

MESOCLITIC ROMANCE FUTURES AND CONDITIONALS VS. PARTICIPLE PREPOSING¹Montserrat Batllori (*Universitat de Girona*)

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1. Introduction

This poster focuses on two of the most revisited constructions of Old Spanish and Old Catalan syntax:

- (1) INFINITIVE + CLITIC + AUX: *dezir lo an, dezir lo yan*
- (2) PARTICIPLE + CLITIC + AUX: *dicho lo an, dicho lo avian*

- Both structures have been examined by Historical Grammar handbooks and many works the focal point of which was either the verbal syntax (see Yllera 1973), 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 & Rivero 1989, 1991, 1992; Lema 1994; Parodi 1995). In Generative Grammar, as further research gradually got inside the nature of functional projections (see Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991/2002 [AGRP1] and Uriagereka 1992/1995, 1995 [FocusP]), its results allowed for a better explanation of these configurations (see Batllori 1992, 1993) and, particularly, of the process of grammaticalization of futures and conditionals (see Roberts 1992-1993, Roberts & Roussou 2002, 2003) and Roberts (2007), among others. 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 concerning focus fronting (see Batllori 1993; following Uriagereka 1992) and, particularly, Old Spanish and Old Catalan left periphery and weak focus fronting (see Batllori & Hernanz 2008 and 2010) has shown that these two structures display certain parallelisms, given that they can occur without clitic pronouns, 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 (see Haegeman 2007 and ff.).
- In this paper I pose that (1) is an evidential configuration in Old Spanish and Old Catalan, whereas (2) is an instance of weak or unmarked focus fronting. The evidentiality of mesoclitic structures can be put forward on the bases of three main arguments: a) mesoclisism is not compulsory (i.e., whenever you have a clitic, you can either have mesoclisism or proclisis/enclisis); b) mesoclitic futures and conditionals are attested in interrogative sentences (with *wh-* elements); and c) they are not found in derived adverbial clauses (which is what you expect if they have an evidential value, since they bring about intervention effects corresponding to the derivational account of conditional and temporal sentences, for example - see Haegeman 2007 and ff.), and are related to high modal expressions (thus interfering with MoodPIrrealis). As for considering (2) an instance of weak focus fronting, see Batllori-Hernanz (2010 and ff.).
- **Therefore, this paper will show that both structures create intervention effects because past participle preposing corresponds to weak focus fronting and mesoclisism to an evidential construction which is incompatible with the derivation of adverbial clauses (particularly,**

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temporal and conditional adverbial clauses) as free relatives, with wh-movement of an operator to the left periphery (to ForceP), as posed by Haegeman 2010a and 2010b, and reference therein. Haegeman 2007 gives evidence for the movement analysis of temporal clauses and predicts the incompatibility of temporal clauses with Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), which have been argued to depend on speaker assertion. According to Haegeman (2010: 604), the operator originates in Cinque (1999:88)'s MoodPirrealis. This implementation of the movement approach to conditional clauses leads to the prediction that such clauses will be incompatible with modal expressions located higher than MoodPirrealis (i.e., expression of speech act mood, evaluative mood, evidential mood, and epistemic modality). She assumes that high adverbs are operators merged in their scope position that cannot undergo further movement and that the operator generated in MoodPirrealis shares relevant features with high modal expressions (speech act, evidential, evaluative or epistemic). That is, they belong to the same class of expressions. The operator, that is base generated in a position above Cinque's low modals (IrrealisP) and below high modals, won't have intervention effects with low deontic modals. There will be intervention effects, though, with high modals. Notice, though, that not all adverbial clauses are derived by operator movement. Haegeman (2010: 641) says that "rationale clauses, contrastive *while* clauses and *although* clauses belong to what [she has] labelled 'peripheral' adverbial clauses". Thus, both participle preposing and mesoclefts will be compatible with the latter adverbial clauses.

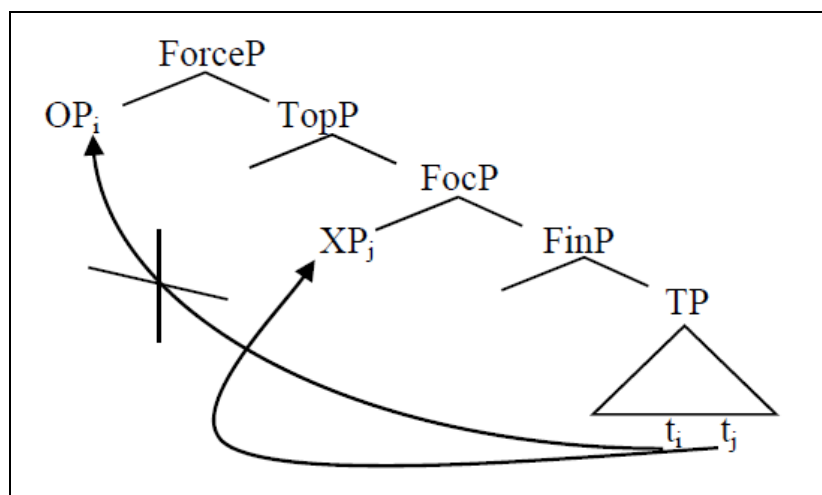


Table 1. Intervention effects. Danckaert (2011: 87)

- The intervention account can allow for an explanation of the incompatibility of MCP whenever adverbial clauses are derived by operator extraction. These phenomena should not either be possible in clausal complements of factive predicates, restrictive relatives, among other derived structures, or subjunctive clauses. According to Haegeman (2010a: 644), "it has been proposed that subjunctive clauses contain an operator in Spec CP (Kempchinsky, 1987). If this operator has been moved from a lower position, then the ungrammaticality is due to an intervention effect." In contrast, peripheral adverbial clauses should allow for MCP.

2. Word Order in Old Romance

- When Adams (1987) and (1989), Roberts (1993) and Vance (1997), among others, established that Old French was a V2 language, there was a tendency to extend this consideration to the other Medieval Romance languages (see Fontana 1993, for Spanish, for instance).
- However, this idea has been largely debated because these languages display V1 and V3 structures, which is not possible in canonical V2 languages such as Modern German (Cruschina & Sitaridou 2009/In press, among many other authors):
 - (3) a. *e mandolas fenchir de arena* [XIV. Menéndez Pidal (1965:325); Batllori-Iglésias-Martins (2005)]

'and made.them fill of sand'
 "and he made fill them of sand"

b. *E axi lo rey fou-lo gitar en la profunda carcer hon nuyl temps pus no exí* [XIII. Bernat Desclot, *Crònica*. Russell-Gebbett (1965: 123); Batllori-Iglésias-Martins (2005)]

'And thus the king went.him throw in the deepest jail where no time more not went.out'

"And thus the king brought him to the deepest part of the jail where he could never go out."

- This favours the view according to which the information structure distribution of Old Romance languages was richer and more complex than the one most of them exhibit nowadays. Topicalizations and fronting of constituents to different projections, for example, conveyed discursive information, emulating by chance V2 orders.
- On the other hand, regarding Latin word order and information structure, Devine & Stephens (2006) and Danckaert (2011:51 and 268-298), from an exhaustive analysis of Latin data, adequately justify a hierarchical sentence structure with different *Topic* and *Focus* projections, both in the high and in the low (*vP*) left periphery, as well as a middle field *Scrambling* projection.

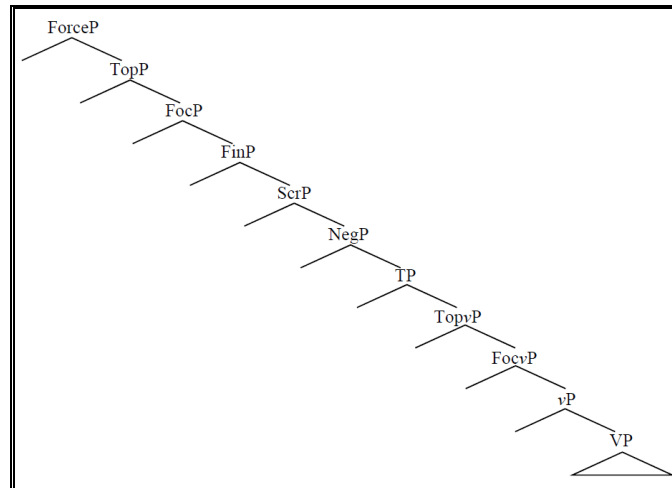


Fig. 1. Latin Sentence Structure (Danckaert 2011:51)

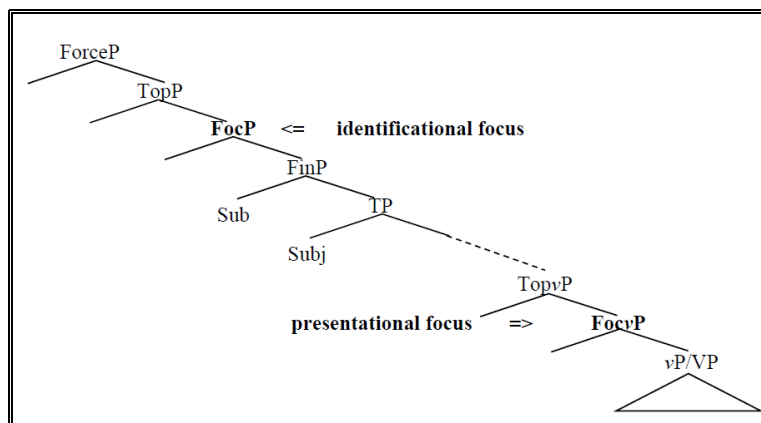


Fig. 2. Foci Projections in Latin (Danckaert 2011:288)

- Before focusing on Old Romance, it is worth paying attention to Latin word order. It has been generally assumed that Latin was a SOV language. I will follow Danckaert's proposal to sketch a departing sentence structure for Early Romance. He derives OV from *vP* movement and short object movement.

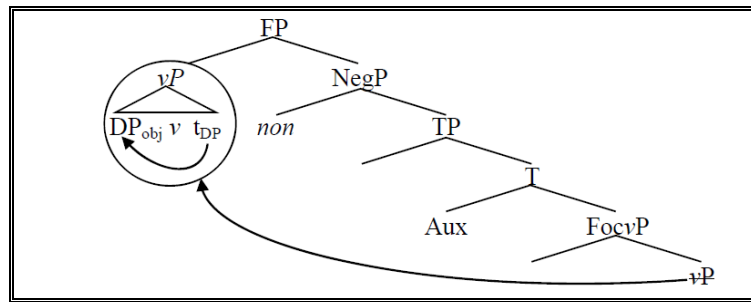


Fig. A. Derivation of OV word order in Latin (Danckaert 2011:324)

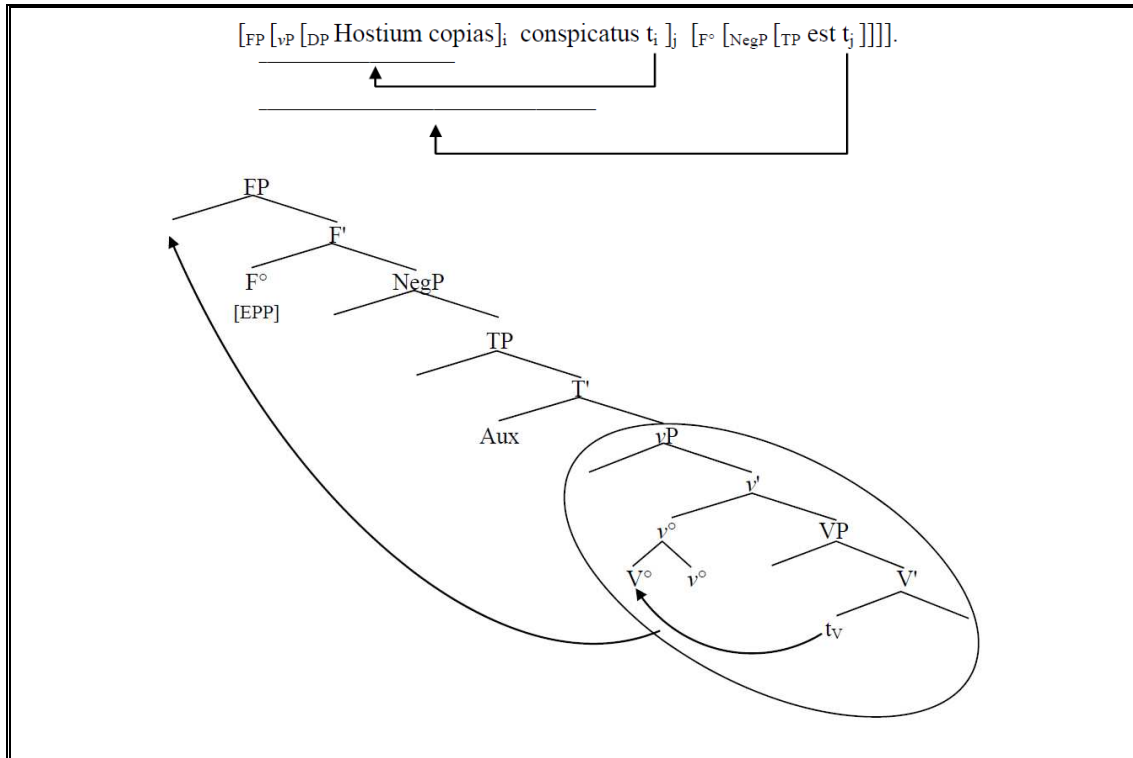


Fig. B. OV derivation in the case of deponent transitive analytic verbs. (Danckaert 2011:322)

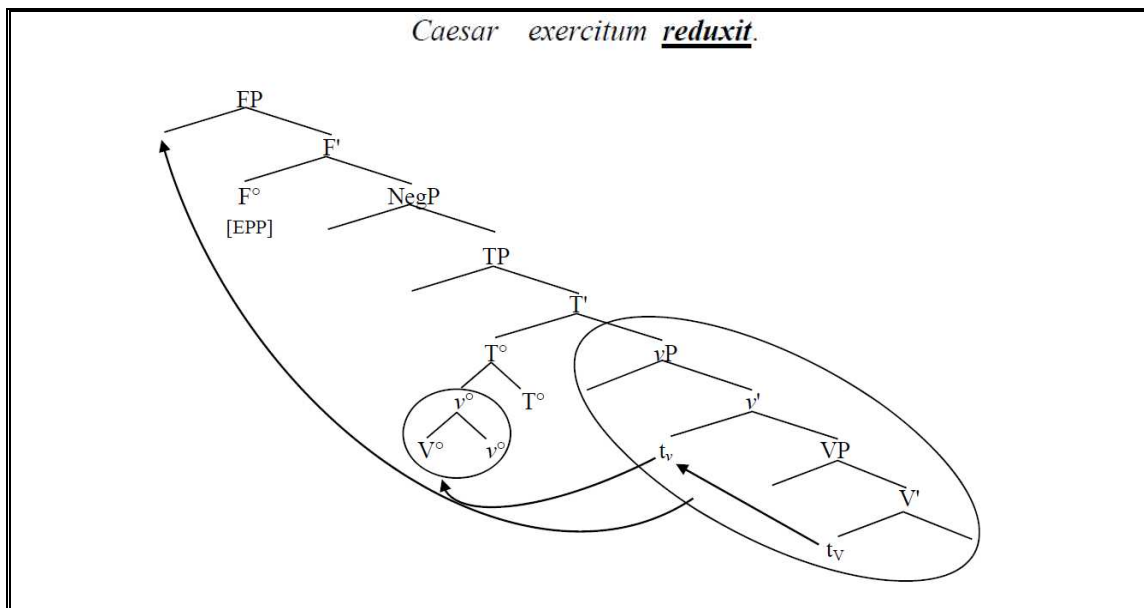


Fig. C. OV derivation in the case of synthetic verbs (Danckaert 2011:323)

- Most works consider that the change from OV to VO took place within Latin (Vincent 1977:56-58, Danckaert 2011:334-337, etc.). There are two main aspects that must be taken into account in this

change: 1) the loss of *vP* movement and the movement of the object to *FocvP*. As for the latter, Devine & Stephens (2006:133) explain that the process of transition from OV to VO was sensible to the semantic and pragmatic status of the object. In fact, the first postverbal objects attested were focalized non referential nouns that denoted abstract entities (Danckaert 2011:342).

$$[_{FP} Myron_k [_{NegP} non [_{TP} [_{T^{\circ}} inuenit_j [_{FocvP} heredem_i [_{vP/VP} t_i t_j t_k]]]]]].$$

Fig. D. Danckaert (2011:325)

- It could be stipulated that in the process of language acquisition by Early Romance learners, Latin sentence structure is maintained, in spite of the fact that lexical insertion and feature checking differs significantly, mainly due to reanalysis. In this process, postverbal [+marked] objects may have been reanalyzed as [unmarked] objects generated in a different projection.
- In fact, Old Romance exhibits a low left periphery (with a *LowFocusP* or *FocvP* projection) which provides us with an adequate account for object preposing structures (4a) and also for the left periphery of infinitives (4b):

(4) a. *ed ha'mi la cosa molte volte ridetta* (BG, *Tratt.*: 131; Poletto 2006:275)

'and has-to-me the thing many times retold'

"and he has retold me this thing many times"

b. *ca menester les era de consejo tomar* [*CORDE: Libro de Alexandre*; Hernanz (p.c.)]

'because need them was of advice take'

"because they needed to be advised"

- As a result of the previous remarks, we should expect that Old Romance linear word order may either be due to information structure distribution according to the new discursive requirements concerning old and new information or presupposition, for instance, or be the reflex of a tendency to stick to the Latin/archaic OV order, without any informational function. Castillo Lluch (2011) shows that the language used in Old Spanish charters (which generally exemplify a discursive tradition with a highly archaic core) can:

(a) display an OV word order that aims to focalize the object. For example, having OV in the title of the law and VO in the rest of the law:

- 231. *Qui uvas cogiere o fructa.*

'who grapes catch.FUT.SUBJUNCTIVE or fruits'

"Who caught grapes or fruit"

Qui entrare en biña e cogiere uvas o fructa, peche ...V moravidís (Fuero Viejo de Alcalá 231)

'who enter.FUT.SUBJUNCTIVE in vineyard and catch.FUT.SUBJUNCTIVE grapes or fruits, pay ... V maravedis'

"Who went into a vineyard and caught grapes or fruits, should pay V maravedis"

- 293. *Todo omne que omne matare e se fuere.*

'All man that man kill.FUT.SUBJUNCTIVE and go.'

"Anyone who killed somebody and went away"

Todo omne que matare omne e ... (Fuero Viejo de Alcalá 293).

'All man that kill.FUT.SUBJUNCTIVE man and ...'

"Anyone who killed somebody and ..."

(b) be an example of *variatio*, without any informational function, sticking to the Latin pattern.

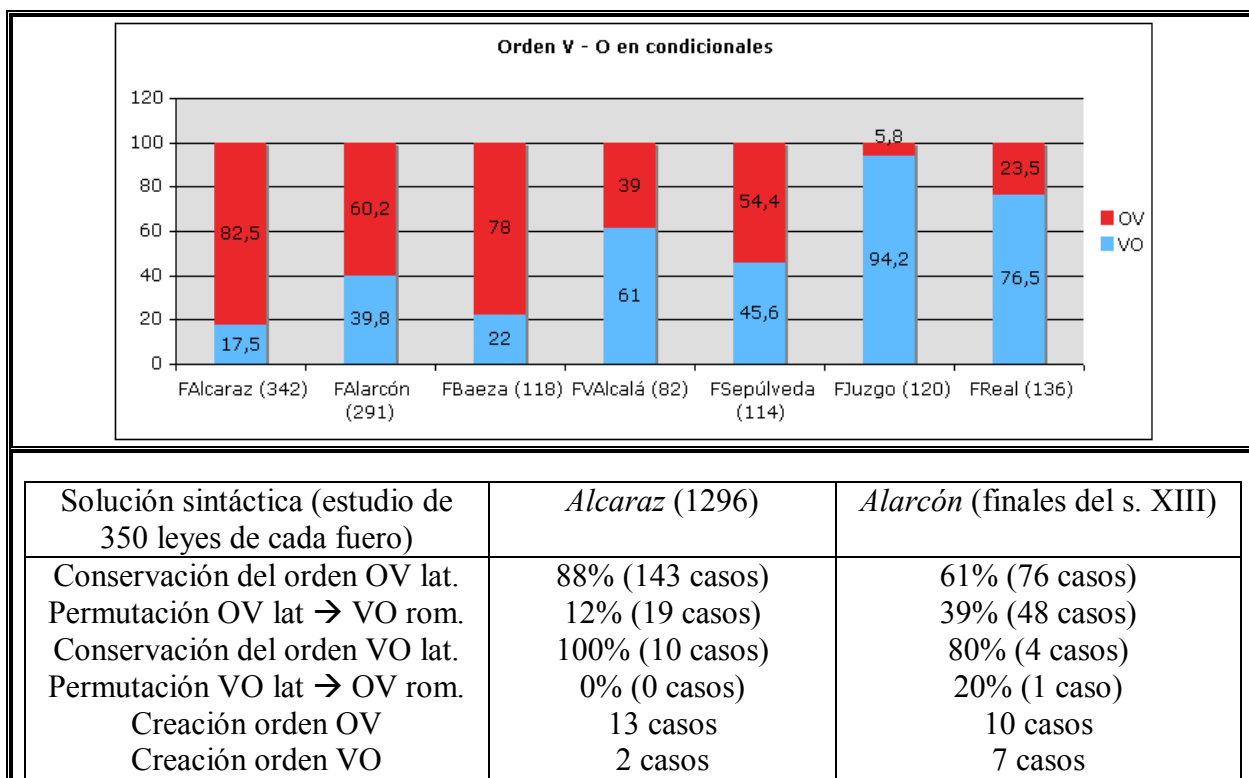


Fig. 3. OV~VO in Old Spanish charters (Castillo Lluch 2011)

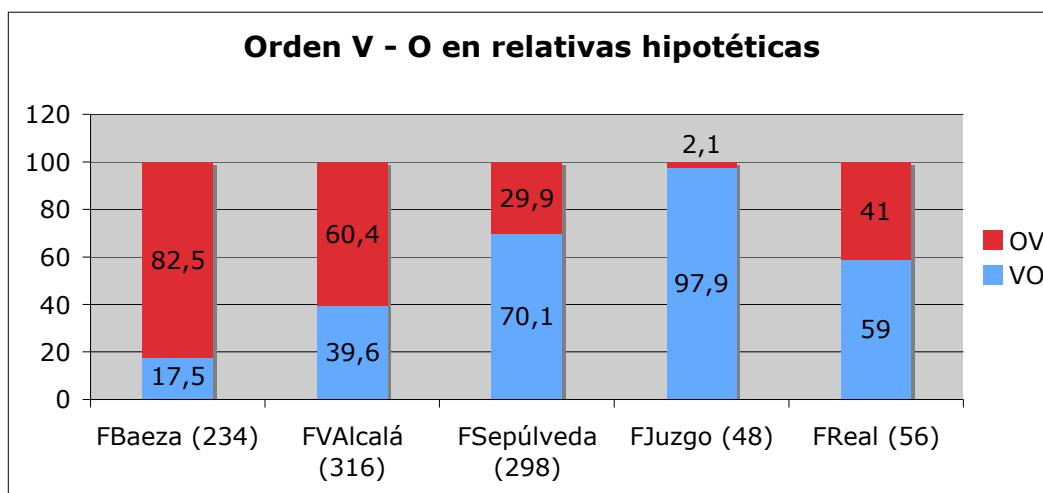


Fig. E. Castillo Lluch (2011)

- Finally, concerning the high left periphery, several scholars have posed that there can be more than one Focus projection (see Benincà 2004:251). In her words: "The hypothesis that the Focus Field can host various kinds of Foci is relevant in particular for medieval Romance languages. This area appears to be more easily activated in those languages than in modern Italian, so that we find there not only contrastive Focus or *wh* elements, but also less 'marked' elements (an identificational, informational or 'unmarked' focus, an anaphoric operator, or even elements with the pragmatic characteristics of a topic 'put in relief')":

{Topic...[CLLD]...} {Focus...[ContrastFocus]...[UnmFocus]...} [Benincà (2004: 256)]

- Batllori & Hernanz (2010) show that Old Spanish and Old Catalan display Weak or Unmarked Focus Fronting and that Weak Focus (to use Gallego's 2007 term) is different from Contrastive Focus.

[FORCEP [TOPICP [CONTRASTIVE FOCUSP [UNMARKED FOCUSP [... [FINP]]]]]]

3. Participle preposing

- (5) a. CALISTO: ¡Maldito seas! **Que** *hecho me has reyr*, lo que no pensé ogaño.
 'Calisto: Damned be! that had me have_{PERF.AUX} laugh, what I did not think this.year'
 "Calisto: Be damned! That you have made me laugh more than I would have thought"
 [*Celestina*: p. 94; ed. D. Severin] **OLD SPANISH**
- b. que non pueda **dezir que** *estos morauedis avidos & rreçebidos non aya*
 'that not can say that these maravedis had and received not have'
 "that he could not say that he hasn't got and received these maravedis"
 [1274, Murcia, DLE, 370; Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1399)] **OLD SPANISH**
- c. *Poblado ha* myo Çid el puerto de Alucant
 'Settled has my Çid the harbour of Alucant'
 "Çid has settled the harbour of Alucant"
 [Çid: v. 1087] **OLD SPANISH**
- (6) a. **Ver és**, senyor, **que** *dit ho ha*; mas no·m dóna viyares que axí ho creegués ell.
 'True is, sir, that said it has; but not to.me give appearance that thus it thought him'
 "It is true, sir, that he has said it, but it doesn't seem to me that he really believed it"
 [*CICA*: Metge, *Lo somni*: 94; Par (1923: 495, p. 518)] **OLD CATALAN**
- b. Senyor, suplich-vos que·m vullats dir, **si** *legut vos és*, quina és la penitència que·n portats.
 'Sir, beg-you that to.me want._{PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE} say, if lawful to.you is, what is the penance that of-it
 bring._{PRESENT INDICATIVE}'
 "Sir, I beg of you to tell me, if it is permitted to you, what is the penance you bring me."
 [*CICA*: Metge, *Lo somni*: 134; Par (1923: 1337, p. 518)] **OLD CATALAN**
- c. qual és stada la causa de la vostra sobtosa mort?, **car** *oÿt hé* dir que sobtosament morís.
 'which is been the cause of the your sudden death?, because heard have say that suddenly died.'
 "Which has been the cause of your sudden death?, because I have heard that you died suddenly."
 [*CICA*: Metge, *Lo somni*: 122; Par (1923: 1126, p. 518)] **OLD CATALAN**
- d. Vosaltres, gentils, ho havets loat, **car** *acostumat ho haviets* quant vos plahia
 'you, gentile, it have._{PRESENT INDICATIVE} praised, because used it had when to.you pleased'
 "You, gentile, have it praised, because you used to do it when it pleased you"
 [*CICA*: Metge, *Lo somni*: 242; Par (1923: 3113, p. 518)] **OLD CATALAN**
- e. Bé·m **recorda** -diguí jo- **que** *dit havies* que en una fort alta muntanya era la entrada d'imfern
 'Indeed-REFL.PRON remind -said I- that said had_{PERF.AUX} that in a very high mountain was the entrance of hell'
 "And I said: I remember indeed that you have said that in a very high mountain there was the entrance of
 hell"
 [Metge, *Lo somni*: III. 203] **OLD CATALAN**
- f. *Hoït ho hé* dir - responguí jo -, mas ara no ho crech; car si fóssets mort no fórets açí
 'Heard it have say -answered I-, but now not it believe; because if were dead not be here'
 "I have heard it -I said-, but I do not believe it; because if you were dead, you won't be here."
 [*CICA*: Metge, *Lo somni*: 58; Par (1923: p. 518)]
- Participle preposing exhibits a very low frequency, both in Old Catalan and in Old Spanish. Rodríguez Molina (2010) provides us with a detailed quantitative account of its frequency in his corpus.

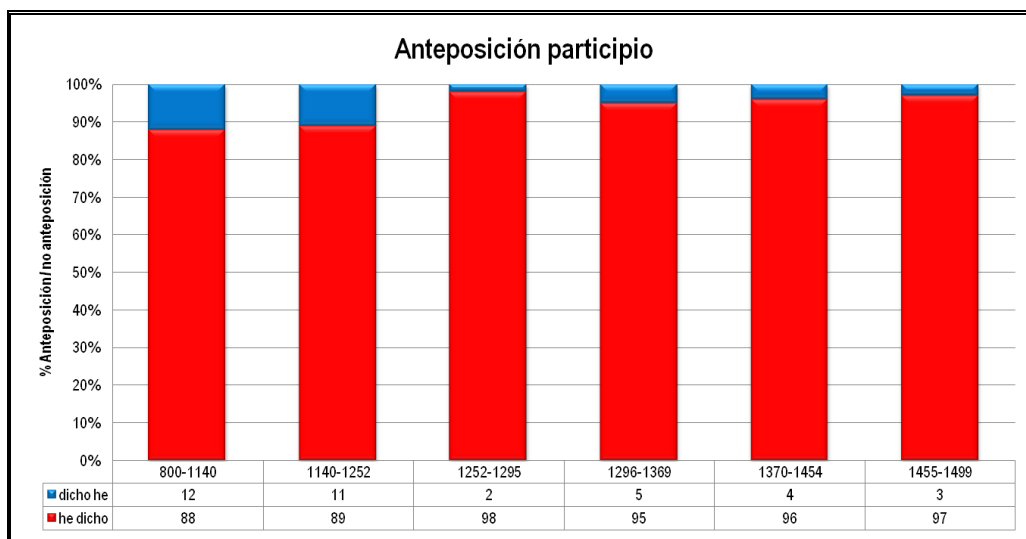


Fig. 4. Rodríguez Molina (2010:1514)

ETAPA	AUXILIAR-PARTICIOPIO	PARTICIOPIO-AUXILIAR
800-1140	89	12
1140-1252	913	88
1253-1295	3548	142
1296-1369	1906	81
1370-1454	3442	83
1455-1499	2220	113
TOTAL	12118	519

Fig. 5. Rodríguez Molina (2010:1515)

- As has been mentioned above, Batllori & Hernanz (2010) show that participle preposing should be analyzed as Weak or Unmarked Focus Fronting. Moreover, it is pointed out that this is a phenomenon that is not only attested in root clauses, but also in embedded clauses that allow for Main Clause Phenomena (see Haegeman 2007 and following works).

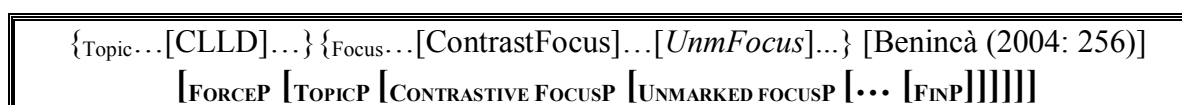


Fig. 6. Old Spanish and Old Catalan High Left Periphery (Batllori & Hernanz 2010)

- Octavio de Toledo (2011) comments on the fact that in his corpus participle preposing is more frequent in main clauses than in embedded ones. However, it is worth paying attention to the percentage in the latter.

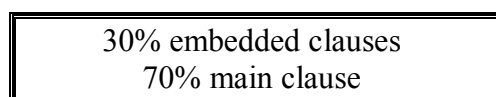


Fig. 7. Octavio de Toledo (2011)

- There is yet another aspect that should be taken into consideration: Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1448) explains that there are a few examples in which the participle is preceded by the clitic pronoun.

- (7) a. et nos fazen cara mente comprar algun mal **si gelo fecho auemos**
 'and to.us make costly pay some evil if him.it done have'
 "and they make us pay for any evil if we have done it"
 [VRT, 112v, 232; Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1448)] OLD SPANISH
- b. et la tierra quita et libre del mal et de la guerra que soffrieran. et los griegos compraran muy cara mente **el danno que les fecho auian**
 'and the land left and free from evil and of the war that suffered. and the Greek paid very costly the harm that them done had'
 "and once the land was left and free of the evil and war they underwent. and the Greek paid very costly the harm they had done"
 [VRT, 70v, 147; Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1448)] OLD SPANISH
- c. Elenus, fijo del Rrey Priamus, rogo a los griegos et pedio les por merçed **que pues tanto mal le fecho auyan**, que le quisiessen dar por emienda los dos fijos de Ector
 'Elenus, son of king Priamus, begged to the Greek and asked them for mercy that well so-much evil him done had, that him wanted give for correction the two son of Ector'
 "Elenus, son of king Priamus, asked the Greek to have mercy and give him the two sons of Ector to recompense him"
 [VRT, 164r, 344; Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1448)] OLD SPANISH
- d. Ovol por uentura: el infañt a ueer / **desque lo uisto ouo**: no s le pudo asconder
 'had him by chance: the infant to see / since him seen had: not PASSIVE.PRONOUN him could hide'
 "the infant saw him by chance / once he had seen him, he could not be hidden"
 [Alex, 181b O; Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1448)] OLD SPANISH
- e. E entraron Noé e sus fijos e su muger e las mugeres de sus fijos con él en el arca por miedo del agua del dilubio... **segund que lo mandado avía** el Señor
 'And entered Noah and his sons and his wife and the wives of his sons with him in the ark for fear of.the water of.the Flood ... according what him ordered had the Lord'
 "And Noah, his sons, his wife and his sons' wives went into the ark, as the Lord had ordered them, because they were afraid of the Flood"
 [BYF, 8ra; Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1448)] OLD SPANISH
- To sum up: **Participle preposing is a type of Unmarked Focus Fronting (see Batllori & Hernanz (2010) and also Rodríguez Molina (2011), who considers that the focus position it occupies is different from contrastive Focus: "El participio en el orden V-Aux ocupa una posición de Foco con propiedades diferentes al Foco del español actual."** Moreover, **it is documented in those embedded sentences that allow Main Clause Phenomena (that is, peripheral adverbial sentences, non restrictive relatives, and subordinate sentences depending on *verba dicendi*, among others (see Haegeman 2007 and following works).**

4. Mesoclis (or analytic futures and condicionals)

- (8) a. ¡Abrid, amiga! ¡Yrme he que me vienen trasudores de muerte!
 'Open, friend! Go_{REFL.PRON.} have that to.me come sweat of death!
 "Open, my friend! Go I will, because I feel a cold sweat!
 [Corbacho, 197; Company (1985-86:75)] OLD SPANISH
- b. Fazme querer empero **¿quién dexarm'á** e tomará los ricos navíos, siguiere soberbios...?
 'Make me love however. Who leave.to-me.have and will.take the rich ships ...?'
 "Make me love, though. Who shall leave me and will take the rich ships ...?"
 [Enrique de Villena, trad. *Eneida*, IV, 24; ed. Pedro M. Cátedra, Biblioteca Castro, 2000, p. 63; *Aen.* IV, 540-541: Quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusque superbis /invisam accipiet?; Octavio de Toledo (p.c.)]
- c. Ya lo vedes **que partir nos emos** en vida, / Yo yre & uos fincaredes remanida

- 'yet it (you)see that split-us have_{FUT.AUX} in life / I will.go and you stay'
 "You can already see that we must divide in life / I will go and you will stay"
 [Çid: vv. 278-281; ed. R. Menéndez Pidal] OLD SPANISH
- d. non temades del rey de Babilonia **que amarvos a e fervos a bien**
 'not (you)fear of-the king of Babilone that love-you have_{FUT.AUX} and do-you have_{FUT.AUX} good'
 "Don't be afraid of the king of Babilone, because he shall love you and do you good".
 [Fazienda: p. 168; ed. M. Lazar] OLD SPANISH
- e. **Si yo biuo**, *doblar uos he* la soldada.
 'If I live, double you have the pay'
 "If I live, I shall pay you double"
 [Cid: v. 80; ed. R. Menéndez Pidal] OLD SPANISH
- f. Et **porque en este libro no esta escrito este enxiemplo**, *contarvoslo he* aquí
 'And because in this book not is written this example, tell to-you it have here'
 "And as this example is not written in this book, I shall tell you it here"
 [Lucanor, 294; Company (1987)] OLD SPANISH
- g. **Aquí la casta Sibilla con mucha sangre de negras ovejas en sacrificio esparzida** *trahert'á*
 'Here the chaste Sibilla with much blood of black sheep in sacrifice spread bring you have'
 "The chaste Sibilla shall bring you here with the spreading of black sacrificed sheep's blood"
 [Enrique de Villena, trad. *Eneida*, V, 12; ed. Pedro M. Cátedra, Biblioteca Castro, 2000, p. 114; *Aen.* V, 735-736: Huc casta Sibylla / nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet; Octavio de Toledo (p.c.)]
- h. darvos an autezas de casa de plata e de oro e **pornedeslas** sobre vuestras fijas e **toldredeslas** a los Egiptos
 'give to.you have gifts of house of silver and of gold and put.will them on your daughters and take.will them to the Egyptians'
 "They will present you with silver and gold and you will put them on your daughters and will take them away from the Egyptians"
 [Fazienda: p.63; ed. M. Lazar] OLD SPANISH
- (9) a. **si era axí com vós deïts**, *seguir-se-n hia* contradicció
 'if (it)were so as you say, follow-it-of it have_{COND. AUX} contradiction'
 "If it were as you said, there should be a contradiction"
 [CICA: 1325_1349. Llull, *Disputació dels cinc savis*: p. 97, línia 12] OLD CATALAN
- b. Empero **per tal que mils ho entenes** *declarar to he* breument
 'But for this that better it understand declare you.it have briefly'
 "But for you to understand it better, I shall tell you it briefly"
 [Bernat Metge, 275; Par (1923: 289)] OLD CATALAN
- c. *Atorgaras ho e* callare
 'Agree-will (on) it and be-quiet-will'
 "Agree on it and I will be quiet"
 [Bernat Metge, 3387; Par (1923: 475)] OLD CATALAN
- d. **Sin demanes la companya** ... *te diran* que filla es de Dionis
 'If-of.her ask the companya ... to.you will.tell that daughter is of Dionis'
 "If you ask whose daughter she is, they will tell you that she is Dionis's daughter"
 [Bernat Metge, 2838; Par (1923: 476)] OLD CATALAN
- e. **Si van a la esgleya** *escarniran lo* prevere
 'If go to the church will.scorn the priest'
 "If they go to church, they will scorn the priest"
 [Bernat Metge, 3639; Par (1923: 477)] OLD CATALAN

- (10) a. diles que **a la videspera** *combredes* carne e **a la mannana** *fartarvos edes* de pan, e sabredes que yo so el Sennor vuestro Dios ".
 'tell them that to the day.before will.eat meat and to the morning feed you have of bread, and will.know that I am your Lord'
 "tell them that the day before you will eat meat and that the following morning you shall feed on bread, and will know that I am your Lord".
 [[*Fazienda*: 72; ed. M. Lazar] OLD SPANISH
- b. **Agora** *dezirvos emos* de una laguna que fallaron ...
 'Now say-you have of one lake that (someone) found ...'
 "Now we shall tell you of a lake that they found ..."
 [GE4:155; Fernández Ordóñez (2008-2009: 13)] OLD SPANISH
- c. **entonce** *tomarla he* a tiempo que non podrá resollar
 'then take it have to time that not will.be.able.to breath'
 "then I shall take it in time and therefore it won't be able to breath"
 [*Corbacho*: 265; Company (1985-1986: 87)] OLD SPANISH
- d. Y **assí** *contentarle he* en la muerte , pues no tove tiempo en la vida.
 'And thus please him have in the death, because not have time in the life'
 "And thus I shall please him in death, because I did not have time in life"
 [*Celestina*: 334; ed. D. Severin] OLD SPANISH
- e. *yrás a casa y darte he* una lexía ... Y **aun** *darte he* unos polvos para quitarte esse olor de la boca
 'will.go to home and give to.you have a bleach ... And yet give to.you have some magic.potion to take.off this smell of the mouth'
 "You will come home and I shall give you a hair tonic ...And yet I shall give you a magic potion to take this smell of your mouth off"
 [*Celestina*: 169; ed. D. Severin] OLD SPANISH
- f. Prandamos conseio que **quičab** *revellarse an e enprenderse an* con nuestros enemigos".
 'Take advice that maybe rebel REFL.PRON. have and fight REFL.PRON. with our enemies'
 "Let's get advice because maybe they shall rebel and fight against our enemies"
 [*Fazienda*: 62; ed. M. Lazar] OLD SPANISH
- Octavio de Toledo (2011) considers these analytic constructions to be part of a system of modal periphrases.

[Futuro/Condiciona]l]	Fut + C	Fut	C + Fut
	<i>dirélo, cantarélo</i>	<i>diré, cantaré</i>	<i>lo diré, lo cantaré</i>
	ICH	IH	(C)HI
[haber + infinitivo]	<i>cantarlo he,</i> <i>decirlo he</i>	<i>cantar he,</i> <i>decir he</i>	<i>(lo) he decir</i>
	PICH	PIH	HPI (+C)
[haber + Prep + Inf]	<i>a/de decirlo he</i>	<i>a/de decir he</i>	<i>(lo) he a/de decir ((C)HPI)</i> <i>helo a/de decir (HCPI)</i> <i>he a/de decirlo (HPIC)</i>

Fig. G. Relation among [*haber* + infinitive], [*haber* + Prep + Inf] and Future/Condiciona]l periphrases (Octavio de Toledo 2011)

- (11) e por ende **te m'é confessar, e dezirt'é** alabança
 'and therefore to.you REFL.PRON. have confess, and tell to.you have praise'
 "and therefore I will confess (it) to you, and I will praise you"
 [AlfX, GE4, Eclo, 51, 609; Octavio de Toledo (2011)] OLD SPANISH

- Concerning Old Catalan, (9f) shows that analytic futures are used to give instructions with deontic or imperative value. There seem to be semantic and formal restrictions, though. The analytic structure is used with root unstressed infinitives and the synthetic is used with root stressed infinitives: *posar-l'às al foc* versus *treurets-lo* [Pérez Saldanya (p.c.)]
- Riera i Sans-Casanellas-Puig i Tàrrach classify a series of analytic futures that appear in the *Éxode* and *Levític* of a XIV century Bible as analytic future imperatives, for instance: *alepidar-me-han* [Ex.: 17, 4P], *ajustar-l'ha* [Ex.: 22, 8E], *anadir-hi-ha* [Lv. 27, 31C], etc.
- **All the above mentioned facts show that:**
 - As it has already been mentioned by several authors, mesoclisism is neither compulsory in Old Spanish nor in Old Catalan: the clitic can also appear enclitic to the synthetic form. See examples (8h) and (9c,d,e,f) above.
 - Besides, the examples in (12), and (10f) above, show that it cannot be argued that mesoclisism is triggered by adverbs like *quiça* 'perhaps'. These particular examples also show that the future (either synthetic or analytic) can have an epistemic meaning:
 - (12) a. & se aueran enuidia. & **quiça se mataran**.
 'and REFL.PRON. will-have_{2ND.PL.INDICATIVE} jealousy and perhaps REFL.PRON. will.kill._{2ND.PL.INDICATIVE}'
 "And they will be jealous of each other and perhaps they will kill each other"
 [CORDE: 1254 - 1260. Anónimo. *Judizios de las estrellas*. ESPAÑA. 15.Astronomía. Pedro Sánchez Prieto, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares (Alcalá de Henares), 2003]
 - b. estonce significa que aura y roydo. & **quiça leuantar sa** alguno
 'then means that will-be there noise and perhaps stand-up refl.pron. have someone'
 "Then it means that there will be noise and perhaps someone will stand up"
 [CORDE: 1254 - 1260. Anónimo. *Judizios de las estrellas*. ESPAÑA. 15.Astronomía. Pedro Sánchez Prieto, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares (Alcalá de Henares), 2003]
 - In my belief, mesoclisism is not the cause of clitic movement, but the consequence. It is weak focus fronting in the low left periphery (in the vP phase) which triggers clitic climbing. This focalization is not compulsory and, when it does not apply, we have synthetic futures (which is most of the time, since the frequency of mesoclisism is very low) with different semantic values depending on the projection they move to..
 - There seems to be general agreement in the fact that mesoclisism can be related to some discursive strategy. As shown by Fernández Ordóñez (2008-2009) examples, in (12), mesoclisism cannot coexist with a focalized constituent, that she marks as [FOC], and is generally used to address a potential reader, sometimes preceded by a topicalized constituent, marked as [TOP] by her.
 - (12) a. [TOP Agora] dezirvos emos de una laguna que fallaron ...
 'Now say-you have_{FUT.AUX} of one lake that (someone) found ...'
 [GE4:155; Fernández Ordóñez (2008-2009: 13)] **OLD SPANISH**
 - b. E rey Nabucodonosor ... [FOC Agora] te diremos otrosí lo que quiere dezir ...
 'And king Nabucodonosor ... Now to-you will-tell also what (this) means...'
 [GE4: 259; Fernández Ordóñez (2008-2009)] **OLD SPANISH**

Notice, however, that in (8b) it cooccurs with an Wh- word.

- Analytic futures (and conditionals) can display different values: deontic (see 11), epistemic (see 10f), and evidential meaning (see 8e and 9a), for instance. As commented on above, synthetic futures and conditionals can also have deontic and epistemic meaning.
- As is well-known, evidentials are used when the speaker is absolutely sure of the facts. In some languages evidential morphemes are inflected for person, number and sometimes also for tense. Moreover, evidentials that come from modals always do it from epistemic modals.
- It seems to me that mesoclitic futures and conditionals fossilize as evidential forms before disappearing (i.e. the auxiliary may get grammaticalized as an evidential particle and the focused infinitive moves to *ModEvidential* to check features and this triggers clitic climbing to the left of the infinitive).
- Furthermore, it turns to be crosslinguistically valid that grammaticalized evidentials cannot be within the scope of negation. This gives us a good diagnostic tool to determine whether a given element/construction is evidential or epistemic in nature (see De Haan 1999). **To consider mesoclitic constructions evidential provides us with an explanation of the fact that negation is not attested with these structures and it would also account for the fact that it is a Main Clause Phenomenon and brings about intervention effects in terms of Haegeman (2007 and ff.)**

- This considerations led me to pose an analysis for mesoclitis according to which the infinitive is preposed to the **Low Focus projection** (in a parallel of the high left periphery weak focus fronting) and then moved to the Spec of *ModObligationP* so as to check features with the auxiliary, which is base generated there in Latin and also later on in Romance whenever it has a deontic meaning. The proclisis of the pronoun is triggered by the infinitive focus preposing (see Batllori-Iglésias-Martins 2005). The other semantic values attested will be achieved by climbing up Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. The temporal value of futures and conditionals obtains by movement to *TPfuture* o *Moodirrealis*, respectively.

[CP [ModP.obligation [dezi_r_i]_k [Mod.obligation VOS_j emos] [Low TopicP [Low FocusP [Low Focus t_i] [_{vP} ... [VP t_i t_j]]]]]]

- The loss of the deontic meaning will be associated to the loss of movement from *ModObligation* to either *TPfuture*, *ModEpistemis* or *ModEvidential* and Merge in these projections. Besides, this structure can account for the lack of interference with negation, because *NEGP* is higher than these projections.
- Before disappearing mesoclitis fossilize as evidential constructions. In my belief, this is the reason why they are interpreted as part of a modal system by Octavio de Toledo (2011).
- There are still many aspects to be clarified in further research.

5. Conclusion

This poster analyzes participle preposing and infinitive preposing and shows that the former corresponds to weak focus fronting to the high periphery (to *UnmarkedFocusP*), whereas the latter can be taken as movement to *LowFocusP* o *FocvP*, within the *vP* phase, and fossilization in *ModEvidential*, in the CP phase, before dying out.

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