

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 & Poletto, 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 reduplications 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 contrairo **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 enviassem 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 leixou **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. deffendemus firmeme^{te} **que** daqui adeante **que** nenhuu seya ousado 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 acaecera,] [**tanta vãã gloria lhi creceria** en seu coração quanto louvor lhi 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,] [--- compriron-**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. rogo-o 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).

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