clauses in Spanish. It includes a summary of studies on the formation and syntax of prepositional finite clauses in general (both argumental and adjunct/adverbial), and, especially the formation of prepositional argumental finite clauses. Variation in the presence or absence of the expected preposition is documented. These latter studies are divided in two groups: those which rely on analogy for the emergence

and expansion of prepositional clauses (Tarr 1922; Herman 1963; Serradilla 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997) and those which concentrate much more specifically on the syntactic structure inside those prepositional clauses without appealing to analogy (Moreno 1985–86, and especially Barra 2002). Abundant examples are presented and discussed in order to critique these approaches, in particular regarding clausal argumenthood, clausal nominality, and Case licensing. Special attention is devoted to the nominality and clausal nominalization of infinitival clauses and finite clauses, both introduced by *que* ('that') and indirect interrogative finite clauses.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses present-day Spanish data, with a similar content layout as chapter 3. After examining prepositional phrases with nouns (regular DPs) and infinitival clauses, it focuses on prepositional finite clauses, including indirect interrogative finite clauses as well. Points of particular interest include current prepositional variation/optionality, nominality/clausal nominalization and its dependence on the determiner – with additional attention to colloquial Spanish – and the relation between prepositionality and argumenthood. The discussion in this section further calls into question the proposed hypotheses trying to explain the emergence of Spanish argument prepositional finite clauses and, especially, the role of Case (Barra 2002), with implications for Spanish and crosslinguistically.

Chapter 5 consists of data from Latin and Portuguese. Latin (and Proto-Romance) is briefly documented to illustrate the existence of prepositional clauses before the actual Romance period. Portuguese receives detailed attention because an examination of this language, whose syntax was and is in so many ways comparable to that of Spanish, makes it possible to comment on what is similar and what is unexpectedly different from Spanish, in both historical and present-day terms. Prepositional optionality, clausal nominality and nominalization (including infinitival clauses; Raposo 1987a, 1987b) are also central parts of the description and analysis.

Chapter 6 describes and analyzes historical and present-day French and Italian data. It follows a similar organizational pattern. Examining the syntactic possibilities of these languages at different points in history and in current times permits me to qualify the validity of the apparent constraint against argumental prepositional finite clauses typically mentioned in the literature on these languages (see, for instance, Elia, Martinelli, D'Agostino 1981 for Italian; Jones 1996 for French), and the additional expected theoretical consequences derived from such a constraint. It also discusses clausal argumenthood, clausal nominality and nominalization, the role of prepositional and non-prepositional clausal licensing and Case, and provides additional crosslinguistic material to compare Spanish with. French and Italian are particularly relevant for the

role of (arguably) pronominal alternatives to direct prepositional selection of finite clauses (following especially the ideas and data presented in Rouquier 1990; Zaring 1992; Zaring and Hirschbühler 1997).

Chapter 7 concludes the book. A first part focuses on the syntactic consequences for the description of prepositional finite clauses in Romance. Firstly, it provides a general overview of the existence of prepositional finite clauses, both argumental and adjunct ones, in the surveyed languages. In doing so, it visualizes the absence of a fully operative constraint against such configuration in those languages. It also summarizes the comments regarding the nominality of the finite clause in Romance and the syntactic role of the determiner in clausal nominalizations. It points out that there are two phenomena: finite clauses are distributionally nominal and essentially nominal thanks to their nominal complementizer, regardless of whether they further participate in clausal nominalization by combining with a determiner, thus creating a re-nominalization, or substantivization in fact (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011). That is to say, the nominality of the finite clause is shown to be independent from it projecting up to the DP level. Similar conclusions are drawn for infinitival clauses. Lastly, in showing that clauses can be licensed with or without the expected preposition (that is, positional licensing), it is concluded that Case must have been checked before and after the generalization of argumental prepositional finite clauses in Spanish (and Portuguese). Importantly, such conclusion means that French and Italian speakers could also license argumental finite clauses with or (frequently) without the expected preposition in argumental clauses.

The second part of the conclusions lays out a solution to the emergence of argumental prepositional finite clauses in Spanish which combines both the traditional insight of the accounts based on analogy and the formal tools provided by very recent syntactic studies. The existence of sporadic early attestations of the relevant configuration before the 16th century shows that at least certain speakers could produce the relevant construction. Such sporadic output, other syntactic facilitating factors such as clausal argumenthood, and other already frequent models, as extensively reported in the literature, indicate that the necessary syntactic components which could favor the extension of the structure were in place. The main consequence for argumental clauses was a change in the materialization of inherent Case. As expected of analogy, other superficially – but only superficially – similar constructions were also affected. The possibility of conceptualizing analogy as an E-language mechanism fomenta a link between well-established (traditional) mechanisms of change and current formal syntactic analyses.

The crosslinguistic and diachronic orientation of this study makes it possible to look at a group of closely related languages and unveil to what extent the explanations argued for one language in the literature are sustainable in another language or may lead to theoretical implications which are incompatible with the actual data.

Chapter 2

Categories, syntax, and change

1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to introduce several theoretical tools that we will need for the discussion. There are two main groups. First, the syntax of finite clauses (COMP or C), prepositions (P), and the combination of both of them. The second has to do with the Theory of Case, in particular the nature of abstract (syntactic) Case, the role of Case licensing by prepositions, and Case and finite clauses.

2 Categories in prepositional clauses

In current syntactic theory a finite clause is understood as a Complementizer Phrase, that is the projection of a head Complementizer. This section deals with the syntactic properties of complementizer phrases (CPs), their different types, in particular, declaratives and indirect interrogatives. In addition, two questions have a great impact on this book. On the one hand, I explore the nature of <P + finite clause> as a subordinating conjunction vs. a prepositional phrase, and conclude that the latter is the most accurate analysis. On the other hand, I explore the categorial properties of the prepositions. The final section is devoted to the syntactic structure of those cases where there seems to be an invisible, underlying preposition. In all, this section aims to present and discuss the major points involved in the syntactic description of prepositional (finite) clauses.

2.1 The functional category Complementizer – COMP

A complementizer (COMP or C) is a syntactic category corresponding with the traditional concept of subordinating conjunction. In keeping with the principle of endocentricity, complementizers are the heads of CPs, traditionally known as clauses, both finite and infinitival (see Rosenbaum 1967: 24; Bresnan 1970; Demonte 1977; Haegeman 1991: 111–112, among many others). A subordinate clause will be understood in these syntactic terms, a CP dependent on another category which either selects for it, if an argument, or rather is modified by the clause in the case of adjuncts (e.g., adverbial clauses).

There are several complementizers, introducing several types of clauses: content or declarative clauses, indirect interrogative (and indirect exclamative) clauses, and relative clauses. The discussion in this book will revolve around the first two, which can be grouped together under the general label of sentential complementation. Complementizers may introduce both finite and non-finite clauses. Those introducing finite clauses include:

a. The complementizer par excellence is *that* (English), *que* (Spanish, French and Portuguese), *che* (Italian). Consider the following example:

- (1) *María dijo [CP que iría a la fiesta]*
 María said that would-go.3SG to the party
 ‘María said she would go to the party.’

b. Other complementizers introduce indirect interrogative clauses, for instance *if/whether* (English), *si* (Spanish, French), *se* (Italian). Indirect interrogatives (and exclamatives), also CPs, may be introduced by *wh*-phrases located not in C, because they are not complementizers, but in Spec,CP after *wh*-movement (C would host an empty complementizer). Consider the following examples:

- (2) a. *María preguntó [CP si íbamos al cine]*
 María asked if went.1PL to-the cinema
 ‘María asked whether we were going to the movies.’
 b. *María preguntó [CP dónde íbamos]*
 María asked where went.1PL
 ‘María asked where we were going.’

The different complementizers and *wh*-phrases determine the type of clause (see Cheng 1991 on clause typing): a declarative clause in the case of *that/que*, a total indirect interrogative clause in the case of *if/whether/si*, and a partial indirect interrogative clause in the case of *wh*-phrases in Spec,CP (Haegeman 1991: 106; Fernández and Anula 1995: 314–321; Adger 2003: 292). Additionally, the complementizer *that/que* and *wh*-phrases may also introduce relative clauses, including free relative clauses. While declaratives and indirect interrogatives are both CPs, there are some further important categorial differences, in particular having to do with their nominality, which will be discussed extensively in this book.

Sentential complementation can also be non-finite. Infinitival clauses are typically CPs or TPs (Adger 2003: 306, 313). Consider the following examples:

- (3) a. *I tried [to call you]*
 b. *I wanted [to call you]*
 c. *Quería [llamarte]*
 wanted.1SG call.INF-you
 ‘I wanted to call you.’

Certain infinitival clauses are introduced by prepositional-looking elements, the prepositional complementizers, usually including English *for* and French *de/à* (‘of/to’) and Italian *di/a* (‘of/to’) in certain cases. Gerunds in English may also be non-finite clauses, as in the well-known *Acc/-ing* and *Poss/-ing* constructions.

With regards to their distribution and syntactic functions, finite and infinitival clauses can be arguments and adjuncts (Dixon 2006), open to crosslinguistic variation. Finite clauses can function as direct objects and subjects, including extraposition:

- (4) a. *María dijo [que iría a la fiesta]* Direct object
 María said that would-go.3SG to the party
 ‘María said she would go to the party.’
 b. *María preguntó [si íbamos al cine]* Direct object
 María asked if went.1PL to-the cinema
 ‘María asked whether we were going to the movies.’
 c. *[Que sea lunes] no tiene por qué ser malo* Subject
 That is Monday not has for what be bad
 ‘That it is Monday does not have to be a bad thing.’
 d. *No tiene por qué ser malo [que sea lunes]* Extraposition
 Not has for what be bad that is Monday
 ‘It does not have to be a bad thing that it is Monday.’
 e. *[Cuándo sea el examen] no me preocupa* Subject
 When is the exam not me worries
 ‘When the exam is going to be does not worry me.’

While Spanish allows clauses in all argumental contexts, other languages, notably English, are subject to certain restrictions. Consider the following set of examples:

- (5) a. *[That Jason arrived] infuriated Medea*
 b. *[Whether Agamemnon had triumphed] was unknown*
 c. *The Mayas already knew [that the world is round]*
 d. *I need to know [whether John wins or not]* Adger (2003: 300)
 e. *It didn't matter (to Mary) [that John was an academic]* Dixon (2006: 24)
 f. **Is [that the world is round] obvious to you?* Kuno (1973: 363)
 g. *Is [whether John wins or o not] of any great importance?* Kuno (1973: 370)
 h. **It depends on [that you come]*
 i. *It depends on [whether you come or not]*

English clauses may be subjects and direct objects, but those introduced by *that* – *that*-clauses – as opposed to those types introduced by an interrogative complementizer, are ungrammatical as subjects in inverted questions, which, along with additional evidence, has led linguists to argue that subject clauses are not really in subject position but rather are topicalized and co-referent with an empty pronoun in subject position (Koster 1978; Arlenga 2005).¹ Most importantly for the goals of this book, *that*-clauses are ungrammatical as objects of prepositions. This matter will be discussed extensively throughout this book. Finite clauses are also found in adverbial clauses, which are syntactically adjuncts:

- (6) a. *Before I went to the city, I called home*
 b. *I was reading when she arrived*
 c. *Jason became invisible, so that he could escape* Adger (2003: 329)
 d. *Llárame para que vayamos a comer*
 Call-me for that go.1PL to eat.INF
 ‘Call me so that we go eat.’

¹ See also Adger (2003: 299–302); but see also Han (2005) for arguments against such analysis. Webelhuth (1992: 91) argues that CPs can be in subject position precisely because they are nominal. He further argues for a categorial differentiation between CP clauses (headed by *that*) and IP clauses (without *that*). Only the former can be equivalent to DPs, as they are headed by a category etymologically derived from a nominal, a demonstrative in the case of English *that* or German *dass* (Webelhuth 1992: 90).

Before, *when* and *so that* introduce adverbial clauses in English. As adjuncts, they are not selected by any predicate and, therefore, they are optional. In principle, we may conclude that *before*, *when* and *so that* are complementizers as well, for they introduce subordinate clauses. Likewise, it is traditional to assert that Spanish adverbial clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions (hence, complementizers): *porque* ('because'), *para que* ('so that'), *cuando* ('when'), *antes (de) que* ('before'), etc. (see Kortmann 1998: 463) (but see section 2.2 in this chapter).

Infinitives, like finite clauses, can also be subjects and complements, again with crosslinguistic constraints, and may appear in adverbial contexts. Here are some examples of Spanish:

- (7) a. [*Comer pan*] es bueno
eat.INF bread is good
'To eat bread is good.'
- b. *Necesito [comer pan]*
need.1SG eat.INF bread
'I need to eat bread.'
- c. *Lláname para [ir a comer]*
Call-me for go.INF to eat.INF
'Call me (in order) to go to eat.'

The previous examples show that clauses can occupy those positions typical of nouns, which explains why declarative and indirect interrogative clauses are normally labeled "noun clauses". Not surprisingly, then, one of the recurrent topics in the sentential complementation literature has to do with the nominality or non-nominality of different types of clauses, which has consequently attracted a great deal of attention throughout the years. In several accounts, nominal projections are claimed to top otherwise "verbal" CPs, thus creating a DP-CP construction of sorts. For instance, such is the idea already in early works on complementizers and clausal complementation, as in Rosenbaum (1967) and Lees (1960), and later on, as in Davies and Dubinsky (1998). More recently, Han (2005) argues for a nominal shell on top of the CP (Han 2005: 99–100):

- (8) a. [*DP D [CP That he is a doctor]*] is surprising
b. I told him [*DP [CP that she is gone]*]
c. I wonder about [*DP [CP where I should go]*]

Han supplies additional data from Korean, Greek and Spanish to support her analysis (see also Takahashi 2010). Note that this implies that clauses are not nominal themselves unless a D projection is added.

Nominality also plays a great role in the differentiation between factive and non-factive clauses. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) captured the difference between factive and non-factive complement clauses by positing an empty noun *fact* (sometimes overt, as in *regret the fact that...* or *regret it that...*, for instance) on top of the CP for the former type of clauses, thus effectively turning factive sentential predication into a DP for syntactic purposes.

The typical description of the complementizer has assumed its “verbal” functional nature. As indicated above, this explains the need for some type of nominal projection on top of the otherwise “verbal” CP to turn it into a noun. However, very recent studies have argued that complementizers are themselves categorially nouns. Kayne (2008), Arsenijević (2009), and especially Manzini (2010), Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2011) for the Romance languages, and Roussou (2010) for Greek have recently challenged the assumed verbal nature of the complementizer by arguing that complementizer *que/that/oti* is actually a noun (or a relative pronoun), in a way undoing the traditional division between complementizer and relatives.

Manzini and Savoia (2011) argue that (Romance) complementizers are nouns which select for an embedded proposition as their complement, obtaining categorial unity between complementizer and wh-phrases (relatives and wh-interrogatives), as follows (Manzini and Savoia 2011: 15):

- (9) a. *So che fai questo*
 Know.1SG that do.2SG this
 ‘I know that you do this.’
- b. *Il lavoro che fai*
 The work that do.2SG
 ‘The work that you do.’
- c. *Che fai?*
 What do.2SG
 ‘What do you do?’

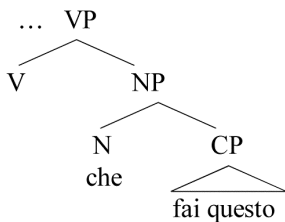
The difference between the complementizer and the relative or interrogative is not due to a categorial difference but rather has to do with interpretive reasons. If *che* binds a propositional variable, as in (9a) above, a complement clause obtains; if *che* binds an individual variable, as in (9b,c), a relative or interrogative reading obtains (adapted/modified from Manzini and Savoia 2011: 16):

(10) a'. *So* [*NP che* [*CP* [*fai questo*]]] \rightarrow *che* *x*: *x* *fai questo*

c'. [*NP Che*] [*CP* [*fai*]] \rightarrow *che* *x*, *fai* *x*

In other terms, the classical CP structure is reorganized as consisting of a nominal element (now a noun phrase) plus a CP, which is the argument of the complementizer noun. Therefore, the complementizer is located outside of the embedded clause, outside of the CP, and it is the argument of the main verb, a preposition, etc.; it is not a functional category anymore. This new representation can be visually expressed in the following tree (simplified/modified from Manzini and Savoia 2011: 17):

(11) *So che fai questo*



Roussou (2010) proposes a similar analysis for Greek declarative complementizers *oti* and *pu* and interrogative complementizer *an* ('if'), and English *that* (see also Roberts and Roussou 2003: 110–121) and *if*, all categorially nominal. Note that this recent analysis automatically renders finite clauses necessarily nominal, even without a determiner (Roussou 2010: 587). This point will be of great importance later on in this book.

2.2 The category Preposition

2.2.1 Prepositions: types and features

The second important category is the preposition (P) or, more generally, adposition. The differentiation between argumental prepositional finite clauses and adverbial/adjunct finite clauses depends in great measure on our understanding of the different types of prepositions and their corresponding properties.

The Real Academia Española's *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*, in its handbook version (RAE 2010: 557), defines *prepositions* as invariable words, usually atonic, which usually introduce a complement. Rauh (1991: 175) quotes Curme's (1935: 87) description of the category preposition, representative of

English traditional grammar, as “a word that indicates a relation between the noun or pronoun it governs and another word, which may be a verb, and adjective, or another noun or pronoun”. In short, prepositions are traditionally described as invariable, short words that relate nominal categories. To this we can add that they belong to a closed class.

In Chomskyan syntax, categories have been described in terms of positive and negative features: nouns are [+N] but [−V], and the opposite is said of verbs, which are [−N, +V]. Prepositions are described as the absence of features: [−N, −V] (Chomsky 1981). As such, they take complements of different types (12a–d) and may even have specifiers, i.e. be modified by adverbs such as *right* (12e) (Rauh 1991: 181):

- (12) a. *Bill was here* [_{PP} *before* [_{NP} *Mary*]]
- b. *Bill was here* [_{PP} *before*]
- c. *Bill was here* [_{PP} *before* [_{CP} *Mary came*]]
- d. *Bill came* [_{PP} *from* [_{PP} *behind the curtain*]]
- e. *Bill was here right before Mary*

It would seem then that there is some type of conclusive definition of what a preposition is, but this is not the case. The literature generally agrees that they do not form a homogeneous class, at different levels.²

Firstly, prepositions usually require a (nominal) complement, but not all of them and not all the time. Transitive prepositions introduce a complement (12a), but prepositions can also be intransitive or be used intransitively if/when they do not have one (12b). Intransitive prepositions were traditionally categorized as adverbs.

Secondly, prepositions can be simple words, such as *on*, *of*, *with*, or be more complex, including the transitive options of certain intransitive prepositions such as *because of*, *outside of* and complex (phrasal) prepositions such as *in terms of*, *in view of*, etc. (Hoffmann 2005: 23, Svenonius 2010: 130–131, 136).

Thirdly, the boundary between prepositions and other categories is not always clear. As Asbury et al. (2008: 3–4) show, the limits between prepositions and adjectives (as in the case of *near*), prepositions and verbs (as in the case of *regarding*), prepositions and complementizers (see (10c) above) or even prepositions and nouns (as in the case of *on top of*) is open to discussion. Distributional tests are key to discern between categories, without rejecting the possibility of

² See also López (1970); Kurzon and Adler (2008: 3–4). See also Rauh (2010: 1–30, 389), who extensively criticizes the confusion between parts of speech and syntactic categories.

multiple categorial membership (see Newmeyer 2000). Consequently, inventories of prepositions may differ in the literature; however, current syntactic studies would include deverbal prepositions such as *considering*, *notwithstanding*, *during*, *according to*, etc. and *except*, *but*, *now*, etc., not usually cited in traditional studies, on the basis that they do indeed pass several categorial distributional tests for prepositionality (Kortmann and König 1992: 672).

Fourthly – and more importantly for our purposes – prepositions are normally classified in two groups: *lexical prepositions* and *functional prepositions*, somehow equivalent to the traditional classification between contentful and meaningless prepositions. While still open to debate,³ there is sufficient evidence in the literature to justify a syntactic differentiation along the lexical/functional divide, including some psycholinguistic evidence (Littlefield 2006, on acquisition).

The lexical inventory consists of those prepositions which show case properties, strict subcategorization, argument structure, theta properties, inherent semantic features, and selectional requirements (Rauh 1993: 101, 121). Lexical prepositions select their complements. Consider, for instance, the following examples (Rauh 1993: 102):

- (13) a. *John stayed in the house*
 b. *John stayed in*
 c. *John went into the house*
 d. **John went into*
 e. *I didn't see him before the movie*
 f. *I didn't see him before the movie began*
 g. *I didn't see him before*

The set above offers a rich sample of the properties and variety of lexical prepositions, which are all contentful: *in* and *into* express location, while *before* expresses time. They also vary in their selectional properties: while all three may select for a DP, only *in* and *before* may be intransitive. Notice that Rauh categorizes *before* as a prepositions even in (13f), where it introduces a clause and thus could be argued to be a complementizer. Consider the following extra examples regarding selectional restrictions of lexical Ps (Rauh 1993: 108):

- (14) a. *Bill stayed above the creek*
 b. **Bill stayed above an hour*

³ See Baker (2003: 303–325) and Botwinik-Rotem (2004: 13) for arguments that all prepositions are functional.

to is not imposing any selectional requirements like lexical directional *to* would, which can freely select for locative complements independently of the verb. Notice the contrast in grammaticality between functional *to* (18a) and lexical *to* (18b) (Rauh 1993: 134):

- (18) a. **Bill appealed to the station*
 b. *Bill went/sent a packet/walked/invited his friends to the station*

In other words, functional prepositions do not θ -mark their complements. There is no thematic relation between the preposition and the complement. This can be seen again in the following examples (Rauh 2002: 17):

- (19) a. *The lawyer had no influence over his door*
 b. *John relied on his table*

These examples are not syntactically ungrammatical, but they are semantically inadequate (Rauh 2002: 17). This awkwardness is due to the fact that it is not *over* or *on* which select for *his door* and *his table* respectively, but rather *influence* and *relied*. The same analysis applies to other functional Ps selected by verbs, nouns, or adjectives.

Lack of θ -properties does not imply lack of Case-assigning properties. In fact, functional prepositions maintain their case-assigning properties, as can be seen in the morphological requirements of the pronoun:

- (20) a. *Bill believes in her* Rauh (1993: 134)
 b. **Bill believes in she*

In other words, lexical prepositions have a lexical-conceptual structure (LCS), while functional prepositions lack one (Horno 2002: 176). In this sense, functional prepositions would have no place in the LCS in an analysis along the lines of Culicover and Jackendoff (2005).

Extra evidence of their different nature is that only lexical prepositions may in certain occasions be dropped in coordination (21a), while functional prepositions may not (21b) (Zaring 1991: 369; Demonte 1992: 426; Horno 2002: 175; but see section 2 in chapter 4 below for further discussion). Consider the following examples (Horno 2002: 175):

- (21) a. *La tesis versa sobre⁴ el populismo y Ø el nacionalismo*
 The thesis verses about the populism and the nationalism
 ‘The dissertation revolves around populism and nationalism.’
- b. **La universidad prescindió de sus servicios y Ø su aportación valiosa*
 The university dispensed of his services and his contribution valuable
 ‘The university dispensed with his work and valuable contribution.’

The deficiency of functional prepositions is supported in Svenonius (2007), who claims that all lexical (spatial) prepositions take one argument: Ground, but that functional prepositions (*grammatical prepositions* in his words) do not take a Ground argumental DP, since “the DP... is not originally a complement of the adposition, but is an argument of the verb, with the adposition being introduced separately” (Svenonius 2007: 88).

While lexical prepositions are said to project their own PPs, Rauh (1993: 136) argues that functional prepositions do not project their own PP, as it is their complement which actually projects. Therefore, when the so-called complement of the functional preposition is a DP, the maximal projection would end up being a DP, not a PP. A similar perspective is entertained in Demonte (1992), who argues that some Spanish prepositional verbs do not have real Ps (see also Kempchinsky 1988: 204; Campos and Kempchinsky 1991: 175; see also Scorretti 1991: 158–161 for Italian). Botwinik-Rotem (2004: 41) claims that “[i]t is widely assumed that the internal argument of a PP-verb is not the PP, but rather the DP complement of the P”. Horno (2002: 215, fn 28) likewise argues that functional prepositions do not project a full PP, only up to P’. This selecting, thematic deficiency of functional prepositions is captured by the functional category K (ase), projecting a KP (Lamontagne and Travis 1987; Travis and Lamontagne 1992), as will be explained in section 3.1.3. in this chapter.⁵

⁴ Notice that *sobre* (‘about’), despite being selected by the predicate *versar* (and others such as *hablar* ‘to talk’) is considered a lexical preposition – and thus project a full PP – due to the fact that it seems to impose its own thematic requirements (see Rooryck 1996: 226, and the discussion in Neeleman and Weerman 2001: 130–132 for English *about*). This is not to say that the position is not argumental; rather, as happens with verbs such as *guardar* (‘to keep’), the complement of *versar* or *hablar* can be instantiated by using different PPs headed by different prepositions, among which *sobre* is but one option (see Demonte 1992: 418).

⁵ A similar idea lies behind Grimshaw (2000)’s *Extended Projection*, whereby all prepositions are the maximal projection of a nominal element. Grimshaw (2000: 119) claims that “CP and PP [are] the highest extended projections of the verbal system and the nominal system respectively, C standing in the same relationship to IP and VP as P does to DP and NP”. That is, “PPs are indeed a kind of nominal – the biggest kind there is” (Grimshaw 2000: 128).