

An Unexpected Pronominalization of Some Temporal Measure Phrases*

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Abstract

Catalan partitive case, as well as the clitic *en* that represents it, is usually described as the case of the indefinite (or bare) direct object of transitive verbs and the indefinite (or bare) postverbal subject of unaccusative predicates. However, in quasicopulative constructions we can find some temporal measure phrases showing partitive case which have the appearance of an adjunct phrase. The paper provides evidence that these temporal measure phrases are not an argument of the verb, but an argument of a syntactic structure where an abstract Place preposition has been incorporated into the verb. This analysis of the partitive case as the inherent case assigned by a Place preposition incorporated into a verb is extended to other Catalan syntactic configurations with verbs which have lost their dynamic meaning, such as *passar* ‘to pass’ and *portar* ‘to bring’.

Keywords: partitive case; partitive genitive case; Catalan clitic *en*; Place preposition; temporal measure phrase; quasicopulative construction

Resum. Una pronominalització inesperada d'alguns sintagmes de mesura temporals

El cas partitiu en català, així com el clíctic *en* que el representa, sol ser descrit com el cas del complement directe indefinit (o escarit) dels verbs transitius i del subjecte indefinit (o escarit) postverbal dels predicats inacusatius. Ara bé, en algunes construccions quasicopulatives hi ha alguns sintagmes de mesura temporal amb l'aparença de sintagmes adjunts que expressen cas partitiu. Aquest article ofereix proves que aquests sintagmes de mesura temporal no són adjunts ni tampoc arguments verbals sinó arguments d'una estructura sintàctica en la qual una preposició locativa abstracta s'ha incorporat al verb. Aquesta anàlisi del cas partitiu com a cas inherent assignat per una preposició locativa incorporada al verb es pot estendre a altres configuracions sintàctiques del català els verbs de les quals han perdut el seu significat enciclopèdic dinàmic, tals com *passar* i *portar*.

Paraules clau: cas partitiu; cas genitiu partitiu; clíctic *en*; preposició locativa; sintagma de mesura temporal; construcció quasicopulativa

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction 2. Temporal constructions with quasicopulative verbs 3. Stative constructions with dynamic verbs 4. The pronoun <i>en</i>	5. The temporal verb <i>portar</i> 6. Some remaining issues regarding the clitic <i>en</i> with transitive verbs 7. Conclusion References
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1. Introduction

In some Catalan locative sentences, an apparent temporal-aspectual measure adjunct, formed by a quantifier and a noun – such as *dies* ‘days’, *anys* ‘years’, etc. – may be unexpectedly represented by the clitic pronoun *en* inside the sentence.¹ From a constructionist approach, we will argue that in these sentences the measure phrase is neither an adjunct nor an argument of the verb, but an argument of a secondary predication headed by a Place preposition. Following Hale & Keyser (2002), Marantz (1997), Borer (2003) and Ramchand (2008), among others, we assume that the aspect properties and the argument structure are not specified in the verbal lexical element, but they derive from the configuration of the syntactic structure. A verb can appear in different syntactic structures and receive different interpretations, as shown in § 3. To strengthen our analysis, in sections 4-6 we will proceed to consider further Catalan constructions where the clitic *en* is licensed in a similar way. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Temporal constructions with quasicopulative verbs

We will first focus on the constructions with some quasicopulative verbs² which express a stative meaning when they appear with a place (or locative) PP, such as *estar(-se)* ‘to remain, to live’, *residir* ‘to reside’, *habitar* ‘to inhabit’, *quedar-se* ‘to remain’, *romandre* ‘to remain’, *restar* ‘to remain’ or *viure* ‘to live’:

1. The clitic *en* is traditionally described as the pronoun that can represent an indefinite (or bare) direct object of transitive verbs and an indefinite (or bare) postverbal subject of unaccusative predicates (see § 6):
 - (i) a. *Ella tenia amics / Ella en tenia.*
 she had friends / she *clitic* had
 ‘She had some friends / She had some’
 - b. *Ella tenia molts amics / Ella en tenia molts.*
 she had many friends / she *clitic* had many
 ‘She had many friends / She had many’
 - c. *Moriren molts soldats / En moriren molts.*
 died many soldiers / *clitic* died many
 ‘Many soldiers died / Many of them died’
2. In contrast with the copulative verb *ser* ‘to be’, which lacks semantic content, Catalan quasicopulative verbs express a modal or aspectual nuance. The verb *semblar* ‘to seem’ has a modal meaning, whereas *estar* ‘to be, to remain’ has an aspectual meaning.

- (1) a. La Maria es va estar a Oix.
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix
 ‘Maria lived in Oix’
- b. La Maria va residir a Oix.
 the Maria aux._{3SG} reside_{INF} in Oix
 ‘Maria resided in Oix’

In addition to a locative PP, these verbs can appear with another phrase with a temporal measure noun, such as *mesos* ‘months’, *anys* ‘years’, *dies* ‘days’, *hores* ‘hours’, etc., as shown in (2).³

- (2) a. La Maria es va estar a Oix tres mesos.
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix three months
 ‘Maria lived in Oix for three months’
- b. La Maria va residir a Oix tres mesos.
 the Maria aux._{3SG} reside_{INF} in Oix three months
 ‘Maria resided in Oix for three months’

However, the absence of the locative phrase in (2) would cause ungrammaticality, as shown in (3). The only way to save the sentence is to use the locative clitic *hi*, as in (4).⁴

- (3) a. *La Maria es va estar tres mesos.
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} three months
- b. *La Maria va residir tres mesos.
 the Maria aux._{3SG} reside_{INF} three months
- (4) a. La Maria s’ hi va estar tres mesos.
 the Maria herself *loc.* aux._{3SG} live_{INF} three months
 ‘Maria lived (t)here for three months’
- b. La Maria hi va residir tres mesos.
 the Maria *loc.* aux._{3SG} reside_{INF} three months
 ‘Maria resided (t)here for three months’

3. These measure nouns can be analysed as classifiers-like (see Kayne 2015). Note that they cannot be modified by an AP or a PP in (2): *tres mesos humits* ‘three wet months’, *tres mesos de felicitat* ‘three months of happiness’.

4. Note that if the sentence in (i a) is well formed, it is because the verb *viure* means ‘to be alive’. On the other hand, if the sentence in (i b) is well formed it is because the verb *quedar-se* ‘to remain’ allows to silence the locative phrase when it has a deictic value. Therefore, in (i b) the place where Maria has remained is “here”.

- (i) a. La Maria visqué noranta anys.
 the Maria lived ninety years
 ‘Maria lived ninety years’
- b. La Maria s’ ha quedat tres mesos.
 the Maria herself has remained three months
 ‘Maria has remained three months here’

At first glance we might think that the locative phrase is selected by the verb, in contrast with the temporal measure NP, which seems like an optional adjunct (see (1)). However, if the temporal measure NP were an adjunct, why could its noun be represented by the clitic *en*, as in (5), and also in (6) together with the locative clitic *hi*?

- (5) a. La Maria se 'n va estar tres a Oix.
 the Maria herself *part.* aux._{3SG} live_{INF} three in Oix
 'Maria lived in Oix for three months'
- b. La Maria en visqué tres a Oix.
 the Maria *part.* lived three in Oix
 'Maria lived in Oix for three months'
- (6) a. La Maria se n' hi va estar tres.
 the Maria herself *part. loc.* aux._{3SG} live_{INF} three
 'Maria lived (t)here for three months'
- b. La Maria n' hi visqué tres.
 the Maria *part. loc.* lived three
 'Maria lived (t)here for three months'

Interestingly, sentences in (7) show that when the temporal NP is a real adjunct it cannot be represented by the clitic *en*.⁵

- (7) a. Va córrer moltes hores.
 aux._{3SG} run_{INF} many hours
 '(S)he ran for many hours'

5. The temporal phrase in (7) can be paraphrased by a PP introduced by *durant*.

- (i) a. Va córrer durant moltes hores.
 aux._{3SG} run_{INF} during many hours
 '(S)he ran for many hours'
- b. Vaig estar cuinant durant quasi dos dies.
 aux._{1SG} be_{INF} cooking during almost two days
 'I was cooking for almost two days'

If the PP with *durant* is almost acceptable in (ii), it is because the construction is like that in (1) with the addition of an aspectual adjunct.

- (ii) a. ?? La Maria es va estar a Oix durant tres mesos.
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix during three months
 'Maria lived in Oix for three months'
- b. ?? La Maria va residir a Oix durant tres mesos.
 the Maria aux._{3SG} reside_{INF} in Oix during three months
 'Maria resided in Oix for three months'

Other adjuncts phrases could appear in (ii), e.g. a comitative adjunct (*amb uns amics* 'with some friends') or a manner adjunct (*contra la seva voluntat* 'against her will').

- b. *En va córrer moltes.
*part. aux.*_{3SG} *run*_{INF} many
- c. Vaig estar cuinant quasi dos dies.
*aux.*_{1SG} *be*_{INF} cooking almost two days
 ‘I was cooking for almost two days’
- d. *En vaig estar cuinant quasi dos.
*part. aux.*_{1SG} *be*_{INF} cooking almost two

What is intriguing is the presence of the pronoun *en* in (5) and (6), and not its absence in (7). It seems that in those sentences the phrase *tres mesos* behaves as an argument and not as a temporal adjunct. In fact, we will assume that *tres mesos* is an argument, but not an argument of the verb but an argument of the configuration of the syntactic structure.

Let’s start by analysing the quasicopulative verb *estar(-se)*. Inspired by Benveniste (1960), the linguists Gallego & Uriagereka (2016), among others, analyse the verb *estar* in Spanish as the raising verb *ser* ‘to be’ with a preposition. Zagona (2009) also hypothesizes that the quasicopulative *estar* has a prepositional property in contrast to the copulative verb *ser*. In Catalan, as in Spanish, the preposition in *estar* (or *estar-se*) is responsible for the selection requirements of the verb: *estar* combines with elements with a visible or silent preposition.⁶ This preposition is a Place preposition which gives a static meaning to the construction. In (8), the PP with the visible static preposition *a* licenses the presence of the verb, with which it matches. The same applies to other quasicopulative verbs that show an etymologic locative meaning, such as *residir* ‘to reside’, *habitar* ‘to inhabit’, *quedar-se* ‘to remain’, *romandre* ‘to remain’, *restar* ‘to remain’ or *viure* ‘to live’, etc.

In (8b), the small clause⁷ selected by the quasicopulative *estar-se*, a raising verb, is a PP headed by the static preposition *a* ‘in’. Its subject (*la Maria*) moves to the subject position of the sentence (that is, to the specifier position of IP).

6. The verbs *estar* (or *estar-se*) ‘to remain, reside’, *quedar-se* ‘to remain’, *restar* ‘to remain’, etc. can combine with certain adjectives (*estar (-se) ociós* ‘to stay idle’), adverbs (*quedar-se aquí* ‘to remain here’) and participles (*restar aïllat* ‘to remain isolated’), whose internal structure has a place (or central coincidence) preposition, as proposed in the literature.

- (i) a. *ociós* = [*P*_{lace} + *oci*] (Mateu 2002)
 b. *aquí* = [*P*_{lace} + *aquí*] (Mateu 2002)
 c. *aïllat* = [*P*_{lace} + *aïll-*] (Gallego & Uriagereka 2016; Crespi 2020)

7. A small clause is a construction with a non-verbal predicate (AP, PP, etc.) and its subject. Copulative and quasicopulative verbs select small clauses, as in (ia), where the small clause is formed by an AP (*molt feliç* ‘very happy’) with a subject (*ella* ‘she’). These verbs are called raising verbs because, roughly speaking, they allow that the subject of the small clause raises to the sentential subject position in order to obtain nominative case, as shown in (ib).

- (i) a. [és [_{AP} [ella] [molt feliç]]]
 Is she very happy
 b. [ella_i és [_{AP} *t_i* molt feliç]]

- (8) a. La Maria es va estar a Oix (= (1a))
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix
 ‘Maria lived in Oix’
- b. [estar-se [_{PP} la Maria a Oix]]

However, as shown in (2), the quasicopulative verbs can appear with a temporal NP in addition to a locative PP. We assume that in such constructions the locative PP and the temporal NP are members of a complex secondary predication (or complex small clause), as schematically shown in (9).

- (9) a. La Maria es va estar a Oix tres mesos (= (2a))
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix three months
 ‘Maria lived in Oix for three months’
- b. [estar-se [_{PP} [_{PP} la Maria a Oix] [_{Place} [_{NP} tres mesos]]]]

As the head of this secondary predication, we assume an abstract Place preposition (*Place*) that takes the temporal measure NP [*tres mesos*] as its complement and the small clause [*la Maria a Oix*] in its specifier position.

3. Stative constructions with dynamic verbs

Our analysis is supported by the existence of some syntactic configurations with temporal meaning which always appear with a complex PP as a secondary predication. They include verbs such as *passar* (to spend some time in a place or situation) or *portar* (to spend some time in a place or situation).⁸

The Catalan verb *passar* ‘to pass’ is a good example of verbal elasticity. Its conceptual meaning allows it to be integrated in different syntactic configurations from which the meaning of the sentence directly derives. See (10).

- (10) a. Ja no passen camions pel poble.
 already not pass_{PRS,3PL} trucks by-the village
 ‘No more trucks pass through the village’
- b. Jo passo una mala temporada.
 I pass_{PRS,1SG} a bad time
 ‘I am having a bad time’
- c. Aquella dona passava droga als veïns.
 that woman passed drug to-the neighbours
 ‘That woman gave drugs to her neighbours’
- d. Passes por.
 pass_{PRS,2SG} scare
 ‘You are scared’

8. Other verbs could be included such as *perdre* ‘to waste time’.

- e. Això només et passa a tu.
 this only to-you pass_{PRS.3SG} to you
 ‘This only happens to you’
- f. Tu aviat passaràs d’ aprenent a mestre.
 you soon will-pass from apprentice to master
 ‘You will soon go from apprentice to master’
- g. La Maria va passar a l’ hospital més de tres dies.
 the Mary aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} in the hospital more of three days
 ‘Maria spent more than three days in the hospital’

In this section, we will focus on sentence (10g). Interestingly, in contrast with the quasicopulative verbs *estar-(se)* ‘to remain, to reside’ and *residir* ‘to remain’ in (1), *passar* cannot drop the temporal measure phrase, as shown in (11a). Moreover, it cannot drop the locative PP.

- (11) a. *La Maria va passar a l’ hospital. (where *a* is a Place preposition)
 the Maria aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} in the hospital
- b. *La Maria va passar més de tres dies.
 the Maria aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} more of three days

The same applies to the verb *portar* ‘to bring’ in configurations with a temporal meaning.

- (12) a. La Maria porta a l’ hospital més de tres dies.
 the Maria brings in the hospital more of three days
 ‘Maria has been in the hospital for more than three days’
- b. *La Maria porta a l’ hospital.
 the Maria brings in the hospital
- c. *La Maria porta més de tres dies.
 the Maria brings three de three day

The verbs *passar* and *portar* must coappear with a Place PP⁹ and a temporal measure NP. Both can be expressed by a clitic, as shown in sentences (13) and (14), which are equivalent to the sentences in (10g) and (12a), respectively.

9. The verbs *passar* and *portar* can also appear with a secondary predication expressed by an AP, an AdvP, a gerund or a participle, whose internal structure has a silent preposition (see fn.4).
- (i) a. La Maria va passar {deprimida/aïllada} tres anys.
 the Maria aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} {depressed/isolated} three years
 ‘Maria was {depressed/isolated} for three years’
- b. La Maria porta tres anys buscant feina.
 the Maria brings three years looking-forwork
 ‘Maria has been looking for a job for three years’

- (13) a. La Maria *en* va passar més de tres a l' hospital. (*en* = dies)
 the Maria *part.* aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} more of three in the hospital
 'Maria spent more than three days in the hospital'
- b. La Maria *hi* va passar més de tres dies.
 the Maria *loc.* aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} more of three days
 'Maria spent more than three days there'
- c. La Maria *n'* *hi* va passar més de tres.
 the Maria *part. loc.* aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} more of three
 'Maria spent more than three days there'
- (14) a. La Maria *en* porta més de tres a l' hospital. (*en* = dies)
 the Maria *part.* brings more of three in the hospital
 'Maria has been in the hospital for more than three days'
- b. La Maria *hi* porta més de tres dies.
 the Maria *loc.* brings more of three days
 'Maria has been there for more than three days'
- c. La Maria *n'* *hi* porta més de tres.
 the Maria *part. loc.* brings more than three
 'Maria has been there for more than three days'

There is no mystery that a locative PP is represented by the clitic *hi* in Catalan. However, the question we must ask now is: How is the pronoun *en* licensed in these constructions?

4. The pronoun *en*

Some Catalan sentences have a temporal measure NP behaving as a direct object. Their verb can appear with a cognate object, namely, an internal argument with a noun either formed by the same root of the verb (*viure la vida* 'to live life') or with some semantic relationship with the lexical content of the verb (*viure la joventut / molts anys* 'lit.: to live the youth / many years). The cognate object can be represented by the clitic *en*¹⁰ or an accusative clitic, according to its indefinite or definite property.¹¹ See (15).

10. To seek simplicity, we gloss the clitic *en* in (15) as partitive. However, in section 6 we claim that this clitic is partitive genitive.

11. The accusative clitic appears in contexts such as (i):

(i) Hem de viure la vida que ens queda i viure-la bé.
 have_{1PL} of live the life that to-us remains and live-it_{ACC} well
 'We have to live our life and live it well'

- (15) a. Va viure molts anys. / En va viure molts.
 aux._{3SG} live_{INF} many years / *part.* aux._{3SG} live_{INF} many
 ‘(S)he lived for many years’
- b. Aquesta editorial vol sobreviure trenta anys més. / Aquesta
 this publisher wants survive_{INF} thirty years more / this
 editorial en vol sobreviure trenta més.
 publisher *part.* wants survive_{INF} thirty more
 ‘This publisher wants to survive for another thirty years’
- c. Aquest rentaplats durarà deu anys. / Aquest rentaplats en durarà
 this dishwasher last_{FUT} ten years / this dishwasher *part.* last_{FUT}
 deu.
 ten
 ‘This dishwasher will last ten years’
- d. Jo no resistiré més de dues hores. / Jo no en resistiré més de dues.
 I not resist_{FUT} more of two hours / I not *part.* resist_{FUT} more of two
 ‘I will not resist for more than two hours’

Nevertheless, the verbs *estar-se* ‘to remain, to reside’, *residir* ‘to remain’, *viure* ‘to live’, *romandre* ‘to remain’, *quedar-se* ‘to remain’, etc. are not transitive verbs, they do not appear with an accusative object. However, in section 2, we have assumed that in (9), repeated below in (16a), *estar-se* combines with a secondary predication whose head is a silent Place preposition, that is, a phonologically empty preposition with syntactic and semantic properties. This silent preposition is largely responsible for satisfying the necessity of partitive case of the measure NP.¹²

- (16) a. La Maria es va estar a Oix més de tres mesos.
 the Maria herself aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix more of three months
 ‘Maria lived in Oix for more than three months’
- b. [estar-se [_{pp}[_{pp} la Maria a Oix] [Place [_{NP} més de tres mesos]]]]

As far as the verb *passar* ‘to pass’ is concerned, it is conceptually a verb of movement, but in (10g), repeated below in (17), it has a stative meaning.

12. Belletti & Rizzi (1981) and Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006: 34) analyse the quantified NP in (i) as the verbal object. However, they do not offer any answer to the fact that the locative PP (*a Milano*) cannot be excluded in (i), as would happen if it were an adjunct.
- (i) a. Gianni trascorrerà tre settimane a Milano. (Belletti & Rizzi 1981: 118)
 Gianni will spend three weeks in Milano
 b. Gianni ne trascorrerà tre a Milano.
 Gianni. *ne* will spend three in Milano

- (17) a. La Maria va passar a l' hospital més de tres dies.
 the Mary aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} in the hospital more of three days
 'Maria spent more than three days in the hospital'
- b. [va passar [_{PP} [_{PP} la Maria a l'hospital] [Place [_{NP} més de tres días]]]]

Where does its stative meaning come from? It comes from the abstract Place preposition. Due to it being phonologically empty, the preposition must incorporate into the verb in order to be licensed. Consequently, the verb loses its dynamic meaning.

Thus, the verbs *estar-se* and *passar* in (16) and (17), as raising verbs, exhibit an unaccusative verb behavior. Contrary to Belletti (1988), we assume that the inherent case is only assigned by a preposition, not by verbs. Moreover, following Rigau (1997), we assume that the partitive case, visible in the clitic *en* in (18), is the case assigned by the Place preposition incorporated into the verb. Without incorporation there is no partitive case.¹³ Hence the predicate in these constructions is a complex predicate formed by an abstract static preposition and a verb.

- (18) a. La Maria se 'n va estar a Oix [més de tres —]
 the Maria herself part. aux._{3SG} live_{INF} in Oix more of three
 'Maria lived in Oix for more than three months'
- b. La Maria *en* va passar a l' hospital [més de tres —]
 the Mary part. aux._{3SG} pass_{INF} in the hospital more of three
 'Maria spent more than three days in the hospital'

The same behaviour is visible with the verbs of movement, which can appear in a pure intransitive construction or in an unaccusative one (see Gràcia 1989; Rigau 2013). In (19a) the movement verb is dynamic, an agentive verb. However, in (19b) the construction is stative. The agentive value of the verb has been diluted because of the incorporation of an abstract Place preposition into the verb. Now the subject of the complex predicate is the locative clitic *hi* (a quirky subject) which gives an impersonal meaning to the construction. The partitive case of the clitic *en* is due to the incorporated preposition into the verb.

- (19) a. La Maria arribarà avui amb la intenció de fer les paus.
 the Maria arrive_{FUT} today with the intention to make the peace
 'Maria will arrive today with the intention of making peace'
- b. (Hi) arribaran vents huracanats. / N' (hi) arribaran.
 (loc.) arrive_{FUT,3PL} winds hurricane / part. (loc.) arrive_{FUT,3PL}
 'Hurricane winds will arrive (t)here'

13. According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006), among others, the partitive case is assigned by a quantifier (Q), as a head higher than DP/NP. In our proposal, the case assigned by a quantifier (Q) is the partitive genitive case (see section 6), whereas the so-called partitive case is assigned by a Place preposition incorporated into the verb.

Interestingly, in North-Western Catalan the equivalent to (19b) does not show number agreement between the verb and the NP, a typical unaccusative behaviour.

- (20) (Hi) arribarà vents huracanats. / N' (hi) arribarà.
 (loc.) arrive_{FUT.3SG} winds hurricane / part. (loc.) arrive_{FUT.3SG}
 'Hurricane winds will arrive (t)here'

Sentences in (21) with the verb *passar* 'to pass' are similar to those in (19-20). They have a clitic locative subject *hi*, the NP can be represented by *en*, and in (21c), a North-Western Catalan sentence, number agreement is absent.

- (21) a. Al palau de la reina hi passava corrent d'aire. / N' hi
 in the palace of the queen loc. passed_{SG} rush of air / part. loc.
 passava.
 passed_{SG}
 'There was a rush of air in the queen's palace'
- b. Al palau de la reina hi passaven corrents d'aire. / N' hi
 in the palace of the queen loc. passed_{PL} rush_{PL} of air / part. loc.
 passaven.
 passed_{PL}
 'There were drafts in the queen's palace'
- c. Al palau de la reina hi passava corrents d'aire. / N' hi
 in the palace of the queen loc. passed_{SG} rush_{PL} of air / part. loc.
 passava.
 passed_{SG}
 'There were drafts in the queen's palace'

The French verb *avoir* and its equivalents have been analysed as the product of the incorporation of a preposition into the verb *ser* by Benveniste (1960), Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993), among others. The incorporation of a stative preposition into the verb has also been proposed for some Catalan existential constructions with pure intransitive verbs (Rigau 1997, 2005). This is a very productive strategy, as shown by sentences (22) and (23) from Solà (1994) and Rigau (1997). Note that in the North-Western Catalan sentences (23) number agreement between the verb and the NP is absent, as in (20) and (21c).

- (22) a. En aquesta empresa hi treballen lingüistes. / N' hi treballen.
 in this company loc. work_{PL} linguists / part. loc. work_{PL}
 'There are some linguists working in this company'
- b. En aquest estadi, hi han jugat equips de primera divisió. / N'
 in this stadium loc. have played teams of first division / part.
 hi han jugat.
 loc. have played
 'Some teams from the first division played in this stadium'

- c. Hi parlaran escriptors russos, en aquest col·loqui. / N' hi
*loc. speak*_{FUT.3PL} writers Russian in this colloquium / *part. loc.*
 parlaran.
*speak*_{FUT.3PL}
 'Some Russian writers will speak in this colloquium'
- (23) a. En aquesta empresa, hi treballa lingüistes. / N' hi treballa.
 in this company *loc. works* linguists / *part. loc. works*
 'There are some linguists working in this company'
- b. Hi ha jugat equips de primera divisió. / N' hi ha jugat.
loc. has played teams of first division / *part. loc. has played*
 'Some teams from the first division played (t)here'
- c. Hi parlarà escriptors russos, en aquest col·loqui. / N' hi
*loc. speak*_{FUT.3SG} writers Russian in this colloquium / *part. loc.*
 parlarà.
*speak*_{FUT.3SG}
 'Some Russian writers will speak in this colloquium'

Although sentences in (22) and (23) contain an action verb, they have lost their agentive value. They express the existence of a property in a certain place (e.g. the property of having linguists). In the words of Par (1923: 149), they become 'event indicators'. Thus, sentences such as (22a) and (23a) can be paraphrased by a sentence with the existential predicate *haver-hi*, where *hi* is a quirky subject and an abstract Place preposition incorporated into the verb is responsible for the partitive case of the NP.

- (24) En aquesta empresa, hi {han/ha} lingüistes treballant.
 in this company *loc. {have/has}* linguists working
 'There are linguists working in this company'

Seen from this, it is obvious that unaccusativity is an epiphenomenon (see Torrego 1989 and Moro 1993, among others). However, sentences in (25) are not unaccusative. Their NP shows nominative case and their meaning is dynamic and agentive.

- (25) a. Tres escriptors russos {parlaran / *parlarà} en aquest col·loqui.
 three writers Russian {*speak*_{FUT.3PL} / *speak*_{FUT.3SG}} in this colloquium
 'Three Russian writers will speak in this colloquium'
- b. En aquesta coral, hi {canten / *canta} els meus nets.
 in this choir *loc. {sing*_{3PL} / *sing*_{3SG}} the my grandchildren
 'My grandchildren sing in this choir'

Interestingly, in North-Western Catalan the specific NP *tres escriptors russos* in (25a) and the DP *els meus nets* in (25b) agree in person and number with the verb.

5. The temporal verb *portar*

The Catalan verb *portar* and its Spanish equivalent *llevar* are other instances of dynamic verbs that can express a temporal meaning. Compare sentences in (26) and (27).

- (26) a. La Maria porta tres llibres a la biblioteca. / La Maria *en*
the Maria brings three books to the library / the Maria *part*.
porta tres a la biblioteca.
brings three to the library
'Maria is bringing three books to the library'
- b. La Maria porta tres llibres a la biblioteca i jo ho faré demà.
the Maria brings three books to the library and I it do_{FUT} tomorrow
'Maria is bringing three books to the library and I will do so tomorrow'
- (27) a. La Maria porta tres hores a la biblioteca.
the Maria brings three hours in the library
'Maria has been in the library for three hours'
- b. Fa tres hores que la Maria és a la biblioteca.
makes three hours that the Maria is in the library
'Maria has been in the library for three hours'

Whereas in (26a) the verb is agentive, as shown by the anaphoric predicate *fer-ho* 'to do it' in (26b), the sentence (27a) can be paraphrased by the impersonal temporal construction in (27b).¹⁴

Fernández Soriano & Rigau (2009) analyse the Spanish verb *llevar* and the Catalan *portar* as raising verbs, the real predicate being an abstract preposition incorporated into the verb in order to be licensed. However, in contrast with verb *passar*, the preposition here is allative (namely, a Path preposition). This fact accounts for the fact that sentences with temporal *portar* or *llevar* cannot appear in a past tense with perfective aspect, as noted by Yllera (1999), Marín (2000) and Camus (2004).

14. The same behaviour is visible in Spanish. However, Spanish has no partitive clitic.
- (i) a. María lleva tres libros a la biblioteca.
'Maria is bringing three books to the library'
- b. María lleva tres libros a la biblioteca y yo lo haré mañana.
'Maria is bringing three books to the library and I will do so tomorrow'
- (ii) a. María lleva tres horas en la biblioteca.
'Maria has been in the library for three hours'
- b. Hace tres horas que María está en la biblioteca.
'Maria has been in the library for three hours'

- (28) a. *La Maria {va portar / ha portat} tres dies sense febre.
 the Maria {brought / has brought} three days without fever
- b. *María {llevó / ha llevado} tres años en esta empresa.
 María {brought / has brought} three years in this company

According to Zagona (1995), Stowell (1996), Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), among others, Tense and Aspect can be analysed as dynamics predicates (expressing goal or source) or as stative predicates expressing central coincidence (or Place). Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) propose that perfect tenses express source. So, because of their retrospective meaning they are close to the preposition *from*. When the verb with an allative preposition raises to the temporal-aspectual domain of the syntactic structure, the goal value of the preposition does not match with the source value of these Tense-Aspect nodes. Consequently, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that temporal *portar* and *llevar* have incorporated an abstract Path preposition.

Nevertheless, the temporal measure NP shows partitive case, as shown in (29b), a case that we have assumed that is characteristic of a verb in which a Place preposition has been incorporated.

- (29) a. La Maria porta malalta més de sis mesos.
 the Maria brings sick more of six months
 ‘Maria has been sick for more than six months’
- b. La Maria *en* porta malalta més de sis.
 the Maria *part.* brings sick more of six
 ‘Maria has been sick for more than six months’

It is generally accepted that an allative PP can have a complex structure because it can imply, together with the destination value, a place value (Hale & Keyser 2002: 221). Hence a Path preposition can select a Place PP, whose head can be silent. We assume that in configurations with *portar/llevar* both prepositions are phonologically empty, as schematically represented in (30).

- (30) \vee [*portar* P [Path Place]]

The presence of the abstract Place preposition allows us to explain why the temporal NP can receive partitive case and why these constructions with *portar* are statives.

6. Some remaining issues regarding the clitic *en* with transitive verbs

At this point a clarification must be made. We have assumed that the inherent case is just a matter of prepositions and not of certain verbs (*contra* Belletti 1988). If we accept the hypothesis that the partitive case is a kind of oblique case assigned to the NP by an abstract Place preposition incorporated into the verb, the question

is: How can the clitic *en* receive the case inside the indefinite direct object of the transitive verb in (31)?

- (31) a. La Maria compra molts (de) llibres.¹⁵ / La Maria *en* compra molts.
 the Maria buys many of books / the Maria *gen.* buys many
 ‘Maria buys many books’
- b. La Maria compra llibres. / La Maria *en* compra.
 the Maria buys books / the Maria *gen.* buys
 ‘Maria buys many books’

Note that sentences in (31) are not stative, as it would be if there was a Place preposition incorporated into the verb. They are causative, agentive, sentences. Our claim is that in (31) there is no partitive case but what we call partitive genitive case, namely, the case that a quantifier can assign to the NP *llibres* (Rigau 1997).¹⁶ In (31a) the quantifier is overt, whereas in (31b) it is non-overt. In both contexts, the NP *llibres* can be represented by the partitive genitive clitic *en*.¹⁷ In this point we depart from Catalan grammatical tradition that labels the pronoun *en* in (31) as partitive.

- (32) a. La Maria en_i compra [molts t_i]
 b. La Maria en_i compra [Q t_i]

15. The preposition *de* ‘of’ is usually visible with a lot of quantitative (or vague numerals) quantifiers depending on the dialects. It is optative with *poc* ‘a little’, *molt* ‘a lot’, *bastant* ‘enough’, *prou* ‘enough’, *tant* ‘so much’ or *quant* ‘how much’. It is obligatory with negative quantifiers *gens* ‘any’, *gota* ‘drop’, etc. However, it is not visible with *gaire* ‘much, many’, *massa* ‘too many/much’, etc., and with indefinite quantifiers (*algun* ‘some’) and cardinals.

- (i) a. Ell no ha menjat {gens / gota} de peix.
 he not has eaten {any / drop} of fish
 ‘He has not eaten a bite of fish’
- b. Ell ha menjat {bastant/ poc / molt} de peix.
 he has eaten {enough/ a-little/ a-lot} of fish
 ‘He has eaten {enough / a little / a lot of} fish’

16. The same analysis must be applied to examples in (15).

17. In Catalan, a genitive clitic *en* is also visible in other contexts, as shown in (i).

- (i) a. No *en* sabem l’ origen, de l’ univers.
 not *gen.* know_{PRES.1 PL.} the origin of the universe
 ‘We do not know the origin of the universe’
- b. Només n’ ha quedat la pela, del plàtan.
 only *gen.* has remained the peel of-the banana
 ‘All that is left is the banana peel’

In these examples, the genitive case (namely, the pure genitive case) is assigned by the lexical preposition *de*. The complement of the nouns *origen* and *pela*, in a right dislocated position in (i), can be represented by *en*. See IEC (2016: § 18.6.3.2).

The preposition *de* in (31a) can be analysed as the spell-out of the partitive genitive case.¹⁸ As Par (1923: § 262) observes, this preposition, which he analyses “close to an article”, does not prevent the agreement between the quantifier and the noun: *moltes* fem.pl. *de vegades* fem.pl. ‘many times’.¹⁹

Let us now consider sentences in (33):

- (33) La Maria ha comprat tres llibres: aquells d’allà, i jo n’ he
 the Maria has bought three books: those of there, and I *gen.* have
 comprat dos: aquests d’aquí.
 bought two: these of here
 ‘Maria bought three books: the ones over there, and I bought two: the ones
 over here’

The inherent partitive genitive case in (33) affects the noun inside the quantified NP (or QP). Nevertheless, we assume that a QP in the direct object position can globally validate accusative case when it receives a specific interpretation. This is what happens with the direct object of the coordinated clauses in (33), which have a specific meaning.²⁰

7. Conclusion

In this study we have looked for an explanation for the presence of the partitive clitic *en* in some unexpected Catalan constructions, such as some quasicopulative sentences and some sentences with the verbs *passar* ‘to pass’ and *portar* ‘to bring’. We have postulated that the structure of these sentences is more complex than it seems. What allows the presence of the partitive case, and consequently the clitic *en*, is the presence of an abstract Place preposition. We have reason to argue (a) that the inherent case is not a matter of verbs, and (b) that the partitive case is the inher-

18. From a semantic point of view, Espinal & Cyrino (2022) postulate that *de* in (31a) is a marker of indefiniteness. More exactly, it is the spell-out of an operator responsible for indefiniteness.
19. Kayne (2013) argues that French mass nouns and bare plural nouns, such as in (i), have a complex determiner: ‘determiner + (generic) definite article’. See Gerards & Stark (2020) for an alternative analysis.
- (i) a. Jean achetait des livres. / Jean achetait de la bière.
 Jean bought *art.* books / Jean bought of the beer
 ‘Jean bought some books / Jean bought some beer’
- b. *Jean achetait livres.
 Jean bought books
20. Similarly, QPs in a preverbal subject position receive a specific interpretation and validate nominative case (see Rigau 1988):
- (i) a. Tres novel·les publicades enguany aspiren al premi.
 three novels published this-year aspire to-the award
 ‘Three novels published this year aspire to the award’
- b. Alguns problemes tenen fàcil solució.
 some problems have easy solution
 ‘Some problems have easy solutions’

ent case assigned by a Place preposition incorporated into a verb. As a consequence of the incorporation of this abstract preposition, the meaning of the predicate is static, even if the verbs *passar* and *portar* show an agentive and dynamic meaning in other syntactic configurations.

Contrary to Catalan traditional grammarians, we have distinguished the partitive clitic *en* from the partitive genitive *en*. In section § 6, we have postulated that the partitive genitive clitic *en*, in contrast with the partitive *en*, is not related to a Place preposition incorporated into a verb but with a quantifier determiner.

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