

En Preceding Direct Objects in Galician: An Indefiniteness Marker?*

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Abstract

In Galician direct objects of eventive verbs can be introduced by the preposition *en*. Presence of *en* signals semantic differences related to aspect and specificity: definite objects preceded by *en* pattern like bare NPs —and not like the corresponding definite objects without *en*— in that they required an atelic sentential aspect and are non-specific. Properties of *en* + DO resemble to some extent those of the partitive article —i.e. French: *du, de la, des*—, especially at its origin.

In this paper I explore the possibility of assigning a similar analysis to both *en* + DO and partitive article based on Kayne (1994)'s DP hypothesis, according to which D selects a D/PP projection which dominates a predication and one of the components of that predication raises to Spec D/PP. I propose that the head of this D/PP is *en* or *de*, and the element that raises to Spec D/PP is a nul quantifier which is generated as the predicate.

Key words: aspect, specificity, partitivity

Resum

En gallec els objectes directes de verbs eventius poden anar introduïts per la preposició *en*. La presència de *en* comporta diferències semàntiques relacionades amb l'aspecte i l'especificitat. A diferència dels corresponents objectes definits sense *en*, els objectes definits precedits per *en* mostren un comportament paral·lel al dels SNs nus: requereixen un aspecte oracional atèlic i són inespecífics. Les propietats de *en* + OD s'assemblen en gran mesura a les de l'article partitiu —i.e. francès: *du, de la, des*—, sobretot en els seus orígens.

En aquest paper explorem la possibilitat d'assignar una anàlisi similar a *en* + OD i a l'article partitiu basada en la hipòtesi de SD de Kayne (1994), segons la qual D selecciona una projecció SD/P que domina una predicació i un dels components d'aquesta predicació es trasllada a l'Esp

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SD/P. Aquí proposem que el nucli d'aquest SD/P és *en o de*, i que l'element que es trasllada a Esp SD/P és un quantificador nul que es genera com a predicat.

Paraules clau: aspecte, especificitat, partitivitat

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1. Introduction

In Galician direct objects can be introduced by a prepositional element *en* when the verb describes an ongoing or an inchoative action, as examples in (1b) and (2b) show:

- (1) a. Está comendo as patacas. 'He/she is eating the potatoes.'
 b. Está comendo **nas** patacas.
- (2) a. Puxéronse a sega-la herba. 'They started to cut the grass.'
 b. Puxéronse a segar **na** herba.

Traditional grammars have described this phenomenon as specific to Galician,¹ and in general they claim that the occurrence of *en* is restricted to objects of eventive verbs with imperfective aspectual properties. Even given this aspectual restriction, insertion of *en* is considered optional, and not to affect the interpretation of the sentence.

1. In Old Spanish apparently the same phenomenon applied to a small group of eventive verbs such as *besar* ('kiss'), *dar* ('hit'), *derribar* ('knock down'), *destruir* ('destroy'), *dezir* ('say'), *ferir* ('injure'), *leer* ('read'), *matar* ('kill'), *roer* ('nibble'), among others. The DO of these verbs could be preceded by the preposicion *en*, in which case it has a durative *Aktionsart* (see Folgar (1988:350)). It is not clear to me if this is just an example of the phenomenon common to many languages of the double possibility of constructing some transitive verbs with direct objects and with prepositional objects, such as Sp. *pensar* (*Piensa una solución* 'Think of a solution' / *Estuvo pensando en la solución* 'He was thinking about the solution'), which usually implies a difference in aspect in similar terms but doesn't seem to be linked to any specificity condition. The uniqueness of the Galician data studied in this paper is that it shows specificity restrictions and is very productive.

I thank Montse Batllori for mentioning the existence of a similar phenomenon in Old Spanish data, which deserves further investigation. See Folgar (1988) and Cano Aguilar (1977-78), (1984) for examples.

- c. * Quería **no** pan.
 wanted_{IMP.3sg} in-the bread
- e. * Adora **nas** películas do oeste.
 adores in-the westerns

The example in (7), which is given in Carballo Calero (1966: 253), seems to be an exception, and contrasts with (6e):

- (7) Adora **nas** súas fillas.
 adores in-the his/her daughters

A Galician informant consulted says that this example can only be grammatical with a non-stative interpretation, where acts of adoration are involved. This can be taken as more evidence about the clear restriction of *en* to appear in eventive contexts.

2.2. *Atelic Sentential Aspect*

Traditional grammars and descriptive studies on Galician focus on the aspectual properties of the predicate with which *en* is constructed: *en* occurs with objects of verbs with imperfective aspectual properties, either lexical —describing a durative action— or inflectional —with an imperfective tense or periphrasis— or a combination of both. The intuition is that sentences with *en* convey the action as durative or repeated; they often contain elements that reinforce that idea such as adverbials (see especially examples in (9)). Finally *en* can also be found in sentences describing an inchoative action or in imperative sentences.

In (8) the verbal aspect is both lexically and inflectionally imperfective, which is the most common case in the construction with *en*:

- (8) a. Ti **bebes** **n-o** [*sic.*] augardente hastra non poder mais.
 you drink_{PRE} in-the eau-de-vie until not be-able anymore
 (Saco Arce, 1868: 203)
- b. Están plantando **nas** patacas.
 are planting in-the potatoes
 (Porto Dapena, 1977: 213)
- c. Ta escribindo **na** carta.
 is writing in-the letter
 (Santamarina, 1975: 97)
- d. Púxose a rillar **no** pan.
 started_{PERF.3sg} to nibble in-the bread
 (Álvarez et al., 1986: 501)
- e. Pro non por iso deixaron de rillar **nas** roscas (106)
 but not for that stopped_{PERF.3pl} of nibble in-the rolls
 (Gómez Pintor, 1984: 284)
- f. Ceba tu **no** neno.
 feed_{IMPER} you in-the child
 (Santamarina, 1975: 97)

However, *en* can appear with punctual verbs or with verbs in the perfective past or even both provided that a sense of duration or repetition of the action is given. Compare (9) with (10):

- (9) a. Non fai mais que encirrar **n**-iles. (Saco Arce, 1868: 203)
 not does more than set in-them_m
 'All he/she does is set them.'
- b. E metía nelas pró saco. (Santamarina, 1975: 97)
 and put_{IMP,3sg} in-them_f into-the sack
- c. Mallóu nela canto quixo. (Carballo Calero, 1966: 253)
 beat_{PERF,3sg} in-her/it_f as-much-as wanted_{3sg}
- d. Enxuguéi nela toda a tarde. (Santamarina, 1975: 97)
 dried_{PERF,1sg} in-it_f all the afternoon
- e. I ainda cortóu na carne (77) (Gómez Pintor, 1984: 284)
 and still cut_{PERF,3sg} in-the meat
- f. Petóu na porta hastra que se cansóu.
 knock_{PERF,3sg} in-the door until got_{3sg} tired
 (Porto Dapena, 1977: 213)
- g. Regalóu neles. (Santamarina, 1975: 96)
 gave-as-a-present_{PERF,3sg} in-them_m
- (10) a. * Regalóu nel. (Santamarina, 1975: 96)
 gave-as-a-present_{PERF,3sg} in-it_m
- b. * Encirrou no can.
 set_{PERF,3sg} in-the dog
- c. * Enxuguéi nela nun momento.
 dried_{PERF,1sg} in-it_f in-a moment

The versions without *en* of the examples in (10) are grammatical, as in that case a punctual and perfective interpretation of the action is possible:

- (11) a. Regalouno.
 'He/she gave it (once) as a present.'
- b. Encirrou o can.
 'He/she set the dog.'
- c. Enxugueina nun momento
 'I dried it in no time at all.'

Interestingly, Santamarina (1975: 96) describes this aspectual contrast in terms of completion or not of the action, which seems to be the crucial factor:

it is the sentential aspect that counts, not just the verbal aspect (the sentence must have an atelic aspect). As this author claims, in the case of the object preceded by *en*, the action is incomplete, whereas in absence of the preposition, the action is complete. He illustrates this contrast with the examples in (12) (Santamarina, 1975: 95-96):

- (12) a. Segaron o pan. ‘They reaped the rye.’
 b. Segaron **no** pan.

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (13), given by Santamarina (1975: 96), derives naturally: they are telic (the action is completed) and therefore *en* is not licensed.

- (13) a. *Tiñan **no** pan segado.
 had_{IMP.3pl} in-the rye reaped
 b. *Coméu **neles** de todo.
 ate_{PERF.3sg} in-them_m completely

The examples in (14) show that even with an imperfective verbal aspect—which is one of the cases where *en* is licensed according to descriptive grammars—, *en* is not allowed if the completion of the action is implied:

- (14) a. *Está acabando **no** pan.
 is finishing in-the bread
 b. *Está acabando **na** carta.
 is finishing in-the letter

The [\pm perfective] distinction is not only found in the perfective past—where the sentence with a definite object is necessarily interpreted as a complete action contrary to the construction with *en*, which lacks such an implication—, but it is also present in imperfective tenses:

- (15) a. Está comendo as patacas. ‘He/she is eating the potatoes.’
 b. Está comendo **nas** patacas.
 (16) a. Puxéronse a sega-la herba. ‘They started to cut the grass.’
 b. Puxéronse a segar **na** herba.

The semantic implications of (15a) and (16a) are different from their counterparts with *en* in (15b) and (16b): the former, but not the latter, imply completion of the action is intended (though the action can be interrupted in both cases).

In examples referring to repeated actions, it can be considered that a multiple event action is taking place which has not yet been completed as it could still go on. With durative verbs we can get that interpretation with a plural object, as in *Está*

escribindo nas cartas. With punctual verbs in a perfective tense and a singular count noun as the object (see examples in (10a,b)), the complete action interpretation is the only one available and this is the source of the ungrammaticality. If the object is in the plural or if some extra information allows an interpretation in terms of several events, and therefore not completed, the prepositional *en* is licensed. In (10c), despite the presence of a durative verb, the result is ungrammatical because the adverbial *nun momento* forces the interpretation of a complete action.

2.3. Specificity: Types of DPs Which Can Be Preceded by *en*

En normally precedes DPs with the definite article and most of the examples given in the literature contain a definite article. However, *en* can precede objects with any kind of determiner provided they are semantically specific, although with quantifiers the result does not seem to be completely grammatical. Compare (19) and (20a) with (20b), where the subjunctive in the relative clause forces a non referential interpretation of the object and therefore ungrammaticality:

- | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|---|---|
| (19) a. | Anda lendo
is reading | no libro (in-the book)
nestes libros (in-those books)
nuns libros (in-a _{pl} books)
en dous libros (in two books)
? en varios libros (in various books)
? en moitos libros (in many books)
? nalgúns libros (in some books) | que Suso lle deixou.
that Suso him/her
lend _{PERF} |
|---------|--------------------------|---|---|

- (20) a. Anda buscando **nun** piso que está preto de aquí.
 is looking in-a flat that is near of-here
 ‘He/she is looking for a flat that [he/she knows] is near here.’
- b. * Anda buscando **nun** piso que sexa grande e luminoso.
 is looking in-a flat that is_{SUBJ} big and light
 ‘He/she is looking for a flat that is big and light [but hasn’t found any yet].’

En can also precede proper names or pronouns, but it is ungrammatical with bare common nouns, as follows from the requirement of specificity:

- (21) a. Maltratou **en** Maria canto quixo.
 battered_{PERF.3sg} in Maria as-much wanted_{PERF.3sg}
- b. Está mallando **en** Pedro.
 is hitting in Pedro
- c. Maltratou **nela** canto quixo.
 battered_{PERF.3sg} in-her as-much wanted_{PERF.3sg}
- d. Está mallando **nel**.
 is hitting in-him

- e. * Anda lendo **en** libros de historia.
is reading in books of history
- f. * Están matando **en** paxaros.
are killing in birds

Other examples from the literature are given in (22), where (22a-d) are from Santamarina (1975: 96-97) and (22e-f) are from Gómez Pintor (1984: 284):

- (22) a. Tou encetando **neste** pan.
am starting in-this bread
- b. Tuvén fendendo **neste** rebolo.
was_{PERF.1sg} cutting in-this log
- c. O can esmendrellaba **no** meu refaxo.
the dog ruined_{IMP} in-the my underskirt
- d. Non abaniques **en** min.
not shake_{IMPER.2sg} in me
- e. E sento[u]se no sillón de veludo a ler **nun** libro
and sit-down_{PERF.3sg} in-the armchair of velvet to read in-a book
que nunca lle vira. (48)
that never him had-seen_{1sg}
'And he/she sat down in the velvet armchair to read a book I had never noticed he/she had.'
- f. Que pasara a noite a lér **no** don Raimundos Lulio
that had-spent_{3sg} the night to read in-the don R. L.
e no Cornelius. (78)
and in-the C.
'That he/she had spent the night reading from don R. L. and from C.'

It must be noticed that in some contexts the DP following *en* seems to allow a non-specific reference as shown by the examples in (23), although the corresponding version with bare nominals is much more natural:

- (23) a. ?Anda sempre comprando **nos** libros.
is always buying in-the books
- b. ?Está comendo todo o día **nas** patacas.
is eating all the day in-the potatoes
- c. ?Está bebendo todo o día **na** cervexa.
is drinking all the day in-the beer

All the examples in (23) refer to repeated actions that are regular. This is the only case where the non-specificity of the DP seems to be licensed, though it is

quite marginal. This requires further investigation, and here I won't say anything else about these cases.

2.4. *Indefiniteness of the Combination of en + DP*

Even though *en* typically precede specific DPs, the combination of the preposition and the object does not behave as a specific but as a non-specific nominal, similar to a bare nominal in many respects.

In 2.2 it was shown that the objects preceded by *en* do not imply the completion of the action, in contrast with the objects without *en*, which do. Bare objects lack that implication of completion as in the former case, as illustrated in examples (24) and (25):

- (24) a. Comeu as patacas. 'He/she ate the potatoes.'
 b. Comeu **nas** patacas.
 c. Comeu patacas. 'He/she ate potatoes.'
- (25) a. Beberon o viño. 'They drank the wine.'
 b. Beberon **no** viño.
 c. Beberon viño. 'They drank some wine.'

The interpretation of objects with *en* and bare NPs is similar: they refer to an undetermined quantity of something. The only difference is that the undetermined quantity is part of a specific object or set of objects in the DPs with *en* contrary to bare nominals.

With temporal adjuncts that indicate the temporal limits of the events, the construction with *en* patterns again with the construction with a bare NP, as examples in (26), (27) show:

- (26) a. ^{*/??} Comeu as patacas toda a tarde. '... for the whole afternoon.'
 b. Comeu **nas** patacas toda a tarde.
 c. Comeu patacas toda a tarde.
- (27) a. Comeu as patacas en cinco minutos. '... in five minutes.'
 b. * Comeu **nas** patacas en cinco minutos.
 c. * Comeu patacas en cinco minutos.

Adverbials such as *durante toda a tarde* ('for the whole afternoon') are durational and give a non delimited interpretation of the event, whereas adverbials such as *en cinco minutos* ('in five minutes') are only compatible with events with a temporal limit. In other words, the adjuncts force the interpretation of a non complete action in the examples in (26), but of a complete action in (27).

It is worth noticing that Santamarina (1975:96) claims that the contrast between *Segar no pan / Segá-lo pan* is not the same as the contrast in the Spanish language and also in Galician between *segar centeno / segar el centeno* (Gal. *Segar*

pan / Segá-lo pan), even though apparently it looks as if objects with *en* are equivalent to bare objects. He bases his claim on the different interpretation of the examples in (28):

- (28) a. Cocéu patacas toda a tarde.
 cooked potatoes all the afternoon
 ‘He/she cooked potatoes several times in the afternoon’
- b. Cocéu **nas** patacas toda a tarde.
 cooked in-the potatoes all the afternoon
 ‘He/she was cooking the same potatoes in the afternoon’

A Galician informant tells me that (28b) can also be interpreted as cooking potatoes different times in the afternoon, which would be definitely equivalent to (28a) with the only difference that it would refer to some contextually specific potatoes. In other examples that kind of distributive interpretation seems to be the only one available, as is the case of (29b): the pancakes are made in different times during the night. Again the adverbial forces a reading of non complete action and a definite object is ungrammatical (see (29a)):

- (29) a. * Fixo toda a noite os freixós.
 b. Fixo toda a noite **nos** freixós. [ex. (29a,b) from Regueira (p.c.)]
 c. Fixo freixós toda a noite.
 ‘He/she made_{PER.3sg} (the) pancakes for the whole night’

Examples in (26, 27 and 29) show that *en* not only triggers a different interpretation of the counterpart without *en* —the one with the definite object—, but also that this preposition is not optional in some contexts.

2.5. Distribution of *en*: Restricted to Object Position of Transitive Verbs

En can only appear in object position with a transitive verb, either in a personal or impersonal construction. Any other distribution is excluded: it cannot appear in subject position nor can be the internal argument of an accusative verb.

- (30) a. Naquela festa só se bebía **nas** bebidas sen
 in that party only SE drank_{PERF.3sg} in-the drinks without
 alcohol. [impersonal]
 alcohol
- b. * Naquela festa só se bebían **nas** bebidas sen
 in that party only SE drank_{PERF.3pl} in-the drinks without
 alcohol. [passive]
 alcohol
- c. * **Nas** mercancías eran transportadas en tren. [passive]
 in-the goods were_{IMP} carried by train

- d. * Crecen **nas** malas herbas por todas partes. [unaccusative]
 grow in-the weeds everywhere
- e. * Hai **nos** papeis polo chan. [there construction]
 there-are in-the papers on-the floor
- f. * Iso é **no** viño. [copulative]
 this is in-the wine

En cannot be preceded by any other preposition:

- (31) a. * Ía a miúdo ó cine con **nos** amigos.
 went_{IMP.3sg} often to-the cinema with in-the friends
- b. * Chamaba sempre por **no** Xoan.
 asked_{IMP.3sg} always for in-the Xoan

When the object requires the preposition *a* in Galician —specific animate objects—, either *a* or *en* appears, but not both:

- (32) a. Están mallando a Pedro. ('They are hitting Pedro')
 b. Están mallando **en** Pedro.
 c. * Están mallando a **en** Pedro.
- (33) a. Maltratou a Maria canto quixo. ('He battered Maria as much as he
 b. Maltratou **en** Maria canto quixo. wanted')
 c. * Maltratou a **en** Maria canto quixo.

The combination of *en* + DO behaves as a nominal, not as a PP. That is the intuition of native speakers, who see these objects as equivalent to other objects without the preposition. Coordination structures provide some evidence in this respect: the preposition cannot be omitted, which suggests that it is not a real preposition; if it were, we would expect it to allow ellipsis.

- (34) a. * Está comendo **nas** patacas e as olivas.
 is eating in-the potatoes and the olives
- b. * Van pintar **na** cociña e a sala.
 will paint in-the kitchen and the sitting-room

3. *En* + DO in Galician Compared to the Partitive Article

In section 2 we showed that direct objects preceded by *en* in Galician share some properties with bare objects: they appear in contexts where the action is not completed and refer to an undetermined quantity of something even though the DP preceded by *en* is specific. Moreover, *en* does not function as a preposition: the whole construction behaves as a nominal, not a PP.

These properties resemble those of the so-called partitive article—in which also a prepositional element precedes a definite article (i.e. French: *du, de la, des*)—, especially in earlier times when use of the partitive article was more restricted.³

There is some reference in the literature to the similarity between objects with *en* in Galician and the partitive article. Brea (1985: 163, note 42) mentions «el “artículo partitivo” francés (*manger du pain, boire du vin*, que tienen un equivalente parcial en las construcciones gallegas del tipo *cortar no pan*)». Gómez Pintor (1984: 284) is more explicit, and in describing the Galician construction she claims that «cabe la posibilidad de que *en*, en algunos casos, tenga un cierto valor partitivo: su presencia supone que se toma parte del todo expresado por el término al que acompaña, contrariamente a los casos sin preposición. Así, es distinto *ler un libro / ler nun libro*. En el primer ejemplo, se supone que lo leemos entero, mientras que en el segundo caso también lo estamos leyendo, pero no necesariamente el libro completo, sino una parte, un párrafo, etc».

Objects preceded by *en* do not always have such a clear partitive meaning, but the fact that they do not imply completion of the action is correlated with the idea that the object is not completely affected; from that, similarity with the partitive interpretation can be postulated. Prepositions *de* and *en* do not mean the same, but they do have in common the interpretation that the object is only partially affected, either because it involves only a part ‘taken from’ it—which is the case of *de*— or ‘inside’ it—which is the case of *en*. It must be noted that Galician partitive *de* also existed and has remained in some constructions, involving an overt quantifier (*Había uns poucos de oficiais* ‘There were a few officers’, *Había moitos de cabalos* ‘There were many horses’, Álvarez et al., 1995: 495).⁴

The properties of the partitive article in Old French are summarized next, which are parallel to the properties of Galician *en* described in section 2:

- i) Usually with eventive verbs
- ii) Atelic aspect (no completion of the action: only part of the object affected).
- iii) Specificity of the element following the preposition.
- iv) The NP with partitive article behaves as an unspecific nominal.
- v) Partitive articles appear only in object position.

Galician *en* has a lot in common with the French partitive article, especially in early times when the use of the partitive article was more restricted. According to Foulet (1930: §88-89), in Old French (12th century) the partitive article was introduced in the language to refer to an undetermined part of a determined whole. Bare nominals were possible at that time, indicating an undetermined part of an unde-

3. In Old French, bare nominals were allowed, and the partitive article was restricted to nominals that referred to an indetermined quantity of a specific object or set of objects. This is to say, the definite article following the preposition *de* had a specific interpretation. In Modern French the partitive article covers both cases as no bare nominals are allowed any more, and the definite article has no specific value but rather generic.
4. According to a Galician informant, these examples seem to be archaic. This does not affect the point we made that Galician also had a partitive *de*, and *en* should not be confused or identified with it.

terminated whole. At the origin, the definite article contained in the partitive article had its referential function and referred to a specific whole.

As stated by Englebert (1996:11), originally the partitive article only appeared in the object position of a reduced group of transitive verbs (about 20 in the 12th century, the most used being: *avoir*, *boivre*, *donner*, *mangier*, *mettre*, *prester*; the list increased in the 13th century). These verbs describe an action in which the subject and the object are in physical contact, and the action must involve a specific object from which only part is affected.

- (35) a. se je vos ai presté del mien (Chrétien, Yvain 6252)
 if I to-you had lent of-the mine
 'If I had lent you (some) of my own.'
- b. de l'eve froide but au pot (Chrétien, Cligés 6534)
 of the-water cold drank_{3sg} in-the pot
 'He/she drank (some) of the cold water from the pot.'

The verbs that take the partitive article in the 12th century are clearly eventive with the exception of *avoir*, which indicates possession and is stative.

Even though *de* usually combines with the definite article, examples are found where it can precede other determiners such as possessives, demonstratifs and the indefinite article:

- (36) a. et bui del vin tant com je vols (Chrétien,
 and drank_{1sg} of-the wine as-much-as I wanted Perceval 3909)
 'I drank of the wine to my full.'
- b. de son pain et de sa porrete
 of his bread and of his leek
 par charité prist li boens hom (Chrétien,
 for charity's sake took the good man Yvain 2840)
 'The good man took of his bread and his leek out of charity.'
- c. Se vos mangiez de cest fruit vos seroiz ausi come Dieu
 (Queste 103, 12)
 if you ate of this fruit you would-be too like God
- d. ele lor fist prendre d'un des arbres de vert color
 she them made take of-one of-the trees of green colour
 qui de celui estoient descendu
 which of that-one were descended (Queste 224, 20)

According to Foulet (1930:§96), *de* always precedes a specific nominal, whose referentiality is indicated either with a possessive or a definite article.

- (37) a. Perduz i avez de voz hommes. P., 2458
 lost there have_{2pl} of your men
 'You have lost (some) of your men.'

- b. Eü i a de nos bons ancissors;
 been there have of our good ancestors
 molt ont esté et rice et eürous. Aspr., 6260-I
 much have_{3pl} been both and rich and happy (Foulet, 1930: § 95)
 ‘There have been (some) of good ancestors; they have been both very
 rich and happy.’

Also Nyrop (1903: 381) notes that partitive *de* is used with possessives and provides several examples from Old French.

In the 12th century, *de* co-occurs preferably with nouns in the singular, usually mass nouns, which are concrete. These restrictions are lost in the following centuries: in the 13th century examples are found with *de* preceding plural count nouns, in the 14th century *de* starts appearing in front of count nouns in the singular and, in the 15th century *de* is found with abstract nouns.

In Modern French the use of the partitive article is broader and most of the initial restrictions do not apply, but we can still find properties in common with Galician *en*.

4. Analysis

In the previous sections we have seen that Galician *en* preceding objects and the French partitive article are very similar, which justifies a unitary analysis.

We consider nominals with the partitive article as a subcase of partitive nominals (see (38)), with the only difference that the quantifier is non-overt.

- (38) a. many of the students
 b. much of the bread

In a previous work I proposed an analysis of partitives which is based on Kayne (1994)’s DP hypothesis, according to which D selects a D/PP projection which dominates a predication and one of the components of that predication raises to Spec D/PP.

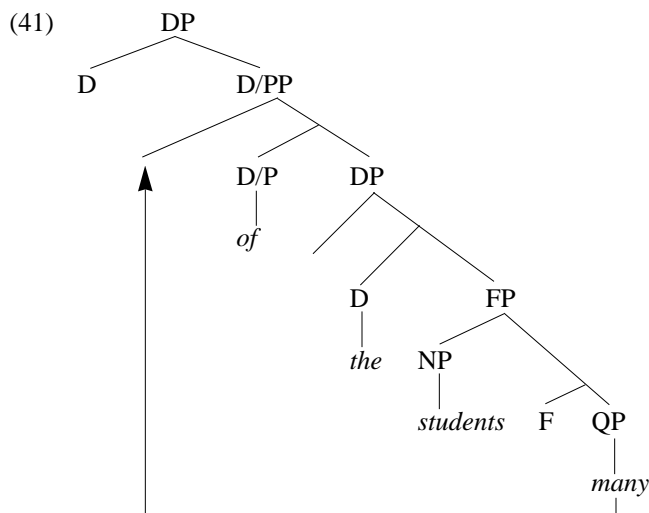
- (39) [_{DP} [_D D^o [_{D/PP} [_{D/P} D^o/P^o [_{FP} XP [F^o YP]]]]]]
-

- (40) a. [two pictures]_i [[_D of]_j [_{FP} John[‘s [e]_i]]] (Kayne, 1994:86, ex. 3)
 b. la [_{D/PP} [_{NP} voiture]_j] [de [_{IP} Jean [I^o [e]_j]]... (Kayne, 1994:103, ex. 84)
 c. the [_{CP} [_{NP} picture]_j] [that [_{IP} Bill saw [e]_j]]... (Kayne, 1994:103, ex. 85)
 d. the [_{CP} [_{XP} yellow]_j] [C^o [_{IP} book [I^o [e]_j]]] (Kayne, 1994:101, ex. 72)

Notice that in the examples in (40), with the structures assigned by Kayne, the definite article is external to the predication. In contrast, the rest of determinatives are internal, being generated in the lowest projection (see (40a)).

Unlike Kayne, I claim that quantitative elements such as *two*, *many*, *some*, etc. are not generated within a NP in the basic predication. What I propose in my analysis of partitives is that the quantitative element (Q) is generated as a predi-

cate the subject of which is the noun. Q subsequently raises to the Spec D/PP, the projection of *de/of*, following the general behaviour according to Kayne's DP hypothesis.⁵



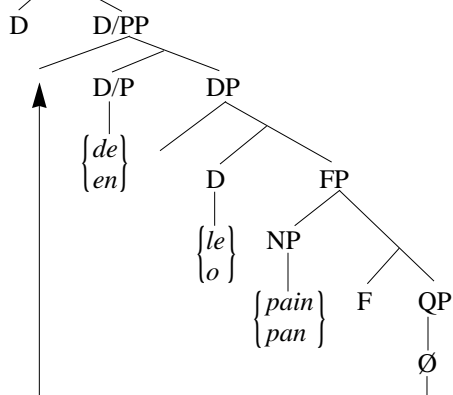
This hypothesis is based on the lexical status of quantifiers (they can undergo derivative processes — nouns are created from quantifiers such as Cat. *dotzena* ‘dozen’ < *dotze* ‘twelve’, *miler* < *mil* ‘one thousand’, *multitud* < *molt* ‘many’, etc.— and adjectives and nouns can act as quantifiers — *numerous*, *various*, *pile*, *lot*) and in their possibility of acting as a predicate, as shown in examples like *The students are many*.

I assume the same analysis for the partitive article and the Galician *en*: I propose that the head of the D/PP is *de* or *en*, and the element that raises to Spec D/PP is a null quantifier which is generated as a predicate.⁶ The hypothesis that the whole construction is a DP explains why these constructions behave like a nominal in parallel with nominals without the preposition: the preposition element is deep inside the DP structure and it is not a real preposition but a *prepositional determiner*, in Kayne's words.

5. I disregard here the differences between partitives in Romance and partitives in English, which would probably require a refinement of the analysis. I illustrate the syntactic tree with English data for commodity.
6. Luis Eguren pointed out to me that it is rather strange for a predicate to be null. It must be noted that in Kayne's DP analysis and in the one I present here, terms such as *predicate* and *predication* are used in a broad sense and cover relationships between constituents which are some times not considered as cases of predication, such as the possessive relation. In the possessive relation, the possessed element is the predicate. If we assume that to be correct, there are many cases in which the possessed element can be nul in Romance. For example: Sp. *Vi las de Marta* ('I saw the ones of Marta'), or even with no article, *Vi de Marta* ('I saw some of Marta').

(42) a. *du pain*b. *no pan*

c. DP



The presence of the DP intervening between the D/PP projection and the predication explains the specificity of the nominal following the prepositional element. Even if in Modern French specificity is not required—it is actually not allowed—, *de* must precede a definite article which must project in a DP.

The null quantifier is equivalent to ‘some’ and is then interpreted as an undetermined quantity, which accounts for the indefinite and unspecific interpretation of both Galician objects preceded by *en* and nominals with the partitive article.

Finally, that the object with *en* in Galician appears only in eventive constructions can be accounted in terms of selection requirements of the verb. This would also explain why *en* is restricted to the object position. The same could be applied to the partitive article in Old French.⁷

Appendix:

System of Galician articles and pronouns in combination with the preposition *en*:

definite article				definite pronoun 3 rd person			
m.sg.	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	m.sg.	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl
<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>ela</i>	<i>eles</i>	<i>elas</i>
<i>en no</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>nel</i>	<i>nela</i>	<i>neles</i>	<i>nelas</i>

7. Luis Eguren pointed out to me that it is not clear why the Galician *en* and the partitive article in Old French are restricted to object position, given that the same analysis is applied to overt partitives, which show no restriction at all and can freely appear in other positions. The answer could be connected with the fact that the quantifier is non-overt and that the Spec D/PP contains non-overt material. This is a matter for further research.

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