Doubling-que embedded constructions in Old Portuguese: a diachronic perspective.

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The basic empirical goal of this paper is to examine the nature and structure of C-doubling constructions in Old Portuguese (OP) (ex. 1; Ribeiro, 1995; 2009) and in at least some of its diachronic change. The theoretical issue behind the discussion is to consider the split CP-system (Rizzi, 1997; Benincà & Polotto, 2004), and the position that the second que occupies (Top / Focus / Fin), since Force is a natural candidate for the first one. The OP doubling-que constructions have very interesting properties: (i) C-doubling is not sensitive to the verb’s mood in the subordinate sentence, having been documented in the indicative, conditional, and subjunctive (exs. 1-2-3, respectively); (ii) the sandwiched constituent is frequently either an adverbial (ex. 4) a temporal, or a conditional clause (ex. 2), or a left dislocated element (ex. 3); occasionally it may be a contrastive topic (ex. 1); (iii) the second que may be omitted in which case the subordinate sentence presents typical characteristics of a matrix sentence – V2 (ex. 5), enclisis (ex. 6), absence of negation interpolation (ex. 7). The natural way to account for the latter properties is to say that the second que appears in Fin; when the split CP is selected, Fin must have a lexical realization, either by the merge of que or by movement of the finite verb to Fin (like the Fin* requirement proposed by Roberts 2004). C-doubling disappears from Medieval written texts at the end of the 15th-century (Wanner 1998); however, it is documented in the Portuguese of some less educated writers (ex. 8 – 17th-century Inquisition letter; and ex. 9, 19th-century writing of Africans in Brazil) and in the oral speech of several contemporary romance dialects – two Northern Italian dialects (Paoli, 2007); Spanish (Demonte & Soriano, to appear); Galician (Uriagereka, 1995); and Modern European Portuguese (EP) (Mascarenhas, 2007). The sentence presented in (10), parallel to the one in (3), is grammatical in oral Modern Brazilian Portuguese (BP), despite its absence in the written register. Nevertheless, the nature and characteristics of C-doubling in OP present both differences and similarities when compared to C-doubling in BP and EP: (i) it seems that EP does not have syntactic restrictions regarding the number of replications of C, with the realization of que between each instance (ex. 11). The constituent in between may be of some type associated to the topic field, but not focused elements, which leads Mascarenhas (2007) to propose that complementizers such as que can occupy Top positions; (ii) a sentence like (11) may be grammatical in BP, if the subject is interpreted as a Focus and the realization of the cleft copula is optional (ex. 12). The possibility for que to be a Focus nucleus appears in 16th-17th-century documentation (ex. 8) and is often attested in oral BP (Kato et alii, 1996). This indicates that in the history of the Portuguese language the form que is able to occupy different positions in the C-system: Top (EP / BP), Focus (EP 16th-17th/BP), Fin (OP).

1. e o abade San Beento dizendo o contrário que Deus que o fezera por el (DSG.2.7.9) and the abbot San Beento saying the contrary that God that it had-done-3sg for him.
2. e dezia que se lhi non envisassem Basilio monge que a saasse que logo morreria (DSG.1.5.68) and said that if him NEG send-3pl Basilio monk that her cured that soon would-die.
3. e rrogamos-vos que essas joyas que ella deixou que as mandees dar ao dito Joham Fernandez (CDP.2.47-49) and beg-1pl+you that those jewels that she left that them send-2pl to-the aforementioned J.F.
4. defendemosm firmemênte que daqui adeante que nenhhu seu os osado de coller ne de midir ome pan (FR.1.5.76r) defend-1pl firmly that from here on that no one be-dare to harvest nor-to measure man bread.
5. ca temia o santo bispo que, [se os homens soubessen aquelo que acaecerera,] [ tanta vâaa gloria lih creceria en seu coração quanto louvor lih dessen os homens aa de fora]] (DSG.1.17.19) because feared the holy bishop [that [if the men knew that that had-happened,] [much bluster glory him would-grow] in his heart as praise him would-given the men outside
6. Ja ora podes entender, Pedro, [que [aquelas cousas que Deus ordiou e soube ante que o mundo fosse feito,]] [--- comprir-se pelas orações dos santos homens]] (DSG.1.16.32)
Now can-2sg understand, Pedro, [that [those things that God ordered and knew before the world was made,]] [ were-fulfilled-self by-the prayer-pl of the holy men]]
7. rogoo-u o cavaleiro de tan gram coração [que [o don que lhi dava] [non-no despreçasse]] (DSG.1.27.6)
 begged-him the knight of great heart [that [the gift that him gave-3sg ]] [Neg-it despise-3sg]]
8. he homem q. migou na natureza da sua mula dizendo q. a mula q. estaua com dezeios de fazer tal couza (Marquilhas 1996; Anexos III, Documento IV – 1617-1620)
is man that pissed on the private of-the his mule saying that the mule that be-3sg-past with wishes to do such thing (Marquilhas 1996; Anexos III, Documento IV – 1617-1620)
9. disse a o prizidente que quando hovesse um trabalho como este que mandasse lhe chamar (Gregório Ferrão – africano - 1862)
said to the president that when there-were a job like this that should-order him call
10. e pedimos a vocês que essas jóias que ela deixou que mandem dar elas / dá-las ao dito João Fernandez.
and ask-1pl to you that these jewels that she left that tell to-give they / give-them to the aforementioned J. F.
11. Acho que amanhã que a Ana que vai conseguir acabar o trabalho. (Mascarenhas, 2007:1) (EP/*BP)
Think-1sg that tomorrow that the Ana that will-3sg be-able to-finish the job.
12. Acho que amanhã que (a) Ana (é) que vai conseguir acabar o trabalho (e não (o) Pedro). (BP)
Think-1sg that tomorrow that Ana (is) that will-be-able to-finish the job (and not Peter).

Referências