

Corpus attestations and linguistic explanations: The case of the history of Spanish prepositional finite clauses

Manuel Delicado-Cantero
The Ohio State University
delicado-cantero.1@osu.edu

0. Introduction

- In Modern Spanish argument finite clauses may be introduced by a preposition, as in *Me acuerdo (de) que vino* (lit. I recall (of) that s/he came, ‘I recall s/he came’).
- It is absent in Old Spanish, until the 16th century.
- Barra Jover (2002): finite clauses were not nominal before the 16th century. They could not be assigned Case.

Purpose of this presentation: evidence vs. linguistic explanations; benefits from large electronic corpora such as Davies’ *Corpus del español*.

1. The finite clause and its nominal properties

1.1. P+CP in Romance

- Subordinating conjunctions composed of a preposition and the complementizer *que/che* (‘that’). Spanish (1a), Portuguese (1b), French (1c) and Italian (1d):
 - (1) a. ...para que lo leas
b. ...para que o leias
c. ...pour que tu le lises
d. ...perché lo legga
...for that it read-SUBJ-2nd-singular
...so that you read it
- Other Spanish examples are *hasta que* (lit. until that, ‘until’), *porque* (lit. for that, ‘because’), *sin que* (lit. without that, ‘without’), *desde que* (lit. since that, ‘since’), etc.
- Traditionally, “subordinating conjunctions” (cf. Herman (1963), among many others).
- Barra Jover (2002), Pavón (2003): no such unity but only P+CP.
- Evidence: those same prepositions can introduce an infinitive or an NP/DP with the same adverbial function without being considered categorially conjunctions:
 - (2) a. [PP para [CP-fin que lo leas]]
for that it read-SUBJ-2nd singular
so that you read it

- b. [PP para [CP-inf leerlo]]
for to-read-it
in order to read it
- c. [PP para [DP la lectura]]
for the reading
for the reading

- While prepositional adverbial clauses seem to be pan-Romantic (and pan-Germanic), prepositional argument finite clauses are not so prolific.
- Only Spanish (3a) and Portuguese (3b) allow for a preposition to introduce also a finite argument clause (at least, productively):

- (3) a. Pedro se acuerda *de que* Juan vendió su coche
b. Pedro se lembra *de que* Joao vendeu o seu auto
Peter refl recalls of that John sold his car
Peter remembers that John sold his car

- The same configuration is ruled out in French¹ (4a, a') and Italian² (4b, b'):

- (4) a. Pierre se souvient que Jean a vendu sa voiture
a'. *Pierre se souvient *de que* Jean a vendu sa voiture
b. Pietro si ricorda che Gianni ha venduto la sua macchina
b'. *Pietro si ricorda *di che* Gianni ha venduto la sua macchina
Peter remembers that John sold his car

1.2. P+CP in Old Spanish

1.2.1. Argument P+CPs

- Until the 16th century (approximately), in Spanish while DP/NPs (5a) and infinitives (5b)³ could be introduced by a preposition, a finite argument clause (5c) was banned from this syntactic context:

- (5) a. Et todos *se marauillauan de la su sabiduria*.
And all refl amazed of the his wisdom
And all were amazed at his wisdom. *Estoria de España II*, Alfonso X, 13th c.
b. Et por end non se deue ell ombre entendudo a *marauillar de poner* dios en el
And for this not refl must the man learned to-to-amaze of to-put god in the
cielo estas figuras.
sky these figures

¹ French shows an alternative configuration: P+pronoun+CP, where the CP is said to be in adjunct position and co-referential with the pronoun.

² This is not completely true. Cf. Scorretti (1991: 160-161) and Ledgeway (2000: 82).

³ Cf. Schulte (2004) for the emergence of argument prepositional infinitives.

And for this reason no learned man should be amazed at god's putting these figures in the sky. *Libros del saber de astronomía*, Alfonso X, 13th c.

- c. Avnque ninguno se deue *marauillar que* su natural lengua hable sant Pablo con mayor
Though nobody refl must amaze that his natural language speaks Saint Paul with larger
dignidad & mas alto estilo que las otras.
dignity and higher style tan the others
Although no one must be amazed that Saint Paul speaks his natural language with
more dignity and higher style tan the others. *Vocabulario eclesiástico*, Rodrigo
Fernández de Santaella, 15th c.

- Around the 16th century, prepositions started to enter this configuration, resulting in the modern situation.
- Traditionally, the emergence of argument P+CP has been explained as analogy. Tarr (1922), Serradilla (1995, 1996).
- Barra Jover (2002) rejects analogy and locates change only in features (cf. Hale (1998) or Lightfoot (2006), among many others):
 - Argument P+CPs were ungrammatical as a result of the lack of nominal features of the finite clause in Old Spanish.
 - As opposed to NPs-DPs and infinitives (both assumed to be nominal), the finite clause could not receive Case.

1.2.2. Adverbial P+CPs

- P+CPs: adverbial clauses introduced by prepositions, such as *porque* (6a) 'because' (lit. for that), *pora que* (6b) 'so that' (lit. for that), or *fasta que* (6c) 'until' (lit. until that):
 - (6) a. Mas *por que* me vo de tierra, dovos çinquenta marcos.
But for that me go from land, give-you fifty marks
But because I'm leaving the land, I give you fifty marks. *Cid*, 13th c., v 250
 - b. Onde conuiene al rey que ha a tener sus pueblos en iusticia & en derecho.
Where is-better to-the king who has to to-have his peoples in justice and in right
que faga leyes *pora que* los pueblos sepan como an de beuir.
that makes laws for that the peoples know how have of to-live
Where it is better for the king who must have his peoples under justice and law to
make laws so that his peoples can know how they must live. *Fuero real*, Alfonso X.
13th c.
 - c. non quiero los cabellos, ni las uñas tajar.// *fasta que* casamiento bueno le pueda dar.
Not want the hairs nor the nails to-cut, until that marriage good to-her could to-give
I don't want her to have her hair or nails cut until I can provide her with a good
marriage. *Libro de Apolonio*, 13th c. 346
- If finite clauses became nominal only around the 16th century, the existence of adverbial clauses introduced by a preposition (also P+CPs) is left unexplained.

1.3. Case and P+CPs in Old Spanish

- Barra Jover (2002: 284-285): Ps which did not assign Case due to their adverbial origin.
- Bassols de Climent (1992): no longer found productively as adverbs, and all of them assign Case.
- Their possible adverbial past is irrelevant for posterior synchronic states. Language -and language change- is discontinuous (Janda (2001: 272-282), Janda and Joseph (2003: 40-42)).

Task: to examine if the data can prove whether those Ps in adverbial clauses could indeed assign Case.

- Case is assigned/checked/checked and erased to/in any DP-NP (cf. van Riemsdijk & Williams (1986: 225-239) for Case-assignment, and Hornstein et al. (2005: 123-126) for an analysis of oblique Case in terms of Spec-Head checking).
- Spanish does not have an overt Case system except in personal pronouns, which vary morphologically.
- Herschensohn (1996: 27): “Morphological marking is the most explicit clue to Case in French”.
- Case is a wider notion than morphological case. Chomsky (1995: 110):

In some languages (Sanskrit, Latin, Russian, ...), Case is morphologically manifested, while in others, it has little (English, French, ...) or no (Chinese, ...) overt realization. In line with our general approach, we assume that Case is always present abstractly

- Any morphological expression of case is a (marginal in some languages) subtype of Case-assignment in the general theory of Case⁴, the only difference being that here there is some “overt” evidence, which is exactly what we need now (cf. Herschensohn (1996), Blake (2001), Brandner and Zinsmeister (2003)).
- In Spanish, as in English, there is a morphological difference between subject personal pronouns, object pronouns and oblique pronouns:

- (7) a. *Yo* quiero ir al cine. Subject (Nominative)
I want to go to the cinema
b. Marta *me* invita a comer. Object (Accusative)
Marta invites me to have lunch
c. Marta compró el libro para *mí*. Oblique (Prepositional)
Marta bought the book for me

- Did those Ps select for a pronoun in Oblique Case in Old Spanish? If so, it will be proved that they were Case-assigners:

⁴ Cf. Sigurðsson (2003) and McFadden (2004) for a differentiation between Abstract (or syntactic) Case and morphological case, the latter being relocated as a PF manifestation. For the purpose of this presentation, I will restrict myself to Chomsky’s view of Case.

- (8) a. Et por esta merced que les yo fago an de rogar a Dios por el alma del muy noble
And for this favor that them I do have of to-pray to God for the soul of-the very noble
e mucho ondrado rey don Fferrando mio padre e por mi e por todos los reyes
and very honorable King Mr Fernando my father and for me and for all the kings
del mio linage.
of-the my lineage.
And for this mercy that I grant you, you must beg God for the soul of the very noble
and very honorable king Fernando, my father, and for me, and for all the kings of my
lineage. *Documentos castellanos de Alfonso X - Castilla la Vieja*, Alfonso X. 13th c.
- b. Yo adobare conducho pora mi & pora mis vassallos. Mas por que me vo de tierra
I will fix food for me and for my vassals. But for that refl go from land
douos.L. marchos
give-you 50 marks.
I will fix food for me and for my vassals. But since I am leaving this land I will give
you 50 marks. *Cantar de Mio Cid*. 13th c. vv. 249-250
- c. Dia es que vernan fasta ti desde assur fasta las cibdades dela fortaleza & desde la
Day is that will-come until you from Assur until the cities of the fortress and from the
fortaleza fasta elrrio & de la mar fasta la mar & de la sierra fasta la sierra.
fortress until the river and from the sea until the sea and from the sierra until the sierra.
A day will arrive when they will come to you from Assur to the cities of the fortress,
and from the fortress to the river, and from the sea to the sea, and from the sierra to the
sierra. *Biblia romanceada judio cristiana*. 14th c.

- All of the previous prepositions combine with a pronoun in oblique case.
- Exactly like *de, en, a*, which Barra Jover (2002) considers Case-assigners:

- (9) a. Amembrando me de ti en mio lecho / en cada vela cuydando de ti
Remembering refl of you in my bed / in each vigil thinking of you
Remembering you in my bed / each vigil thinking of you. *Biblia Latina*. 13th c.
- b. Querellanse de ti.
Complain-refl of you
They are complaining about you. *Libro de buen amor*, Juan Ruiz. 14th c.
- c. Todos en ti creemos e a ti adoramos.
All in you believe and to you adore
We all believe in you and adore you. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Berceo. 13th c.

- Prepositions such as *por, para* or *hasta* could assign case in Old Spanish.
- CPs could be assigned case by a P in Old Spanish.
- The emergence of argument P+CP is not linked to Case Theory.

2. Mood selection phenomena

2.1. Mood, prepositions, and argument clauses

- Barra Jover (2002) establishes a syntactic difference between the P+CP (10a) and non-P alternatives (10b): presence of P equals argument; absence of P means adjunction:

(10) a. Me acuerdo [de que ese día nevó]. Argument clause.

Refl I-recall of that that day it-snowed

I remember it snowed that day

b. Me acuerdo [que ese día nevó]. Adjunct clause.

Refl I-recall that that day it-snowed

I remember it snowed that day

- Barra Jover (2002: 84): mood selection is syntactic and reflects argumenthood (like tense in SOT). Lack of strict selection of mood (and tense, person, and modality) means adjunction, that is, lack of argument clauses.
- Mood selection, like tense selection in SOT (cf. Enç (1987) and Carrasco Gutiérrez (1999) for SOT).

Task: to examine whether non-prepositional alternatives indeed show clear differences in mood selection:

1. Do P+CPs show just one mood?
2. It should be impossible to find the same mood in both the prepositional and the non-prepositional configurations.

2.2. Old Spanish subordinate clauses and mood. Sample

Context 1: Optional preposition, both indicative and subjunctive possible:

(11) Insistir (en) que (to insist)

-que indicative:

a. insistía que daría lo dicho de oro y plata porque ellos le soltasen.

He insisted that he would give the said amount of gold and silver to get released. *Crónica del Perú*. Pedro Cieza de León. 1551

-que subjunctive:

b. le insistió que fuese.

He insisted that he should go.

Crónica del Perú. Pedro Cieza de León. 1551

-en que indicative:

- c. El Rey de Francia insistía en que no le consentiría hablar palabra...
The King of France insisted that he would not allow him to say a word...
Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón. Alfonso de Valdés. 1511

-en que subjunctive:

- d. insistían en que fuesen muertos
They insisted on killing them. *Guerras civiles peruanas*. Pedro Cieza de León. 1551

(12) Avisar (de) que (to warn)

-que subjunctive:

- a. Esta figura nos avisa que non demos lo que tenemos para nos mesmos aotros.
This figure warns us not to give to others what we have for ourselves *Esopete ystoriado*.
Esopo. 15th c.

-que indicative:

- b. David de noche seyendo auisado que su fijo absalon venia sobre el por lo prender / o matar.(...) fuyo dela cibdad de ihrusalem a pie con muy poca gente
David, being warned at night that his son Absalon was coming to catch him or kill him, fled the city of Jerusalem walking with very few people. *Valerio de las historias escolasticas y de España*. Diego Rodríguez de Almela. 1462.

-de que indicative:

- c. y que sólo le podía servir con avisarle de que los indios no esperaban otra cosa sino que su señoría saliese de la ciudad
and that he could only serve him by warning him that the Indians were not waiting for anything other than for him to leave the city. *Crónica del Reino de Chile*. Pedro Mariño de Lobera. 16th c.

-de que subjunctive:

- d. Díjoles el pescador que en pago de su cortesía les avisaba de que no fuesen a él
The fisherman told them that in payment for their kindness he warned them not to go to him. *El peregrino en su patria*. Lope de Vega. 1598

(13) Quejarse (de) que (to complain)

-que indicative:

- a. se quejaba que le habían quitado el cargo
He was complaining that they had been stripped of his position. *Jornada de Omagua y Dorado : crónica de Lope de Aguirre*. Francisco Vázquez. 16th c.

-que subjunctive:

- b. todos ellos se quejaban que con tales industrias el gobernador y sus capitanes hubiesen querido entevenir...
All of them complained that in that way the governor and his captains had wanted to intervene...
Guerras civiles peruanas. Pedro Cieza de León. 1551

-de que indicative:

- c. quejándose de que había hecho blasfemar su nombre a los enemigos
complaining that he had made the enemies blaspheme his name
Predicación del Evangelio en las Indias. José de Acosta. 1570

-de que subjunctive:

- d. quejándose de que el obispo se hubiese introducido en esta visita
complaining that the bishop had joined this visit
Política indiana. Libro cuarto. Juan de Solórzano Pereira. 1614

Context 2: Only one mood for both alternatives

(14) Obligar (a) que (to force)

-a que subjunctive:

- a. Y así el amor que a vuesa merced tengo, me obliga a que diga algo de lo mucho que hay
que decir deste perfecto varón.
And therefore the love I have for you forces me to tell you some of the many things that
must be said about this perfect man
Vida del P. Baltasar Álvarez. Luis de la Puente. 1589

-que subjunctive:

- b. obligando que el tímido ganado atónito se esparza
forcing the shy cattle to scatter in astonishment
La gatomaquia. Lope de Vega. 1598

(15) Enterarse de (to find out)

-que indicative:

- a. Por las últimas cartas de mis amigos me he enterado que el Emperador ha abandonado
Alemania y ha llegado a Insbruck
Thanks to the last letters from my friends I have found out that the emperor has left
Germany and has arrived in Innsbruck
Epistolario. Selección. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. 1532

-de que indicative:

- b. enterándose de que no tenía hijos varones, sino hembras
finding out that he did not have sons, but only daughters
Primer viaje alrededor del mundo. Antonio Pigafetta. 1507

Context 3: mandatory P and mood alternation

(16) Dependier de que (to depend on)

-de que indicative

- a. la justicia de este tal hombre depende de que será oído
Justice for this man depends on the fact that he will be listened to
Exposición del primer salmo dividida en seis sermones, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente.
16th c.

-de que subjunctive

- b. Y es manifiesto que la remisión del pecado de usura no depende de que las cosas compradas con dinero que de ellas procede se vendan para realizar ese pago cuando ya están en poder de otras personas

And it is well known that the atonement of the sin of usury does not depend on the things bought with that money being sold in order to pay once they are owned by other people
Tratado sobre los préstamos y la usura. Luis de Molina. 1568

(17) Arrepentirse de (to feel sorry)

-de que subjunctive:

- a. o arrepentido de que tan tímida y perezosamente hubiera tratado cosa de tanto momento.
Or sorry that so shyly and lazily he had tried such important thing
Antigüedades de la Nueva España. Francisco Hernández. 1552

-de que indicative:

- b. Sólo estoy arrepentido de que te hice la buz
I am only sorry to have flattered you
La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González. 17th c.

(18) Tener cuenta con que (to be careful)

-con que subjunctive:

- a. Agora quédate ahí y ten cuenta con que no nos espíe nadie.
Now stay here and be careful nobody spies on us
Comedia Eufemia. 16th c.

-con que indicative:

- b. ha de tener cuenta con que ha de dar ejemplo.
He has to be careful with being a role model
Camino de perfección. Santa Teresa de Jesús. 16th c.

- The data do not support a complete, clear-cut division in syntactic terms between prepositional finite complements and their non-prepositional counterparts according to mood selection.
- Mood selection is independent from the presence or absence of the P.
- Argumenthood of the finite clause is independent from the presence or absence of the P.

3. Conclusion

- The data collected from on-line corpora challenge the previous explanations
- On-line corpora provide many more examples.
- The entrance of the preposition in finite argument clauses is not due to a change in the nominal properties of the finite clause in Spanish
- Mood selection does not seem to be related to the presence or absence of a P.
- Mood selection is not an argument in favor of a syntactic difference in terms of argumenthood between prepositional and non-prepositional finite clauses.

References

- Barra Jover, Mario. 2002. *Propiedades léxicas y evolución sintáctica. El desarrollo de los mecanismos de subordinación en español*. La Coruña: Toxosoutos.
- Bassols de Climent, Mariano. 1992. *Sintaxis latina*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Blake, Barry J. 2001. *Case*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.
- Brandner, Ellen and Heike Zinsmeister. 2003. "Introduction". *New perspectives on Case theory*. Eds. Ellen Brandner and Heike Zinsmeister. Stanford: CSLI. 1-22.
- Carrasco Gutiérrez, Ángeles. 1999. "El tiempo verbal y la sintaxis oracional. La *consecutio temporum*". *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Eds. Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 3061-3128.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press.
- Enç, Mürvet. 1987. "Anchoring Conditions for Tense". *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 633-657.
- Hale, Mark. 1998. "Diachronic syntax". *Syntax* 1: 1-18.
- Herman, József. 1963. *La formation du système roman des conjonctions de subordination*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Herschensohn, Julia. 1996. *Case Suspension and Binary Complement Structure in French*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hornstein, Norbert, Jairo Nunes, and Kleanthes K. Grohmann. 2005. *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.
- Janda, Richard D. 2001. "Beyond "pathways" and "unidirectionality": on the discontinuity of language transmission and the counterability of grammaticalization". *Language Sciences* 23: 265-340.
- Janda, Richard D. and Brian D. Joseph. 2003. "On Language, Change, and Language Change – Or, Of History, Linguistics, and Historical Linguistics". *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Ed. Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda. Malden (MA): Blackwell. 3-180.
- Lasnik, Howard, and Juan Uriagereka, with Cedric Boeckx. 2005. *A course in minimalist syntax. Foundations and prospects*. Malden (MA): Blackwell.
- Ledgeway, Adam. 2000. *A comparative syntax of the dialects of Southern Italy: a minimalist approach*. Oxford: The Philological Society-Blackwell.

- Lightfoot, David. 2006. *How new languages emerge*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.
- McFadden, Thomas. 2004. *The position of morphological case in the derivation: A study of the syntax-morphology interface*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania.
- Pavón Lucero, M^a Victoria. 2003. *Sintaxis de las partículas*. Madrid: Visor.
- Schulte, Kim. 2004. *Pragmatic causation in the rise of the Romance prepositional infinitive. A statistically-based study with special reference to Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Cambridge.
- Scorretti, Mauro. 1991. *Complementizers in Italian and Romance*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Amsterdam.
- Serradilla Castaño, Ana. 1995. "Sobre las primeras apariciones de construcciones preposicionales ante *que* completivo en español medieval. Factores determinantes". *EPOS XI*: 147-163.
- Serradilla Castaño, Ana. 1996. "Las formas analíticas de "entendimiento y lengua" ante *que* completivo en español medieval. Breves notas acerca de su evolución en la época clásica". *Revista de Filología Románica* 13: 13-38.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2003. "Case: Abstract vs. Morphological". *New perspectives on Case theory*. Eds. Ellen Brandner and Heike Zinsmesiter. Stanford: CSLI. 223-267.
- Tarr, Frederick Courtney. 1922. "Prepositional complementary clauses in Spanish with special reference to the works of Pérez Galdós". *Revue Hispanique* 56: 1-264.
- van Riemsdijk, Henk and Edwin Williams. 1986. *Introduction to the Theory of Grammar*. Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press.

Corpus

Mark Davies: Corpus del español <www.corpusdelespanol.org>