

MESOCCLITIC ROMANCE FUTURES AND CONDITIONALS VS. PARTICIPLE PREPOSING

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This poster focuses on two of the most debated aspects of Old Spanish and Old Catalan syntax: INFINITIVE + CLITIC + AUX, in (1), in contrast to PARTICIPLE + CLITIC + AUX, in (2).

- (1) a. Ya lo vedes que *partir nos emos* en vida ...[*Cid*: vv. 278-281; ed. R. Menéndez Pidal]
yet it (you)see that split-us have_{FUT.AUX} in life... OLD SPANISH
- b. "Señora," dixo el, "*dezirlo-hedes* al rey sy aca veniere?"[*Zifar*: 99; ed. Ch. P. Wagner]
Lady, said he, say-it have_{FUT.AUX} to the king if here (he) came? OLD SPANISH
- c. si era axí com vós deïts, *seguir-se-n hia* contradicció [Llull, *Disputació ...*: 97.12]
if (it)were so as you say, follow-it-of it have_{COND. AUX} contradiction OLD CATALAN
- (2) a. ¡Maldito seas! Que *hecho me has reyr* ... [*Celestina*: 94; ed. D. Severin]
Damned be! that had me have_{PERF.AUX} smile ... OLD SPANISH
- b. lo que en muchos días *acabado non as* ... [*Buen Amor*: 579cd; ed. J. Josep]
what in many days finished not have_{PERF.AUX} ... OLD SPANISH
- c. àls no-ns en podem pendre, d'aquells qui *fet ho han*. [*CICA*: Muntaner, *Crònica*:73vb]
others not us of-it can take, of those who done it have_{PERF.AUX} OLD CATALAN

Both structures have been examined by many works the focal point of which was either the verbal syntax (see Yllera 1994), the syntax of complex pasts and futures (see Fleischman 1982, 1983 and Company 1985-1986, 1999, 2006), or the position of clitic pronouns and word order (see Martínez Gil 1989, González Ollé 1983, Rivero 1990, Fontana 1993 and Batllori-Iglésias-Martins 2005). Within the Generative framework they received special attention as prototypes of two different sorts of verb movement: XP movement, with possible interference of negation, and Long Head movement, where negation is not attested (see Rivero 1989, 1991, 1994; Lema and Rivero 1989, 1991, 1992; Lema 1994; Parodi 1995). As further research gradually got inside the nature of functional projections (see Cardinaletti and Roberts 2002 and Uriaguereka 1992/1995, 1995), its results allowed for a better explanation of these configurations and, particularly, of the process of grammaticalization of futures and conditionals (see Roberts 1992-1993 and Roberts-Roussou 2002, 2003).

Since Rizzi's (1997) *Theory of Left Periphery*, the study of its functional projections in relation to discourse information structure (see Benincà 2001, 2004; Benincà-Poletto 2004 and Frascarelli 2007) provided us with more adequate explanatory tools to account for the constructions under analysis. Previous research has shown that these two structures display certain parallelisms, given that they can occur without clitic pronouns, in (3), and are attested in main clauses and also in the subordinate clauses that seem to be transparent for root transformations or to pattern with main clauses. They differ in that mesocclisis most usually appears in the apodosis of conditional clauses (see Company 1999: 95) and does not allow the interference of negation. Therefore, further research on these patterns should take into consideration Haegeman's (2007 and ff.) studies on subordination and Belletti's (2004) proposals concerning the Low Left Periphery.

- (3) a. Bé-m recorda -diguí jo- que *dit havies* que en una fort alta muntanya era la entrada d'imfern [Metge, *Lo somni*: III. 203] Indeed-REFL.PRON remind -said I- that said had_{PERF.AUX} that in a very high mountain was the entrance of hell OLD CATALAN
- b. Pidote, pues, que todas estas cosas que *dicho has* las firmes [*CORDE*: Fdez de Heredia, *Historia troyana*] (I)ask-you, then, that all these things that said have_{PERF.AUX} them (you) sign OLD SPANISH

Old Catalan and Old Spanish displayed a richer high and a low left periphery than their Modern varieties and could emulate V2 orders. My analysis shows that mesocclitic Romance

futures and conditionals are instances of focus fronting to a low focus position located to the left of the low *vP* phase (in the lines of Poletto 2006), while participle preposing structures are examples of both main and subordinate *Weak Focus Fronting* to the high left periphery (see Batllori-Hernanz 2010). I take the Latin origin of the mesoclitic constructions to be modal periphrases (see Yllera 1973), the order of which infinitive with respect to the finite verb was due to information structure distribution. Thus, mesoclysis in Old Spanish and Old Catalan would follow the Latin pattern, yielding an analysis as follows:

[CP [ModP.oblig. [dezi_i vos_j]_k [Mod.oblig. emos] [Low TopicP [Low FocusP [Low Focus t_k][vP [VP t_i t_j]]]]]]

This accounts for: 1) its presentational value (see Fernández Ordóñez 2008-2009: 13), 2) the lack of interference of negation, and 3) its behavior as a modal periphrasis with deontic value.

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