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"Participle preposing and other related phenomena in Old Spanish and Old Catalan"
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1. Introduction

According to Rivero (1989 and ff.) and Lema-Rivero (1989 and ff.) participle preposing (see (1)) is neither VP-preposing nor Long Head Movement, even though it shares some properties with both of them. In (2) you can see some of the characteristics that make a difference between both types of movements. (3) is an example of VP-preposing and (4) corresponds to Long Head movement.

(1) **betatu** lo ayat (**Glosas Silenses: 295**)

vetoed it_{CL} have-PRES.SUB.

'(that he) have forbidden it'

(2)

<u>VP PREPOSING</u>	<u>LONG HEAD MOVEMENT</u>
It is an X _{max} movement	It is an X ⁰ movement
It is not local	It is local
Not related to the presence of clitics It is a focalisation strategy	Related to the presence of clitic pronouns (Tobler-Mussafia law in Romance)
Not blocked by negation	Blocked by negation
It takes place both in matrix and in embedded clauses	It only occurs in matrix clauses
Only allowed by lexical auxiliaries	Only allowed by functional auxiliaries

(3) **[D'aquend essir]** non puedo

(**SDom.: 712d,B**; Lema-Rivero (1991:7))

[From here exit] not I-can

'I cannot come out of here'

(4) Et **dezirte** ha él que ante fue él allá que tú.

(Cal.: 342)

and tell-INF-to-you_{CL} have-AUX he that before went he than you

'and he will tell you that he went there before you did'

Lema-Rivero (1991:7) consider that:

"a V fronted as a phrasal projection by VP-preposing can be separated from the finite AUX by NEGP, which is impossible in LHM ... Second, OSP resembles German and Dutch, and not current Spanish, in terms of the projections moved by VP-preposing. Namely, complements may, but need not, be preposed along with the V, the latter being a favored option. Since OSp is both VO and OV, VP-preposing results not only in the 'V + O + AUX' orders of present Romance, but in the 'O + V + AUX' orders of German and Dutch" (cf. (3) above).

As for participle preposing, they state that it is similar to Icelandic Stylistic fronting.

On the other hand, Parodi (1992) postulates that participle preposing is an instance of Short Head Movement because the participle is raised by means of incorporation to the auxiliary which undergoes Head-to-Head Movement.

According to my analysis participle preposing constructions are similar to VP-preposing and I will show that it involves movement of an X^{\max} .

2. The Analysis of the so-called perfect compound tenses

First of all, it must be taken into account that in my opinion the so-called perfect auxiliaries (**haber**, **ser** and **estar** in Old Spanish and **haver**, **ésser** and **estar** in Old Catalan) are lexical verbs which subcategorize for a small clause. Therefore, all constructions involving one of these verbs followed by a participle conform to the same analysis: the participle is the predicate of the small clause and may have different meanings (attributive, ergative, active and passive). The participle subcategorization frame will diverge according to each meaning.

We adopt Kayne's (1985) analysis of some of these constructions, and also Brucart's (1991). The latter provides a structure for passive sentences in Modern Spanish which is equivalent to the one given in Kayne (1985):

- (5) La edición_i **fue** [_{sc} t_i **reducida** t_i]
 'The edition was reduced'
 (Brucart (1991: 19))

The data that have been attested proves that 'haber/haver, ser/ésser and estar/estar + participle' are not grammaticalised compound tenses in Old Spanish and Old Catalan because (a) one or more elements can be inserted between the main verb and the participle and (b) the participle displays agreement features.

We find interpositions of one or two adverbs between ser and the participle in Old Spanish passive constructions (also in those which nowadays would be expressed by means of estar).

- (6) nin podriés vedar lo que **es ende ya fecho**
 (Cal.: 149)
 nor be-able-COND ban it that is for-this already done
 'nor would you be able to ban what is already done'
- (7) Aquella enzina (...) **fue cara mientras tenuta**
 (Faz.: 46)
 that oak was dear like considered
 'That oak was dearly appreciated'

The same phenomenon is attested in Old Spanish periphrases in which the participles are ergative (llegar, fuir, entrar, etc.):

- (8) et **só ya llegado** a esto.
 (Cal.: 314)
 and am already come to this
 'and I have already come to this point'

As can be seen in ((9)-(10)), Old Catalan displays the same phenomenon:

- (9) **aurás atempradament menjat e begut.**
 (Vir. e Pec.: 93)
 will-have moderately eaten and drunk.
 '(You) will have eaten and drunk to a moderate extent'
- (10) **ha trob menjat e begut.**
 (Vir. e Pec.: 36)
 has too-much eaten and drunk
 '(He) has eaten and drunk too much'

In fact, it is not only adverbs which appear between the main verb and the participle. Both in Old Spanish ((11)-(14)) and Old Catalan ((15)-(16)), subject NPs may appear in this position, too:

- (11) et **eran muchos omnes sospechados** et **otros presos.**
 (Cal.: 320)
 and were many men under-suspicion-PART and others arrested
 'and many men were under suspicion and others had been arrested'
- (12) Del baron cuyos son estos pennos, **so yo prennada.**
 (Faz.: 52)
 by-the man whose are these tokens, was I impregnated
 'By the man, whose these are, am I with child'

- (13) et falló que **avía el ladrón levado** quanto tenía.
 (Cal.: 93)
 and found-out that had the thief taken all that had
 'and he found out that the thief had taken all that he had.'
- (14) **Estava aquel mançebo asentado** en los poyos.
 (Cal.: 329)
 was that youth sat on the boundary-stones
 'That young man was sitting on the boundary stones'
- (15) **ha Deus creada** prudencia e fe
 (Vir. e Pec.: 71)
 has God created prudence and faith
 'God has created prudence and faith'
- (16) no **l'a Deus creat**.
 (Vir. e Pec.: 78)
 not it_{CL}'has God created
 'God has not created it'

Different types of objects are attested in this position as well. The most frequent are indirect object PPs (17) and direct object NPs ((18) in Old Spanish and (19) in Old Catalan), but there are also examples in which the intervening phrase is a predicative PP (20), and other examples that show that two constituents may appear simultaneously in this position (21):

- (17) et ya **me fue a mí dicho** deste falso mintroso.
 (Cal.: 188)
 and already to-me_{CL} was to me said about-this false liar
 'and I was already told about this false liar'

(18) un río que estava aí, que **avía una puente quebrada**.

(Cal.: 124)

a river that was there, which had a bridge broken

'a river that was there, which had broken a bridge'

(19) que Deus **aja lo mon creat**.

(Vir. e Pec.: 100)

that God have-SUB. the world created

'that God had created the world'

(20) ca **será por nesçio contado**, así commo el omne que...

(Cal.: 205)

for be-FUT as foolish regarded, so as the man that...

'for he will be considered foolish as the man that...'

(21) et **fue en esto el mur engañado**.

(Cal.: 349)

and was in this the mouse misled

'and the mouse was misled by this'

To summarise, the data just examined support Kayne's (1985) and Brucart's (1991) proposals. The underlying structure of these sentences must be as in (22):

(22) e V [_{sc} e participle NP {NP/PP}]

Furthermore, this hypothesis is supported by the position of floating quantifiers:

(23) su cuerpo **estava todo bañado** en sangre.

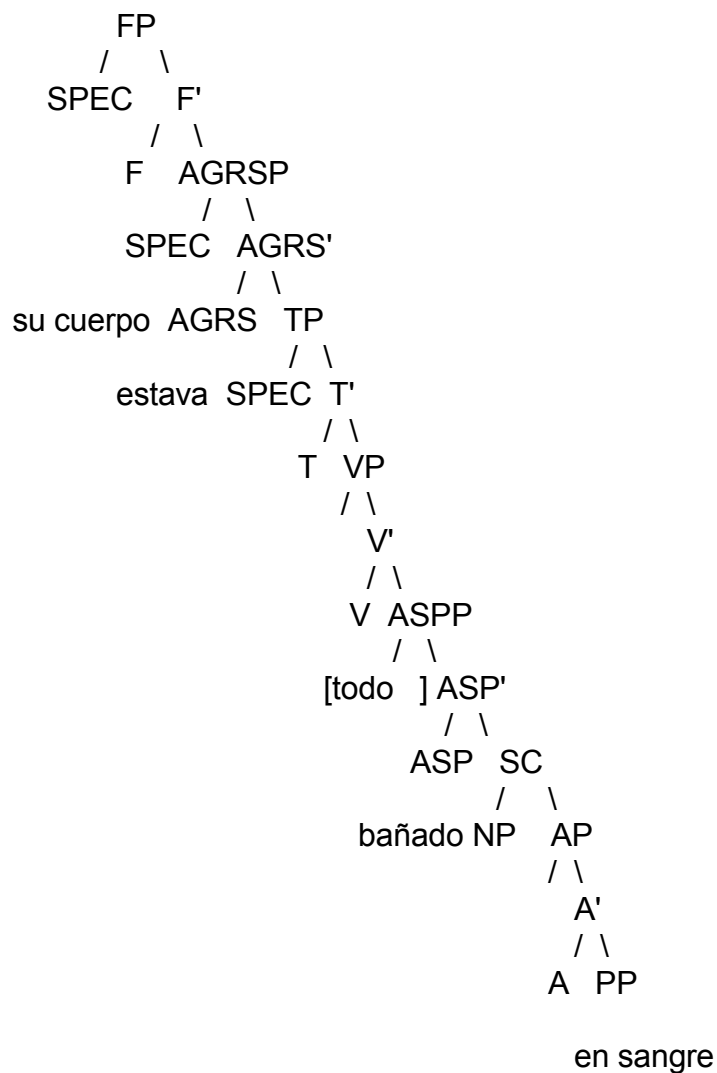
(Cal.: 280)

his body was all bathed in blood

'his body was all covered with blood'

Thus, following Uriagereka (1992), Kayne (1985), and Bruccart (1991), and assuming A. Suñer's (1990) analysis for small clauses, we obtain the structure shown in (24):

(24) OLD SPANISH (/OLD CATALAN)



Haber/haver, **ser/ésser** and **estar/estar** subcategorize for a small clause in Old Spanish and Old Catalan. Neither of them assign O-role to the external argument and only **haber/haver** assigns Case (cf. Tremblay (1991)).

3. Participle Preposing

González Ollé (1983) documents the existence of participle fronting in the second half of the 10th century and, since there are about ten examples in Menéndez Pidal's (1965) edition of the Glosas Silenses, I assume that participle preposing is productive in early Spanish Romance.

(25) **betatu** lo ayat

(Glosas Silenses: 295)

vetoed it_{CL} have-PRES.SUB.

'(that he) have forbidden it'

Notice that in 12th and 13th century Spanish the participle could be fronted together with an adverb modifying it ((26)-(28)). In fact, this is one of the reasons why I consider Parodi (1992) is wrong when posing that participle fronting is an incorporation phenomenon.

(26) que **ya tornados** serían.

(Cal.: 144)

that already come-back-PART be-COND

'that they would have already come back'

(27) **Ya entendido** he agora esto.

(Cal.: 305)

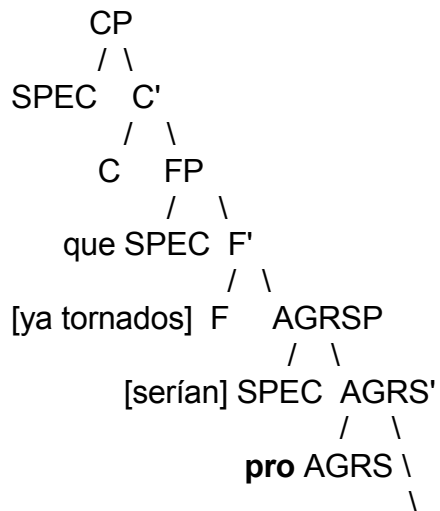
already understood have now this

'I have already understood this now'

- (28) **Ya llegado** ha tu fazienda a tal lugar.
 (Cal.: 188)
 already come has your deed to such place
 'Your deed has already reached such a point'
- (29) **fecho** as tú otro tal a los otros.
 (Cal.: 301)
 done have you other such to the others
 'you have done the same to the others'
- (30) **Benedicto** sea Abraam de Dyos.
 (Faz.: 44)
 blessed be-SUB Abraham by God
 'Let Abraham be blessed by God'

In (26) the non-finite verb **ser** has incorporated to the auxiliary (giving the conditional as a result) and the complex 'adverb + participle' has been fronted. This suggests that participle preposing is an X_{max} movement. It can be claimed that the fronted element is the predicate of the small clause, an AP headed by the participle. Since participle preposing is possible in embedded clauses such as (26), I consider that the predicate of the small clause is situated in SPEC of FP and the main verb in F⁰ (see (31)) because the data attested conveys certain kind of presupposition or topicalization (cf. Uriagereka (1992: f.n. 4)) and the subject occurs after the auxiliary ((28)-(30)). The adverb **agora** 'now' in (27), shows that the auxiliary has been raised.

(31)



Whenever a clitic pronoun follows the participle, it is adjoined to the main verb in F°.

(32) **Engañados nos ha** este cuervo.

(Cal.: 240)

deceived us_{CL} has this raven

'This raven has deceived us'

Negation also supports the treatment of participle preposing as an X^{max} movement because it does not block the fronting of the participle.

(33) si **provados non** fueren

(Cal.: 133)

if proved not were

'if they were not proved'

(34) pocos son (...) que **aforcados non** sean

(Cal.: 248)

few are that hanged not be-PRES.SUB.

'few are not hanged'

- (35) lo que en muchos días **acabado non** as
(Buen Amor: 579)
 it that in many days finished not have
 'what you have not finished in many days'

Likewise, participle preposing in 13th century Catalan involves presupposition as well:

- (36) virtuts, de les quals **dit avem**.
(Vir. e Pec.: 33)
 virtues, of which said we-have
 'virtues, of which we have talked'
- (37) E **dada avem** conexença de la sua essencia.
(Vir. e Pec.: 44)
 and given we-have knowledge of the its essence
 'and we have made you aware of its essence'
- (38) **Mostrats avem** doncs los secrets.
(Vir. e Pec.: 175)
 Shown we-have so the secrets
 'So we have shown the secrets'
- (39) per los grans pecats que **fets has**.
(Vir. e Pec.: 60)
 for the big sins that committed you-have.
 'for the deadly sins that you have committed'

Participles are also fronted together with modifying adverbs (40):

- (40) segons que **demunt provat avem**.
(Vir. e Pec.: 188)
 from what above proved we-have
 'According to what we have proved above'

To summarise, participle preposing involves movement of an X^{\max} , the predicate of the small clause subcategorised for by haber/haver, ser/ésser and estar/estar¹. Second, it is triggered by focus (i.e.: it is a focalisation strategy).

4. Adjective Preposing

As has been mentioned above, participle preposing has been compared to Icelandic Stylistic fronting. In fact, Vikner (1990:2,66) says the following:

"Stylistic fronting applies to 'past participles, Adjs, some Adv's, particles, etc., and it seems to require that the subject is either extracted, postposed or absent in some other way (e.g. passives). The moved elements thus seem not to be XPs, and they seem to require case (i.e. they seem to have moved ... to receive case."

Although Participial and Adjective fronting are also part of the same strategy in Old Spanish and Old Catalan, it can be claimed that it is not an X^0 -movement in these languages. The data attested support the hypothesis of the movement of X^{\max} and therefore the phenomenon looks somehow different from Icelandic Stylistic fronting and similar to VP-preposing in Romance.

Adjectives can be fronted in the same way as participles in Old Spanish ((41)-(43)) and there are examples in which the whole AP is fronted (41):

(41) Plus bellos son sos ojos

(Faz.: 59)

more beautiful are her eyes

'Her eyes are more beautiful'

(42) Non podian beber de las aguas (...) que amargas eran.

(Faz.: 72)

¹ If you take into account that esto 'this' in (27) and a tal lugar 'to such a point' in (28) are objects of their respective participles, the X^{\max} movement hypothesis seems difficult to sustain. Notice that in (29) and (30) the same problem shows up. A possible way out would be to argue that there has been extraposition to the right which seems to be quite common in small clauses. Thanks to Josep Quer for the observation.

not could drink of the waters that sour were
 'They could not drink that water because it was sour'

(43) **Vivo** es e sano.

(Faz.: 56)

alive is and sound

'He is alive and well'

Old Catalan Adjectives seem to follow the same pattern ((44)-(46)):

(44) Car **plus honrat** es lo cavaler que'l pagés

(Vir. e Pec.: 14)

For more honourable is the knight than the peasant

'For the knight is more honourable than the peasant'

(45) si fas lo contrari, **injust e imprudent** serás

(Vir. e Pec.: 52)

if you-do the opposite, unjust and imprudent you-will-be

'if you do the opposite, you will be unfair and careless'

(46) **foyl** es home glot

(Vir. e Pec.: 251)

fool is man greedy

'The greedy man is fool'

Notice, finally, that Old Spanish **tener** 'have' also allows fronting of the small clause predicate:

(47) las puertas de mi casa **aviertas las tenía**

(Mil.: 639c)

the doors of my house open them_{CL} I-had

'(the door of my house) I had them open'

Thus, it can be claimed that Participle and Adjective Preposing in Old Spanish and Old Catalan are instances of a Predicate Preposing strategy triggered by focus.

4. Conclusion

Participle and Adjective preposing can be related to the fronting of small clause predicates and display the same properties as VP-preposing: they are instances of X^{\max} movement which is neither local nor blocked by negation; they are not related to the presence of pronominal clitics, are triggered by focus and can occur both in matrix and embedded sentences.

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