

The role of verb movement in the analysis of predicative gerunds and prepositional infinitives*

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International Workshop *The Syntactic Variation of Catalan and Spanish Dialects*
Barcelona, 26th-28th June 2013

1. Introduction

- **The domain of the analysis:**

In Catalan and Spanish, the gerundive verb form can be used in predicative contexts; however, in Catalan the distribution of gerunds differs between one dialect and another (cfr. (2 a) and (2 b)):

- | | | |
|--------|---|----------------------|
| (1) | Veo a Juan <i>comiendo(se) la manzana</i>
<i>I.see to Juan eating(self) an apple</i> | (Spanish) |
| (2) a. | He vist en Juan <i>menjant(se) la poma</i>
<i>I.have seen the Juan eating(self) the apple</i> | (Catalan - Sabadell) |
| b. | ??/*He vist en Juan <i>menjant sa poma</i>
<i>I.have seen the Jordi eating the apple</i>
"I have seen Juan eating the apple." | (Catalan - Mallorca) |

In other Romance varieties, as Portuguese or some Italian varieties, a predicative infinitive is used instead of the gerund:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------|
| (3) | Vi o Jorge a comer a maçã.
<i>I.saw the Jorge to eat the apple</i>
"I have seen Jorge eating the apple." | (Europ. Portuguese) |
|-----|--|---------------------|

- **Aims of this talk:**

1. To show that the Catalan microvariation depends on Cinque's (1999) hierarchy on adverbs and functional heads;
2. To compare the structure of gerunds with the structure of prepositional infinitives;
3. To propose a new account of predicative gerunds, based on the observations listed in 1 and 2.

* In this paper I present a part of my dissertation, where I analysed the structural correspondences between pseudorelatives, predicative gerunds and prepositional infinitives (Casalicchio 2013). The data I present were collected mainly by questionnaires filled out by native speakers. I want to thank Cecilia Poletto and Paola Benincà for the help they gave me during my work on the dissertation, and Andrea Padovan for the useful advice in some questions.

2. The predicative gerund – description and previous analyses

Very few analyses within the generative framework: the most important ones are Borgonovo (1996) and Di Tullio (1998), both on Spanish gerunds. In addition, Fernández Lagunilla's (1999) chapter in the *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* edited by I. Bosque and V. Demonte.

2.1. The distribution of predicative gerunds

The predicative gerund can be used in most cases where there is a Small Clause with a stage level predicate (with some limitations regarding e.g. the aspectual value of the embedded clause):

- (4) *Considero a Juan comiendo / siendo inteligente

Principal contexts where Spanish allows predicative gerunds:¹

- a. The PRO subject of the gerund is coindexed with the object of the matrix transitive verb, either as an adjunct or as an argument.²

- (5) a. Oí a Felipe *cantando*
I.heard to Felipe singing
"I heard Felipe singing."
b. No soporto a ese cretino *hablando de política* (Fernández Lagunilla 1999: 3490)
not I.stand to this idiot speaking of politics
"I can't stand this idiot speaking of politics."
(6) a. Policía lo sorprendió *entrando por el techo*
Police him surprised entering by the roof
"The police surprised him entering through the roof."
b. La mujer había dejado al niño *durmiendo en la cama* (Emonds 1986: 199)
the woman had left to-the child sleeping in the room
"The woman had left the child while he was sleeping in the room."

- b. The PRO subject of the gerund is coindexed, in various ways, with the subject of the matrix verb:

- (7) a. Mario volvió a casa *oliendo a vino*
Mario came-back to home smelling to wine
"Mario came back home smelling of wine."
b. [Será] mi propia conciencia *buscando un espejo*. (Lajmanovich 1967: 58)³
[it.will.be] my own conscience looking-for a mirror
"I guess it's my own conscience looking for a mirror."

¹ Cfr. Fernández Lagunilla (1999), Casalicchio (2013).

² I use here the PRO, because I am convinced of the necessity of keeping the different empty categories (PRO, pro, traces) distinct, to give a clear account of the phenomenon I describe, cfr. also Landau (2003 and successive work).

³ This quotation is taken from Urueta, Margarita, *Ángel de justicia, o el señor perro*.

- c. Los niños *durmiendo* son adorables (Fernández Lagunilla 1999: 3487)

The children sleeping are lovely

"The children are lovely when they sleep."

- c. in PPs, especially with the prepositions *con* (so called 'absolute construction'⁴) and *de* (nominal construction):

- (8) a. *Con María llorando*, no puedo salir

With Maria crying, not I.can go.out

"With Maria crying, I can't go out."

- b. La foto de María *haciendo las galletas* no la he visto nunca

The picture of Maria making the biscuits not it I.have seen never

"I have never seen the picture of Maria making biscuits."

- c. *Entre esas cotorras charlando continuamente*, tu tía Julia no desentonará.

(Lajmanovich 1967: 73⁵)

Among those gossipers chattering continuously, your aunt Julia not will.play-out-of-tune

"Among those gossipers chattering without a break, your aunt Julia won't clash."

- d. in 'root' constructions: exclamations, descriptions of pictures, etc.:

- (9) a. ¡Qué emocionante! ¡Un hombre *diciendo la verdad*...! (Lajmanovich 1967: 75)⁶

How exciting! A man telling the truth...!

"How exciting! A man telling the truth...!"

- b. E. Delacroix, *La Libertad guiando al pueblo*

The Liberty leading the people

"E. Delacroix, *Liberty leading the people*"

2.1. The previous analyses:

Borgonovo (1996) compares the Spanish and English perceptive constructions, which are formed with a predicative gerund and with the *Acc-ing* construction. The Spanish gerundive clause is analysed as an adjunct, but her analysis rests on a small amount of data and is based only on perceptive constructions.

- (10) [_{VP} NP [_{V'} [_{V'} V] [_{GerP} NP Ger [_{VP} PRO V...]]]]

⁴ In Casalicchio (2012) I propose to distinguish between an 'absolute *con*' and a 'dependent *con*': in the former, the PP is on the left of the matrix clause, in the latter on the right end. In these constructions the predicative constructions have two different structures.

⁵ Quotation taken from Wolff, *Los invasores*.

⁶ Quotation taken from Urueta, Margarita, *La mujer transparente*

Di Tullio (1998) proposes a more articulated threefold analysis, which is inspired by Cinque's (1992) similar account of the (Italian) Pseudorelative construction:⁷ depending on the syntactic context, the gerund may enter in three different structures (Di Tullio 1998):⁸

- | | |
|---|---|
| (11) a. Two separate constituents: | Vi [_{NP} a Mario _i] [PRO _i bailando] |
| b. One single clausal constituent: ⁹ | Vi [_{AspP} a Mario bailando] |
| c. One single constituent (complex NP): | Vi [_{NP} a Mario _i [PRO _i bailando]] |

Tests for these structures:

- Two separate constituents:

- (12) a. Lo vi comiendose una manzana (cliticization)
 him I.saw eating-self an apple
 "I saw him eating an apple."
 b. María fue vista leyendo una novela (Long DP-movement)
 Maria was seen reading a novel
 "Maria was seen reading a novel."

- One single clausal constituent:

- (13) a. Lo que vi fue el barco atracando en el puerto (pseudocleft)
 it what I.saw was the boat docking in the port
 "What I saw was the boat docking in the port."
 b. Vi [el barco atracando en el puerto], lo que me resultó sorprendente (neuter proform)
 I.saw [the boat docking in the port], it that me resulted surprising
 "I saw the boat docking in the port, what resulted surprising for me."

- One single DP constituent:

- (14) a. ¿A quién has visto? A María leyendo una novela (interrogation with personal pronoun)
 to who you.have seen? To Maria reading a novel
 "Who have you seen? Maria reading a novel."
 b. Unos niños cruzando la calle fueron vistos por Juan (agreement of the matrix verb)
 Some children crossing the street carelessly were seen by Juan
 "Some children crossing the street carelessly were seen by Juan."

⁷ The pseudo-relative construction is used in predicative contexts in all Romance varieties but Rumanian, especially with perception verbs:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| (i) | Ho visto Gianni che mangiava la mela (Italian) |
| | <i>I.have seen Gianni that ate the apple</i> |
| (ii) | He vist en Juan que menjava sa poma (Catalan) |
| | <i>I.have seen the Juan that ate the apple</i> |
| (iii) | Vi a Juan que comía la manzana (Spanish) |
| | <i>I.saw to Juan that ate the apple</i> |
| | "I saw John eating the apple." |

⁸ I simplify here somewhat the analysis given by Di Tullio; note that in her analysis there are no DPs, but only NPs.

⁹ Di Tullio (1998) proposes that this constituent is an AspP; however, I will analyse this constituent as a CP (cfr. *infra*).

3. The Catalan data

In Catalan, **microvariation** in the use of predicative gerunds:

Central Catalan (more or less like Spanish) vs. Mallorcan and Algherese (more limitations).

The latter varieties use the gerund by and large in similar mood, but there is some residual variation (examples from Sabadell):

Context	Sabadell	Mallorca	Alghero
Presentational <i>there is</i> : (15) Hi ha na Maria plorant com una desesperada (Mallorca) <i>there has the Maria crying like a desperate</i> "Maria is crying as she were desperate."	ok	ok	ok
Locative expressions: (16) La Gina és a l'església parlant amb el capellà <i>the Gina is to the church speaking with the priest</i> "Gina is in the church, speaking with the priest."	ok	ok	ok
Dependent PPs with <i>amb</i> : (17) Hem vist París amb el Pau fent de guia <i>we.have seen Paris with the Pau making of guide</i> "We have visited Paris with Pau as guide."	ok	ok	ok
Perception constructions with <i>to watch</i> : (18) El Marc mira la Maria cuinant el pollastre <i>the Marco watches the/to Maria cooking the chicken</i> "Marco watches Maria cooking the chicken."	ok	ok	ok
PP in a DP: (19) La foto de la Maria cuinant les galetes no l'havia vit mai! <i>the picture of the Maria cooking the biscuits not it I.had seen never</i> "I had never seen the picture of Maria cooking the biscuits."	ok	ok	ok
Perception constructions with <i>to see</i> : (20) He vist en Jordi menjant la poma <i>I.have seen the/to Jordi eating(self) the apple</i> "I have seen Jordi eating the apple."	ok	*	ok
Absolute PPs with <i>amb</i> : (21) Amb la Maria plorant del mal, no podem marxar <i>with (the) Maria crying of pain, not we.can leave</i> "Since Maria is crying with pain, we can't leave."	ok	ok	*
Presentational <i>to have</i> : (22) Tinc un amic estudiant anglès <i>I.have a friend studying English</i> "I have a friend (here) studying English."	ok	*	*

As object of the verb <i>to stand</i> : (23) No suportó gens el Joan i el Pau fumant a casa <i>Not I. stand absolutely the/to Gianni and (the) Mario smoking at home</i> "I can't really stand Joan and Pau smoking at home."	ok	*	*
As subject modifier: (24) Els nens fent de vells del poble fan morir de riure <i>the children making the elderly. people of-the village make die of to. laugh</i> "The children imitating the elderly people of the village are funny."	ok	*	*
Table 1a: The use of the predicative gerund in the three Catalan varieties			

Table 1a shows that:

- in some contexts the gerund is used in all varieties (first five rows);
- in others the gerund is grammatical only in Sabadell (last three rows);
- With the verb *to see* and in the absolute construction with *amb* ('with') there is a variation between Mallorca and Alghero.

⇒ First conclusion: The microvariation is not related to an implicational scale.

4. Account of the Catalan data

Key to explain this variation: the aspectual value of the gerund.

The Romance gerund is usually described as carrying a progressive value. But there are **slight aspectual differences** within the contexts that permit the use of a gerund (examples from Sabadell):

- (25) a. El Marc mira la Maria cuinant el pollastre. Asp_{completive}
the Marc watches the Maria cooking the chicken
 "Marc watches Maria cooking the chicken."
- b. He vist en Jordi menjant(se) la poma Asp_{progressive/continuative}¹⁰
I. have seen the Jordi eating(self) the apple
 "I have seen Jordi eating the apple."
- c. La policia ha escoviat lo lladre entrant de la finestra (Alghero) Asp_{terminative}
the police has caught the thief entering by the window
 "The police caught the thief entering by the window."
- d. No suportó gens el Joan i el Pau fumant a casa Asp_{repetitive}
Not I. stand absolutely the Jaon and the Pau smoking at home
 "I can't really stand Joan and Paul smoking at home."

¹⁰ It is not easy to distinguish between the continuative and the progressive aspect, since this two categories seem to be related also to the *Aktionsart* of the gerundial verb.

- ⇒ (25)a: the event described by the gerund usually stops at the same time as the matrix verb *to watch*;
- ⇒ (25)b: the matrix verb *to see* focuses only one single moment of the event expressed by the gerund, while the latter goes on.
- ⇒ With a verb like *to catch* (25)c, the corresponding Aspectual Head of the gerund is usually terminative, since the event described by this verb normally forces the stop of the embedded event.
- ⇒ In (25)d the unmarked aspectual reading with the matrix verb (*do not*) *stand* is repetitive, since the main event happens every time that the embedded event happens.

A similar, detailed analysis can be made with the other contexts, too; the table 1b shows the results in unmarked sentences:

Context	Sabadell	Mallorca	Alghero	Aspectual value
Presentational <i>there is</i>	ok	ok	ok	Asp _{completive}
Locative expressions	ok	ok	ok	
Dependent PPs with <i>amb</i>	ok	ok	ok	
Perception constructions with <i>to watch</i>	ok	ok	ok	
PP in a DP	ok	ok	ok	Asp _{continuative}
Perception constructions with <i>to see</i>	ok	*	ok	
Absolute PPs with <i>amb</i>	ok	ok	*	
Presentational <i>to have</i>	ok	*	*	
As object of the verb <i>to stand</i>	ok	*	*	Asp _{rep}
As subject modifier	ok	*	*	
Table 1b: The use of the predicative gerund in the three Catalan varieties, and its aspectual value				

Look at the additional indications in table 1b: **the predicative gerund is grammatical in all Catalan varieties when it corresponds to Asp_{completive}**, i.e. with the verb *to watch*, with the dependent *amb*, with the presentational *there is* and with locative expressions.¹¹

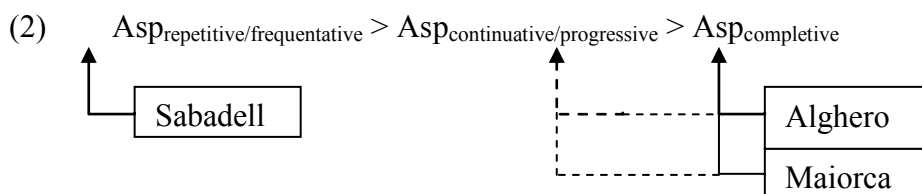
Among the different aspectual values carried by the gerund the completive aspect is exactly the lowest one in the hierarchy of Cinque (1999):

¹¹ The gerunds are also grammatical in nominal expressions, although here the predominant aspectual value seems to be the progressive/continuative one.

- (1) $\text{Asp}_{\text{habitual}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{repetitive(I)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{frequentative (I)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{celerative (I)}} > T_{(\text{anterior})} > \text{Asp}_{\text{terminative}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{continuative}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{perfect(?)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{retrospective}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{proximative}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{durative}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{progressive}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{prospective}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{completive (I)}} (> \text{Voice}) > \text{Asp}_{\text{celerative (II)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{completive (II)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{repetitive (II)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{frequentative (II)}}$
Cinque (1999: 106)

The **crosscheck** confirms the proposed correlation between Aspect and distribution of gerunds: with the highest Asp° involved ($\text{Asp}_{\text{repetitive}}$) the gerund is only grammatical in Central Catalan.

The variation between Mallorcan and Algherese: probably due to the fact that the blocking process is still *in fieri*, and we may think that Mallorcan and Algherese are slowly losing the use of the gerunds every time the verb has to reach a projection above $\text{Asp}_{\text{progressive}}$.¹² In this stage, there are some residual contexts where the verb can still reach $\text{Asp}_{\text{progressive}}$ (or $\text{Asp}_{\text{continuative}}$), but probably this movement will become more and more marginal. This situation can be schematized in this way:



5. The comparison with prepositional infinitives

In the same contexts, some Romance varieties use another non-inflected form, the prepositional infinitive: (European) Portuguese, galloitalic dialects, Friulan and Romansh.

- (3) a. Não suporto o Gianni e o Mario a fumarem em casa (Europ. Portuguese)
not I-stand the G. and the M. to smoke in house
- b. E pōš propi nent ēšcerì Gianni e Mario a tübé en cā (Viola, Piedmontese)
I.cl can really not stand G. and M. to smoke in house
- c. No sopuarti propite Zuan e Mari a fumâ in cjase (Reana del Rojale, Friulan)
not I-stand really G. and M. to smoke in house
- "I can't really stand Gianni and Mario smoking at home."

¹² From a crosslinguistic view, I prefer thinking that in an earlier stage Catalan generally allowed the use of a gerundial form in any predicative context, like in Central Catalan today: this observation rests on the fact that there are several varieties that used the predicative gerund at a former stage, but now do not (Italian and a lot of Italian dialects): therefore it seems reasonable to think that the same process is at work now in Catalan. Vice versa, I do not know varieties where the opposite process is documented (i.e. from a sentential predicative complement to a gerundial one).

The distribution of prepositional infinitives is the same as the gerunds (selected examples from Portuguese):¹³

- with perception verbs:

(4) Vi o Jorge a comer a maçã.
I.saw the Jorge to eat an apple
 "I saw Jorge eating an apple."
- with other transitive verbs:

(5) Apanhei os meninos a fumar
I.surprised the children to smoke
 "I caught the children smoking."
- with the absolute *with*:

(6) Com a Maria a chorar por causa da dor, não podemos sair.
with the Maria to cry for purpose of pain, not we.can leave
 "As Maria is crying in pain, we cannot leave."
- with locative expressions:

(7) A Gina está na igreja a falar com o padre.
the Gina stays in-the church to speak with the father
 "Gina is in the church, speaking with the priest."
- as a predicative complement of the subject:

(8) O Jorge chegou a casa cheirando a vinho.
the Jorge came-back to home smelling of wine
 "Jorge came back home smelling of wine."

But there is a **deeper correlation** between these two verb forms:

1. The diachronic data show that the PPs headed by the (functional) preposition *a* or *de* are usually the continuation of a synthetic form. This observation holds not only for nominal DPs (9), but also for verbal forms (10), Tekavčić (1972):

- (9) a. CAMPI > DE CAMPU(M)
 b. CAMPO > A(D) CAMPU(M)
- (10) a. AMANDI > DE AMARE
 b. AMANDO > AD AMARE

¹³ Differently from Portuguese, in all the Italian varieties where the prepositional infinitive is grammatical there are some (apparently independent) restrictions on the context where it can be used.

2. The alternation between gerunds and prepositional infinitives holds even in some adverbial uses:¹⁴

- (11) *A ben guardare*
to well look
Guardando bene
Looking well } *si nota la differenza*
one notices the difference (Italian)
 "If one looks well, he notices the difference."
- (12) *A mañár e a béver*, en pašá en bël dopodiznár (ALD map 516, p. 49: *Noneso dialect*¹⁵)
to eat and to dring, we.have spent a nice afternoon
 "Eating and drinking, we spent a nice afternoon."
- (13) *A avëi liet tan giut*, es giapà suenn (Anderlan-Obletter 1991; *Gardenese ladin dialect*)
to have read so much, you.have got sleep
 "Having read so much, you became tired."

3. The comparison between aspectual periphrastical forms in Italian and Spanish shows that when the latter uses a gerund, the former uses either a gerund, either a prepositional infinitive:

- (14) a. *Estoy escuchando a Juan.*
I.am listening to Juan
 b. *Sto ascoltando Gianni.*
I.am listening Juan
 "I am listening to Juan."
- (15) a. *María sigue *trabajando* / **a trabajar**
*María keeps working / *to work*
 b. *Maria continua **lavorando* / *a lavorare**
*Maria keeps *working / to work*
 "Maria keeps working."

Raposo (1989) analyses cases like (15) as particular forms of predicative gerunds; to some extent, this proposal can be maintained.¹⁶

¹⁴ In Spanish and Portuguese, this prepositional infinitive has to carry the definite article:

(i) *Ao aproximar(em-se)*, os rapazes cumprimentaram os amigos (Brito 2003: 725)
to-the getting-closer, the children greeted the friends
 "Getting closer, the children said hello to their friends."

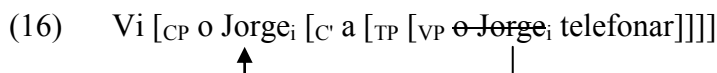
¹⁵ The Noneso dialect is spoken in the *Val di Non* in Northern Italy: it is traditionally considered a 'semi-ladin' dialect, which has some characteristics of Dolomitic Ladin and others of the dialect of the province of Trento.

¹⁶ Note that Cinque (2006) analyses the verbs like *seguir* ('to keep doing sth.') as functional verbs in TP, forming a monoclausal structure with the gerund. On the other hand, the predicative structures can be analysed as biclausal structures, with two separate CPs.

6. The role of verb movement

I propose that there is even a **close structural similarity** between gerunds and prepositional infinitives.

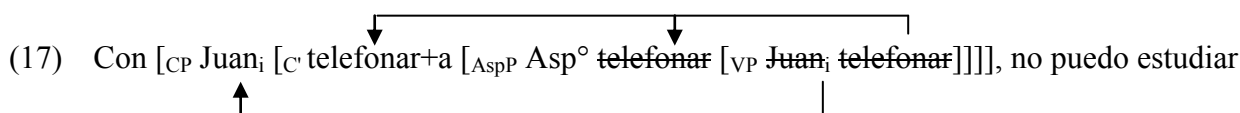
a. Structure of prepositional infinitives:¹⁷



Here the aspectual value is carried by the functional P *a*, and Jorge moves out from VP to CP.¹⁸

b. Structure of predicative gerunds:

In this structure, there is movement of the embedded verb (cfr. § 3 on Catalan data):



The basic structure is the same, with the difference that we have a silent preposition in C°, which is a trigger for the movement: so the verb raises first to the requested AspP, and then to C°. Here it incorporates the preposition, giving rise to the gerundial form.

c. Differences between gerunds and prepositional infinitives:

Given this structure, **the only difference between these two forms consists in the availability of verb movement**: when it is blocked, the preposition is realized, and the verb appears as an infinitive. The passage from gerunds to prepositional infinitive can be reconstructed in diachrony, considering Portuguese, Friulan and Galloitalic dialects.¹⁹

↪ Cfr. Friulan: the authors used the predicative gerund up to the XVI century (and never the prepositional infinitive); starting by the XVII century we find only prepositional infinitives (in the same contexts), and never gerunds.²⁰

- (18) Tuest che vedè Ribalt vignint pe vie... (*Trav. dell'Orl. Fur.* I, 79: XVI century)
as soon as she saw Ribalt coming on way
 "As soon as she saw Ribaldo coming along that way, ..."

¹⁷ For the sake of simplicity I display here only one of the three possible structures for predicative constructions; for a detailed representation of all possible structures cfr. Casalicchio (2013).

¹⁸ I propose this movement on the basis of the comparison with the Pseudo-relative clauses, whose structure I represent as follows (Casalicchio 2013):

(i) Vedo [_{ForceP} Maria_i che [_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{FinP} [_{TP} pro_i canta [_{VP} Maria_i canta]]]]]]]

¹⁹ In Romansh, predicative gerunds and prepositional infinitives alternate quite freely still today.

²⁰ Cfr. Casalicchio (2013). The same analysis explains (10), the passage from Latin to the Romance languages (cfr. *supra*). In Mallorcan and Algherese Catalan, as in Standard Italian, the situation is somewhat different, since there are restrictions on the use of prepositional infinitives: this fact could be due to an independent restriction, i.e. the widespread use of the pseudorelative clause.

- (19) Cho chu 'l soccors sintirin a vigni... (*Traduz. dell'Orl. Fur. IV 71*: XVII century)
when that the help they.heard to come
"When they heard the help coming, ..."

⇒ The different degrees of verb movement explain also the Catalan microvariation.

Further arguments for this analysis:

1. Insertion of adverbs and other elements within the Small Clause: In the case of Spanish gerunds, even the high adverbs like *aun* appear to the right of the gerund; this shows that the final position of the gerund is high:²¹

- (20) [?]Veo a Pepa dormiendo aún
I.see to Pepa sleeping still
"I see Pepa still sleeping."

The comparison with the prepositional infinitive is particularly significant: in this construction it is possible to insert some elements between the preposition and the infinitive – this shows the low position of the infinitive.

- (21) Èl padròn o lo vgäva semp *a nent travajé* (Viola)
the chef he.cl him saw always to not work
"The chef saw him always resting (= not working)."
- (22) ^{??}Eu vi os miúdos *a não devorar(em) o gelado* (Duarte 2003: 644)
I saw the children to not devour the ice cream
"I saw the children eating the ice cream without devouring it."
- (11) A ben guardare, si nota la differenza
to well look, one notices the difference
"If one looks well, he notices the difference."

2. The negation of the gerund. In Spanish it is not possible to negate the predicative gerund with the negative adverb *no*:²²

- (23) a. *María sigue no soportandote
Maria keeps not bearing-you
- b. *Mario volvió a casa no oliendo a vino
Mario came back to home not smelling to wine

²¹ The only partial exception is constituted by the very high adverb *ya*: in this case some of my informants prefer to use it to the left of the gerund, others to the right.

(i) Veo a Ana (*ya*) comiendo (*ya*) la tarta

Here the left position of *ya* could be due to a further movement of the adverb.

²² Note that this observation does not hold for the adverbial gerund that functions as a sentence modifier:

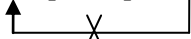
(i) No llegando el profesor, los alumnos empezaron a hacer ruido.
not arriving the teacher, the pupils started to make noise
"Since the teacher didn't come, the pupils started making noise."

This difference should be further investigated in future work.

In this case, the only possibility is to use the preposition *sin* ('without'). This shows that the preposition is always present, and with the negation *sin* is used instead of *a*: since *sin* is never a probe, the verb movement does not apply and incorporation is not possible; the verb appears in the infinitival form:²³

- (24) a. *María sigue sin soportarte*
María keeps without bear-you
 "Maria doesn't still bear you."
 b. *Mario volvió a casa sin oler a vino*
Mario came-back to home without smell to wine
 "Mario came back home without smelling of wine."

Here the movement is blocked:

- (25) [_{CP} *sin* [_{TP} ... [_{VP} *oler a vino*]]]
- 

7. Conclusions

In this paper I have shown that:

- the Catalan microvariation in the use of predicative gerunds depends on the mobility of the verb;
- it is possible to hypothesize a unified account for gerunds and prepositional infinitives;
- the predicative gerund can be analysed as the result of an incorporation of the verb + a null preposition.

Topics for future research:

- Is it possible to extend the analysis of predicative gerunds even to other types of gerunds, and how can the differences in some tests be accounted for?
- How is it possible that the preposition loses its property as probe, in varieties like Mallorcan, Algherese or Portuguese?
- Why isn't it always possible in Catalan (but also in Italian Standard and dialects) to use prepositional infinitives in the contexts where gerunds are ungrammatical?

²³ The negation with the preposition *sin* is ungrammatical in some predicative contexts; this fact seems due to semantics:

- (i) **Veó a Juan_i sin PRO_i comer la tarta*
I.see to Juan without eat the cake

8. Literature

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9. Appendix

Table of the most frequent contexts where a predicative gerund is used, with indication of the principal aspectual value:

Context	Example	Principal aspectual value
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Predicative complement of an object DP

<i>To hear</i>	<i>Oigo a María cantando</i>	continuative/progressive
<i>To listen to</i>	<i>Escuché a mi familia cantando</i>	completive
<i>(Not) to stand</i>	<i>No soporto a ese cretino hablando de política</i>	repetitive
<i>To catch</i>	xxx	terminative

In PPs

"Absolute" <i>with</i>	<i>Con María llorando, no puedo salir</i>	continuative (?)
"Dependent" <i>with</i>	<i>Vimos París con Pablo mostrándonos los monumentos</i>	completive
Gerund in nominal expressions	<i>La foto de Ana haciendo galletas</i>	continuative

Other contexts

Predicative complement, referring to the subject	<i>Mario volvió a casa olviendo a vino</i>	continuative
Subject modifier	<i>Los niños durmiendo son adorables</i>	repetitive (completive?)
Presentational sentences with <i>tener</i>	<i>Tengo a un amigo pintándome la casa</i>	completive
Presentational sentences with <i>hi ha / hi es / es</i>	<i>Hi ha na Maria plorant com una desesperada</i> (Mallorca)	completive (?)
Locative expressions	<i>Julio está en el jardín regando las plantas</i>	completive

Table 2: Aspectual value of the gerund