THE HISTORY OF THE FUTURE: MORPHOPHONOLOGY, SYNTAX, AND

GRAMMATICALIZATION

by

LAMAR ASHLEY GRAHAM

(Under the Direction of L. Chadwick Howe)

ABSTRACT

The appearance of new verbal paradigms in the Romance languages – namely, the

synthetic future indicative and conditional paradigms – has been one of the hallmark

studies within the field of grammaticalization. Already existing in Latin was a synthetic

future indicative paradigm, with a full complement of endings. Many researchers (Garey

1955; Hopper and Traugott 2003; Slobbe 2004; among others) have agreed that the

infinitive + HABĒRE construction was the genesis of Romance future paradigms, obviating

and completely replacing the disfavored Latin synthetic future. However, even after

Latin evolved into Spanish, there still existed a duality between a periphrastic, analytic

future and a paradigmatic, synthetic future. Said duality implied several syntactic and

morphophonological characteristics of Old and Classical Spanish, some of which are no

longer extant in the modern language.

    Through an empirical study, employing variable rules analyses, of Old and

Classical Spanish texts, it is shown that the synthetic and analytic future and conditional

were not always fully complementary of another, as the synthetic began to be used in

contexts customarily reserved for the analytic construction. Within this work it will be

shown how morphophonological and syntactic properties necessitated the existence of the analytic construction, especially the status of the auxiliary-turned-affix-turned-inflectional ending *haber*. Also of interest will be the manner in which the future and conditional paradigms derived syntactically in Old and Classical Spanish, with special attention lent to the role of cliticization principles in their structure. The findings rooted in these several theoretical fields will import a greater understanding of the eventual loss of the analytic future and conditional prior to the advent of the Modern Spanish era.

INDEX WORDS: grammaticalization, Spanish, Vulgar Latin, future tense, conditional tense, cliticization, left periphery, syntax, morphophonology, morphosyntax, parametric change, analogy

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DEDICATION

To my dear wife Amy, who has endured this entire process beside me through love, prayer, patience, encouragement, and understanding. Thank you for your sacrifices all these years because you truly believed in my vision and my direction. I love you, I am eternally thankful for you, and I owe you big time.

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data, that the differences in distribution of the two forms under study suggest

that they are syntactically distinct:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative
Agr, AgrP	agreement phrase
AgrO, AgrOP	object agreement phrase
AgrS, AgrSP	subject agreement phrase
Asp, AspP	aspect phrase
AUX, Aux	auxiliary
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
C, CP	complementizer phrase
CAst	Conservative Asturian
CdE	*Corpus del Español*
CdP	*Corpus do Português*
CICA	*Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic*
Cid	*El Cantar de Mío Cid*
Cl, CL (in glosses)	clitic
ClP	clitic phrase
CL	Classical Latin
CLLD	Clitic Left Dislocation
ColBP	colloquial Brazilian Portuguese
D, DP	determiner phrase
DAT	dative

DCVB	Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear
EMR	Early Modern Romanian
EP	European Portuguese
F, FP	functional phrase
Fin, FinP	finiteness phrase
Foc, FocP	focus phrase
Force, ForceP	force phrase
Fr	French
Frame, FrameP	frame phrase
Fut	future
Gal	Galician
Gal-Port	Galician-Portuguese
I, IP	inflectional phrase
INF	infinitive
It	Italian
LHM	long head movement
ModSp	Modern Spanish
MP	Mozambican Portuguese
MR	Modern Romanian
NOM	nominative
OCat	Old Catalan
OFr	Old French
OIt	Old Italian
OSp	Old Spanish
PF	phonetic form
PFV	perfective
PRTC, PTC	participle
Pt	Portuguese
REFL	reflexive
Spec	specifier
Σ, ΣP	sigma phrase
t_x	trace (index)
T, TP	tense phrase
Top, TopP	topic phrase
UG	Universal Grammar
V, VP	verb phrase
VL	Vulgar Latin
XP	any phrase

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY OF THE FUTURE

1.0. Grammaticalization defined

The appearance of new verbal paradigms in the Romance languages has been one

of the hallmark studies within the field of historical linguistics. Of particular interest to

the historical linguist, the future and conditional paradigms across Romance evolved

from common ancestry: a productive verbal periphrasis in Latin consisting of a lexical

verb and an inflected auxiliary, most notably cantāre habeō expressing the future and

cantāre habēbam expressing conditionality. The evolution of the modern future and

conditional paradigms from Latin to Romance took place through phonological reduction

and fusion as well as morphosyntactic restructuring and subordination – all steps

associated with the mechanism of linguistic evolution known as *grammaticalization*

(Roberts 1993; Klausenburger 2000; Hopper and Traugott 1993, 2003; *inter alia*).

Campbell and Janda (2001) provide various working definitions of grammaticalization or

grammaticalization theory:

> [Besides analogy,] another process consists in the change of an
> autonomous word into the role of a grammatical element. … Th[is]
> … process … [, involving] the attribution of grammatical character
> to a formerly independent word … [, is one of] only [two] ways by
> means of which new grammatical constructs are formed. (Meillet,
> 1921, 1926:131)
>
> Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a
> morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a
> less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a

derivati[onal] … formant to an inflectional one. (Kurylowicz
1965, 1975:52)

It would not be entirely inappropriate to regard [each] language …
in … [its] diachronic aspect as [a] gigantic expression-compacting
machine … requir[ing] … as input a continuous flow of creatively
produced expressions formed by lexical innovation, … lexically
and grammatically regular periphrasis, and … the figurative use of
lexical or periphrastic locutions. The machine does whatever it can
to wear down the expressions fed into it. It fades metaphors by
standardizing them and using them over and over again … [,]
attacks expressions of all kinds by phonetic erosion … [,] bleaches
lexical items of most of their semantic content … [,] and forces
them into service as grammatical markers. It chips away at the
boundaries between elements and crushes them together into
smaller units. The machine has a voracious appetite. (Langacker
1977:106-107)

[G]rammaticalization … is a process which may not only change a
lexical item into a grammatical item. … but … also shift an item
`from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status' … [,] in
Kurylowicz's [(1965/1975, p. 52)] words … [;g]rammaticalization
is a process of gradual change … (Lehmann, 1982, 1995:11-12)

Grammaticalization is a process leading from lexemes to
grammatical formatives. A number of semantic, syntactic and
phonological processes interact in the grammaticalization of
morphemes and of whole constructions. (Lehmann 1982, 1995:x)

`Grammaticalization' … refers to the dynamic unidirectional
historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time
acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms.
(Traugott, 1988:406; compare also Traugott and König, 1991:189)

Grammaticalization … is the process whereby lexical items and
constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve
grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to
develop new grammatical functions … whereby the properties that
distinguish sentences from vocabulary come into being
diachronically or are organized synchronically. (Hopper and
Traugott, 1993:xv)

From these few definitions, we can identify several general properties about

grammaticalization and what it entails:

1. Grammaticalization as a whole is a gradually occurring phenomenon comprising several independent, discrete processes.

2. Grammaticalized entities gradually lose their lexical content in favor of grammatical function.

3. Grammaticalized elements lose their status as free morphemes and are often inflectional or paradigmatic in nature.

The three steps listed above lend credence to an attested pattern, often referred to as a *gradient* or a *cline*, of grammaticalization. Eckardt (2006, 2011) defines a grammaticalization cline as the path observed in the following example:

(1.1)   content word > function word > clitic > affix > ø

Grammaticalization often, but not always, results in a newer, more innovative structure replacing an older, existing structure. In the process of grammaticalization it is not uncommon to observe an intermediate stage during which the existing and innovative forms were in competition with one another (Hopper and Traugott 2003:46-50). Nor is it extraordinary to find a newer, grammaticalized form replacing an older structure that has changed function or been lost completely.

1.0.1. Effects of grammaticalization: Spanish usted(es) and Portuguese você(s)

As an example of grammaticalization reorganizing established systems in language, the pronouns *usted* in Spanish and *você* in Portuguese arose from the expressions *vuestra merced* and *vossa mercê*, respectively, and were used to address one's superior up until the end of the 16th century (Penny 2006:164-165 for Spanish; Zilles 2005:26-28 for Portuguese). However, in both languages the second-person plural pronoun *vos/vós* was already in place as a singular formal pronoun, an inheritance from the later stages of Classical Latin (compare the T-V distinction in Old English *thou/ye* and Modern French *tu/vous*). Penny observes that in the earliest stages of Spanish prior to the Golden Age, speakers of Castilian already had *vos* in place as the deferential 2nd-person pronoun. For example, in *Cid* the protagonist uses *vos* with his peers but *tú* with younger relatives:

(1.2)   *Venides*, Martín Antolínez, el mio fiel vassallo,

               aún vea el día que de mí *ayades* algo.

               'You've come, Martín Antolínez, my loyal vassal,

               may I live to see the day when you receive payment from me.'

               (*Cid* 0204-0205[1])

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[1] All translations of *El Poema de mío Cid* appearing in this text are from Bailey (2013) unless otherwise stated.

(1.3)   ¿Ó *eres*, mio sobrino, ***tú***, Félez Muñoz?,

            primo *eres* de mis fijas amas d'alma e de coraçón

            'Where are you, my nephew, you, Félez Muñoz?,

            you are cousin to both my daughters truly and sincerely'

            (*Cid* 2618-2619)

Penny observes that, by the Golden Age, *vos* has already begun to lose much of its deferential character, effectively becoming equivalent to *tú*. This left a void in the pronominal paradigm, as Spanish still required pragmatic distinction between informal and deferential address[2]. The construction *vuestra merced*, which appears first during the Middle Ages, was first used within higher social classes but later spread to the merchant class as a more flexible deferential form of address. Later it becomes less of a variable phrase (*tu merced* has also been observed) and more of a pronoun replacing the now more familiar *vos*. As evidence of the grammaticalization of this form, a series of phonological reductions took place as a sort of analogy with the existing *tú/vos* (Penny 2006:165, Zilles 2005:27). The phonological erosion that took place in both languages occurred as follows:

(1.4)   *vuestra merced > vuesarced > voacé > ... > vusted > usted*   (Sp)

(1.5)   *vossa mercê > vossamecê > vosmicê > você*   (Pt)

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[2] Matasović (2002) has stated that though words are often lost in language without replacement (semantic change/decay), speakers of a language tend to replace lost pragmatic elements – in this case, formal or deferential address – with other structures, primarily for the purposes of facilitating already existing communicative norms.

Morphologically, the new structures integrated into the existing pronominal paradigms. The Spanish *vos* remained a 2nd-person singular pronoun, archaic now in Peninsular Spanish but prevalent in much of Latin America[3]; *vós* returned to its original state as the 2nd-person plural.[4] Furthermore, where *tú/vos* and *tu/vós* (< TŪ/VŌS ~ VŌBIS) were distinguished by number at their root, it appears to Zilles that *você* became plural simply through the plural morpheme *–s*; Penny observes that in Spanish this was not an innovative development and that the plural *vuestras mercedes* was contemporary with *vuestra merced*. Regardless, in both Spanish and Portuguese the innovative grammaticalized forms edge out older, established forms, causing those established forms to take on new functions or, in some varieties, disappear completely.

1.1. The future and conditional from Latin to Romance

Such was the relationship between the original Latin synthetic simple future and the periphrastic expression that eventually obviated it. Additionally, though there was no conditional paradigm in Latin as there currently exists across Romance, other forms such as the pluperfect subjunctive were used in independent clauses to express conditionality or anterior futurity. Klausenburger (2000:77; cf. Heine 1993:54-56) lists four parameters of grammaticalization of particular interest to the evolution of the future and conditional from Latin to Romance:

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[3] Depending on the region of Latin America, *vos* is stigmatized (rural areas of Mexico), used alongside *tú* (Central America), or is preferred over *tú* (Southern Cone).

[4] *Vós* remains in some regional dialects of European Portuguese; *vocês* has completely supplanted it in Brazilian Portuguese.

1. *Desemanticization*

   "The subject is no longer associated with willful/human referents and the verb acquires a grammatical function."

2. *Decategorialization*

   "The verb loses virtually all remaining verbal properties, and the complement acquires the morphosyntax of a main verb, although it may retain some relics of a nominalizing and/or adverbial morphology."

3. *Cliticization*

   "The verb develops into an affix. The verb and its complement merge into a single word unit, where the erstwhile verb constitutes an affix and the erstwhile complement the main verb stem."

4. *Erosion*

   "The verb loses its ability to carry distinctive tone and stress."

Let us explore how the more innovative Spanish future and conditional exemplified grammaticalization from a Latin expression to a Spanish paradigm, in the process replacing the preexistent Latin synthetic future.

1.1.1. Expressions of the future and conditional in Classical Latin

Already existing in Latin was a synthetic future indicative paradigm, with a full complement of endings. The forms of the future active indicative in Latin are shown below:

Table 1.1 – Future active indicative paradigms in Latin

CANTĀRE *(1ˢᵗ conjugation; 'to sing')*		PETERE *(3ʳᵈ conjugation; 'to ask for')*	
CANTĀBŌ	CANTĀBIMUS	PETAM	PETĒMUS
CANTĀBIS	CANTĀBITIS	PETĒS	PETĒTIS
CANTĀBIT	CANTĀBUNT	PETET	PETENT
RIDĒRE *(2ⁿᵈ conjugation; 'to laugh')*		AUDĪRE *(4ᵗʰ conjugation; 'to hear')*	
RIDĒBŌ	RIDĒBIMUS	AUDIAM	AUDIĒMUS
RIDĒBIS	RIDĒBITIS	AUDIĒS	AUDIĒTIS
RIDĒBIT	RIDĒBUNT	AUDIET	AUDIENT

Garey states regarding the use of the Latin synthetic future:

> All clauses containing amabo are either simple future or
> posterior present or are ambiguous in that either analysis
> seems applicable. Furthermore, the distinction between
> simple future and posterior present is always made by the
> reader on the basis of the logical requirements of the
> physical situation described by the author, not on the basis
> of any linguistic fact which would make such a distinction
> possible. (1955:26)

The following examples from Garey show the Latin future forms used in the manner he

describes. Pertinent forms are in boldface below (all translations by Garey):

(1.6)   HABEŌ SED NON **DĀBŌ**

'I have them, but I **will** not **give** them up.'

(*Acta Martytum* 178.2; Garey 1955:26)

(1.7)   AUT SACRIFICĀ AUT **FACIAM** TE TORQUĒRI

'Either sacrifice, or I **will have** you tortured.'

(*Acta Martytum* 185.9; Garey 1955:26)

(1.8)   SI QUIS ME NEGĀVERIT CŌRAM HOMINIBUS, ET EGO *NEGĀBŌ* EUM CŌRAM

PATRE MEŌ QUĪ IN CAELIS EST

'If any one denies me before men, him ***will*** I also ***deny*** before my Father

who is in Heaven.'

(*Acta Martytum* 186.11; Garey 1955:26)

(1.9)   IAM NUNC *VIDĒBIS* QUANTAM MIHI DOMINUS IESUS CHRISTUS *DABIT*

TOLERANTIAM ADVERSUS TUAS INSIDIAS

'Now at last you ***will see*** how much endurance against your wiles Jesus

Christ, my Lord, ***will give*** me.'

(*Acta Martytum* 185.9; Garey 1955:26)

Nevertheless, the Latin synthetic future was completely lost, leaving no vestiges in modern Romance. This contrasts with other Latin paradigms that survived into modern Romance, such as the following in table 1.2. In light of the persistence of other paradigms into modern varieties, why did the simple future disappear?

Grandgent (1907:56) remarks that, outside of literary use, the synthetic future paradigm was unpopular in use and suggests various reasons for this. One reason is a lack of morphological uniformity among the four verb conjugations; as shown earlier in table 1.1, those endings belonging to the first and second conjugation that contained *-b-* were native to Rome (CANTĀBŌ, RIDĒBŌ), whereas those of the third and fourth conjugation that did not contain *-b-* were not (PETAM, AUDIAM). Another reason is homonymic conflict or phonological syncretism (as stated in Juge 2009) as, these forms

Table 1.2 – Paradigms in Classical Latin and Modern Romance: 'to sing'

LATIN PRESENT ACTIVE INDICATIVE		SPANISH PRESENT INDICATIVE	
CANTŌ	CANTĀMUS	*canto*	*cantamos*
CANTĀS	CANTĀTIS	*cantas*	*cantáis*
CANTAT	CANTANT	*canta*	*cantan*
LATIN IMPERFECT ACTIVE INDICATIVE		SPANISH IMPERFECT INDICATIVE	
CANTĀBAM	CANTĀBĀMUS	*cantaba*	*cantábamos*
CANTĀBĀS	CANTĀBĀTIS	*cantabas*	*cantabais*
CANTĀBAT	CANTĀBANT	*cantaba*	*cantaban*
LATIN PLUPERFECT ACTIVE INDICATIVE		PORTUGUESE PLUPERFECT INDICATIVE	
CANTĀVERAM	CANTĀVERĀMUS	*cantara*	*cantáramos*
CANTĀVERĀS	CANTĀVERĀTIS	*cantaras*	*(cantáreis)*
CANTĀVERAT	CANTĀVERANT	*cantara*	*cantaram*
LATIN PLUERFECT ACTIVE COJUNCTTIVE		PORTUGUESE PLUPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE	
CANTĀVISSEM	CANTĀVISSĒMOS	*cantasse*	*cantássemos*
CANTĀVISSES	CANTĀVISSĒTIS	*cantasses*	*(cantásseis)*
CANTĀVISSET	CANTĀVISSENT	*cantasse*	*cantassem*

were similar to other paradigms; the endings of the first and second conjugations were similar to those of the imperfect indicative (CANTĀBŌ, RIDĒBŌ), while those of the third and fourth conjugations may have been confused by speakers with the present subjunctive due to their homonymy (PETAM, AUDIAM). Third, speakers and writers of Latin had already begun to express the future by means of analytic forms as early as the 5th century, using an auxiliary verb plus a non-finite lexical verb. Six of these constructions were common, and five of these survive in Romance to this day (Moreno Bernal 2005:127, all translations mine):

(1.10)   Future participle + ESSE

SIC ET NOS **FUTURI SUMUS** RESURGERE

'So we ***are going to*** rise again'

(1.11) VELLE, POSSE + infinitive

VOLŌ CANTĀRE > Romanian *voi cînta*

'I will sing' (lit. 'I desire to sing')

(1.12) DEBERE + infinitive

DEBEŌ CANTĀRE > Sardinian *deppo cantare*

'I will sing' (lit. 'I should/must sing')

(1.13) VADERE, ĪRE, VENĪRE + infinitive

VENIŌ AD CANTĀRE > Sursilvan Romansch *vegnel a cantar*

'I will sing' (lit. 'I come to sing')

(1.14) HABĒRE + infinitive

HABEŌ CANTĀRE > Sardinian *appo cantare*

'I will sing' (lit. 'I have to sing')

(1.15) HABĒRE + AD/DE + infinitive

HABEŌ AD CANTĀRE > Southern Italian *aggio a cantà*

'I will sing' (lit. 'I have to sing')

As expressions of futurity, the constructions using HABĒRE and an infinitive, in either

order, were more frequent and ultimately outlived the rest, surviving into Late Latin

(Schwegler 1990; Moreno Bernal 2005). It was during the latest stages of Latin (or,

possibly, the earliest stage of Old Romance) that the order HABĒRE + infinitive gave way

to infinitive + HABĒRE (Klausenberger 2000; Bauer 2006). Slobbe (2004:112-3) states that the order HABĒRE + infinitive, still denoting possession at the time, was biclausal at its emergence, with HABĒRE being the matrix verb and the infinitive being embedded. Over time, HABĒRE moved to an auxiliary position, losing its lexical meaning of possession, and the infinitive in turn became the matrix verb of the new single clause. Many researchers (Garey 1955:96; Traugott and Hopper 2003; Slobbe 2004; among others) have agreed that the infinitive + HABĒRE construction was the genesis of Romance future paradigms, obviating and completely replacing the disfavored Latin synthetic future.

Grandgent (1907) and Coleman (1971) note that the conditional paradigm in Romance, a synthetic form of which was completely unattested in Latin, arose as a counterpart to the future indicative around the same time as the emergent compound future constructions. Whereas the future indicative communicated the speaker's obligation to an event not yet realized, thereby communicating the imminence of that event, the conditional came to express the speaker's obligation to an event not yet realized from a temporal deictic center prior to the time of the current utterance, commonly referred to as a "future-in-the-past" meaning. Prior to the emergence of periphrases expressing anterior futurity or conditionality, the pluperfect subjunctive AMĀ(VI)SSEM was observed to have fulfilled that role (Grandgent 1907:58). Coleman (1971) remarks that during this time, analogous to the development of the HABĒRE future, past forms of HABĒRE began to be used with infinitives to denote "futurity-in-the-past" and "conditional unreality," both of which are meanings that conditional tenses still

express in Romance today. Additionally, the structures with HABĒRE appeared to have replaced other structures that denoted anterior futurity, such as:

(1.16)   future participle + ESSE [+PAST]

          AMĀTURUS ERAM/FUĪ > AMĀRE HABĒBĀM/HABUĪ

Like the future construction, the conditional construction in Late and Vulgar Latin[5] came to take the order infinitive + HABĒBĀM/HABUĪ. Unlike the future, however, there were not as many constructions to denote anterior futurity. One such construction used, shown in the following examples, was HABĒRE conjugated in the imperfect subjunctive. Grandgent (1907:58) remarks that the phrase to denote the conditional carried a meaning of obligation, necessity, or imminence in the writings of Tertullian:

(1.17)   ISTA CIVITAS ***ESTERMINĀRI HABĒRET***

          'This city would be destroyed'

          (translation mine)

(1.18)   QUOD ESSET VENTURUS ET ***PATĪ HABĒRET***

          'that he would come and suffer'

          (translation Pinkster 1987)

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[5] My use of the term "Vulgar Latin" solely implies the variety of Latin spoken colloquially, with no judgments of value or prestige on my part.

<u>1.1.2. *Beginnings of grammaticalization:* CANTĀRE HABEŌ, CANTĀRE HABĒBAM</u>

      Ewert (1961) and Pope (1952) show that the future and conditional endings in Romance evolved from Vulgar Latin, suggesting that the reduced forms, not the full lexical forms of the verb, are the source of the inflectional endings. The two differ, however, in their treatment of the reduced forms: Ewert asserts that the reduced forms were attested, while Pope makes no such claim. Since attestation of forms is only evidenced in the written language from that period, the possibility of the reduced forms in spoken Vulgar Latin still exists. If this is indeed the case, then the grammaticalization process was realized almost wholly during the Vulgar Latin period, only undergoing paradigmatization in Old French. Regular phonological change from Vulgar Latin to Spanish appears to justify Ewert and Pope's claims, as shown below.

<u>Table 1.3 – *Full and reduced forms of* HABĒRE *present indicative*</u>

Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Spanish
HABEŌ	*AJO	[e]
HABĒS	*AS	[as]
HABET	*AT	[a]
HABĒMUS	*ẸMUS	[emos]
HABĒTIS	*ẸTIS	[ejs]
HABENT	*AUNT	[an]

<u>Table 1.4 – *Full and reduced forms of* HABĒRE *imperfect indicative*</u>

Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Spanish
HABĒBAM	*ẸA(M)	[ía]
HABĒBĀS	*ẸAS	[ías]
HABĒBAT	*ẸAT	[ía]
HABĒBĀMUS	*JAMUS	[íamos]
HABĒBĀTIS	*JATIS	[íajs]
HABĒBANT	*ẸANT	[ían]

Of note is the fact that the same processes are observed in the development of the verbal

paradigms across the Romance diaspora. The present indicative forms of HABĒRE were

universally the source of the inflectional endings in the Romance languages, all

undergoing the grammaticalization phases and passing along the same cline. It is attested

as well that the conditional paradigms developed through past indicative forms of

HABĒRE in the Romance languages, with one interesting divergence among the four

languages under study. Evidence from the earliest variants of Spanish, Portuguese, and

French shows that the conditional endings arose from the imperfect indicative forms of

HABĒRE, as follows:

Table 1.5 – Conditional paradigms in Spanish, Portuguese, and French

Classical Latin	Spanish	Portuguese	French[6]
CANTĀRE HABĒBAM	*cantaría*	*cantaria*	*chanterais*
CANTĀRE HABĒBĀS	*cantarías*	*cantarias*	*chanterais*
CANTĀRE HABĒBAT	*cantaría*	*cantaria*	*chanterait*
CANTĀRE HABĒBĀMUS	*cantaríamos*	*cantaríamos*	*chanterions*
CANTĀRE HABĒBĀTIS	*cantaríais*	*(cantaríeis)*	*chanteriez*
CANTĀRE HABĒBANT	*cantarían*	*cantariam*	*chanteraient*

However, according to Migliorini and Griffith (1966), Napoli and Vogel (1990), and

Parkinson (2009), the endings of the conditional in Modern Italian came from the

perfective forms of HABĒRE, as shown below:

---

[6] Note that the 1st- and 2nd-person singular forms, as well as both 3rd-person forms, of the conditional are phonologically syncretic in French: /ʃɑ̃təʁɛ/.

Table 1.6 – Conditional paradigm in Italian

Classical Latin	Italian
CANTĀRE HABUĪ	*canterei*
CANTĀRE HABUĪSTI	*canteresti*
CANTĀRE HABUIT	*canterebbe*
CANTĀRE HABUIMUS	*canteremmo*
CANTĀRE HABUISTIS	*cantereste*
CANTĀRE HABUĒRUNT	*canterebbero*

Nevertheless, it remained that in Latin an infinitive followed by a past tense of HABĒRE was the progenitor of synthetic conditional paradigms across Romance.

However, instead of subscribing to the possibility of shortened forms from Vulgar Latin forming the conjugational endings of both tenses, it could also be postulated that the full forms of HABĒRE entered into Romance via loan translation or as a learnèd construction (CANTĀRE HABĒBĀS > Sp *cantar habías*, Fr *chanter avais*; CANTĀRE HABUĪSTI > It *cantare avesti*). Given the presence of analytic forms in Old and Medieval Spanish such as the following example, – the loan translation hypothesis is not outside the realm of possibility.

(1.19)   Y ***aconsejarte avía*** la que te truxo en sus entrañas cosa que redundasse en

su deshonra?

'And would the one who brought you in her heart a thing that may have

resulted in her dishonor?

(CdE; *Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro[7]*)

---

[7] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the *Corpus del Español* are mine.

1.1.3. Evolution of the Spanish future and conditional paradigms: grammaticalization

The formation of the future and conditional also introduced morphosyntactic considerations for the new structure, especially in terms of word order. As Classical Latin exhibited a high level of syntheticity, with inflection marking case as well as providing the proper pragmatic interpretation of the utterance, tense was readily understood by speakers. In later stages of Latin, the order of elements in verbal periphrases became distinctive as well; whereas at one point HABEŌ CANTĀRE and CANTĀRE HABEŌ were equivalent in that they both expressed obligation to the event (Hopper and Traugott 2003; Bauer 2006), the latter began to encode pragmatic futurity in place of possession. Through analysis of phonological and morphosyntactic change, CANTĀRE HABEŌ has come to be understood as the precursor of the future tense in Romance. In essence, this construction was still fully analytical, as CANTĀRE HABEŌ was not recognized as a verbal paradigm in Latin and the two constituents were still separable. The lexical verb in earlier stages was bracketed apart from the finite form of HABĒRE (Schwegler 1990; Roberts 1993; Hopper and Traugott 2003; Slobbe 2004), also allowing for the insertion of object pronouns. and other constituents. Said insertion was attested in constructions such as the following:

(1.20)   PLŪRA QUIDEM ***MANDĀRE TIBI***,   SĪ QUAERIS, ***HABĒBAM***

more   indeed   to-utter   to-you   if you-ask   I-had

'More, if you ask, had I indeed to say'

(Ovid, *Tristia*; translation Arden 1821)

(1.21)   ***SANĀRE TE   HABĒBAT*** DEUS, PER   INDULGENTIAM, SĪ FATĒRĒRIS

to-heal you-ACC he-had   God   through indulgence   if you-confessed

'God would heal you, by indulgence, if you confessed'

(St. Augustine, *Sermones*; cf. Penny 2002; translation mine)

(1.22)   NEC   TE   SI CUPIAT

and not you-ACC.SG.M. if want-3SG.SUB.PR.ACT.

LAEDERE   RŪMOR   HABET

harm-INF.PR.ACT. rumor-NOM.SG.F. have-3SG.IND.PR.ACT.

'and the rumor cannot harm you even if it wants to.'

(Ovidius, *Epistulae ex Ponto 3*,1st c.; cf. Slobbe 2004:111, ex. 12)

Though several constituents could intervene between the two parts of the periphrasis, the

phenomenon of placement of an object pronoun between the infinitive and a finite form

of HABĒRE in future and conditional verbs is said to be the precursor to the same ordering

in older Romance varieties (see Company Company 1985 for Spanish, Vigário 1999 for

Portuguese), an ordering commonly referred to as *mesoclisis.*

     The question persists: why, then, did the order CANTĀRE HABEŌ become a

paradigm while HABEŌ CANTĀRE did not? If the two constructions were equivalent in

meaning – in that both orders expressed futurity – how did one become paradigmatic

across Romance while the other was lost? According to Klausenburger (2000:68), the

future and conditional tenses – simple as well as compound – were already recognized

and treated as paradigms in their own right in Late Latin. In attesting this, Bauer (2006)

compared the two orders in question to show that while both were expressions of futurity, their scope was different in use. For example, the order HABEŌ CANTĀRE varied between expressing possibility, obligation, and futurity – but none was more emphatic than the other. Conversely, the order CANTĀRE HABEŌ was specifically and exclusively found in contexts of explicit futurity or emphatic obligation. Furthermore, Bauer noted the difference in separability between the two orders; while HABEŌ CANTĀRE allowed several items to intervene between the two words such as prepositions and other pronouns, only rarely were unstressed pronouns found to interpolate when the order CANTĀRE HABEŌ was used. Bauer concluded by noting that the grammar of Latin tended to be left-branching, meaning that constituents used as inflection such as in this case "looked to their left" for a lexical host to modify.

Related to Bauer's findings, Lehmann (1992) notes from French that the order is strictly (*je*) *chanterai* in expressing *le futur simple*, as opposed to (*j'*)*ai chanter*. When the phrase CANTĀRE HABEŌ was reanalyzed as a singular constituent, having grammaticalized, the order of the two words became fixed, following this principle:

> To the extent that a morpheme is grammaticalized, its order freedom is reduced. By the time it has become an inflectional affix, its position is completely fixed within the morphological slots of its host. (Lehmann 1992:7)

This is applicable not only to French but to every Romance language in which future and conditional paradigms of this form exist. Also, following its Latin roots, Romance has shown a *suffixing preference* for inflection, as do most Indo-European languages. That

is, unlike derivational morphology which may be placed at either edge of a word, inflectional morphology is always found at the right edge of a word.

Klausenberger (2000:77) states that, following the parameters of desemanticization, decagorialization, cliticization, and erosion, the history of the Romance future has "run the course" and qualifies as a case of complete grammaticalization. The fact that he uses the qualifying term *Romance* without specifying a particular language sets him at opposition with Grandgent (1907) and Ledgeway (2012), who state that the future and conditional in Portuguese are not fully grammaticalized due to the split construction where clitics are placed between the infinitive and the HABĒRE-derived inflectional endings. He also criticizes Schwegler's (1990) concept of dichotomous analyticity and syntheticity as "arbitrary and linguistically not defensible." Rather, the transformation of *haber* from an independent lexical verb to a desemanticized, decategorialized, cliticized, and phonologically eroded grammatical marker should be the main focus in analyzing grammaticalization of verbal forms.

1.2. Complementary distribution between split and fused forms?

What is the nature of the distribution of synthetic (fused) and analytic (split) futures, however? We have discussed the morphosyntactic environments within which these structures appear, but is there more to the story? Fernández Martín comments on instances of the split future in Spanish, descendants of the structure infinitive + {ILLU/VŌS} + HABEŌ:

> Al contrario de lo que se ha pensado comúnmente, nosotros
> no creemos que el futuro sintético sea la fase última en el
> desarrollo de la gramaticalización que habría comenzado
> con una forma como la de [infinitive + {ILLU/VŌS} +

HABEŌ]. Pensamos que, desde los orígenes de la lengua, tuvieron que coexistir ambas formas, con un significado diferente. Una prueba de ello puede encontrarse, precisamente, en esa coexistencia secular, sin la cual no habría podido explicarse que formas tan semejantes pudieran acabar significando lo mismo. (2008:43)[8]

On one hand, synthetic futures and conditionals expressed less obligation on the part of the speaker in Fernández Martín's study. Rather, as shall be shown in the following two examples, the synthetic future carried a sentiment of either an uncertain future or a feeling of subjectivity or denial, often in rhetorical questions.

(1.23)   ¿Qué *haré*, dónde *iré*, qué *será* de mí? Pues a voz de ladrón salí de donde

estaba, ¿quién me *recebirá* de buena ni de mala gana?

'What will I do, where will I go, what will become of me? Since I left

where I was at the voice of a thief, who will receive me with or without

enthusiasm?'

(*Guzmán* 331; cf. Fernández Martín 2008:47, ex. 24[9])

(1.24)   ¿Cómo *será* imitador de Jesucristo el que toma la guerra y deshace la paz?

'How can he who wages war and disturbs the peace be an imitator of

Christ?'

(*Diálogo* 95; cf. Fernández Martín 2008:48, ex. 27)

---

[8] "Contrary to what has been commonly thought, we do not believe that the synthetic future is the last phase in the development of the grammaticalization that would have begun with a form such as [infinitive + {ILLU/VŌS} + HABEŌ]. We believe that, since the language's origins, both forms had to coexist with different meanings. Proof of this can be found, precisely, in that age-old coexistence, without which it would not have been possible to explain that such similar forms could end up having the same meaning." (translation mine)

[9] All translations from Fernández Martín (2008) are mine.

It is worth mentioning that Fernández Martín did not specifically analyze synthetic forms with enclisis, although a few examples do contain this particular placement.

On the other hand, Fernández Martín states that the analytic future expresses a more urgent, imminent sentiment than the synthetic future, which only expresses the factuality of a future occurrence (ibid.:54-58). Consider her following example:

(1.25)   Pues le dio Dios juicio, escoja buenas personas que estén en su consejo e

consejar<u>le</u> han bien. E si las toma o las quiere tener malas, suya sea la

culpa; e si no tiene juicio para escoger personas, deje el señorío.

'Since God has given you reason, choose good people to be in your

counsel and they shall advise you well. And if you take or want to keep

evil [people], may the fault be yours; and if you do not have sense enough

to choose people, may you lose your dignity.'

(*Diálogo* 97; cf. Fernández Martín 2008:55, ex. 80).

This statement expresses a direct effect of, or a logical conclusion to, an event: if one chooses good people for counsel, those people will counsel him well. Not only that, but this truth appears to be a universal maxim that cannot be ignored. Fernández Martín states the same about analytic conditionals – that the presence of the verb *haber* encodes a stronger sense of obligation on the part of the subject.

(1.26)   ***Amonestar<u>le</u> hía*** muchas veces que se emendase, y si no lo quisiese hacer

y yo toviese mando o señorío sobre él, ***castigar<u>lo</u> hía*** muy gentilmente,

para que por mal se emendase si no lo quisiese hacer por bien.

'I would admonish him many times that he reform, and if he did not want

to do it and I had command or seniority over him, I would chastise him

very gently, so that he might be reformed by evil if he did not want to do it

for good.'

(*Diálogo* 136; cf. Fernández Martín 2008:55, ex. 77)

During the 17th century, mesoclisis with futures and conditionals as well as enclisis to

other finite verb forms began to be replaced by obligatory proclisis in Spanish

(Nieuwenhuijsen 2006), a change completed by the 19th century. In Chapter 4 we will

revisit Fernández Martín's observations as they regard semantic change and

grammaticalization.

<u>1.3. Overview of the dissertation</u>

<u>*Chapter 1 – Theoretical overview and focus of the study.*</u> This first chapter of the

dissertation has been an account of the evolution of future and conditional paradigms

from Classical Latin through Vulgar and Late Latin into Old Romance, up until the

present-day varieties of Spanish and Portuguese. The synthetic paradigms existing in

Classical Latin will be outlined, as well as linguists' accounts of why the forms left

virtually no mark on modern Romance. Accordingly, an overview of periphrastic forms

used in Latin will illustrate the many ways that futurity (and anterior futurity) was

encoded. The semantic-pragmatic distinctions among the several periphrases has been

discussed as well, paying attention to word orders, prepositions, and particular verbs

used.

     Chapter 2 – Generative syntax and the F projection, parameters and Universal

Grammar. This chapter will be a review of a few of the various syntactic models of

cliticization in Romance, particularly in Ibero-Romance languages. These models will be

discussed and critiqued based on their explanatory adequacy of clitic placement. The

most crucial discussion will be of Uriagereka's (1995a, 1995b) functional projection

above I, named F, which governs clitic placement based on phonological principles as

well as pragmatic context. Finally, the concept of Universal Grammar (UG) will be

introduced along with the parameter – the smallest yet most integral unit of UG – and the

notion of language change and its interrelationship with UG will be discussed.

     Chapter 3 – Historical variation: quantitative analysis. It has already been

mentioned that enclisis and mesoclisis were not in complementary distribution in Old

Spanish and Portuguese; that is, there was no particular context that admitted enclisis but

not mesoclisis (or vice versa). Since the INF-AUX-Cl order was allowed, at first glance

there is little basis on which to predict that one would be favored over the other. The

enclitic order was in fact observed in Old Spanish and Portuguese:

(1.27)   *Si no la hazes con presto movimiento, **ternás<u>me</u>** por capital enemiga*

        "If you do not do this quickly, I will be your mortal enemy"

        (OSp, *Celestina*, I, 151/15[10])

---

[10] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of *La Celestina* are mine.

(1.28)   *E diss' el: "**farei-o** | pois end' avedes sabor;*

"And he said: 'I will do it; afterwards, as a result you will have pleasure'"

(Gal-Port, *Cántigas de Santa Maria* 14:33; translation mine)

In my study, I will follow Company Company's (1985) example of searching Old

Spanish texts to calculate the frequency of synthetic and analytic futures and

conditionals. However, in some manners I intend to be more restrictive in my search

than Company Company, not in the size of the corpus but in the category of variable.

Company Company gave the frequencies of *all* synthetic and analytic future/conditional

occurrences in her corpus, regardless of context. Instead, I will specifically target the

variability between synthetic forms with enclisis and analytic forms with mesoclisis. My

data will come from documents written across both Old/Medieval Spanish – defined as

between the 13th and 16th centuries – and Classical Spanish – 17th and 18th centuries –

with the aim of examining structural changes of the future and conditional paradigms

over time.

       Chapter 4 – Morphophonological and pragmatic implications of

grammaticalization. After outlining the verbal structures used in Latin, I will discuss the

structural changes observed from Late Latin to Old Romance. Morphophonological

changes in the verbal elements will be outlined, both in the lexical verb and the auxiliary

habere. Verbs that showed phonological changes in the lexical stems, such as *facere >*

hacer, fazer, will be discussed; closer attention will be paid to verbs such as OSp *tener,*

venir that exhibit variation in the stem, i.e. *tenré/terné/terré/tendré* for *tener* and

venré/verné/verré/vendré for *venir*. Also, the evolution of *habere* from auxiliary to affix to inflectional morpheme will be analyzed, both morphophonolically and syntactically. Roberts' (1993) analysis of Diachronic Reanalysis will be key to the conversation, as this was most certainly realized pan-Romanically.

My goal within this chapter is to show, based on the results of the data analysis, that not only did the predominant patterns of cliticization to futures and conditionals change, but so did the underlying phonological structures of both the infinitival stem and the auxiliary ending. Crosslinguistic evidence will weigh heavily into the analysis of morphophonological change due to the parallels between Old Spanish and other Iberian languages that maintain(ed) mesoclisis as a permissible pattern. On the pragmatic front, conclusions will be drawn about the shifts in meaning of each construction as the grammaticalizational process was in effect.

Chapter 5 – The syntactic status of haber*, F projection parameters, cliticization patterns, and grammaticalization.* Continuing with the assumptions of Minimalist syntax as discussed in Chapter 2, I will apply those principles to the data in order to model Old Spanish enclisis and mesoclisis to futures and conditionals. Since the distribution of mesoclisis in Old Spanish and modern Portuguese is similar, I expect the derivations to be mostly similar also. Here I will continue with my analysis of changes in the features of *haber* as it undergoes decategorialization from auxiliary to affix.

In comparing these arguments as well as other perspectives based on the role of F in enclisis and proclisis, I shall provide an alternative account for the role of F in Romance mesoclisis. I will begin with a summary of the functional projections described as landing sites for clitics: F (Uriagereka 1995b, refined in Raposo and Uriagereka 2005)

and Σ (Martins 1993, 2003). Next, I will discuss how mesoclisis has been modeled in the literature, both with F and without it, and argue for the necessity of such a projection. Third, I will analyze the minimalist accounts of mesoclisis, noting the advantages and deficiencies in each, and attempt to provide a more unified account.

Where I plan to focus most of my attention, though, is on the differences between Old and Modern varieties of Spanish. For example, overt subjects blocked mesoclisis in OSp (Company Company 1985), which cannot be attributed solely to Tobler-Mussafia effects since the rule applied to postverbal subjects as well.[11] Based on Raposo's (2000) description of the derivation of mesoclisis in strong-F languages, I intend to extend the discussion to Old and Medieval Romance, particularly to Old Spanish. Also, as enclisis was allowed to future and conditional forms in both Old Spanish and Galician-Portuguese, I will account for this since it does have implications for Galician and some northern variants in Portugal which permit this construction.

Along with the V-to-F Movement Parameter, which regulates enclisis/proclisis by default depending on the value of the parameter, other parameters may be necessary to regulate clitic placement. One such parameter that I will argue for is a Mesoclisis Parameter, which will either allow or prohibit mesoclitic constructions in a language. The reason for such a parameter is that, diachronically, almost all Romance languages allowed mesoclitic constructions but few still do now. It will be explained in detail how this parameter is linked to the status of the auxiliary for both syntactic and phonological reasons.

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[11] Tobler-Mussafia principles state that a verb not in clause-initial position must only admit a proclitic; else, the verb must only admit an enclitic.

Chapter 6 – Grammaticalization. The crux of the issue is how historical variation, generative syntax, and UG principles fit into grammaticalization theory. It is simple enough to discuss the semantic and morphophonological properties of the evolution CANTĀRE HABEŌ > *cantaré, cantarei* and how they displaced already existing forms. This particular chapter, which will serve as the *dénouement* of the entire study, continues the story from where most grammaticalization studies end: filling in the gap between Late Latin and Modern Romance by providing theoretical accounts of the observed changes from the Old to the Modern variants. Of particular interest will be:

- the importance of the mesoclitic construction and how its presence affects paradigmaticization of the future and conditional

- the evolution of the role of F and how it affects the categorical nature of proclisis in Modern Spanish

- the usefulness of considering UG parameters in historical language change

These points will lead into my own reinterpretation of the notion of "incomplete grammaticalization" of the future and conditional in Portuguese, discarding the definitions given by Grandgent and Ledgeway and instead making a case that, on their own, the future and conditional paradigms of Spanish and Portuguese have grammaticalized based on *the lexical word > … > bound morpheme* cline cited earlier.

CHAPTER 2
CLITICIZATION IN GENERATIVE SYNTAX AND PARAMETERIZATION

2.0. Clitic placement in diachrony

Clitic placement in Ibero-Romance (and pan-Romanically) has been and continues to be an oft-discussed topic in syntax and morphology, with multiple theories and derivations arising from several frameworks. The primary questions and debates about cliticization put forth in the literature are the following:

1. Where are clitics generated?

2. If not generated in their surface position, where and how do clitics move?

3. How is proclisis realized in root contexts in some languages but enclisis in others?

Various authors have put forth their views, theories, and positions on cliticization in Romance, endeavoring to reach conclusions necessary and sufficient to explain this phenomenon in every language regardless of the prevailing patterns. As such, each account of cliticization maintains that differing patterns across languages is the result of a distinct property intrinsic to each language. For example, in Spanish and Catalan which exhibit proclisis obligatorily in root contexts, this property is different from Portuguese and Galician which exhibit obligatory enclisis in the same contexts.

Furthermore, there are other accounts that argue, based on diachronic evidence, how older variants of Romance languages (such as Spanish and French) allowed cliticization patterns that now range from dubious to agrammatical in the modern languages. Languages such as these in which certain older syntactic patterns such as finite enclisis are no longer acceptable or attested are said to have undergone parametric resetting.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. First, various perspectives of cliticization in Romance, particularly Ibero-Romance, will be discussed. Among these will be arguments with and without movement; from there, the discussion will turn to varying accounts of where clitics surface, be it within the verbal phase or in a projection above that phase. The goal of this chapter is to move toward a hypothesis of property evolution – which will eventually be referred to as *parameter shifting* – through the history of Spanish so as to explain where and how clitics were hosted in Old Spanish in contrast to where they are now, especially in the case of the future and conditional paradigms.

2.1. Preliminaries

Before launching into a discussion about the literature pertaining to cliticization, it may be prudent to discuss a few of the concepts that will be referenced multiple times in the sections to come. Of particular interest are the properties of the verbal projection VP (often V in shorthand) and the inflectional projection IP (often I in shorthand) as well as the notion of A'-movement (read as "A-bar movement").

2.1.1. The properties of VP and IP

The projections VP and IP, though both responsible for verbal future checking, serve entirely different purposes. VP – short for "verb(al) phrase" is the projection within which all lexical verbs are generated. Ordinarily, the verb is generated in a simple projection like the following:
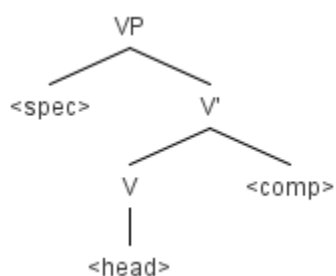
Figure 2.1– VP projection

Above, the verb is generated in the head position. According to earlier theories, the subject is generated in [Spec, VP] and the verbal complement, be it a direct, indirect, or prepositional object, is a sister to V. However, in Minimalist syntax, a more complex definition of the lexical VP is needed. I will show that representation here in figure 2.2 and describe it thereafter:

```
            vP
           /  \
        Subj   v'
              /  \
             v    VP
                 /  \
                IO   V'
                    /  \
                   V    DO
```
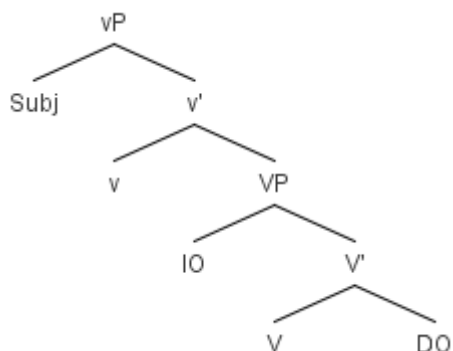
Figure 2.2 – The vP-shell[12]

Notice that there is a small v and a large V. The lexical verb is still generated as the head of V as before. In its base position, it c-commands[13] its complement and as such assigns it accusative Case. Then, it moves leftward to the head of v in order to c-command the constituent in [Spec, VP] and assign it dative Case. The subject is generated in [Spec, vP], the highest-available position in the structure. All lexical features of the verb are checked within V.

Whereas lexical/semantic features are realized within the VP domain, it is within IP – the inflection(al) phrase – that morphological agreement between the verb and the subject is produced and checked (Zagona 2002; Adger 2003). Languages such as Spanish that contain rich verbal morphology realize features of tense, aspect, and mood as well as person and number agreement features with the subject. The following is how IP is represented in short notation:

---

[12] The vP-shell is frequently found in languages with causative verbs (Adger 2003). Zagona (2002) presents an identical structure but labels all levels of the tree as large V.
Another difference between Zagona's structure and Figure 2.2 above is the placement of the objects: Zagona shows the indirect object as V's complement and the direct object as V's specifier. The fact that double object pronouns invariably appear in the order IO-DO in Spanish shows that the reverse of Zagona's order is correct.
[13] Given two nodes A and B, A *c-commands* B if and only if the sister node of A either (1) is B or (2) dominates B.

```
              IP
           /      \
      <spec>      I'
                /    \
               I      VP
               |
           <head>
```
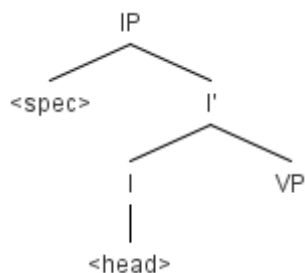
Figure 2.3 – IP

As we see, IP dominates VP and takes it as its complement. The head of V moves into I

in order to check those verbal agreement features mentioned above. Accordingly, the

preverbal subject moves out of VP into [Spec, IP].

An important note must be made here. Verbs that are functional instead of lexical

in nature, such as auxiliaries, are not generated in VP. Instead, they are generated within

IP. This is because auxiliary verbs and the like neither have lexical features to check, nor

can they assign Case. Instead, when they are present, their only featural "responsibility"

is agreement with the subject in person and number.

There are analyses that, instead of representing inflection within one projection,

spread it out over several specific projections; this is called the *split-IP hypothesis*. I will

show that here for illustration's sake:

```
                AgrSP
              /       \
        <spec>        AgrS'
                    /       \
                AgrS          TP
                            /     \
                       <spec>      T'
                                 /     \
                               T        AgrOP
                                       /      \
                                  <spec>       AgrO'
                                             /       \
                                         AgrO          VP
                                                       . . .
```
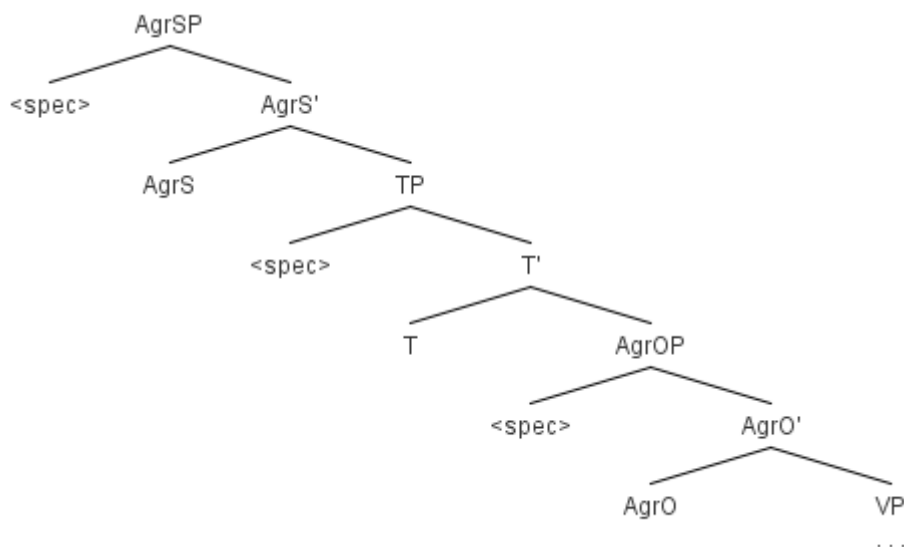
Figure 2.4 – Split-IP (Pollock 1989; Belletti 1994)

There are two Agr(eement) projections here, a higher one for subject agreement (AgrS) and a lower one for object agreement (AgrO). Tense agreement is realized within T. The purpose of the split-IP structure shown here is to motivate certain operations such as double negation (French *ne pas*). Except where cited by other authors, the vast majority of this work will show all inflection generated within I for the sake of simplicity.

Much of the syntactic analysis of future and conditional verbs in Old Spanish hinges on the understanding of verb generation in VP and IP. As was discussed in the first chapter, the lexical verb stem – the infinitive – of the analytic future was always generated as the head of V. Morphological agreement was never attributed to the lexical verb but rather the auxiliary *aver/haber*, and so that verb was generated in I. The operation that allowed the lexical stem to move past the auxiliary – *long head movement* as described by Rivero (1991) – placed it in a projection higher than both I and V. This

site, which I will call FP as it was named by Uriagereka (1995a, 1995b), and its

properties will be discussed at length later in this chapter.

2.1.2. A-position and A'-movement

The notion of A-position – short for *argument* position – is based on the relation

between a constituent and a verb. Within the VP domain, the verb is generated along

with its arguments, be they subjects or objects. The position of the arguments as they are

generated is referred to as their A-position – that is, their position before any movement

operations are realized. Constituents are assigned theta roles (such as Agent, Theme, or

Experiencer) in A-position based on their position with respect to the verb. The tree

below, a reprint of Figure 2.2, is provided in order to facilitate the discussion of the A-

positions of said constituents.
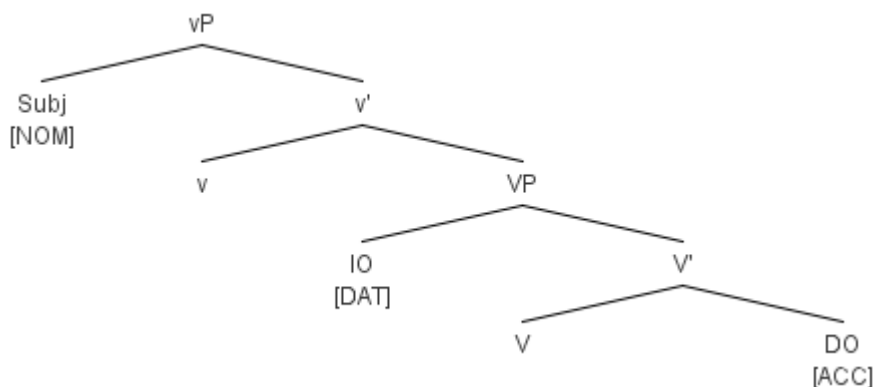
Figure 2.5 – A-positions and lexical features of verbal arguments

As stated in section 2.1.1, the subject in [Spec, vP] receives nominative Case by virtue of

its position in the leftmost Spec of the vP shell. Similarly, the indirect object in [Spec,

VP] is assigned dative Case via c-command by the verb in *v*, and the direct object in the

complement position of the head of V receives accusative Case. This assignment of roles and Case applies not only to full objects but also to clitics; indirect object clitics are generated in [Spec, VP] and direct object clitics are generated in complement position as a sister to the verb.

Constituents that are no longer in A-position but instead have moved leftward in the structure are said to have undergone either A-movement or A′-movement to that landing site. We consider it A′-movement only when the operation does not involve feature checking of Case features; otherwise, the operation is A-movement. Those constituents that have moved out of their A-position to a higher site leave traces in their base-generated positions. Said traces are co-referent with their antecedents and remain licensed by the verb; however, the full constituents must move for other purposes such as feature checking. A-movement is involved in subject raising, passivization, and intransitivization, while A′-movement is seen in many phenomena such as *wh*-movement and left-dislocation (Baltin 2000). More to the point, clitic placement has everything to do with A′-movement in finite contexts. As noted in the previous subsection, finite verbs necessarily move out of V into I in order to receive inflectional morphology. Clitics, because they must remain adjacent to a verb in most cases[14], also must necessarily leave the vP shell in order to maintain this adjacency. Because the clitic raises purely in order to remain adjacent to the verb but does not receive its theta role by virtue of the raised

---

[14] There are examples of interpolated elements between the clitic and the verb in European Portuguese, such as in the following example:
Muita felicidade *__lhe__* Deus trouxe
'Much happiness did God bring him/her'
(Raposo 2000:279)
This phenomenon of scrambling was also observed in Old Spanish. However, its analysis is outside of the scope of this work.

position, it is considered to be A′-movement. An illustration of this comes from clitic

climbing in Spanish, as shown below:

(2.1)   a)   Quiero comprar**_lo._**

         [IP pro [I' Quiero [vP t [v comprar$_i$ [VP [V' t$_i$[DP lo]]]]]]]

         b)   **_Lo_** quiero comprar.

         [XP Lo$_j$ [IP quiero [vP [v comprar$_i$ [VP t$_j$ [V' t$_i$][DP]]]]]

The clitic in (a) above is in its A-position; as we have established, argument clitics are

generated within V. It is in (b) where we observe A′-movement, as the clitic has moved

to a position that is not canonically for oblique arguments.

   However, not all syntacticians have analyzed cliticization as the result of a

movement operation, nor have all movement analyses been in agreement. There are also

arguments that all clitics are generated in their surface position. The following sections

present previous analyses of cliticizations from both points of view.   Let us now discuss

those arguments and where they are sufficient or lacking.

2.2. *Cliticization without movement*

   In the earliest studies of clitic placement, much of the focus was on the

phonological aspects of said placements – that is, the fact that clitics could not be clause-

initial and needed a prosodic word to their left. Meyer-Lübke (1897; cited in Fontana

1993), for example, stated that the only justification for changes in clitic placement

behavior had nothing to do with syntax and everything to do with shifting phonological

properties of a particular language. Essentially, if there was no prosodic material at the beginning of a clause, the clitic necessarily had to attach to the end of the verb; otherwise, the structure was unacceptable. Meyer Lübke's position was restated as both Wackernagel's Law and the Tobler-Mussafia Law. The inadequacy of a morphophonological explanation for clitic placement is evidenced in enclitic-default languages by the presence of enclisis to verbs with preverbal subjects as well as with preverbal topics, neither of which would be predicted by the principles of Meyer-Lübkem Wackernagel, or Tobler-Mussafia. For that reason, the latter part of the last century has seen pure phonology-based cliticization accounts rejected in favor of syntactic analyses that may incorporate syntax-phonology interface effects.

Nevertheless, there are accounts of clitic placement in Romance that either downplay movement or do not account for it at all. I discuss a few of them below, ending this section with the rationale for what I deem to be the most pertinent analysis of cliticization

2.2.1. *Muller (1998)*

As stated in Muller (1998), one accord that has been reached is that, across Romance, clitics are primarily pronominal arguments, either complements or adverbials, which are placed according to verbal inflection. Generally speaking, clitics obligatorily climb to auxiliaries in periphrastic forms in most Romance languages, bypassing past participles as potential hosts. However, as Muller notes, there are instances of clitics attaching to past participles in various Romance languages:

(2.2)   Cuando volvió, Nicolás había comido y marchádo*se*

               'When he returned, Nicolás had eaten and left'

               (Spanish; Muller 1998:120, ex. 15)

(2.3)   a)   No *se* había hecho cargo

               b)   No había*se* hecho cargo

               c)   No había hécho*se* cargo

               'He had not realized it'

               (Sp; Muller 1998:120, ex. 16[15])

(2.4)   Una volta conosciuta*mi*, Gianni…

               'Once he met me, Gianni…'

               (It; Muller 1998:120, ex. 17; from Kayne 1991:659)

Muller also notes that infinitives and gerunds, unlike past participles, can host clitics; this is evidence that there exists a different parameter for auxiliaries and infinitives with respect to clitic placement. Ultimately, he proposes a "hierarchy" of verb forms according to how "strong" they are of a support for cliticization:

1. "[The verb form] allows more clitics (for example, finite verb forms in French opposed to non-finite ones).

---

[15] Muller states that his two informants confirm the acceptability of (c).

2. It binds more narrowly some clitics (for example in French, tensed forms and present participle, opposed to the infinitive […]).[16]

3. It possibly attracts to itself a clitic that would normally be attached to another (lower) verb form.

4. It does not allow the attraction of another higher verb form, or of another support (such as a preposition in some cases)."

(Muller 1998:123)

Muller (1998:124) states that enclisis "is the most usual position with infinitives and gerunds, and we already know that these verb forms are weak governors of clitics." Furthermore, he states that "weak" verb forms and languages that permit enclisis to finite verbs (such as European Portuguese, hereafter EP) reinforce the government of the object by the verb itself.

Muller discusses the availability of licensing based on the principles of A-position and A′-movement. From a base-generation standpoint, the enclitic is in an A-position, being a predicative argument of the verb. Verbs that are "stronger" governors of clitics do not require "reinforcement" of government and thus allow proclitics – clitics in an A′-position.

Where Muller's analysis stops short is the phenomenon of movement, as it is now held (Kayne 1991; Uriagereka 1995b; Raposo 1999, 2000; Martins 2003; *inter alia*) that

---

[16] Muller here differentiates the French infinitive based on the ability of the negative particle *ne* to be located at a distance from the infinitive, as in his example (6):

Promets-moi de *ne* plus toujours immédiatement te *plaindre* de ce que je fais
'Promise me that you will no longer immediately complain about what I do'

clitics move out of the V domain in order to assume their proper position. Let us return

to his claims about verbs being either "weak" or "strong" governors, a term he avoids

defining. If Muller is using the term *government* in the traditional sense, then the claim

he is making is that clitics are assigned Case by the lexical verb. This is possible under

the assumption that object clitics are base-generated in an A-position within the V

domain before moving leftward to their surface position (see Sportiche 1996):
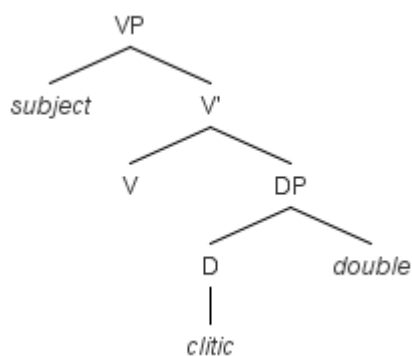
Figure 2.6 – Generation positions of the clitic and its double

Muller's theory applied to Old Spanish future/conditional constructions as it is to EP

predicts that, as the lexical head and auxiliary inflectional ending are still separate verbal

entities, the clitic is governed by the lexical head. This is unproblematic – in base

position, as shown below with what would be predicted to become OSp *cantarlo he*:

```
                    TP
              ╱         ╲
        <spec>          T'
                    ╱       ╲
                  he         VP
                         ╱       ╲
                    <spec>        V'
                              ╱       ╲
                          cantar      DP
                                       │
                                       lo
```
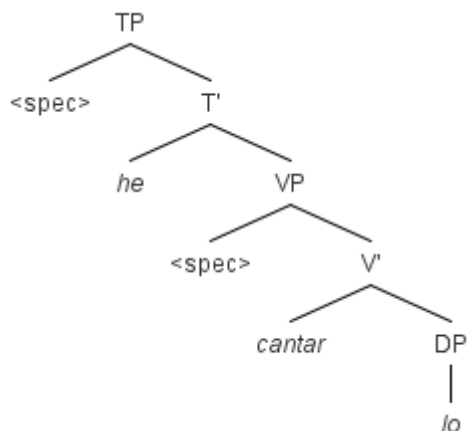
Figure 2.7 – Base-generation of cantarlo he *before movement*

However, based on the belief that argument clitics are generated within V and not above T, an analysis avoiding movement cannot account for the phonetic form (PF)[17] realization *cantarlo he*. Muller would have to assume that *cantar* and *lo* were generated above the auxiliary, which cannot happen.

Furthermore, without a movement analysis, how can proclitic government be properly motivated? It is not enough to consider Spanish lexical verbs "strong" governors of clitics without defining syntactically what that might entail. Muller does emphasize that proclitics are governed "from a distance," but he declines to give any syntactic motivation for how this is derived. A commonly held view (based on Kayne 1991, Sportiche 1996) is that the clitic is base-generated in order to be assigned Case and then moves upward to its proclitic landing spot, as such:

---

[17] *Phonetic form* (PF) is the structure of the phrase once all syntactic operations have taken place, at which point the phrase can be

(2.5)   [$_{XP}$ [$_{Adv}$ Ahora] lo$_j$ [$_{TP}$ cantar$_i$+he [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{DP}$ t$_j$]]]]

            'Now I will sing it'

The movement analysis in (2.5) shows the trace that the clitic leaves behind (in D) in its

A-position relative to the trace of the infinitive (in V). Given that the clitic is by

definition coreferent with its trace in D, it no longer has to remain there in order to

maintain its theta role. This example illustrates Muller's verbal hierarchy of "strength" as

it pertains to clitic placement, but it also shows the deficiency of such an analysis without

considering movement. Nor does Muller take into consideration the effect that left-

peripheral elements have on cliticization in "weak-verb" languages such as Portuguese.

Elements such as focalized constituents, affective operators, and negation preceding a

finite lexical verb do not change the argument structure of a phrase, yet the presence of

any of these elements causes proclisis to a "weaker" Portuguese verb. His analysis does

        There are instances in which a base-generation analysis of cliticization is more

prudent, such as inherent clitics and ethical datives (see Sportiche 1996 for evidence from

French). Base-generation seemingly also offers the most efficacious explanation of

colloquial clitics, as are found in Galician (see Uriagereka 1995b) or in some varieties of

Dominican Spanish (see Gupton and Lowman 2013). I show examples of colloquial

clitics and ethical datives in these languages as (2.6) below:

(2.6)   a)   Son*vos* bo de tratar   (Gal)

                'I, you know, am easy to get along with'

                (in Uriagereka 1995b:102, ex. 20a)

b) Se *te me* casó la hija.   (Cibeño Dominican Spanish)

'My daughter got married on me.'

(in Gupton and Lowman 2013:344, ex. 19)

The clitics *vos* and *te* encode reference to the listener in (a) and (be) respectively. Additionally, the clitic *me* is an ethical dative expressing how the speaker was affected by the situation. None of these is a predicative clitic in the sense that neither the listener nor the speaker is an argument of the verb. These four situations for which base-generation argues best are instances in which the clitic is neither a replacement for nor coreferential with a NP object and as such are not assigned Case by a lexical verb. In order to explain Case features and licensing, as well as the prevalence of clitic climbing in languages such as Spanish, the best course to follow is the assumption that clitics arrive at their surface position via leftward movement out of the VP domain. In the next section, we discuss where clitics land upon leaving VP according to movement analyses.

2.3. *Movement analyses of cliticization*

Continuing with the position that clitics are generated within VP and move leftward out of that domain in finite contexts, the next question is this: where do clitics and their verbal hosts move? The consensus follows Kayne (1991) in that there is a functional site higher than I that serves as the landing site for moved clitics. Consequently, as enclisis is a possible construction in some Romance languages and was previously allowed in nearly all of them, the landing site for finite verb movement has been frequently discussed as well. Various projections are suggested in the literature,

such as C (Rivero 1990) and Fin (Fernández Rubiera 2009, 2010) within the left

periphery, and F (Uriagereka 1995a, 1995b) and Σ (Martins 2003) between C and I. Yet

other authors claim that clitics adjoin within the IP layer, such as to either T or AgrO

(Duarte and Matos 2000) depending on whether the observed pattern is proclisis or

enclisis/mesoclisis, respectively. We will discuss some of these arguments here.

2.3.1. *Cliticization and V-to-C movement: Barrie (2000)*

    Taking a more modern syntactic viewpoint that involves movement, Barrie (2000)

adopts from Kayne (1991) the view that clitics are generated and merged in argument

position and, subsequently, raise to their surface position. This view is based on the fact

that clitic doubling is absent from European Portuguese (EP). Barrie states that the

default position for clitics in EP is to the right of the tensed verb – enclisis – and that

proclisis is observed in other environments, such as in the presence of negated main

clauses and fronted adverbials:

(2.7)   O João viu   -***me***.

            the John see.3s.PAST CL.1S.ACC

            "John saw me."

(2.8)   Até o João ***me***   viu.

            even the John CL.1S.ACC see.3s.PAST

            "Even John saw me."

Barrie also makes mention of the possibility of a clitic intervening between the verbal

stem and the inflectional ending, which he calls *endoclisis* but which is more commonly

known as *mesoclisis*.[18] Since mesoclisis is observed in the same environments as enclisis

albeit only with verbs conjugated in the future indicative and conditional, Barrie claims

that mesoclisis is simply a variant of enclisis. However, he states that,

morphosyntactically, enclisis and mesoclisis are mutually exclusive in modern EP,

although other syntacticians dispute this as shall be discussed later (Duarte and Matos

2000; Raposo 2000). The evidence for Barrie's claim is that (1) enclisis and mesoclisis

(with future and conditional verbs) both obtain under the same triggers and (2) proclisis

obtains with *all* tensed verbs where enclisis is prohibited.

Barrie's derivation of mesoclisis, example (33) in his work, is reproduced as

Figure 2.8 below:
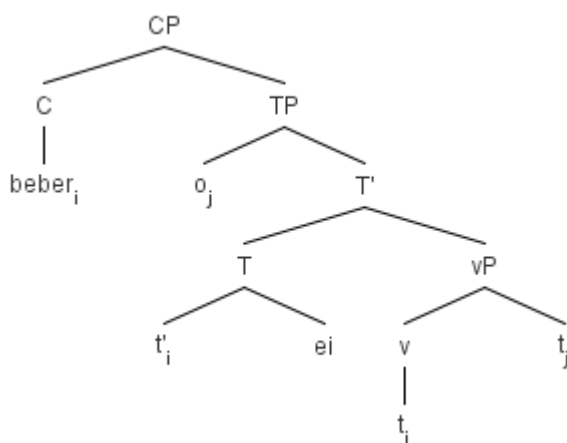
Figure 2.8 – Mesoclisis according to Barrie (2000:105, ex. 33)

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[18] *Endoclisis* is more commonly used to describe clitic placement within a single morpheme, whereas *mesoclisis* is clitic placement between two morphemes at their respective boundaries. The latter term shall be used throughout this work.

The inflectional ending *ei* is generated in T, as expected. The lexical verb *beber* is generated in *v* and moves to C via T through excorporation, as it cannot remain there because of the impossibility of checking the interpretable feature [+lexical]. According to Barrie, this is not a behavior of only future and conditional tenses; lexical verbs *must* move V-to-C as evidenced in his example (35), reproduced as figure 2.9 below:
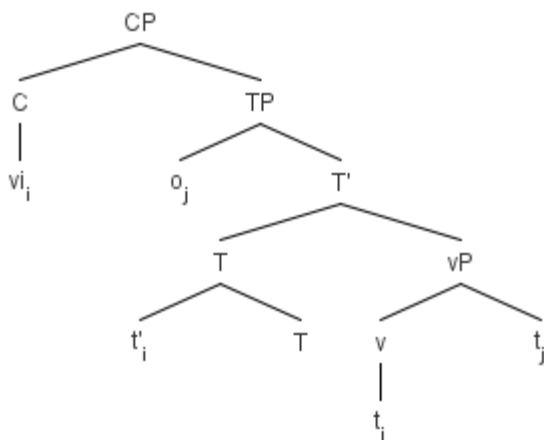
Figure 2.9 – Barrie 2000:106 ex. 35

Leaving aside his claim of V-to-C movement, Barrie seems to have made a very telling claim in his analysis of Portuguese verbs, particularly future and conditional verbs. While the construction *bebê-lo-ei* leaves the inflectional morpheme in T as shown in figure 2.8 above, proclitic constructions such as *não o beberei* leave the entire inflected verb in T. The conclusion of this matter is that two separate constructions are available to express the grammatical future and conditional in Portuguese. In greater detail, there exists a derivation in which the lexical stem and the auxiliary ending are merged under T (as in *não o beberei*) alongside a still-analytic form evidenced by mesoclisis effected by the lexical infinitive raising to C. We shall revisit the implications of this distribution in later chapters.

2.3.2. Verbs and clitics in Agr: Duarte and Matos (2000)

Like Barrie, Duarte and Matos (2000) maintain that the landing site for clitics is still within a verbal projection. Unlike Barrie, though, Duarte and Matos state that clitics are hosted in AgrO above T (yet still within I). Under this structure, all clitic placements – proclisis, enclisis, and mesoclisis – should be properly derived. Below are their derivations of the respective orders:

Figure 2.10 – Proclisis (Duarte and Matos 2000:135, ex. 52)

In proclitic arrangements, the clitic first moves from within V to [Spec, AgrO] and then left-adjoins to T to meet the verb, as modeled above.

Figure 2.11 – Enclisis (ibid.:130 ex. 42)

Duarte and Matos state that where there is enclisis, the verb and the clitic both left-adjoin to AgrO – within the lowest projection in the IP layer.
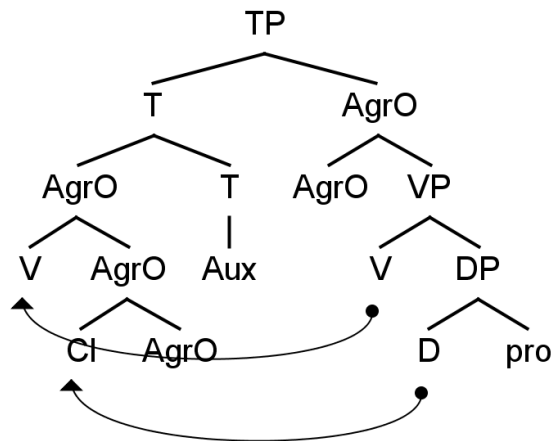
Figure 2.12 – Mesoclisis (ibid.:134 ex. 51b)

When mesoclisis is realized, the inflectional ending is in the head of T. Duarte and

Matos then claim that the lexical verb stem and the clitic, both merged into AgrO, move

together and merge into T. It is worth noting that no matter the cliticization pattern –

proclisis, enclisis, or mesoclisis – the creation of a complex head is the end result of their

analysis, whether in AgrO (proclisis and enclisis) or under T (mesoclisis).

In their analysis, Duarte and Matos reference claims of certain other syntacticians

who claim that clitics move from their base-generated positions and land in a site higher

than I, such as Madeira (1992), Martins (1994), and Uriagereka (1995b). The authors

claim that these analyses that rely on higher functional projections are inadequate for

European Portuguese because there is no way to reliably model proclisis in the language;

that is, that their models would predict enclisis everywhere, a problem Uriagereka

himself noted. However, what can be made of Duarte and Matos' data that show that

proclisis is realized when certain affective words are present? Duarte and Matos do note

that certain adverbial phrases trigger proclisis, as is well-known. The shortcoming of

their analysis, though, is that they fail to address how these phrases and operators appear

in the syntax, save for complementation. Again, without a syntactic explanation

accounting for the effects of enclisis-blocking constituents, their analysis lacks in

motivation of the proper clitic placement.

2.3.2. *Cliticization and V movement to C*

Believing that clitics do not remain within either the verbal or inflectional

domain, other authors have written about the availability of higher projections for clitic

movement. One such projection to which clitic movement is attributed is CP

(complement phrase). While complementizers such as Spanish *que* head the projection,

its specifier is the landing site for other operations, most notably movement of subjects

and *wh*-elements. In order to explain enclisis, certain authors such as Roberts (1993) and

Barrie (2000) claim that the verb moves to C above the projection where the clitic is

hosted, often merged into T or Agr as in the examples to follow. First, we revisit Barrie's

abstraction of root enclisis in EP which depicts the verb moving from its base position in

V to its inflectional/agreement position in T, only moving to the head of C in order to

host the enclitic *me*:

(2.9)   Viu-***me***.

               'He saw me.'

               (Barrie 2000:98, ex. 16a)
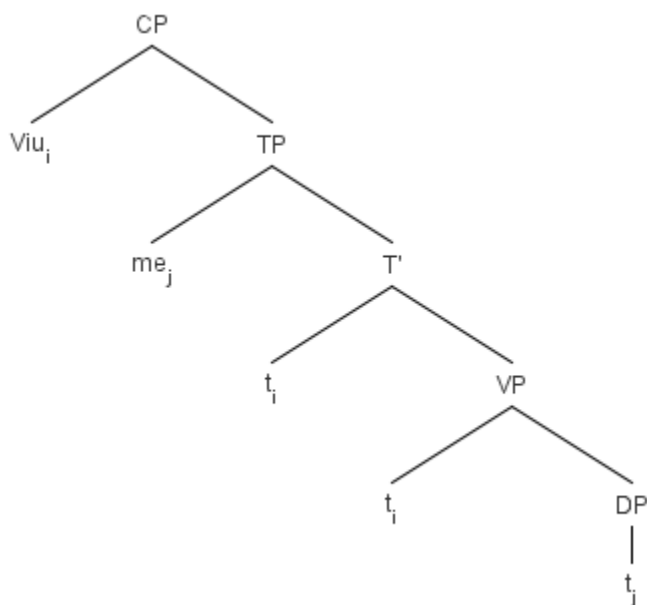
Figure 2.13 – Derivation of Portuguese enclisis (Barrie 2000:98, ex. 16b)

Barrie argues that the head of C contains a [+lexical] feature that must be checked, which, if there is no complementizer present, is satisfied by either a verb or an affective element such as a focalized constituent. If there is no complementizer or affective element present, the verb moves to the head of C and provides an appropriate host for the clitic in [Spec, TP]. Otherwise, the verb remains in T and can move no further.

The notion of a verb moving into the head of C in order to check its [+lexical] feature is also employed by Roberts (1993). In his example, feature checking as well as clitic hosting motivates mesoclisis in Old Spanish: the lexical infinitive moves to C, while the clitic and auxiliary *aver* remain merged within I.
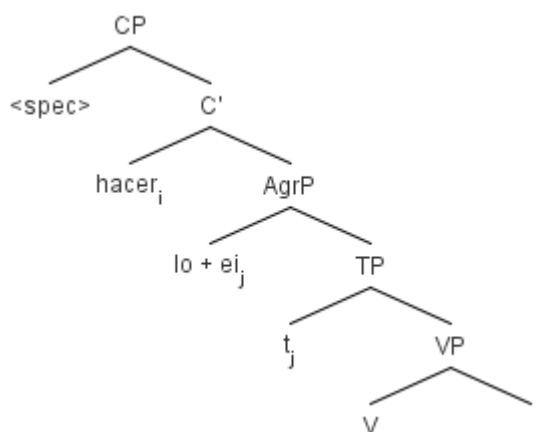
Figure 2.14 – Enclisis according to Roberts (1993:243, ex. 32)

Though Chomsky (1986) is credited with establishing the CP-IP-VP hierarchy theory, more recent works by Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1999), and Benincà (2004) describe CP not as a singular projection but rather as a domain comprising several functional projections. This CP-domain – the *left-periphery* – is defined as the phase where multiple constituents, such as complementizers, topics, and focused elements, are hosted. The left periphery in Romance is represented by Benincà as follows:

(2.10)   *The Romance left periphery*

[ForceP [FrameP [TopP [FocP [FinP]]]]]

(Benincà 2004:55, ex.2)

Benincà defines these five projections in the following manner. Force is defined as "looking outside" in order to determine the clause type of the structure, be it main or subordinate/embedded. Frame is the projection within which we find "hanging topics." Top(ic) is the landing site for left-dislocated topics. Foc(us), as expected, is the site where constituents in focus are either generated – such as affective adverbs – or moved – such as contrastive elements. Finally, Fin(iteness) "looks inside" the clause for features within IP such as mood and temporality.

The left periphery is important to the study of clitic placement because of the effect on cliticization of elements within these left-peripheral projections, particularly FocP. This will be discussed at the end of this section.

2.3.3. Cliticization and the F projection: Uriagereka (1995b), Raposo (2000)

In his discussion of functional categories above I and below C that determine clitic placement, Uriagereka (1995b) argues that this particular category – named FP or simply F – has different properties depending on the language. In addition to representing the interface between syntax and pragmatics, F is a manifestation of the strength of morphological verbal features and as such shows distinct behaviors depending on the language. Clitic placement, since it varies across Romance, is one such differentiating factor. Uriagereka claims that languages that allow enclisis to all verbs,

finite or not, have strong morphological features and therefore have a morphologically active F projection. On the other hand, languages that do not allow enclisis to finite verbs are said to have weak morphological features and therefore a weaker, inactive F.[19] Languages that fall under the former description include standard European Portuguese and Galician, while modern Spanish falls under the latter description. Nevertheless, F is present in each of these languages and plays a crucial role in clitic placement (see also Raposo and Uriagereka 2005)

First, with strong-F languages such as Portuguese and Galician, Uriagereka shows that the verb moves from its base V leftward to I and then from I to F in order to host the enclitic. Finally, the clitic moves from its base to F, having an appropriate host.
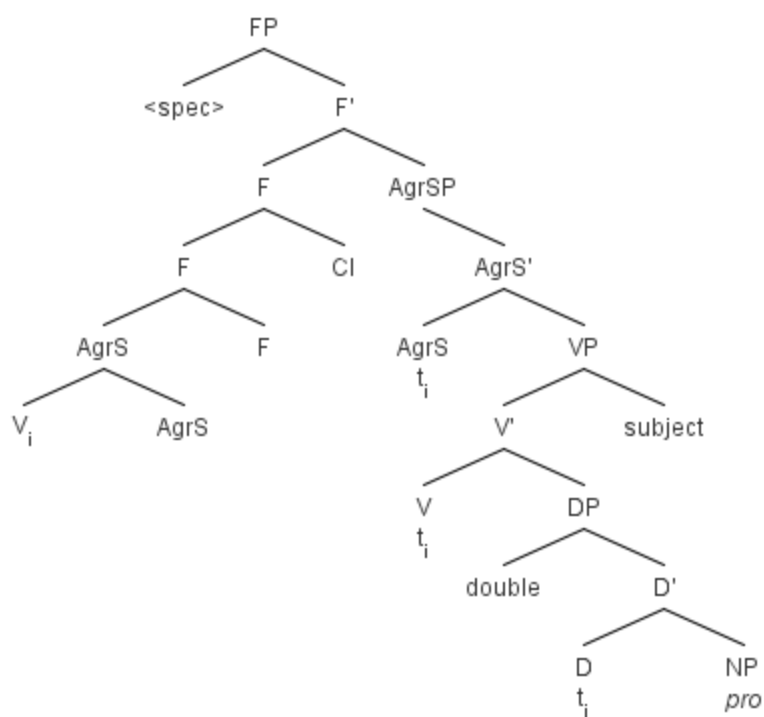
Figure 2.15 – Uriagereka (1995b:101 ex. 18) (with modifications)

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[19] Uriagereka also claims that languages such as French, which do not permit enclisis to either finite or non-finite verbs, achieve cliticization without projecting F at all. This is outside the scope of the present work.

With Spanish, Uriagereka provides a derivation in which the morphological weakness of

the finite verb prevents it from raising to F:
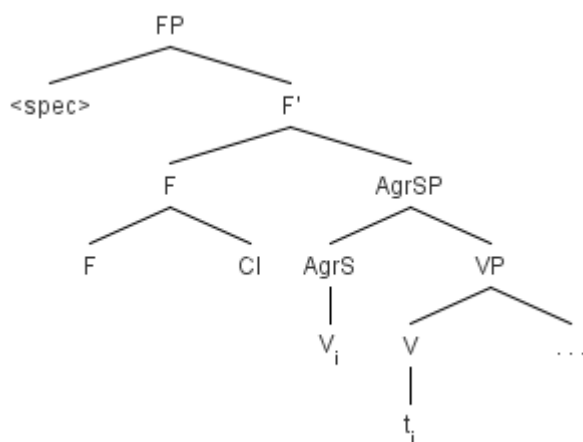
Figure 2.16 – Uriagereka (1995b:102 ex. 19) (with modifications)

In the Spanish example with weak F, the verb moves only as high as it can within the

verbal complex, labeled as AgrS here.[20] As Spanish only allows proclisis to finite verbs,

the claim here is that a similar derivation must take place in strong-F languages. Raposo

(1999) disputes this, stating that verbs move to F proper no matter the clitic order, even in

Spanish. However, he gives no particular basis or explanation for the raising of V/I to F

without appropriate feature strength.

Where most clitic analyses stop short, though, is the derivation of mesoclisis in

the structure. Raposo (2000) mentions it at some length, stating that the entire complex

raises to F as with enclitic structures. In these instances, the clitic and the inflectional

ending raise to F, while the stem of the verb raises past F to [Spec, F]:

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[20] Though it was not given attention by Uriagereka (1995b), it is worth mentioning that when F projects in modern Spanish, AgrS in his derivation did not project a specifier. This ensures adjacency between the clitic and the finite verb. Old Spanish allowed interpolation between the two elements, as does European Portuguese according to Raposo and Uriagereka (2005).
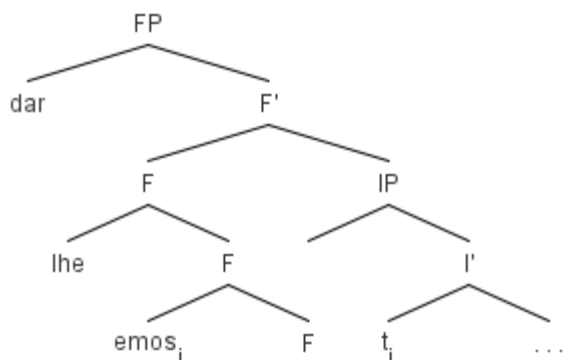
Figure 2.17 – Mesoclisis according to Raposo (2000:285 ex. 71)

Interestingly, Raposo does not claim that a future without an intervening clitic is fully

synthetic; rather, he claims that the lexical stem and the Portuguese *haver* ending are still

separate entities, as they were from Late Latin into early Romance. The derivation of this

is as shown below:
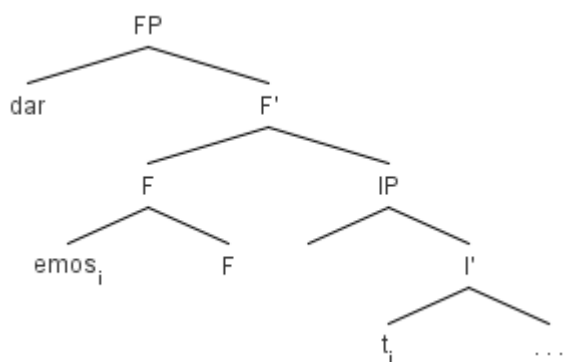
Figure 2.18 – Future in Portuguese according to Raposo (2000:285)

Though he arrives at the conclusion under a different framework, Raposo agrees here

with Barrie (2000) in that the future and conditional forms are still not fully fused in the

grammars of those Portuguese speakers who have mesoclisis as an acceptable option.

The inflectional ending is still a form of *haver* and, being inflected, can and does raise to

F; this is unproblematic. However, Raposo acknowledges that questions persist about the infinitive *dar* raising to [Spec, F] from its original position as the head of V, thus violating the Head Movement Constraint (HMC).

There are speakers of EP who do not retain mesoclisis as an acceptable structure, instead preferring enclisis as is observed in Galician such as in *daremos-lhe* (see Duarte and Matos 2000 for the same account). The structural representation of enclisis to the future/conditional tense in the grammar of these speakers is as follows, reproduced in tree form:
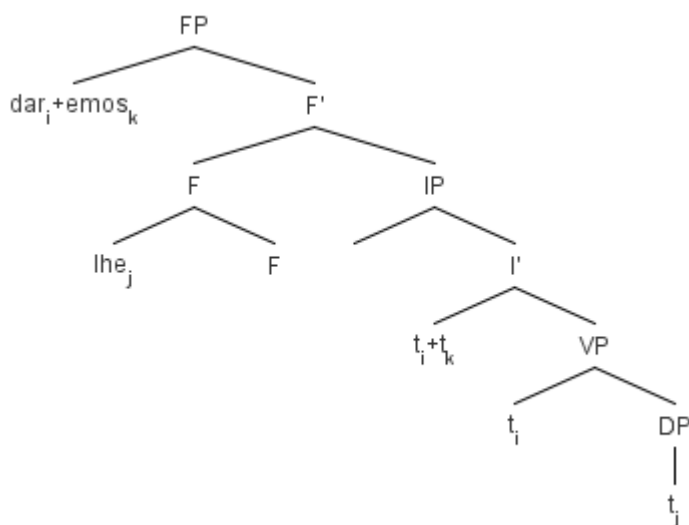
Figure 2.19 – Future tense with enclisis (Raposo 2000:285, ex. 74)

Raposo speculates that two different constituents can occupy [Spec, F], each causing different cliticization structures to surface; this categorizes FP as an "operator projection." If a verb occupies [Spec, F], enclisis obtains; if another operator such as an adverbial or negator occupies [Spec, F], proclisis obtains. Nevertheless, the problem remains that verb movement to [Spec, F] violates the HMC, and the following is Raposo's explanation as to why this is permissible.

First, Raposo defines this property pertaining to F:

(2.11)   As an enclitic, F cannot be sentence-initial.

To Raposo, being an enclitic does not mean that there is *always* an unstressed object

pronoun in the structure, whether null or overt. Rather, the above is an important

morphological property in strong-F languages, for it allows proper derivations to surface

(cf. Raposo and Uriagereka 2005). If F is morpho(phono)logically enclitic, there must be

phonological support to its left in order for the derivation not to crash. Consider the

following structure, says Raposo:
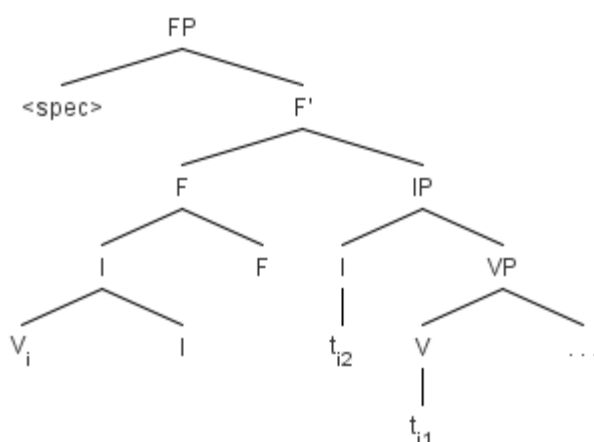
Figure 2.20 – Verb merger into F

Raposo states that this derivation crashes at PF because, as everything is adjoined to F,

that complex head is still sentence-initial without any phonological support to its left.

Therefore, "… since 'movement to a head' is an economy condition, a less optimal

option can be taken, and Infl is allowed to move to [Spec, F]…" (2000:288). In this case,

economy is discarded in favor of well-formedness and structure preservation via a Last Resort operation.

It has been therefore stated that in Ibero-Romance, the functional projection F is responsible for hosting clitics and that its properties vary according to the language. Languages that allow enclisis in finite matrix clauses such as Portuguese and Galician are said to have a morphologically strong, active F; languages that do not permit such a configuration and are therefore proclitic by default are said to have a weak, non-morphological F. Yet clitics always raise to F in these languages instead of remaining within the verbal complex (Uriagereka 1995b; Raposo 2000; Raposo and Uriagereka 2005). The most crucial difference is the behavior of the verbs themselves in each language. Verbs in Portuguese and Galician are said to have strong morphological features that must be checked by raising to F, whereas finite verbs in proclitic languages such as Spanish and Catalan have no such strong features and are therefore unable to raise to F.

2.3.4. *The verdict*

For reasons mentioned in the previous sections, the position of this work will be that there exists a functional projection higher than I that hosts clitics, pursuant to Kayne (1991). As Uriagereka (1995a, b) does, I call this position F and argue that it hosts clitics and affective operators alike. However, I do not find the description of F as a singular catch-all projection for clitics, moved verbs, and affective elements adequate or sufficient. It ignores left-peripheral effects on clitic placement, instead forcing everything to land in [Spec, F].

To the point of left-peripheral effects on cliticization, the observation is that the presence of various elements within this domain affects whether proclisis or enclisis is present in languages that have strong F and permit both orders. The following examples from Raposo and Uriagereka (2005:643, ex. 7) illustrate the possible outcomes from Portuguese: italicized constituents are in focus, underlined constituents are hanging topics, and clitics are bolded, underlined, and italicized (all emphases mine).

(2.12)   *Só um whisky **_lhe_** demos.*   (*demos-lhe)

           'Only one whiskey did we give him.'

(2.13)   Esse whisky, demos-**_lhe_**.   (*lhe demos)

           'This whiskey, we gave him.'

(2.14)   Ao capitão, *só um whisky **_lhe_** demos.*   (*demos-lhe)

           'To the captain, only one whiskey did we give him.'

According to the authors, focused elements cause proclisis to obtain as in (2.12). When there is a topic, enclisis obtains as in (2.13). When both are present as in (2.14), the focused element takes precedence and causes proclisis to obtain. These results are in accordance with Benincà (2004) who arrives at the same conclusion. Therefore, though I agree with the presence of an F projection above I that is responsible for hosting clitics as well as affective elements, I depart from the working analyses that claim that F is a singular projection. In Chapter 5, I will introduce an alternative interpretation of F as a

domain better suited for hosting these other elements that Raposo and Uriagereka claim to be hosted in the projection.

2.4. Parametric shifting in diachrony

In earlier times, work on generative syntax had decidedly been less invested in the task of addressing diachronic issues, preferring instead to focus on the synchronic status of human language (see Longobardi and Guardiano 2009). During the last half-century, though, syntactic change has been hypothesized as following five particular steps and properties, as described by Closs (Traugott) below:

1. Language changes by means of a series of individual innovations.
2. These innovations take place at some point of break in a grammar – usually where what modern theorist would call interfaces.
3. These innovations are passed on in language when children imitate adults.
4. When the discontinuity between the child's language and the adult's language results in restructuring, a mutation occurs.
5. These mutations are rare.

(Closs 1965)

Hale (1998) argues that the proper study of historical language change must incorporate investigation into what Chomsky has called I(nternal)-language – the natural faculty of language from which E(xternal)-language comes forth. In investigating this I-language, we see that changes in the "global typology" of a language, such as the relevant features

on a functional head or domain, are evidence of abstract changes that are not realized on the surface.

This "global typology" is an allusion to the set of all linguistic options possible in human language, a collective known as Universal Grammar (UG) and theorized by Chomsky (1965). UG is not a language in and of itself; however, the theory states that every distinct language spoken by humankind adheres to and proves the existence of linguistic universals. What distinguishes one language from another is the existence of properties exhibited in one language that are not exhibited in the other. These discrete properties are most frequently referred to as *parameters.* Consider the contrasting examples below:

(2.15)   Null/overt subject manifestation

   a)   *(I) want to go to the store.   (Eng)

   b)   *(Je) veux aller au magasin.   (Fr)

   c)   (Yo) quiero ir a la tienda.   (Sp)

   d)   (Eu) quero ir à loja.   (Pt)

For example, all subjects in English and French, save for in imperative contexts, must be phonologically manifested, as in (a) and (b) above. Contrastively, in Spanish and Portuguese subjects can be either null or explicit in root contexts, as exemplified in (c) and (d). This diametric opposition is encapsulated in what is called the Null Subject Parameter which will allow a language to allow if it has a value of "yes" and will prohibit

null subjects if it is set to "no." Based on this, English and French have the Null Subject

Parameter set to "no," while Spanish and Portuguese have the parameter set to "yes."

2.4.1. Grammaticalization and parametric variation: Batllori Dillet et al. *(2005)*

Batllori Dillet et al. state that the purpose of their book is to show the

worthwhileness of applying syntactic theories and principles to historical data in order to

analyze the grammars of speakers at the time. Grammar in diachrony, particularly

Minimalist grammar, has until very recently not been a priority of the generative

framework. This is because language change has been viewed as primarily a cognitive

function affected by factors such as the environment within which language is transmitted

from adult to child, whereas generative studies have only focused on the subconscious

mental language mechanism, once again UG, independent of cognition.

More recently, Roberts (1993) and Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2003) have

studied reanalysis as one mechanism of language change related solely to parametric

variation as opposed to extralinguistic factors. Since parameters are binary (on/off) in

value and language changes gradually over time, this had heretofore been another

problem for generativists. The gradual nature of language change has been attributed to

the influence of both I(nternal)-language – what speakers have acquired – and E(xternal)-

language – what speakers produce. For those in the process of acquiring a language, the

I-language and E-language do not always coincide. The lack of consistency between I-

language and E-language can and often does reflect how language changes at the

individual level, which is illustrated in the diagram below:

Grammar I   Grammar II
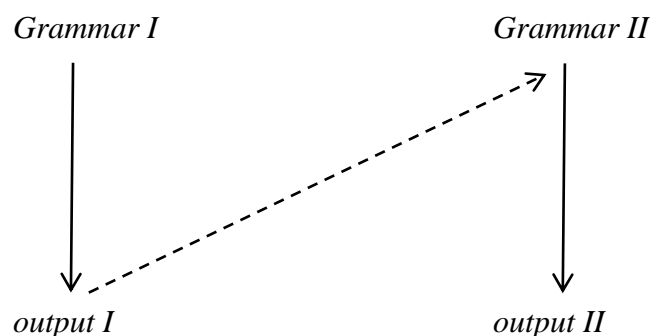
output I   *output II*

Figure 2.21 – Language change across generations (Batllori Dillet et al. *2005:16, ex. 21)*

Grammar I is the mental grammar of the speaker, and output I is what that speaker

produces; as a process, this is the initial state according to Batllori et al. The dotted line

from output I to grammar II represents the transference of what the speaker routinely

produces into his or her mental grammar, whether consistent or divergent. Over time, the

speaker's production, if it remains consistent, *becomes* the new mental grammar and the

process continues. Change is realized when the grammar of child speakers (new

acquirers) differs parametrically from that of older speakers, which may explain the

variation in acceptability of some forms by speakers of different ages in the same

linguistic community. More importantly, it introduces the dichotomy between

grammaticalization – "the consequence of an upward reanalysis to avoid feature

syncretism and to favour structural simplification" – and *reanalysis* – that which

"generates a categorial change in a subset of linguistic items that share certain properties

and undergo semantic bleaching and phonological reduction" (Batllori Dillet *et al.*

2005:18). These concepts are explained in greater detail in the following subsection.

<u>*2.4.2. The concept of reanalysis and Roberts (1993)*</u>

In the parlance of grammaticalization, reanalysis is a syntactic change that takes place in a grammaticalized structure and affects the relationship between the elements involved. Hopper and Traugott (2003:51) cite Langacker's (1977:58) definition: "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation." In other words, in reanalysis the grammatical roles and functions of the constituents within the expression change, but the phonological form does not. A reanalyzed expression has often undergone rebracketing – changes in the syntactic hierarchy of the expression and relabeling of the categories of the constituents. For example, the English phrase *Adam's apple* refers to a protrusion of laryngeal cartilage most perceptible in adult humans. However, this name derives from the Biblical account of the Fall of Man, during which Adam and his wife ate fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil – common tradition describes the fruit as an apple – and that piece of fruit remained lodged in the human throat as a reminder of Adam's sin. The original phrase was found even in Latin – PŌMUM ADAMI 'apple of Adam' – and clearly illustrates the origin of the possessive nature of the phrase.

(2.16) a)   [[Adam's] apple]

       b)   [Adam's apple]

One way to test the reanalysis as a single noun would be to introduce another possessive construction. We see below that the non-reanalyzed construction does not admit another

modifier before 'Adam's,' but the same is perfectly acceptable once reanalysis has taken

place.

(2.17) a)   * [[His] [Adam's] apple]]

         b)   [[His] Adam's apple]

        In his study of the grammaticalization of the future tense from Latin to Old

Spanish, Roberts (1993) describes the grammaticalized HABĒRE elements in Old Spanish

and conservative Portuguese as elements between auxiliaries and affixes. As is known,

HABĒRE was a lexical verb denoting possession in Classical Latin; in addition to the

expected accusative objects, the verb could also take infinitival complements with

various readings. A lexical split occurred in the period during which HABĒRE was

grammaticalized, essentially causing HABĒRE to have two entries (in Spanish and

Portuguese, the possessive lexical entry disappeared, while it remains in French and

Italian). During the 3rd century, which is when the periphrasis was first attested in

writing, modal HABĒRE was beginning to assume the function of ESSE 'to be' in future

constructions, where ESSE selected for the passive voice and HABĒRE selected for the

infinitive.

        Roberts states that reanalysis – re-categorization of an element from one domain

to another – has to have occurred in order to allow for the formation of the paradigm.

According to Roberts, who used the construction DĪCERE HABEŌ in his examples, the

lexical verb DĪCERE was reanalyzed XP → VP in order to be a possible argument of the

auxiliary HABEŌ, itself reanalyzed VP →AUX. Roberts describes this syntactic change as

a process of Diachronic Analysis in which, over time, constituents change from one

lexical class to another in order to be able to perform different roles. As an element

changes lexical classes, the syntactic structure of which it is a part has to change

accordingly in order to remain well-formed. This change, in a general sense, is illustrated

below:
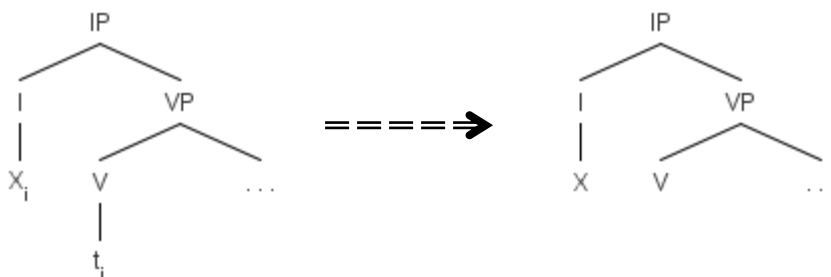
Figure 2.22 – Reanalysis in general according to Roberts (1993:228)

Instances in which HABĒRE lost its lexical meaning and became strictly an auxiliary

illustrate the change in Latin from a default SOV language to SVO. The example of

original DĪCERE HABEŌ shows this, as the infinitive is still an argument of lexical HABEŌ.

Later, though, after Diachronic Reanalysis has taken place, HABEŌ is no longer base-

generated in V but rather as the head of I:
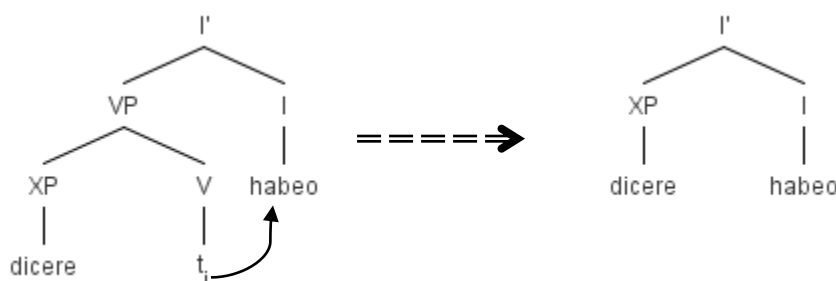
Figure 2.23 – Reanalysis and grammaticalization of HABEŌ (Roberts 1993:235)

From this point it was possible for DĪCERE to merge with HABEŌ, thus effecting the

reanalysis of a head and its complement as a single, united head as in the following:

(2.18)   [[DĪCERE] HABEŌ] > [DĪCERE HABEŌ]

The next step, according to Roberts, was the grammaticalization of the auxiliary from

functional verb to affix: HABEŌ > *[ajo], as Pope (1951) and Evert (1962) state had

already occurred in Late Latin. From then on, the further grammaticalization of *[ajo]

brought about paradigmaticization – the reduced forms of aver functioning as a

conjugation pattern for the new future and conditional (indicative) tenses – and later

morphologization, as these forms became more bound as inflectional endings behaving

not unlike those already existing in Romance (also see Rini 1995 for a morphological

account of this change). The HABĒRE periphrasis was observably grammaticalized as a

future marker by the 8th century and was first observed in a reduced form around the

same time:

(2.19)   Iustinianus dicebat: "***Daras***."

              'Justinian said "You will give."'

              (Chronicle of Fredegarius, 7th c.; in Roberts 1993:234, ex. 22)

The reanalysis of DĪCERE HABEŌ according to Roberts was the result of three factors: (1)

the temporal meaning of HABĒRE, (2) the reduced form of HABĒRE which distinguished it

from the possessive, and (3) the changes in complementation in Latin that caused

structures such as DĪCERE HABEŌ to be monoclausal (in effect, rebracketing).

Another aspect of the grammaticalization of the future and conditional is the

position of clitics during that particular time. Roberts describes three particular possible

orders, all of which were inherited from Latin (1993:238, ex. 25)

(2.20)   Mesoclisis: infinitive + clitic + *haber*

               dezir lo hedes al rey?

               'will you tell it to the king?'

(2.21)   Proclisis: clitic + infinitive + *haber*

               a quién ***nos daredes*** por cabdiello?

               'who will you give us as a leader?'

(2.22)   Enclisis: infinitive + *haber* + clitic

               escalentar – án – se uno a otro

               'they will warm one another'

The order shown in (2.22) was the most infrequent in Old Romance, particularly Spanish.

Roberts states that this order was sporadic and may have been indicative "of a

sporadically affixal future marker" (1993:242) also attested in French and Italian:

(2.23) a)   et ***dirai <u>vos</u>*** coment   (OFr)

                'and I will tell you how'

        b)   ***Ritroveren<u>ci</u>***.   (OIt)

                'We will find ourselves there.'

                (Roberts 1993:242, ex. 31)

In several varieties of Romance such as Spanish, interpolation of unstressed pronouns between the lexical stem and the inflectional ending – as defined, mesoclisis – has been discussed as evidence for the persistence of an analytical variant of the future and conditional, notably by Company Company (1985), Moreno Bernal (2005), and Pharies (2007), such as Old Spanish *dezir vos he* (ModSp *os diré*). Company Company's account for cliticization with future and conditional forms posits that there were two variants available to speakers: an analytical form such as the above used in clause-initial (V1) contexts; and a synthetic, fully fused form used elsewhere. The analytical form demonstrated the possibility of, or rather the seeming obligatoriness of, mesoclisis, while the synthetic form only allowed clitics to appear to the left of the verb (proclisis). While formerly in complementary distribution according to the literature, these forms began to appear in variation, ultimately leading to the loss of the analytical form in Spanish by the end of the 16th century.

2.4.3. *Arguing for parameters and variation: Roberts and Holmberg (2005)*

However, not all who study language change and variation are in agreement that parameters are an adequate explanation of the phenomena that occur. In fact, Newmeyer

(2004) has argued *against* parametric-setting approaches to variation and cross-linguistic

differences, stating that variation (and, by extension, language change) is better suited to

a language-specific rule-based approach. Furthermore, he has concluded that UG

parameters cannot account for gradience in variation and that rules are best suited for it.

Roberts and Holmberg (2005) in their response to Newmeyer state that his argument was

based on misinterpretation and lack of understanding of how parameters work, noting

also that the rules that Newmeyer proposed for variations in head placement (as an

example) looked conspicuously like parameters. Newmeyer provided a list of eight

general understandings about the Principles and Parameters framework, and Roberts and

Holmberg subsequently rebutted Newmeyer's misgivings about the system. I will only

discuss a few of them here:

1) *Parameters are descriptively simple.*

As mentioned, one of Newmeyer's examples had to do with complement

placement in the world's languages, either to the right or to the left of the

head. Newmeyer states that the order head-complement is bound to one

rule, and the order complement-head is another rule. Roberts and

Holmberg contend that, instead of having two separate rules, and because

there is no possibility of complement placement being under- or

unspecified, a parameter approach to this is simpler than a rules approach.

2) *Parameters are binary.*

The proliferation of morphosyntax argues against binarity, according to

Newmeyer. Word-order variation, particularly the many possible word

orders that exist in the world's languages, was his example case. Again,

he proposes a binary set of competing rules that Roberts and Holmberg

show is easily reformulated to a (simpler) set of parameters. The

usefulness of binary parameters, according to the authors is their

discreteness, without the possibility of continua or clines; for example,

either the head is right or the head is left, or either null subjects are

allowed or they are not.

3)   *Diachrony.*

Newmeyer's position is that there must be a difference between parametric

change and other morphosyntactic changes such as those evident in

grammaticalization. Roberts and Holmberg hold that there are only two

kinds of change applicable to diachronic syntax: parametric change and

lexical change. Moreover, morphosyntactic change as brought about via

grammaticalization "can be understood as a fairly standard kind of

parametric change involving categorial reanalysis" (546; cf. Roberts and

Roussou 2003). Since the properties of many languages have changed in a

polar manner, Roberts and Holmberg conclude that there is no good case

for taking rule-based approaches to diachronic change in the place of

parametric changes.

Roberts and Holmberg's defense of diachronic parametric change favors the aims of my

present study as it pertains to verbal morphosyntax, properties of auxiliary verbs such as

Spanish *haber*, and cliticization principles. In terms of the binarity of these possible

parameters and how they affect future and conditional expression, I focus on three separate yet inextricably interrelated polarities: either the verbal morphemes are separable or they are not, either *haber* is lexical or not, and either clitics can be placed in certain orders with the verb or they cannot. As will be discussed, all three of these issues can and will be explained by means of parametric change from Old to Classical to Modern Spanish.

2.4.4. Pires (2005)

Bringing this matter into the current study, Old Spanish exhibited cliticization patterns much like those of modern Portuguese; while finite enclisis and mesoclisis are no longer obligatory (or even permitted) in modern Spanish, these configurations were in complementary distribution with proclisis for much of the relevant time period (from antiquity until the 18th century). Raposo and Uriagereka (2005:644-5, 647-8) do state that F appears to have shifted from strong (Old Spanish) to weak (Modern Spanish), reflecting the changes in cliticization patterns. They stop short of attributing this to a diachronic parameter change, which is where the current study shall continue.

Pires (2005) presents diachronic evidence that changes in parameter settings have affected the features and behavior of F, particularly in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (ColBP). Two such properties of the language that he mentions are V-to-F movement and root enclisis. Consider first verb-subject (VS) inversion in EP and BP:

(2.24) a)   Eu lamento *terem* <u>os deputados</u> trabalhado pouco. (EP, 19thc. BP, *ColBP)

     b)   Eu lamento <u>os deputados</u> *terem* trabalhado pouco.   (EP, ColBP)

          'I regret that the representatives worked little'

          (Pires 2005: 52, ex. 6; emphases mine)

In the above example, says Pires, (a) shows V-to-C movement, as the auxiliary *ter* is above the embedded subject *os deputados*, while (b) shows a lack of V-to-C movement. Either derivation is acceptable in EP, but inversion is no longer possible in BP. More evidence of the loss of this particular operation, according to Pires, is the unacceptability of inversion in *wh*-questions in Brazil as below:

(2.25) a)   O que *faz* <u>a Maria</u>?   (EP, *ColBP)

          'What does Maria do?

     b)   O que <u>a Maria</u> *faz*?   (ColBP, *EP)

          (Pires 2005:52, ex. 5; emphases mine)

Current theory places *wh*-elements in [Spec, CP]. If V-to-C movement is an available operation, the finite verb moves from I to C and the subject remains below it; otherwise, the verb remains in I below the subject. Pires takes the position that V-to-C movement was, in the past, a trigger for V-to-F movement; as a consequence of V-to-C movement being lost, V-to-F movement fell as well. This brought about the fall of obligatory root enclisis in modern Brazilian Portuguese, as evidenced below.

(2.26)   Ela ***me / te*** viu.   (BP, *EP)

          'She saw me/you.'

          (Pires 2005:53, ex. 7)

Along with the loss of root finite enclisis, Pires notes the disappearance of enclisis to the

following structures in BP in contrast with their persistence in EP:

(2.27)   *Infinitives*

     a)   Entretanto, quero ***lhe*** pedir um favor.   (BP)

     b)   Entretanto, quero pedir-***te*** um favor.   (EP)

          'However, I want to ask you a favor.'

     c)   As ovelhas também vão ***se*** acostumar...   (BP)

     d)   As ovelhas também vão acostumar-***se***...   (EP)

          'The sheep will also become accustomed...'

          (Galves, Ribeiro, and Torres Morais 2005:147; ex. 21-22)

(2.28)   *Gerunds*[21]

     a)   E você está ***me*** guiando em silêncio   (BP)

     b)   O senhor está-***me*** a guiar em silêncio   (EP)

          'You are leading me in silence'

          (Galves, Ribeiro, and Torres Morais 2005:146; ex. 20)

---

[21] The gerundive progressive construction in BP is not used as frequently in EP (Hutchinson and Lloyd 2003).

(2.29)   *Affirmative commands*

    a)   **_Me_** devolva o livro, disse.   (BP; *EP)

        'Give me the book back, he said'

        (Galves, Ribeiro, and Torres Morais 2005:146; footnote)

    a')   Devolva-**_me_**…   (EP)

    b)   **_Se_** cuide.   (BP; *EP)

        'Take care (of yourself)'

    b')   Cuíde-**_se_**.   (EP)

The significance of the work by Pires lies in the synchronic frequencies of these particular forms. He cites Cyrino's (1993) data about the gradual systematic loss of enclisis in BP, as follows:

> First, Cyrino (1993:167-8) shows a systematic loss of clitic enclisis to infinitives and to gerunds in BP. A rate of 86-100 per cent in 1850 reduces first to 25-56 percent by 1900 and then to zero by the 1950s. There was also a complete loss of clitics in enclisis to affirmative imperatives (Cyrino 1993:168), and clitics now only occur in proclisis to these constructions contrary to what one finds in EP. These facts provide a clear indication that V raising to F (or to a higher position) in BP was in general lost by the mid-twentieth century. Clauses that have only an inflected main verb show a similar pattern (cf. Pagotto 1993), supporting the argument that V-to-F was lost by the mid-twentieth century in BP. (Pires 2005:53)

As stated earlier, this loss of enclisis reflects a deeper change in BP: the loss of V-to-F movement. In light of these findings, it is extremely possible that other languages such as Spanish that exhibited finite enclisis in the past but prohibit it now have undergone

similar grammatical changes. Lending credence to this possibility is the assertion by

Suñer (1994) that finite verbs in Modern Spanish progress through the lower functional

categories of I but do not raise to C.

2.4.5. Mesoclisis in Old and Modern Romance: possible parameter shifts?

In Portuguese, considered a more conservative successor to Latin, the

complementary distribution between the synthetic and analytic futures/conditionals lasted

longer than in Spanish, with the analytic form (realized through mesoclisis) being

increasingly limited to formal registers and literary discourse. Though its use in everyday

speech is diminishing (Duarte and Matos 2000), its use is still prescribed in some

grammars of the language:

(2.30)   Isso ***poder-<u>me</u>-ia*** afectar negativamente.   (EP)

               'That could affect me negatively.'

               (Hutchinson and Lloyd 2003:47)

(2.31)   Eles ***<u>se</u> arrependerão*** disso.   (BP; *EP)

               'They will regret that.'

               (ibid.:220)

In addition to divergences between the Brazilian and European dialects of Portuguese,

some African variants show different future and conditional morphosyntax. In the

Portuguese spoken in Maputo (Mozambique), proclisis and enclisis appear to be in free

variation, with enclisis more prevalent.

(2.32) a)   a Josefa ***lhe** afirmar-ia* a mesma coisa   (MP; *EP)

       b)   a Josef[a] ***afirmar-ia-lhe*** a mesma coisa   (MP; ??EP)

       c)   a Josefa ***afirmar-lhe- ia*** a mesma coisa   (EP; ?MP)

            'Joseph would tell him the same thing'

            (Gadelii 2002:32-33; translation original)

(2.33) a)   a Josefa ***ter-ia-lhe*** falado ontem   (MP; ??EP)

       b)   a Josefa ***lhe** ter-ia* falado ontem   (MP; *EP)

       c)   a Josefa ***ter-ia*** falado-***lhe*** ontem   (MP; *EP)

       d)   a Josefa ***ter-lhe-ia*** falado ontem   (EP; ?MP)

            'Joseph would have talked to her yesterday'

            (Gadelii 2002:34; translation original)

What can be implied from changes such as these is that diasporic varieties of Portuguese

have evolved to have a different parameter setting than European Portuguese. Portuguese

spoken in Mozambique and Brazil, due to the countries' distance from Portugal, have

evolved away from the "old country," which has remained more conservative with its

syntax, particularly with respect to cliticization. Moreover, Modern Galician previously

allowed mesoclisis and still shows it as standard in grammars, though current speakers

have replaced it with enclisis. It appears that the diachronic shift away from mesoclisis is

evidence of parameter resetting between Old and Modern varieties of these languages. The next section discusses mesoclisis in other Romance languages that now do not allow this order.

With the exception of French, which is said to have completely eliminated the construction early enough not to leave any examples, mesoclitic constructions have been attested in several Romance languages, including Old Catalan (OCat) and Early Modern Romanian (EMR) as shown below:

(2.34)   E aprés, fet asò, si no és prou estret lo axerop, treurets-lo del pot – lo dit

              axerop- e *fer-l'às* bolir fins tant sia fet que fassa fills.

              'And after this has been done, if the syrup is not thick enough you will

              take it out of the saucepan and you will make it boil until you get threads.'

              (OCat; *CICA: Sent Soví*: 281. m. XV; cf. Batllori Dillet 2011:16;

              translation original)

(2.35)   Că *rădica-să-va* de pre pămînt viaţa Lui, totdeauna, acmu şi pururea şi-n

              vecii de veci.

              'For His life will rise from the earth always, now and for ever.'

              (EMR; Dosoftei/ Ursu 1980: cf. Alboiu and Hill 2012; translation original)

Moreno Bernal (2005:128-9) lists the following examples of mesoclisis from other Romance languages, old and modern alike:

(2.36)   *Old Spanish*

    a)   nafregar**s**an 20,

    b)   alongar**s**an 23,

    c)   tardar**s**an 70,

    d)   partir**s**an 109,

    e)   lebar**t**amus 119,

    f)   enplir***nos***amus 124.

(ed. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español,* Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1950;

v.q. H.J. Wolf, *Las Glosas Emiliamenses*, Sevilla, Universidad, 1996.)

(2.37)   *Galician-Portuguese*

    a)   nega-***lo***-ei (*CA* 1215)

    b)   perde-***l***-á (*CA* 466)

    c)   veer-***m***-edes (*CA* 179)

    d)   maravilhar-***s***-ian (*CA* 4185)

(*Cancioneiro da Ajuda,* ed. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Halle, 1904)

(2.38)   *Old Catalan*

    a)   dir-***les-li***-he,

    b)   assaer-***vos***-em,

    c)   plaer-***nos***-ia,

    d)   falir-***li***-han (todos en la *Crònica de Jaume I*)

e)   emperò veurem-ho e avisar-***vos-n****'*hem (en un doc. de 1505)

(*apud* DCVB)

(2.39)   *Old Provençal*

a)   donar ***lo t'***ai;

b)   mas servir ***l****'*ai dos ans o tres;

c)   dar-***vos***-em fromen;

d)   mostrar-***vos***-a enfern,

e)   contar-***vos***-ei,

f)   laissar ***m'***as,

g)   agradar ***m'***ia,

(*apud* Fernández González)

(2.40)   *Aragonese*

a)   enardir ***s'***a et fazer ***s'***a osado (V,23.9)

b)   et si fuere negligent, nozer ***l'***a la prescription (III, 9, 9)

(*Vidal Mayor*, ed. G. Tilander, Lund, 1956)

(Apéndice 1, n.° 2).

Note that these examples demonstrate the future and conditional constructions, as is to be expected. However, there is sufficient evidence from Early Modern Romanian (EMR) that mesoclisis was productive, not only with the simple future and conditional but also

with perfectives[22] or past participles. Examples (2.41-42) are from Gerlach (2002; cf.

van der Leeuw 1995):

(2.41)   vazutu-***l***-ai   (EMR)

              see.PTC-3DO-AUX.PFV.2SG

              "you have seen him"

              (Gerlach 2002:57, ex. 55d)

(2.42)   dusu-***s***-au   (EMR)

              go.PTC-REFL-AUX.PFV.3PL

              "they have gone"

              (Gerlach 2002:57, ex. 55e)

Taking into account the attestations from EMR as well as the other languages mentioned,

I intend to argue that mesoclisis with future and conditional verbs was not simply a

vestige of a fossilized Latin construction, but rather, more accurately, a word order

allowed by a parameter value. This particular parameter would have had one value in the

initial state, thereby allowing a certain order – in this instance, mesoclisis – to surface. In

the end state, the parameter would have been reset to the opposite value, disallowing the

order it previously permitted. In between these two states would be a period of

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[22] Alboiu and Hill (2011) also discuss this phenomenon in EMR. The construction with perfectives is also called *participle preposing* and was also productive in Old Spanish. Batllori Dillet (2011) gives an account of this structure in Old Spanish as well as Old Catalan. Both studies from Alboiu/Hill and Batllori Dillet will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.

parametric variation and possibly breakdown.[23] The parameter in question would be

intrinsic not to the status of the clitic or the syntactic structure of the language but rather

the status of the auxiliary *have* in the language as it related to the future and conditional.

My claim is that as long as Old Spanish *aver* retains its auxiliary function following an

infinitive as well as its relative independence compared to an affix, mesoclisis surfaces as

the predominant structure.

In addition to a parameter specifically for mesocliticization, I have mentioned that

future and conditional mesoclisis occurred in almost all the same contexts as enclisis to

other finite verbs. This particular behavior is conditioned by certain characteristics of

functional projections in the syntactic hierarchy – specifically, a projection called F most

notably by Uriagereka (1995b). The nature of F is conditioned by being *strong* or *weak* –

another polarity conditioned by parameters. Languages with strong F typically display

root enclisis to finite verbs, while languages with weak F display obligatory proclisis.

Therefore, there is reason to claim that the parameter that conditions the existence of

enclisis exerts the same influence over mesoclisis.

2.5. A functionalist point of view of syntactic change: Matasović (2002)

We have heretofore seen literature approaching syntactic change from a

Minimalist point of view, which is a characteristically structural approach to grammar.

However, as we will see, many observed changes in language are driven by semantics

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[23] In second language acquisition, *breakdown* refers either to the nonexistence or the defective nature of UG parameters in an interlanguage, as described by White (2003). Interlanguage refers to the stage in acquisition during which the learner's L2 is neither closely related to the L1 nor convergent with the target language due to any number of syntactic or morphological disparities between the two. I liken the period of high variability in language change to this. Minimalism holds that variability of this nature should not exist; this theory will be discussed in Chapter 5.

and pragmatics as opposed to syntax. Rather than adhere to generative theories and ascribe grammatical change only to syntax, Matasović (2002) argues that a functionalist grammar approach – namely, the Role-and-Reference Grammar (RRG) Theory – is better suited to explaining syntactic change in language. Matasović's position is that language communities and contact are more adequate predictors or explainers of syntactic change than discussions of discrete parameter shifting as seen in generative grammar. One particular downfall of Minimalism, according to Matasović, is the stance that, as UG operates according to parameters, every type of language change is equally possible. The example he uses for this is how Minimalism might predict certain word order changes, such as SOV to OVS (or vice versa), even though no such change has been attested due to the topical nature of subjects. A change placing the subject in final position would create a very marked constituent order, which runs counter to the tendency of language to change from marked structures to unmarked ones.

Another position of Matasović is that syntax is not wholly independent of other linguistic fields such as semantics and pragmatics in particular. Semantics and pragmatics both contribute to syntax and syntactic change; however, the level of involvement differs between the two. Matasović claims that syntactic-semantic features such as grammatical gender are diachronically stable. On the other hand, syntactic-pragmatic features such as word order and pro-drop are less stable; as such, changes in these properties are very well attested between ancient and modern varieties of the world's languages.

Matasović's work is applicable to grammaticalization theory and reanalysis in that much of the change that has taken place affects the syntax of the languages but is also

semantically or pragmatically motivated. We have seen in the previous chapter – and will discuss again in Chapter 4 – that the distinction between Latin infinitive + HABĒRE and HABĒRE + infinitive was pragmatically motivated, and the former came to encode futurity due to the pragmatic meaning it carried. My position, based in part on Matasović's work, is that although we can represent syntactic change and parameters under the generative program, any lexical-semantic motivation for said changes might well be better modeled using functionalist theories as he did. In Chapter 4 I discuss lexical-semantic change and how it plays a part in the history of the Spanish future and conditional.

2.6. Summary of literature review; direction of the current analysis

Of the syntactic analyses put forth, I shall attempt to rectify Uriagereka's (1995b), Raposo's (2000), and Martins' (1994, 2003) accounts of the functional category above I that hosts clitics, to be called F henceforth in this work. All three writers state that there is a strong-weak distinction in F that manifests itself in permissible finite cliticization in Portuguese and Spanish; Portuguese, allowing enclisis, has strong F while proclitic Spanish has weak F. Since mesoclisis and enclisis appear on the surface to occur variably in the same contexts, I shall take the position that parameters effecting enclisis also cause (or caused) mesoclisis to surface. Where this leads me, then, is to an extension of Martins' (1994, 2003) research on historical Romance syntax: more specifically, the shift of Spanish from a by-default enclitic language in antiquity to the pattern of obligatory proclisis in the modern variant. Specifically, I intend to account for how F

behaved with regard to mesoclisis in Old Spanish, illustrating how the projection hosted clitics as well as verbs.

My corpus study will follow that of Company Company (1985) in that I will analyze the frequency of analytic (split) forms in Old Spanish, but from a different perspective. Though Company Company noted the appearance of enclisis to future and conditional verbs, her work focused on the distribution of synthetic future and conditional forms – with proclisis and enclisis alike – and analytic mesoclitic forms, leaving futures and conditionals with enclitics to the side. However, I expect the corpus data to bear out the existence of a fairly high level of variability between mesoclisis and enclisis to futures and conditionals. Comparing the contexts of mesoclisis and enclisis to these particular paradigms may possibly shed light on the existence of two non-complementary forms; if indeed there is no complementary distribution between mesoclisis and enclisis in the future and conditional, a case could be made for the synchronic instability of the analytic form and its eventual disappearance in favor of the synthetic future/conditional. The loss of the split future and conditional in favor of the fused forms may also be an analogical change; all other simple paradigms in Spanish evolved more or less directly from Latin – phonologically, at least – without having a compound/periphrastic ancestor.

Not discarding Matasović's (2002) position on functionalist theory and syntactic change, I will also discuss the pragmatic functions of the then-extant constructions of the future and conditional in Old and Classical Spanish. Based on the understanding that the periphrastic (showing mesoclisis) and fused (showing enclisis) forms expressed epistemic (expressing possibility or probability) and deontic (expressing desire or obligation) modalities, respectively (Fernández Martín 2008; see Silva-Villar 1995 for a

counterpoint), I will also discuss how the eventual loss of the periphrasis was the evidence of a pragmatic merge between the two forms and, consequently, the manifestation of changes in underlying UG parameters.

To that end, I enter into a core question of this analysis: what were the parametric changes at work in the grammaticalization of these forms? The evidence for parametric shifts is expected to be found within the following questions:

a)   Are mesoclitics allowed or at least predominant in the language? (yes/no)

If yes, the analytic form is the default in root clauses.

If no, the synthetic form is the default in root clauses.

b)   Are future/conditional inflectional morphemes paradigmatic? (yes/no)

If yes, the inflectional morpheme is a bound affix and enclisis is allowed on the future/conditional verb in root clauses.

If no, the inflectional morpheme is a more independent reduced form of *aver/haber* and does not allow enclisis.

The results of the corpus study across time will shed light on the progressive shifts in parameters, both regarding cliticization and the analyticity-syntheticity dichotomy.

Following the hypothesis that F underwent a parametric change in the history of Spanish in order to differentiate it from Western Iberian, I shall extend the discussion to Roberts' (1993) account of the grammaticalization of the future construction[24]. While his

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[24] See Chapter 1 as well as section 2.4.2 of the current chapter.

account is descriptively adequate insofar as the fusion account of the two verbal elements

(infinitive + HABĒRE), he does conclude that Diachronic Reanalysis and Parametric

Change are not necessarily logically related. Rather, his assertion is that there is a

bidirectional causal relationship between the two phenomena: Diachronic Reanalysis can

cause Parametric Change, and, conversely, Parametric Change can trigger Diachronic

Reanalysis. I will therefore approach the problem based on an understanding of UG

parameter resetting and build a case that, diachronically, the grammaticalization of the

future and conditional paradigms of Spanish is a reflection of these parameter shifts,

whether in a causal fashion or a resultant one. By this I mean that my position is that

parameter resetting and grammaticalization are inextricably linked and that one cannot

have happened without the other.

CHAPTER 3
HISTORICAL DATA ANALYSIS

3.0. Introduction

Having discussed the genesis of the future and conditional paradigms from Vulgar

Latin to Old Romance, as well as the patterns of clitic placement in Romance, we come

to the intersection of the studies of historical Spanish and generative syntax. Historical

data show that most if not all Romance languages exhibited finite enclisis in antiquity

(Benincà 1995; Cardinaletti and Roberts 2002), though few do so today (EP and Galician

most prominently). Many of these languages also exhibited mesoclisis to future and

conditional verbs[25], the structure of which is called the *analytic* form in the literature due

to the status of the infinitival stem and the auxiliary ending as separate prosodic words

(Company Company 1985, Company Company and Medina Urrea 1999 for Old Spanish;

Luis and Spencer 2004, Monachesi 2005 for EP). As a more pertinent matter to the

current study, it has been shown that languages that have exhibited the analytic structure

of future and conditional verbs – *cantar lo he/cantar lo había* in Spanish – also had a

corresponding synthetic form used when mesoclisis was not exhibited: *lo cantaré/lo*

cantaría in proclitic environments, and *cantarélo/cantaríalo* in enclitic environments.

Since these two forms coexisted in Old and Classical Spanish, research into their

coexistence has been conducted quite frequently. Studies by Company Company (1985,

2006) and Company Company and Medina Urrea (1999) examined if their distribution

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[25] Moreno Bernal (2005); see Chapter 1.

was complementary and, if it was found to be so, what factors conditioned the surfacing of one form or the other. Syntactic factors such as verb position within the phrase, preverbal subjects, and the like have been taken into account, as well as pragmatic factors such as the function of the verb as an expression of doubt, evidentiality, or as a command.

The following subsection details earlier research conducted on the distribution of analytic and synthetic verbs across Old Spanish. These three studies provide the theoretical basis for the current work.

3.0.1. Prior quantitative analyses by Company Company (1985, 2006) and Company Company and Medina Urrea (1999)

Company Company's 1985 study described the distribution of Old Spanish futures and conditionals between the 10th and 15th centuries. Drawing from a corpus of literary works and legal and ecclesiastical documents from these centuries, her research found that synthetic futures and conditionals outnumbered their analytic counterparts by a wide margin, as table 3.1 below shows. Within this study, Company Company theorizes, based on analysis of her Old Spanish data, that the differences in distribution of the two forms under study suggest that they are syntactically distinct:

Table 3.1 – Synthetic vs. analytic futures (Company Company 1985:67-8)

Text	Synthetic	Analytic
Glosas emilianenses (10th-11th c.)	71% (15/21)	29% (6/21)
Cantar de mío Cid (12th c.)	83% (375/450)	17% (75/450)
Crónica general (13th c..)	92% (137/149)	8% (12/149)
Cavallero Zifar (14th c.)	87% (226/260)	13% (34/260)
Crónica de Pedro I (14th c.)	92% (157/170)	8% (13/170)
Corbacho (15th c.)	90% (302/335)	10% (33/335)
Celestina (15th c.)	92% (401/438)	8% (37/438)
Documentos lingüísticos de Castilla (12th-15th c.)	96% (51/53)	4% (2/53)

> Todos estos datos son, a mi modo de ver, lo
> suficientemente significativos como para permitir proponer
> una nueva hipótesis en el tratamiento de los futuros
> analíticos del español medieval: los futuros sintéticos y
> futuros analíticos no son sintácticamente equivalentes - así
> com*o* tampoco lo son en los otros niveles de lengua
> analizados - sino que *los futuros analíticos constituyen*
> *estructuras muy marcadas especializadas para procesos de*
> *topicalización, de ahí las muchas restricciones tipológicas*
> *que muestran.* (1985:92, emphasis original)[26]

Essentially, Company Company found that in contexts of topicalization, the analytic form

was preferred over the synthetic, though both were found. The main issue is the "marked

and specialized" distribution of the analytic compared to the synthetic form. The

synthetic could be found in virtually any context, be it a phrase introduced by a topic,

subject, or even a focalized or negative constituent. The lower frequency of the analytic

construction can be owed to the fact that its placement after an element in focus, a

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[26] "All these data are, in my view, sufficiently meaningful as to allow the proposal of a new hypothesis of
the treatment of analytic futures from Medieval Spanish: synthetic futures and analytic futures are not
syntactically equivalent – as they neither are in the other levels of language analyzed – but that *analytic*
futures constitute very marked structures specialized for processes of topicalization, hence the many
typological restrictions they show." (translation mine; emphasis original)

complementizer, or a negative constituent is unacceptable. In fact, Company Company

searched for examples of negation preceding enclisis and mesoclisis and found that "[…]

una lectura total de cada uno de los textos buscando negación conjuntamente con enclisis

no arrojó ni uno solo de estos casos" (1985:98).[27]

     In another quantitative study in which overall frequencies are observed, we still

see in Company Company (2006) that synthetic futures and conditionals outnumbered

their analytic counterparts in the studied texts. This study encompassed four centuries of

Old Spanish, dating back to the 1100s and encompassing seven texts. As in the 1985

study, this one found that synthetic futures and conditionals by far outnumbered analytic

constructions, as shown in the table below:

Table 3.2 – Synthetic vs. analytic futures (Company Company 2006:369, table 2)

Century	Synthetic	Analytic
12th	83% (375/450)	17% (75/450)
13th	92% (137/149)	8% (12/149)
14th	89% (383/430)	11% (47/430)
15th	91% (703/773)	9% (70/773)

As before, Company Company holds that while synthetic forms can be found in a wide

variety of contexts, the analytic form was much more restricted in scope, both

syntactically and semantically.

    In Company Company and Medina Urrea's analysis (1999), the relative

frequencies were similar still: the results showed that the synthetic future and conditional

were most prevalent, while the analytic construction was restricted to fewer contexts.

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[27] "A complete reading of each of the texts looking for negation conjointly with enclisis did not return a single one of these cases." (translation mine)

Table 3.3 – Futures and conditionals without negation (Company Company and Medina Urrea 1999:79, table 2)

Work	Synthetic	Analytic	Total
Calila e Digna	148	134	282
Libro de Apolonio	51	20	71
Libro de buen Amor	120	70	190
El conde Lucanor	156	64	220
Total	475	288	763
% of 763	62	38	100

Unlike the 1985 and 2006 studies, which included only frequencies of each form, Company Company and Medina Urrea present a multivariate statistical analysis, using GoldVARB, in order to discover which factors were significant in the choice of analytic versus synthetic future. The reason for introducing a statistical analysis, say the authors, was to see if computation reflected intuition: that is, if the actual frequencies of synthetic and analytic future and conditional verbs aligned with her belief that synthetic futures were more prevalent between the 12th and 15th centuries. This was shown to be true when considering one factor in particular: type of clause, with independent/weak subordinate clause and strong subordinate clause as the two levels. This factor of clause type was so significant, according to the GoldVARB analysis, that the other factors could not be appropriately analyzed unless it was excluded.

The key point made by Company Company regarding the lack of similitude between the analytic and synthetic futures in Old and Classical Spanish is thus: "Ni morfofonológica, ni acentual, ni morfológica, ni sintácticamente es posible equiparar los

futuros sintéticos y los futuros analíticos del español medieval" (1985:56)[28]. The

observations and statistics from the three aforementioned studies are evidence of this. No

analytic future or conditional was found following negation, and scant few were found in

strong subordinate clauses. However, it is of note that, in her quantitative analyses,

Company Company made no distinction between synthetic futures/conditionals with

proclisis versus those with *enclisis.* Without this crucially important distinction, the

analyses give an incomplete picture of the behavior of both clitics and future/conditional

verbs in Old Spanish. This is where Company Company's work ends and the present

study begins.

3.0.2. The current study

Following the precedents set by Company Company's (1985, 2006) and Company

Company and Medina Urrea's (1999) studies of the origins and evolution of the future

and conditional in Medieval Spanish as well as their morphosyntactic distribution, I have

conducted a search of literary sources from Old and Classical Spanish with the purpose of

finding analytic and synthetic future and conditional verb forms. However, I depart from

Company Company in that, instead of taking into account proclitic as well as enclitic

contexts, my study focuses solely on contexts in which enclisis and mesoclisis are

prescribed or acceptable. Since both forms appeared in base/default contexts, my

intention is to determine whether there were syntactic or morphophonological factors that

favored one construction over the other or if the two forms were in variation during their

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[28] "Neither morphophonologically nor accentually nor morphologically nor syntactically is it possible to
equate Medieval Spanish synthetic and analytic futures." (translation mine)

existence. Essentially, the data analysis is a study of factors causing variation instead of a relative or absolute frequency comparison.

One further departure from Company Company is the nature of the analytic and synthetic futures and conditionals studied. As mentioned in the previous section, Company Company's study takes into account synthetic verbs with *proclisis* but not enclisis. Proclisis is the order that persists in Spanish to this day, having expanded its domain to include *all* finite verb contexts instead of specific clauses and constructions such as negation, subordination, and preverbal adverbials. Below, we have three examples of the differences between clitic placement rules of Old and Modern Spanish: an instance of proclisis after a fronted adverbial which is acceptable in both varieties (example 3.1), enclisis versus proclisis after overt subjects (3.2), and permissible clitic placement with null subjects (3.3):

(3.1)   Eneste lugar ***vos contaremos*** el linage donde vino Ercules   (OSp; ModSp)

'In this place we will tell you the lineage from whence came Hercules'

(OSp/ModSp; *General estoria* 1; Barry 1987:216)

(3.2) a)   Tú ***dístele*** el libro?   (OSp, *ModSp)

b)   Tú ***le diste*** el libro?   (ModSp, *OSp[29])

'Did you give him/her the book?'

(Martins 2005)

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[29] This exemplar is unacceptable in Old Spanish in root/unfocused contexts but is perfectly acceptable if the subject is in focus.

(3.3) a)   **_Se lo daré_** mañana.   (*dár**_selo_** he/ *daré**_selo_**)   (ModSp)

       b)   **_Dárselo he / Daréselo_** mañana.   (***_se lo_** daré)   (OSp)

             'I will give it to him/her/you tomorrow.'

Moreover, since contexts with obligatory proclisis are always expected to exhibit

syntheticity (e.g. *non lo faré/*non fazerlo he/*non farélo*), we would expect little to no

variation[30]. Evidence of this was in Company Company and Medina Urrea's (1999)

study which showed only 13 instances of an analytic future in a subordinate context (of

288 total analytic future tokens, 5%). Because of the expected categorical nature of

proclisis in strong subordinate and negation contexts (among others), proclisis was not

taken into account in the present study. Furthermore, Company Company's conclusion

that analytic and synthetic futures and conditionals occupied markedly different

environments appears to be based primarily on contexts requiring proclisis, especially

cases of fronted focusing. We will test her claim to determine whether it pertains to

synthetic futures with enclisis as well, based on her other position that analytic futures

occupy the same contexts as other verb forms with enclisis.

3.1. Methodology

        The literary data were taken from among the sources in Mark Davies' *Corpus del*

Español (2002) from between the 1200s[31] and the 1700s, covering 1,278 texts. To

extract the data from the literary sources, it was first necessary to identify the

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[30] A syntactic rationale for this is in Chapter 2.
[31] Company Company's study (1985) also includes texts from the 10th century (900s). One limitation of the current study is that the Davies corpus does not include any texts from earlier than the 1200s.

orthographic varieties of the future and conditional in each text. For example, a cursory inspection of *Cid* revealed that in the original lithographic style, the root verb and the clitic were separated by spaces, making it necessary for our search string to include clitics within the context of the search string. Aside from the clitics, the reduced forms of *aver* were universally written without accents both in the present tense (denoting future) and imperfect (denoting conditional). Furthermore, in many reproductions of *Cid* and other texts, the preferred rendering of the imperfect of *aver* was *ye/yes/ye/yemos/yedes/yen*. Inspection of the *Celestina* text within the corpus showed that the present indicative of *haber* was written out as it is in the present. Since it was known from prior research that synthetic and analytic futures could host enclitics, it was necessary to search the corpus for these specific structures as well.

3.2. Variables

As with any quantitative analysis, the relationship between outcomes (dependent variable) and the factors that cause those outcomes (independent variables) are studied. These variables are defined as follows.

3.2.1. Dependent variable: mesoclisis/analyticity or enclisis/syntheticity

The structure of the future/conditional verb, identified by the placement of the clitic with the verb, is the dependent variable of this investigation. After being extracted from the corpus, the tokens were coded according to whether the futue and conditional verbs were expressed using the analytic form (evidenced by mesoclisis) or the synthetic

form (evidenced by enclisis). Analytic verb formss were coded as (A), while synthetic

verb forms were accordingly coded as (S), as in examples (3.4-7) below.

(3.4)   ***Dire<u>uos</u>*** delos caualleros que leuaron el menssaie (S)

             'I will tell you of the knights that took the message'

             (*Cid* 1453)

(3.5)   Ondrastes uos minaya ca ***auer <u>uos lo</u> yedes*** de far (A)

             'You honored yourself, Minaya, for so you were bound to do'

             (*Cid* 0678)

(3.6)   ***¿podria<u>la</u>*** yo fablar? (S)

             'That I might but speak with her!' (lit. 'Could I speak with her?')

             (*Celestina* I)

(3.7)   ***alegrar<u>te</u> has*** con tu madre, descansará tu pena. (A)

             'come and make merry with your mother; you shall see, that will ease and

             rid away your pain.'

             (*Celestina* XX)

3.2.2. Independent factors

        There are five independent factors in place for this analysis: one extralinguistic

and four linguistic. This set of factors is patterned after the independent variables in

other diachronic studies such as the aforementioned Company Company(1985, 2006), Company Company and Medina Urrea (1999), and Fernández Martín (2008), as well as more philological studies such as Anipa (2001). The extralinguistic factor is the century during which the token was produced. The other factors are the tense of the verb, subject expression, presence of a preverbal constituent, and the morphological complexity (that is, regularity versus irregularity) of the stem of the verb in the token. These factors are described in greater detail below.

     3.2.2.1. Century. The first variable coded for in the study was the *time period* during which the verb was found. Codes align with the century for each token, according to the hundredths digit of the year:

7	1700s
6	1600s
5	1500s
4	1400s
3	1300s
2	1200s

As this is a study of diachronic language change, the preference of clitic placement respective of time is of paramount importance. This factor is in place in order to show which construction was prevalent in which century, by means of examples such as the following (3.8-9).

(3.8)   Ca si entrellos se falla vn ombre que aya vn poco de sçiençia. ***fallarse han***

            tres mill ygnorantes. (4)

            'Because if one somewhat knowledgeable man is found among them,

            three thousand ignorant ones may be found.'

            (CdE; *Visión delectable*; 1400s)

(3.9)   Si viéramos lo que dice un Pacomio, un Benito y otros de aquellos Padres

          antiguos, ***maravillaríamo<u>nos</u>*** del cuidado que tenían de que no haya en el

          religioso cosa descompuesta […] (6)

          'If we looked at what Pacomio, Benito, and other ancient Fathers say, we

          would be amazed at how carefully they made sure that there was no

          impropriety in the monk […]'

          (CdE; *Pláticas del Padre Gil González Dávila* 28; 1600s)

At a later point in the chapter, we will discuss each of the following factors accounting

for their influence on syntheticity versus analyticity given a particular century.

     3.2.2.2. Verb tense. The second factor was the verb tense, either future or

conditional:

F   future
C   conditional

The rationale behind this choice of factor was to determine whether the tense of the verb

affected clitic placement. The following examples (3.10-11) are of tokens showing either

factor level:

(3.10)   Y ¿***querrás<u>me</u>*** si Isabel muere? (F)

          'And will you love me if Isabel dies?'

          (CdE; *Los terceros de San Francisco*)

(3.11) ¿Yo, Irene, di, ***apartar<u>me</u> había*** de tu presencia? (C)

'Tell me, Irene, would I depart from your presence?'

(CdE; *El animal profeta*)

3.2.2.3. Subject expression. The third factor was the presence of a subject, either

null or overt:

n null subject
x overt (explicit) subject

The first two of the following examples (3.12-13) are of null subjects with synthetic and

analytic forms. However, syntactic theory holds that subjects are invisible to cliticization

direction; that is, a preverbal or postverbal subject will not prohibit enclisis to a verb. We

see this in the last two examples (3.14-15).

(3.12) Y porque no sólo sois Maestro, sino Señor, ***oír<u>os</u> he*** de rodillas. (n)

'And because you are not only Master, but Lord, I will hear you from my

knees.'

(CdE; *Vida del P. Baltasar Álvarez*)

(3.13) ***diré<u>le</u>*** el suceso al rey como si fuera muy bueno (n)

'I will tell the King of this event as if it were a good thing'

(CdE; *Los cabellos de Absalón*)

(3.14)   Ca ***Saluar<u>se</u> ha*** el varon que non es Fiel por la muger fiel (x)

              'For the man who is unfaithful will be saved by the faithful woman'

              (CdE; *Castigos e documentos de Sancho IV*)

(3.15)   mas ellos ***podrán<u>lo</u>*** afirmar como testigos de vista (x)

              'But they will be able to affirm it as eyewitnesses'

              (CdE; *Libro primero de las epístolas familiares*)

This factor was tested in order to show whether the expression of a subject had an effect

on the whether the future/conditional construction was synthetic or analytic.

        3.2.2.4. <u>Preverbal constituents.</u> The fourth factor was the type of constituent to

the left of the verb, if any.

1   none (V1 context)
s   overt subject
o   left-dislocated object
v   adverbial
c   complementizer or *wh*-element

Company Company's (1985) results showed that analytic constructions proliferated in V1

contexts, while synthetic constructions were more likely to occur with preverbal material.

However, as was mentioned, her study did not focus entirely on synthetic verbs with

enclisis but instead included tokens exhibiting proclisis. Examples of tokens showing

either order are below as (3.16-23):

V1 position

(3.16)   ***Diré<u>lo</u>*** sin falta alguna: soy fiel a mi señor.

'I will say it without fail: I am faithful to my lord.'

(CdE; *Las ferias de Madrid*)

(3.17)   […] ***llamar<u>se</u> ha*** esta casa el Palacio del Desengaño […]

'[…] this house shall be called the Palace of Disillusionment […]

(CdE; *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres...*)

Left-dislocated object

(3.18)   y al varón derramador de sangre y engañoso ***abominar<u>lo</u> ha*** el Señor (o)

'and the deceitful blood-spilling man the Lord will abhor'

(CdE; *Guía de pecadores*)

(3.19)   Mi orden & mis manos ***querría<u>las</u>*** ondrar (o)

'My order and my hands I wished to honor'

(*Cid* 2373)

Adverbial

(3.20)   ¿Por ventura ***olvidar<u>se</u> ha*** la doncella del más hermoso de sus atavíos, y de

la faja rica con que ciñe los pechos? (v)

'Might the maiden perhaps forget the most beautiful part of her ornaments,

and the rich corset with which she restrains her breasts?'

(CdE; *Guía de pecadores*)

(3.21)   Y con este hocino ***abriréle*** la corona. (v)

'And with this sickle I shall split his crown.'

(CdE; *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*)

Overt subject

(3.22)   El dueño del arbol ***contentarse ha*** por ventura con que su planta lleve

buenos frutos (s)

'The owner of the tree will perhaps be content with his plant bearing good

fruit'

(CdE; *Exposición del primer salmo dividida en seis sermones*)

(3.23)   Luego dessa manera la Condessa ***tendrále*** amor. (s)

'Later, the Countess will have love for him/you in that manner.'

(CdE; *Los donaires de Matico*)

As the current study leaves proclisis aside, I expect my results to differ from hers,

qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

    3.2.2.5. Morphological complexity. The fifth factor was the morphology of the

stem of the synthetic form of the verb, regardless of whether the token itself was analytic

or synthetic in form. For this factor, tokens were coded according to the formation of the

future/conditional of the verb without any clitic present:

R   regular (no morphological change)
S   syncopated form such as *saber > sabré*
D   d-epenthetic such as *tener > tendrá* including early variants *terná ~ terrá*[32]
H   highly shortened form such as *hacer > harán*
V   variation between regular and irregular stems such as *deber > deberían ~ debrían*

Examples of each of these factor levels are shown below as (3.24-28):

(3.24)   Esto baste, que estamos perdiendo el tiempo, y ***reñiráme*** mi Esposo,

            porque es celoso en extremo. (R)

            'May this suffice, for we are wasting time, and my Husband will tell me

            off, because he is extremely jealous.'

            (CdE; *Comedias religiosas*)

(3.25)   Las escrituras que tenéis ***querríalas*** ver

            'The writings that you have, I would like to see'

            (CdE; *Textos y documentos completos*)

(3.26)   Mira que concebirás en tu vientre y parirás un hijo, y ***ponerle has*** nombre

            Jesús. (D)

            'Behold, you shall conceive in your belly and bring forth a son, and you

            shall call his name Jesus.'

            (CdE; *Libro llamado guía de pecadores*)

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[32] Lloyd (1987) and Moreno Bernal (2008) show that *d*-epenthesis (*tendrá*) was in variation with metathesis (*terná*) and assimilation (*terrá*). All are coded the same.

(3.27)   En fin, ***dirás<u>le</u>*** que a todo riesgo venga, que le quiero hablar. (H)

                 'In brief, tell him to come no matter what, for I wish to speak with him.'

                 (CdE; *El viejo y la niña*)

(3.28)   ***Debrían<u>se</u>*** examinar los más beneméritos de los lugares (V; =*deberíanse*)

                 'The most worthy from every place should be examined'

                 (CdE; *El pasajero*)

None of my researched sources accounted for any morphosyntactic variation in their studies, save for clitic placement. Since differences in root morphology are extremely salient, especially in the case of irregular verbs, curiosity remains as to whether the distinction between regularity and irregularity affected the choice of structures and, accordingly, cliticization.

      Based on the above factors and their descriptions, an example coding string in the form of '(A5FnoH' represents an analytic verb from the 1500s, conjugated in the future with a null subject and a preverbal object, having a shortened synthetic form, such as the following from the corpus, presented as (3.29):

(3.29)   los muchos pronósticos que los indios tenían de la venida de los españoles

                 decir<u>los</u> he en el capítulo siguiente.

                 'in the following chapter I will tell you of the many prophecies that the

                 Indians had of the arrival of the Spaniards.'

                 (CdE; *Crónica de la Nueva España*)

All told, 3691[33] usable occurrences of future and conditional verbs were extracted from the corpus. The next sections will illustrate the results of the variable rules analysis, including which factors proved significant, and what the results infer or indicate about the development of the future and conditional during the six centuries which this study encompasses.

3.3. Results

Below are the frequencies of each factor/dependent variable combination as tabulated by GoldVARB. Frequencies of each verbal structure according to time period are below. Table 3.4 shows the relative frequencies of each verbal structure according to century. Table 3.5 shows the relative frequencies of each verbal structure in terms of tense. Table 3.6 shows verbal structure frequency based on subject expression. Frequency of verbal structure as a function of type of preverbal constituent is shown in Table 3.7. Finally, table 3.8 shows verbal structure frequency per stem regularity.

Table 3.4 – Frequency per century

Century	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	179	96.7	218	100	249	98.4	1387	71.8	192	22.0	37	16.1	2262	61.3
Synthetic	6	3.3	1		4	1.6	546	28.2	679	78.0	193	83.9	1429	38.7
Total	185		217		253		1933		871		230		3691	
%	5		5.9		6.9		52.4		23.6		6.2			

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[33] Included in this total are 12 tokens counted by GoldVARB as categorical knock-outs. These tokens were excluded for the purposes of the binomial analysis, but they remain in all frequency tables for discussion purposes.

Table 3.5 – Frequency per verb tense

Tense	Future		Conditional		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	2255	66.5	7	2.3	2254	61.3
Synthetic	1137	33.7	292	97.7	1430	38.7
Total	3392		299		3691	
%	91.9		8.1			

Table 3.6 – Frequency per subject expression

Subject expression	Null subject		Overt subject		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	1841	61.4	421	60.7	2262	61.3
Synthetic	1156	38.6	273	39.3	1429	38.7
Total	2997		694		3691	
% of total	81.2		18.8			

Table 3.7 – Frequency per preverbal constituent

Preverbal element	V1 context		LD object		Preverbal subject		Adverbial		Comp. or *wh*-element		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	2021	59.3	46	79.3	66	86.8	117	86.7	12	100	2262	61.3
Synthetic	1389	40.7	12	20.7	10	13.2	18	13.3	0	0	1429	38.7
Total	3410		58		76		135		12		3691	
% of total	92.4		1.6		2.1		3.7		0.3			

Table 3.8 – Frequency per verbal stem regularity

Stem regularity	Regular stem		Syncopated stem		Highly shortened stem		Stem with *d*-epenthesis		Variable stem		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	1934	77.8	29	14.4	225	32.8	74	24.3	0	0	2262	61.3
Synthetic	552	22.2	173	85.6	462	67.2	230	75.7	12	100	1429	38.7
Total	2486		202		687		304		12		3691	
% of total	67.4		5.5		18.6		8.2		0.3			

In the end, 3691 instances of meso- and enclitic future and conditional verb forms were analyzed, with 3679 tokens included in the variable rules analysis. The 12 excluded tokens were instances of complementizers/*wh*-operators which were categorically associated with analyticity.[34] The intent was to see whether there were no predicting factors influencing their production in Old Spanish or if there was some linguistic influence on why one form was chosen over the other. There were indeed, as will be discussed below, influential factors in the choice of enclisis versus mesoclisis.

Below in table 3.9 are the factor weights obtained in the multivariate analysis by GoldVARB. The figures in boldface represent the factors determined to be statistically significant. In this study, time period (century), tense, preverbal material, and verbal stem morphology were determined to be significant, whereas the factor of subject expression was not significant. Each factor weight represents the tendency toward mesoclisis and away from enclisis. That is to say, factors with greater weights tended toward a mesoclitic – analytic – construction, whereas factors with lower weights tended toward an enclitic – synthetic – construction. Let us examine these factors individually.

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[34] Categoricalness of any factor will cause any occurrences of that factor to be flagged by GoldVarb as "knockouts," and the variable rules analysis will not run under those circumstances.

Table 3.9 – Factor weights

Factor	Weight	% Analytic	Total N	% Data
Century				
1300s	.99	99.5	217	5.9
1400s	.99	98.4	252	6.7
1200s	.98	96.7	184	4.8
1500s	.53	71.7	1926	37.5
1700s	.07	16.1	230	1.0
1600s	.06	22.0	870	5.2
Range = 93				
Verb tense				
Future	.62	66.4	3382	61.0
Conditional	.00	1.7	297	0.1
Range = 62				
Preverbal constituent				
Adverbial	.75	86.7	135	3.2
Subject	.71	86.8	76	1.8
Left-dislocated object	.62	79.3	58	1.3
None (V1 context)	.48	59.3	3410	54.9
Range = 27				
Verbal stem morphology				
Regular stem	.73	77.7	2479	52.4
Highly shortened stem	.16	32.2	681	6.0
d-epenthetic stem	.09	24.1	303	2.0
Syncopated stem	.05	13.9	201	0.8
Variation in irregularity	.01	20.0	15	0.1
Range = 72				
Subject expression				
Null	[.51]	[61.3]	[2989]	[49.8]
Overt	[.44]	[60.4]	[690]	[11.3]

Total N = 2250/3679, *p* = 0.05
Log likelihood = -1072.840, Chi-square/cell = 1.7713

3.3.1. Century

The factor weights show an extremely strong, almost categorical, tendency toward

mesoclisis/analyticity during the Old Spanish period between the 1200s and the 1400s.

This probability is borne out in Table 3.2 from the previous section, which shows a clear

disparity in constructions during this timeframe.

(3.30) pues yre / o ***tornar<u>me</u> he***?

'Well, should I go, or should I turn around?

(*Celestina* IV; 1400s)

In the 1500s, based on the factor weights, the favor was still toward the mesoclitic/analytic construction. However, the tendency was not nearly as strong as it was in the previous three centuries, and the shift toward syntheticity/enclisis was apparent, sometimes within the same works. Indeed, Javens (1964:226-8) states that a "good deal" of variability was found in the future and conditional during the century, and the data support this. In the following three examples (3.31-33), we see an analytic future, a synthetic future, and a synthetic conditional.

(3.31) ***Probar<u>lo</u> hemos*** todo, y beberemos del que mejor nos supiere

'We shall try everything, and we will drink of what tastes best to us'

(CdE; *Viaje de Turquía*; 1500s)

(3.32) Heriré al pastor y ***esparcirán<u>se</u>*** las ovejas del rebaño.

'I will attack the shepherd and the sheep of his flock will scatter.'

(CdE; *El evangelio según San Mateo*, 1500s)

(3.33) Mas ***quebrantaría<u>se</u>*** si se vendiese por ciento y cincuenta y cinco.

'But it would be violated if it were sold for a hundred fifty-five.'

(CdE; *Summa de tratos y contratos*; 1500s)

By the Classical Spanish period of the 1600s and 1700s, the mesoclitic construction was greatly disfavored, as both future and conditional verbs tended strongly toward enclisis during this time. This is a departure from earlier centuries during which the future tense was much more frequently expressed via the analytic construction.

(3.34)   ¿Luego ***podréle*** decir que se descubra?

              'Then may I tell him to find himself?'

              (CdE; *Quien calla otorga;* 1600s)

(3.35)   […] pues ***casarnos hemos*** los dos por abril, y en un mismo chozo hemos

              de dormir.

              '[…] then the two of us will get married by April, and we'll have to sleep

              right in a hut.'

              (CdE; *Poesía: Selección [José Iglesias de la Casa]*; 1700s)

Cases like (3.34) became much more commonplace, while those like (3.35) were extremely scarce in the 1700s, with only 37 instances of the analytical future and none at all of the conditional.

3.3.2. Verb tense

     The two tenses showed dramatically different probabilities. Mesoclisis/analyticity was very strongly favored over enclisis with verbs in the future

tense. By that same token, mesoclisis/analyticity was strongly *disfavored* with verbs in the conditional.

(3.36)   Deja de comer y ***contár<u>telo</u> he***.

'Refrain from eating and I shall tell it to you.'

(CdE; *Pasos completos*)

(3.37)   Y si fuese mucho, ***querrí<u>alo</u>*** gozar mucho.

'And if it were a lot, I would want to enjoy it greatly.'

(CdE; *Guzmán de Alfarache*)

3.3.3. Subject expression

The analytic construction was only slightly favored in contexts with null subjects, and the synthetic construction was only slightly favored in the presence of overt subjects. This factor was not determined to be significant in the variable rule analysis.

(3.38)   […] no digáis nada, porque si el capitán lo sabe, ***ahorcar<u>me</u> ha***.

'[…] don't say anything, because if the captain knows, he will hang me.'

(CdE; *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*)

(3.39)   ***Dirás<u>le</u>*** tú que me dejas en un convento encerrada […]

'You will tell him that you are leaving me shut up in a convent […]'

(CdE; *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*)

Example (3.38) shows an analytic future verb with a null subject, as predicted. This

subject is determined as null, though it is explicit within the preceding conditional clause

si el capitán lo sabe. Contextually, the subject within the subordinate clause has scope

over the main clause and, in its activated state, does not need to be repeated. We see in

example (3.39) a synthetic future verb with a postverbal overt subject. This instance is a

switch referent within the text; as such, subject omission would have been pragmatically

infelicitous.

3.3.4. Preverbal constituent

Future and conditional verbs in V1 position showed a slight tendency toward the

synthetic form. Conjunctions such as *y*, *o*, *pero*, etc. are invisible as preverbal

constituents, and as such the verb behaves as in a V1 context in the below example.

V1 context

(3.40)　　　　y ***consolaríanse*** con ver el rostro de Jesucristo nuestro Señor

'and they would be comforted in seeing the face of our Lord Jesus Christ'

(CdE; *Vida del P. Baltasar Álvarez*)

However, left-dislocated complements, overt subjects, and adverbials showed a strong

tendency toward the analytic form in increasing respective order.

Left-dislocated object

(3.41)   <u>A los que son curiosos en la Sagrada Escriptura</u> ***parescerles han*** estas

palabras ser de algarabía o geringonça

'To those who inquire in the Holy Scripture, these words will seem to be

racket or gibberish'

(CdE; *Libro primero de las epístolas familiares*)

Psychological verbs in Spanish much like *gustar*, *importar*, and *encantar* are often found

preceded by the indirect object phrase. This is the case in (3.41), as *parecer* has a

psychological reading as well. As the factor weight shows, this construction more

frequently favored the analytic future.

Overt subject

(3.42)   que yo te desataré de donde estás, y <u>tú</u> ***atar<u>me</u> has*** a mí

'and I shall untie you from where you are, and you will tie me up'

(CdE; *El patrañuelo*)

The overt subject *tú* in (3.42) is most closely associated with the analytic construction

according to the variable rules analysis results. In the first phrase in this token, note that

there is another overt subject, but it is followed by a proclitic *te* and the synthetic

desataré. This is explained by the fact that complementizers by convention trigger

proclisis and block enclisis/mesoclisis.

Adverbial

(3.43) ante buenas conpañas ***fablarme* ha** buena fabla

'before good Company he will tell me a good story'

(CdE; *Libro de buen amor*)

Again, like the overt subject and the left-dislocated object from earlier, the adverbial is most likely to be found preceding the analytic future/conditional.

3.3.5. *Verbal stem morphology*

Finally, the analysis of verbal stem morphology showed that, in a significant fashion, regular verbs tended toward the analytic form, while all types of irregular verbs showed a tendency toward the synthetic form. Below we see examples of both structures, the analytic construction as example (3.44) and the synthetic as (3.45).

Regular stem

(3.44) Si los caballeros mancebos antes la conquirieren, que nosotros, seremos escarnidos y ***alabarse* han** ante hasta San Dionisio […]

'If the young gentlemen conquer her before us, we will be ridiculed and they will be praised before even Saint Dionysus.'

(CdE; *Españoles en las cruzadas*)

(3.45)   […] y vuesas mercedes pueden bajar a refrescarse, o si no **subirémos<u>les</u>**

agua, pues somos sus esclavos.

' […] and you may go down to refresh yourselves, or if not, we will bring

you water, for we are your slaves.'

(CdE; *Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*)

Among the irregular verbs, syncopated stems (examples 3.46-47) showed the strongest

tendency toward enclisis, followed by *d*-epenthesis (3.48-49) and then stem abbreviation

(3.50-51).

Syncopated stem

(3.46)   […] lo que yo hago no sabes tú agora, mas **saber<u>lo</u> has** después.

'What I am doing you do not know now, but you will know later.'

(CdE; *Historia de Sor María de la Visitación*)

(3.47)   **Querrá<u>lo</u>** el Rey remediar con su prudencia y cordura.

'The King will want to fix it with his prudence and good sense.'

(CdE; *Las mocedades del Cid*)

Highly shortened stem

(3.48)   Y si le preguntáis: ¿tratáis de obediencia? **decir<u>os</u> han** que no.

'And if you ask "do you deal in obedience?" they will tell you no.'

(CdE; *Pláticas del Padre Gil González Dávila*)

(3.49)   […] ***diríanle*** todos con razón que había dado salto de un estremo a otro

'[…] all would rightly tell him that he had leapt from extreme to another'

(CdE; *Viaje de Turquía*)

d-*epenthetic stem (plus variants)*

(3.50)   ***Poneros han*** demasiados temores, condenándolo todo por malo.

'They will put much dread upon you, condemning everything as evil.'

(CdE; *Avisos y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David*)

(3.51)   ***Porrélo*** ante ti que me as enfiado

'I will place it before you who have lent it to me'

(CdE; *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora*)

Overall, with four factors exhibiting significance in the production or choice of mesoclisis versus enclisis – analyticity versus syntheticity – it appears that the two forms did not appear in variation. Rather, according to the analysis, syntactic environments as well as time exerted considerable selective force. Though time itself is not an active agent of change, we can observe how by it the tendencies shift from one option to another. This is notable not only in the dependent variable of mesoclisis versus enclisis, but also in the syntactic factors themselves and how frequently they occur, as well as how the grammar during these centuries motivates, or militates against, cliticization to futures and conditionals. In the following subsections, outcomes that are shown to be categorical during each section will be given special consideration.

3.3.6. *Tense of verb over time*

It was already shown that the conditional mood strongly disfavored the analytic construction, as nearly 98 percent of the verbs conjugated in the conditional in root clauses were synthetic. On the surface, there is nothing about the conditional that would seem to trigger the synthetic construction. Tense (present vs. imperfect) has not been observed to affect clitic placement, even less so when the clitic adjoins to a lexical infinitive as was the case with the early analytic construction. Therefore, what could be causing the conditional mood to favor synthetic constructions and enclisis? Cross-tabulating tense and century gives a clearer understanding of the situation. In table 3.10 below, the frequencies of analytic and synthetic verbs are shown, separated by tense and then stratified by century. The conditional mood in root clauses was almost completely absent prior to the 1500s, with only eight instances total. During the 1500s, though, not only had the conditional begun to appear in much greater measure, but even at its emergence it was almost categorically synthetic. This contrasts sharply with the future paradigm in the same century; though the future began to allow more synthetic forms in the 1500s, the analytic structure was still strongly preferred at that time. Furthermore, the analytic future was almost categorical from the 1200s to the 1400s, as synthetic forms only appeared four times during those three hundred years. Both the future and conditional favored the synthetic construction in the 1600s and 1700s.

Table 3.10 – Tense and century

Tense	Structure	1200s		1300s		1400s	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Fut.	Analytic	179	99	217	100	249	100
	Synthetic	2	1	1	0	1	0
	Total	181		218		250	
Cond.	Analytic	0	0	1	100	0	0
	Synthetic	4	100	0	0	3	100
	Total	4		1		3	
Total	Analytic	179	97	218	100	249	98
	Synthetic	6	3	1	0	4	2
	Total	185		219		253	

Tense	Structure	1500s		1600s		1700s	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Fut.	Analytic	1384	80	189	23	37	19
	Synthetic	356	20	616	77	161	81
	Total	1740		805		198	
Cond.	Analytic	3	2	3	5	0	0
	Synthetic	190	98	63	95	32	100
	Total	193		66		32	
Total	Analytic	1387	72	192	22	37	16
	Synthetic	546	28	679	78	193	84
	Total	1933		871		230	

Tense	Structure	Total	
		N	%
Fut.	Analytic	2255	66
	Synthetic	1137	34
	Total	3392	
Cond.	Analytic	7	2
	Synthetic	292	98
	Total	299	
Total	Analytic	2262	61
	Synthetic	1429	39
	Total	3691	

3.3.7. Preverbal constituents over time

Company Company (1985, 2006a) stated that between synthetic and analytic

futures and conditionals, analytic verbs and mesoclisis tended more strongly toward V1

or V2 contexts, while synthetic verbs and enclisis often allowed more than two preverbal

constituents. Most of the tokens in this study occurred clause-initially – that is, in V1

contexts.[35] The distribution of analytic and synthetic constructions across time coincides with the frequencies as a whole, as shown below.

Table 3.11 – V1 context and century

V1	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	135	97	172	100	205	99	1297	71	179	21	33	15	2021	59
Synthetic	4	3	0	0	3	1	521	29	672	79	189	85	1389	41
Total	139		172		208		1818		851		222		3410	

We see in table 3.11 that the analytic construction predominates sharply in the earliest three centuries and becomes less prominent, percentage-wise, in the 1500s, while the synthetic becomes the default in the last two. Also, during the 1300s, the analytic construction was categorical as a dependent variable; such an outcome precludes any variable rules analysis during this century alone. Taken as a whole, it further reinforces the evidence that the choice of the synthetic construction by Spanish speakers with the future and conditional tenses was highly uncommon in earlier times, became more acceptable in the 1500s, and had basically supplanted the analytic construction during the era of Classical Spanish.

Next, we discuss preverbal adverbial operators and phrases and the effect on the choice between mesoclisis and enclisis. Below, Table 3.12 shows that, consistent with historical data from Company Company (1985), adverbial operators categorically blocked enclisis through the 15th century. This is also consistent with syntactic analyses

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[35] Though V≤2 contexts are included in this section, all will be referred to as V1 for brevity's sake.

by Uriagereka (1995b), Raposo (1999, 2000), Martins (2003), and Raposo and

Uriagereka (2005).

Table 3.12 – Adverbial and century

Adverbial	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	23	100	24	100	19	100	43	77	6	67	2	50	117	87
Synthetic	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	23	3	33	2	50	18	13
Total	23		24		19		56		9		4		135	

We do observe, nevertheless, the analytic construction surfacing with these operators

during this same period. This is evidence that during this time, mesoclisis was *not*

subject to all the same restrictions that regulated enclisis. It follows from this context,

then, that the synthetic construction was not simply a salient variant of the analytic

construction at the time but rather a different construction in the grammar. During the

16th century, though, the situation changes as adverbial constituents are less likely to

block enclisis as they were before, thereby effecting a higher rate of variability between

the analytic and synthetic constructions. What is unexpected, though, is that adverbials

still block enclisis in other Ibero-Romance languages, most notably European Portuguese

and Galician. There is the possibility of the parameters governing the F projection

breaking down during this period of variability, as an intermediate stage between strong F

as observed in Old Spanish (and modern EP and Galician) and weak F as observed in

Modern Spanish.

Continuing onward, we observe the categorical nature of mesoclisis in the

presence of overt subjects in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Table 3.13 – Preverbal subject and century

Preverbal subject	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	14	93	16	100	14	100	18	78	3	60	1	33	66	87
Synthetic	1	7	0	0	0	0	5	22	2	40	2	67	10	13
Total	15		16		14		23		5		3		76	

Though preverbal subjects, likely in contexts of emphatic focus (Company Company 1985), normally caused proclisis versus other clitic positions – only 76 future or conditional verbs exhibited mesoclisis or enclisis with preverbal subjects – the data show that the tendency was overwhelmingly toward the analytic construction through the 1500s. The distribution was almost even in the last two centuries, though occurrences were much scarcer.

Table 3.14 – Left dislocated object and century

LD object	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	6	86	4	80	10	91	22	76	3	60	1	100	46	79
Synthetic	1	14	1	20	1	9	7	24	2	40	0	0	12	21
Total	7		5		11		29		5		1		58	

Table 3.14 shows that like the other categories of preverbal constituents, the overall preferred construction with left-dislocated or preposed objects was the analytic/mesoclitic construction where it occurred. Unlike the other categories, however, there was never a century during which the synthetic construction was more frequent. This finding departs from the trend of syntheticity becoming the default during the 1600s and 1700s.

Recalling the 12 excluded tokens containing complementizers and *wh*-elements, such as below, these occurrences were categorically linked to the analytic form and occurred in every century except the 1700s.

Table 3.15 – Complementizers and wh-*elements per century*

Complementizers/ wh-elements	1200s	1300s	1400s	1500s	1600s	Total
Analytic	1	2	1	7	1	12

Though this factor value could not be tested in the variable rules analysis, their presence still merits discussion. Consider the following three examples:

(3.52)   […] y recetada la cena para el que ***purgarse había*** […]

'[…] and the dinner prescribed for him who would purge himself […]

(CdE; *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*)

(3.53)   E que ***poderlo han*** enlas mandas & enlos testamentos

'And so they will be able [to do it] in the vows and in the testaments.'

(CdE; *Siete partidas*)

(3.54)   Cómo ***olvidarse han*** dellas los señores?

'How might the lords forget about them?'

(CdE; *Relación de ceremonias y ritos…*)

Of these three examples, I consider two of them to be anomalous in light of cliticization

patterns and the other to be perfectly acceptable. Company Company and Medina Urrea

(1999) note that the analytic construction, with cliticization patterns aligning with those

of enclisis, is permitted after "weak" complementizers. On the one hand, as the *que* in

example (3.53) does not introduce a subordinate clause but a resultative clause,

mesoclisis is grammatical here and this is an example of a weak complementizer.[36] On

the other hand, the "strong" complementizer in (3.52) and the *wh*-question in (3.54) flout

the rules, as both of these contexts should have exhibited proclisis instead of mesoclisis.

The *que* in (3.52) is part of a relative pronoun, the fossilized *el que*, which introduces an

adjectival clause. Since this sort of clause is subordinate in nature, the clitic should by

rights precede the verb, resulting in the construction *se purgaría*; however, this is not the

case. Similarly, the verbal construction in (3.54) should, according to the cliticization

customs at the time, have been rendered as *se olvidarán*. It appears that, for very few

speakers during these six centuries, the analytic construction was able to preclude the

scope of the complementizer/*wh*-element and, in effect, motivate the analytic

construction as *proclisis* to the auxiliary instead of the usual enclisis to the infinitive.

Nevertheless, due to the extremely low occurrence of analyticity after these elements

(less than 0.03% of all tokens), I believe that the more reasonable – and plausible –

explanation is that these were one-off examples.

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[36] Though mentioned by Company Company in her works, a syntactic rationale for an enclisis-permitting complementizer will be presented in Chapter 5.

3.3.8. *Verbal stem morphology over time*

As mentioned earlier, verbal stem morphology proved significant in the realization of analyticity versus syntheticity, with regular verbs favoring the analytic construction and irregular verbs tending strongly toward the synthetic. The following tables 3.16 through 3.20 break out each morphological classification with respect to century in order to show if and how these tendencies shifted through time.

Table 3.16 – Verbal stem morphology and century – regular verbs

Regular verb stem	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	148	100	179	100	200	100	1197	86	177	37	32	36	1933	78
Synthetic	0	0	0	0	0	0	188	14	307	63	57	64	552	22
Total	148		179		200		1385		484		89		2485	

Regular verbs show consistency with the distribution of the two verbal structures over time: the analytic form between the 13th and 16th centuries, with the synthetic form predominating thereafter. Most notable is that there were no regular synthetic verbs that hosted enclitics during those centuries. This categoricalness precludes any variable rules analysis on a per-century basis; these 527 tokens from between the 13th and 15th centuries would be treated as knockouts.

Table 3.17 – Verb morphology and century – highly shortened verbs

Highly shortened stem	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	16	94	17	100	36	95	137	44	13	6	3	3	222	32
Synthetic	1	6	0	0	2	5	172	56	199	94	88	97	462	68
Total	17		17		38		309		212		91		684	

Table 3.17 shows that the subset of abbreviated verbs – *hacer* and *decir* and their compounds – also were largely analytic in the future and conditional prior to the 16th century, including being categorical in the 1300s. Where they diverge in their distribution is, in fact, that very century; whereas regular verbs were still predominantly analytic/tending toward mesoclisis in the 1500s, these abbreviated verbs were slightly more synthetic/tending toward enclisis. This tendency trends toward categoricalness in the last two centuries under study.

Table 3.18 – Verb morphology and century – syncopated verbs

Syncopated stem	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	7	64	5	100	2	50	13	12	1	1	1	25	29	14
Synthetic	4	36	0	0	2	50	98	88	66	99	3	75	173	86
Total	11		5		4		111		67		4		202	

We see in table 3.18 that the group of syncopated verbs also followed the pattern of all the irregular verbs: favoring of analyticity/mesoclisis between the 1200s and the 1400s, then favoring of syntheticity/enclisis thereafter. Analytic constructions with otherwise syncopated verbs were categorical in the 1300s.

Table 3.19 – Verb morphology and century – d-*epenthetic verbs*

Stems with /d/-epenthesis	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	5	83	17	100	11	100	40	34	1	1	1	2	75	25
Synthetic	1	17	0	0	0	0	77	66	107	99	45	98	230	75
Total	6		17		11		117		108		46		305	

Verbs that showed *d*-epenthesis (or other variants) also followed the pattern of irregular verbs: very few instances of enclisis until the 1500s, when enclisis became more prevalent. Of note is that analytic futures and conditionals are categorical in the 1300s and 1400s, which but for two tokens would be the exact opposite descriptions of the 1600s and 1700s.

Table 3.20 – Variable stem morphology and century

Variable stem	1200s		1300s		1400s		1500s		1600s		1700s		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Analytic	3	100	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	--	0	--	3	20
Synthetic	0	0	1	100	0	--	11	100	0	--	0	--	12	80
Total	3		1		0		11		0		0		15	

As shown in table 3.20, there were very few verbs showing stem morphology that deviated from what was expected, likely because variability of future and conditional stems was much less common, though attested (Lloyd 1985; Penny 2005). Included within this factor level are "regularized" irregular verbs and regular verbs whose stems take irregular forms such as the aforementioned /d/-epenthesis and syncope of thematic vowels. Most of these verbs – four of every five – tended to be of the synthetic construction. The only century during which analytic constructions with these such verbs were found was the 1200s. Not unlike other verbal irregularities already discussed, these outcomes were also of a categorical nature.

3.4. Discussion of results

For the remainder of this section, future and conditional verbs that exhibited mesoclisis will be most often referred to as the *analytic* (infinitive-clitic + *haber*), while

those verbs that exhibited enclisis will be primarily referred to as *synthetic*

(morphological verb-clitic).

<u>3.4.1. Time period</u>

As stated, the century during which the token was found was the most significant

factor in the choice of the analytic versus the synthetic construction. Between the 1200s

and the 1400s, the synthetic construction was almost never found, with 10 total tokens

versus 642 instances of the analytic construction. During the 1500s, both constructions

surged in use. The analytic construction appeared about 5.6 times as frequently as it did

in the 1400s, but between the same time periods the synthetic construction increased in

frequency by a factor of 136.75. At first glance, the increase in forms may be a

consequence of more available texts in the corpus. However, if there were no change in

constructions as a function of time, the distribution of analytic and synthetic forms would

likely have remained closer to what was found in the previous three centuries.

What might this indicate? It is possible that, around this time, the synthetic future

and conditional gained popularity among more speakers where it was disfavored before.

Up until this point, literary works were esteemed and possessed by the elites, as the poor

were generally less educated and therefore could not or did not read. As such, the

prescribed language was what was reflected in writing, and as such, the synthetic future

in root clauses was largely unacceptable. In fact, the analytic future and conditional in

Latin – the CANTĀRE HABEŌ and CANTĀRE HABĒBAM forms – were largely learnèd forms

(Adams 2014); it is not outside the realm of possibility that the same was true of Spanish.

The passing of time, then, may have brought unconscious – "bottom-up" – change to the

Spanish language, causing the previously less acceptable synthetic future to become more acceptable even in more formal literary works. Given the differences in relative increases in both forms from the 15th to the 16th century, the synthetic form may have begun to displace the analytic form in these contexts.

We see a radical change in distribution beginning in the 1600s. Even though the number of tokens decreased in the 1600s, the number of synthetic forms actually increased by 24% overall (681), while the number of analytic forms decreased by 86%. Unlike the 1500s, during which the ratio of analytic to synthetic forms was roughly 78:22, the new century showed the near polar opposite in distribution of these forms: 22:78 in favor of the synthetic construction. The gap between the two constructions widened in the 1700s, though the overall number of instances decreased; 83.5% of future and conditional forms in root clauses were synthetic.

The literature has stated that the analytic form was all but extinct by the end of the 1600s; the data from the corpus appear to bear that out. Up to that time, verbs in root clauses in Spanish exhibited enclisis no matter the tense except for the future and conditional, which by default exhibited mesoclisis. However, we see that the latter two tenses appear to begin to align more closely with other paradigms in that they not only permit enclisis but rather require it. The ramifications of permitting enclisis to the future and conditional are very telling about the morphosyntactic properties of their respective endings. One such effect is the morphologization of the *haber*-derived endings from auxiliaries to paradigmatic morphemes. Raposo (2000) has shown through evidence from Portuguese that auxiliary *haver* does not permit enclisis due to its "phonological 'weakness'":

(3.55) a)   Muita coisa ___*lhe hei*___ dado.

                 'Many things have I given him.'

       b)   ?* ___*Hei-lhe*___ dado muita coisa.

                 'I have given him many things.'

                 (Raposo 2000:286, ex. 76)

Enclisis is permitted to all other finite forms in Old Spanish, context permitting (*e.g.* subordination triggering proclisis). If enclisis is permitted to the Spanish future and conditional, as it has been shown during the latter stages of Classical Spanish as well as modern Galician, the future/conditional markers have ceased to be forms of *haber* and instead are fully paradigmaticized inflectional morphemes. This shall be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter.

Tables 3.16 through 3.20 above clearly illustrate the relationship between time and morphology, or rather, how verbal morphology and clitic placement changed with respect to time. Of the first three centuries in the study, there is little remarkable about clitic placement, as mesoclisis/analyticity was the default no matter how the verbal stem was formed. The outcomes change starting in the 1500s with the sharp increase of future/conditional verbs during that century. Regular verbs exhibit mesoclisis the majority of the time, consistent with the results of time alone. However, irregular verbs show a strong to almost categorical tendency toward enclisis/syntheticity beginning in this century. Abbreviated verbs (*hacer/decir* and their compounds) tend toward the synthetic construction about 25% more frequently than they do the analytic. The other

formations are much more heavily slanted toward the synthetic: syncopated verbs were over 7 times more likely to show syntheticity, while verbs with *d*-epenthesis were almost twice as likely. By the 1600s and 1700s, as synthetic verbs were displacing analytic verbs as the default, irregular verb stems followed suit.

3.5. *Conclusions*

The data from the 1200s-1700s show that there was not free variation between the analytic and synthetic forms when the two were acceptable in the same contexts; rather, there were linguistic and extralinguistic factors that conditioned the surfacing of one form over the other. It has been shown that the analytic form was displaced by the synthetic form in root clauses. With this change came the emergence of the conditional structure which largely surfaced as the synthetic rather than the analytic form. Preverbal constituents were a salient factor in the production of one form over the other; preverbal subjects, fronted objects, and adverbial clauses – as they appeared – tended to favor the analytic construction over the synthetic. Finally, it was shown that the synthetic construction was favored when the root verb was irregular. The fact that the morphosyntactic factors changed as a function of time – tendencies toward one construction in earlier years shifted to the other construction in later years – implies diachronic parametric resetting in the grammar of Spanish speakers. Such changes would cause one form to be the default acceptable construction where it was previously disfavored or unacceptable. In the following chapters we will discuss the parameters that were reset or shifted across time and the changes that ensued:

- auxiliary *haber* reduced to a paradigmatic affix,

- default mesoclisis replaced by preferred enclisis, and subsequently

- default analyticity replaced by preferred syntheticity

The hypothesis henceforth of this study is that relevant parameters were reset in the order above. In the following chapter, we will discuss the historical morphological and phonological ramifications of cliticization and grammaticalization, as well as semantic and pragmatic considerations of why two separate structures persisted in the first place. Thereafter, in Chapter 5, we will attempt to substantiate this position through the application of modern Minimalist syntax theories, particularly the movement of verbal heads and clitics, will be applied to the Old and Classical Spanish data that we have analyzed.

CHAPTER 4
MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOSYNTACTIC, AND LEXICAL ASPECTS OF
GRAMMATICALIZATION

4.0. Preliminaries

Given the non-complementary nature of the synthetic (fused) and analytic (split)

future and conditional constructions in Old and Classical Spanish as shown in Chapter 3,

we turn our discussion to the morphophonological and semantic-pragmatic effects these

parametric shifts entailed. This chapter will be organized into four sections. The first

section will discuss how morphophonological parameters affected – or were affected by –

syntactic changes in the grammaticalization of the future and conditional. The second

section will be a discussion of the pragmatics of the future and conditional constructions

and the ensuing effects on the syntactic structure, focusing on the different meanings in

effect at the time. The third section will present a discussion of analogical change and

grammaticalization, arguing the presence of one structure that allows for mesoclisis

versus two competing structures in the grammar of the time. The fourth and final section

will be a summary of the first three and a bridge to the following chapter.

4.1. Morphophonological and morphosyntactic considerations of grammaticalization

As stated earlier in Chapters 1 and 2, the infinitive + HABĒRE construction of

Latin consisted of two independent, separable prosodic words, identifiable as free

morphemes. Over time, as HABĒRE became less lexical and more auxiliary, it lost

morphological independence to a considerable degree and became bound to its lexical

infinitive. Even in the earliest days of Spanish, specifically the period of Old Spanish

prior to the 17th century, the analytic/split structure still existed as the future and

conditional depending on the tense of the auxiliary: *haber* conjugated in the present tense

codified the future, while *haber* conjugated in the imperfect codified the conditional.

 In this section I propose the following gradient or cline as the

grammaticalizational path of the future/conditional in Spanish, including space for

cliticization. Each step represents a new degree of grammaticalization, from "least" to

"most" conforming to convention (see Hopper and Traugott 2003; Eckardt 2006):

(4.1) Grammaticalization cline of future/conditional in Spanish

 [[CANTĀRE] HABEŌ] > [CANTĀRE HABEŌ] > * *cantar* /ajo/ > * *cantar he* > *cantaré*

 (Stage 1) (Stage 2) (Stage 3) (Stage 4) (Stage 5)

Note the asterisk in stage 4 representing lack of attestation: customarily, when the

infinitive stem and the auxiliary *haber* were separate, there was an intervening clitic

(Company Company 1985, Company Company and Medina Urrea 1999). Table 4.1

below is a chronological breakout of the last two steps in the cline, which represent how

the structure appeared in Spanish.

Table 4.1 – Chronology of the future/conditional structure in root clauses

Structure in root clauses		Timeframe	Separability	Default clitic placement	Morphological freedom of auxiliary
(1)	Inf-CL-Aux	Until 16th c.	Yes	Mesoclisis	Auxiliary
(2)	Inf-CL-Aux ~ Inf-Aux-CL	16th c.	Variable	Variable	Auxiliary ~ affix
(3)	Fut-CL	17th-18th c.	No	Enclisis	Paradigmatic
(4)	CL Fut	18th c.-present	n/a	Proclisis	Paradigmatic

Step (3) in the above table represents the "completed" grammaticalization of the verb

form, as there is no more space for separability of the two morphemes as there was prior.

According to the literature (Klausenberger 2000, Hopper and Traugott 2003), the loss of

independence of the *aver/haber* morpheme, from semi-independent auxiliary in the

earliest variants of Spanish to complete "boundness" in the modern variety, exemplifies

the grammaticalization phenomenon.

4.1.1. *Prosodic word status of infinitive + HABĒRE: theory*

Company Company (1985, 2006) states that the two parts of the construction –

the infinitive and the auxiliary – retained their own prosodic accents. How is it possible

to claim this? Though there exist no recordings of Old and Classical Spanish to test

Company Company's claim, it is possible to base this assumption on crosslinguistic

evidence. The earliest attestable evidence of the infinitive + HABĒRE periphrasis

indicating obligation or necessity oriented toward the future was found in the 1st century

BC in the writings of Cicero (Company Company and Medina Urrea 1999). That the

Latin infinitive + HABĒRE construction was the basis of most synthetic futures and

conditionals across Romance allows us to investigate extant structures that exhibited

similar prosodic behaviors. From what is understood of Classical Latin phonology and

prosody, all words of two syllables were paroxytones, and words of three of more syllables were either paroxytones or proparoxytones.[37] This meant that, following Pharies (2007) the still separate verbs in periphrastic futures and conditionals maintained their own stresses in Classical as well as Vulgar Latin, as follows in examples (4.2-3).

(4.2)   CANTĀRE HABEŌ /kan.ˈta.ɾe ˈha.be.o/   CL

(4.3)   */kanˈtaɾe ˈajo/   VL[38]

In both examples above, there is one particular phonotactic characteristic of Latin that may have conditioned the persistence of this structure. Given that no verbs (or words in general) in Latin carried final stress, there was never an issue of stress clash – two adjacent primary stresses between words. As long as the final /e/ of the infinitive persisted, this remained true. In the latest stages of Latin (or earliest stages of Proto-Ibero-Romance), though, final /e/ was lost from infinitives, causing these forms to become oxytone due to the persistence of primary stress on the thematic vowel. As the auxiliary maintained its stress on its initial syllable, the possibility for stress clash arose between the two in the form of */kanˈtaɾ ˈajo/. Ultimately, as we will see later, the fully fused future *cantaré* maintains only one stress: /kantaˈɾe/. Therefore, the "attraction" of primary stress from the lexical root to the auxiliary ending – such that the lexical root no longer carries stress – is one possible criterion for full paradigmaticization of the former auxiliary.

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[37] *Paroxytone* refers to primary stress on the second-to-last syllable; *proparoxytone* describe stress on the third-to-last syllable. *Oxytone* refers to primary stress on the final syllable.
[38] Rini (1995) explains this theoretical stage of HABEŌ > */ajo/.

As a measure of crosslinguistic evidence of the prosody of the split future and conditional, let us look at Vigário's (1999) and Monachesi's (2005) analyses for an account of the persistence of two separate prosodic accents in mesoclitic future and conditional forms European Portuguese. It is observed that unstressed low vowel phonemes in Portuguese reduce allophonically. This is particularly salient when comparing verbal paradigms such as those in (4.4):

(4.4) a) d[a]r

'to give'

b) D[ɛ]mos.

'We give.'

c) D[á]vamos.

'We used to give.'

d) D[ə]ríamos.

'We would give.'

Note the difference in vowel openness between (a) and (d). Though the stem of a future/conditional verb in Portuguese is the infinitive in most cases, there is no primary stress on that stem; accordingly, the vowel is centralized and less open [ɐ] as opposed to near-front and more open [a]. Leaving aside monosyllabic infinitives like *dar* and *ter* 'to have', it is readily apparent that the thematic vowel of the infinitive – of the first and second conjugation only – reduces and/or centralizes in all future/conditional conjugations, as in (4.5-7):

(4.5)   fal[ə]rei

              'I will talk'

(4.6)   com[ɨ]ria

              's/he would eat'

(4.7)   lembr[ə]rão

              'they/you will remember'

This is true of the relevant structures *without* clitics, in which the verb carries exactly one

primary stress and, aligning with the rules of Romance prosody, no proscribed secondary

stress. According to phonological rules, future/conditional verb pronunciation without a

mesoclitic constitutes exactly one prosodic word. Monachesi observes, however, that

vowel production is different in mesoclitic constructions as below in (4.8):

(4.8)   a)   * falar-te-[é]mos

         b)   * fal[á]r-te-emos

         c)   fal[á]r-te-[é]mos

                  'We will talk to you'

Looking at the above example, we see that to omit the prosodic accent in the infinitive

stem – as in (a) – or in the inflectional ending – as in (b) – results in an unacceptable

pronunciation (cf. Vigário 1999). Only (c), with two prosodic accents, is acceptable.

Monachesi and Vigário claim that, since a word cannot carry two primary stresses in Portuguese, the infinitive and the inflectional ending maintain status as two prosodic words: the lexical verb (*falar* in this example) and auxiliary *haver*.

It is this persistence of a prosodic word of *haver* in Portuguese that up until recently (Duarte and Matos 2000; Raposo 2000) has caused encliticization to it to be ungrammatical. Though this change is in progress, it has not become standard in Portuguese. As Raposo has stated, in his dialect of EP enclisis to *haver* even as an auxiliary in present perfect periphrases is borderline unacceptable[39]:

(4.9) a) Muita coisa **_lhe_** hei dado.

　　　 b) ?* Hei-**_lhe_** dado muita coisa.

　　　　　 'I have given him/her many things.'

　　　　　 (Raposo 2000:286, ex. 76)

Since enclisis to the auxiliary *haver* is not readily accepted, the only way to cause the structure to be phonologically well-formed is to front the direct object constituent *muita coisa*. Fronting the object provides the clitic *lhe* a sufficiently phonologically "strong" word onto which it can lean.[40] This process of raising of lexical material above where the clitic should land is also borne out in mesoclitic forms; indeed, this is one of the reasons for mesoclisis to futures and conditionals. Roberts (1993) and Company Company (1985,

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[39] This enclitic placement is acceptable with auxiliary *ter*, however. (Galves 2003; Galves, Ribeiro, and Torres Moraes 2005) The examples of EP follow all conventional clitic placement patterns: enclisis in some contexts and proclisis in others as required. However, the literature states that in BP what is observed is proclisis to the participle and not enclisis, as evidenced by the non-complementary distribution of the forms. BP also shows procliticization to gerunds and infinitives after certain verbs.

[40] See Chapter 5 for an analysis of how this operation is syntactically derived.

2006) take the position that the same applies to older varieties of Spanish and is more

readily apparent in the literature, as the mesoclitic form was usually written as separate

words (*fablarvos he/fablar vos he*). There is evidence, though, that, for some speakers, in

past participial contexts the auxiliary in Classical Spanish may have been more

phonologically suitable to host clitics. Consider the following constructions in (4.10-11)

from the 17th century in which the clitic is left-adjoined to *haber*:

(4.10)   Han***me*** mandado ser guía de estos franceses que van.

                      'They have ordered me to be a guide for these Frenchmen who are going'

                      (CdE, *Lo que puede el oír misa*)

(4.11)   -- Huélgome de topar con otro loco ¿Eres enamorado?

                      -- He***lo*** sido y lo soy.

                      '-- I'm having a good time meeting another madman. Are you in love?

                       -- I have been and I am.'

                      (CdE, *El desengaño dichoso*)

Note that the perfective construction is sentence initial, so that it appears that the only

acceptable option for the clitic to have a host to its left is adjunction to the auxiliary.

Prior to the late 16th century, such constructions were rarely if ever found, according to

my search of *CdE* (Davies 2002). Instead, the preferred option would have been to raise

the past participle over the auxiliary in order to provide a more suitable phonological host

for the clitic. This operation, called *participle preposing*, was preferred prior to Classical

Spanish[41] and appeared as the following in (4.12-13):

(4.12)   que sabed que cuantos en este castillo avía son muertos y, si mal **_vos_** an

            fecho, *pagado **lo** an*.

            'Know that many that were in this castle are dead and, if they have done

            evil to you, they have paid for it.'

            (CdE, *Primaleón*)

(4.13)   Señor, *dicho **te** he* lo que dezir quería

            'Sir, I have said to you what I wanted to say'

            (CdE, *Poema de Fernán González*)

In (4.12), I have placed the participle preposing example in italics and underlined a

"normal" construction without preposing in order to illustrate the differences. First, since

the non-preposed participle example is within an embedded context introduced by the

conjunction *si* 'if', proclisis is not only acceptable but obligatory. The preposed example

is in V1 position in a root clause. With any other verb we would have seen enclisis to it,

such as the preterite *pagáronlo*. Yet since this is a participial context with an auxiliary

that did not permit encliticization to itself, the preposed participle was the only way to

salvage the structure underlyingly without violating any phonological principles.[42] After

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[41] See Batllori (2011, 2012) for more analysis of participle preposing in Old Spanish and Old Catalan. The syntax of this construction will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

[42] By "salvaging," I refer to the syntactic operations that allow a clause to be structurally well-formed before PF. Any ill-formed structure will crash and not be realized by the speaker.

Old Spanish evolved to Classical Spanish in the 1600s, it appears that participle preposing was no longer a permissible option for avoiding sentence-initial clitics, and thus the grammar allowed enclisis to what would ordinarily be a phonologically unsuitable host. Moreover, Elvira (2009) states that the tendency toward preposing participles in Old Spanish was analogous to verbs raising in order to host clitics: like the pronominal clitic, the auxiliary *haber* also required phonological support where it would otherwise be an atonic particle in the initial position of a sentence.

It is not unreasonable, based on the crosslinguistic evidence, to assume that Old and Classical Spanish have underlying syntactic similarities to modern languages such as Portuguese and Galician, particularly regarding cliticization principles (Bouzouita 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011). A corollary assumption based on this is that the infinitive and auxiliary in mesoclitic forms carried independent prosodic stress in Old Spanish in the same way that they do in Portuguese. Among these languages, which were similar in antiquity, mesoclisis was eliminated first in Spanish, followed by Galician and then by (non-literary) Portuguese. If we continue to follow the thread of the old future/conditional as a formation containing two prosodic words, the implication here is that the future/conditional became *one* prosodic word bearing one primary stress in the inflectional ending while losing the primary stress of the lexical verb. The progression of the grammaticalization of *haber* in this manner is encapsulated in the loss of independence of the auxiliary verb and the subsequent acceptability of enclisis to these forms.[43]

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[43] This phenomenon will be investigated in much greater detail, on a syntactic basis, in Chapter 5.

Of particular interest to the current study of the effects of morphophonology on allowable cliticization patterns is the work of Gerlach (2002), within which she analyzes clitic placement in European Portuguese based on prosody and morphological boundaries. Based on Optimality Theory (OT) within which the grammatical features of a languages are expressed via competition between hierarchically inviolable constraints (Kager 1999), Gerlach's analysis illustrates certain features of the underlying grammar of the language, highlighting what is acceptable and what is not. These features, which I discuss further, are related to the morphophonological structure of both verbs and clitics and how they interact.

According to Gerlach, Portuguese like many Romance languages does not prescriptively exhibit secondary stress, nor does the language allow more than one prosodic stress per lexical word. Yet Gerlach cites van der Leeuw (1995) in stating that with future or conditional verbs in analytic constructions, the two morphemes – the lexical infinitive stem and the auxiliary inflectional morpheme – each bear *primary* stress. Keeping in consideration the primary stress on the two morphemes in the periphrasis, Gerlach presents an OT approach which conditions the prescriptive order and structure of the verbal morphemes and the clitic. The constraint list for this analysis is as follows:

(4.14) *OT constraints*

MORPH(EME) INT(EGRITY)

'Morphemes are not interrupted by other morphemes'

ALIGN-R(CS,PW)

'The right edge of a clitic must align with the right edge of a prosodic word'

NO CLASH

'Primary stresses cannot be adjacent'

ST(E)M DOM(INANCE)

'Prmary stress must fall on the verb stem'

MAX(IMALITY) (STRESS)

'No deleting prosodic stress'

*STRUC(TURE)

'Avoid prosodic/phonological structure'

The first constraint, MORPH INT, prevents other morphemes from intervening within other morphemes, such as in the unattested *halocer for hacerlo. This is important for preventing endoclitic arrangements such as *halocer in favor of mesoclisis which was very salient. The ALIGN constraint conditions the clitic to left-adjoin to (attach to the right of) a preceding morpheme instead of right-adjoining to a trailing morpheme. The constraint NO CLASH prevents consecutive morphemes bearing primary stress. Next, STM DOM prevents the verb stem from losing primary stress in these contexts. The faithfulness constraint MAX (STRESS) demands that whatever primary stress was present in the input must be maintained in the output. Finally, *STRUC states that words should not be parsed into metrical feet or prosodic words.

In order to obtain the proper surface derivation from the neutral input, Gerlach used the following constraint hierarchy:

(4.15) MORPH INT, ALIGN-R(CS,PW), MAX(STRESS), NO CLASH, STM DOM >> *STRUC

The lowest constraint *STRUC must be violated in order for the analysis to be successful. The reasons for this are as follows: (a) the directive to "avoid prosodic structure" appears to prohibit the metering of the lexical and auxiliary morphemes as prosodic words, which is undesirable, and (b) if *STRUC is not violated, higher-ranking constraints will be violated instead, rendering the output incorrect. With that stated, below are Gerlach's three tableaux that show the outcomes for (a) mesoclisis in the future/conditional, (b) enclisis in past tense, and (c) future tense without clitics. For now, we turn our attention to outcome (a), mesoclisis.

Tableau 4.2 – Mesoclisis to conditional in Portuguese

	/contar/ + /íamos/ + /o/	MORPH INT	ALIGN-R(CS,PW)	MAX (STRESS)	NO CLASH	STM DOM	*STRUC
a.	[contá][lo-íamos]		*!				*
b. ☞	[contá-lo][íamos]						*
c.	[contá-lo][iamos]			*!			
d.	[contá][íamo-lo]				*!		44
e.	[contáriamo-lo]			*!			
f.	[contaríamo-lo]					*!	
g.	[conta-lo-íamo]		*!			*	
h.	[co-lo-ntaríamo]	*!	*			*	

Tableau 4.2 above shows the result of Gerlach's constraint ranking as it applies to this particular input consisting of three morphemes: the Portuguese infinitive *contar*, the conditional morpheme {-íamos}, and the masculine singular accusative clitic *o*. Leaving the favorable outcome (b) aside, let us investigate the seven losing candidates. Candidate

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[44] Other than the clitic placement, there is no difference between (d) here and (b) with respect to prosodic structure. It stands to reason that (d) violates *Structure as well, but Gerlach does not notate this. I will not speculate on the omission of a violation notation here, as it is inconsequential to the analysis.

(a) shows the clitic right-adjoining to the inflectional morpheme, which according to syntactic theory is impossible (see Kayne 1991; Sportiche 1996; Raposo 2000; Raposo and Uriagereka 2005). Candidates (c) and (e) are eliminated for the same reason: the deletion of the primary stress from the [i] in the inflectional morpheme violates MAX(STRESS). Regarding candidate (d), the iambic *contar* is directly adjacent to the trochaic *íamos*, creating a stress clash and thus disqualifying this output. Candidate (f) combines the two verbal morphemes into one prosodic word, but as such the primary stress falls on the inflectional morpheme and not the lexical root, violating STM DOM. Candidate (g) is left-adjoined to the lexical stem but incurs a violation by simultaneously right-adjoining to the inflectional morpheme. Finally, candidate (h) shows *o* endocliticizing within the lexical stem, violating MORPH INT. This leaves candidate (b) as the winner.

The favorable candidate (b) – which derives *contá-lo-íamos* in the modern language – only violates *STRUC in that the two verbal morphemes are treated as prosodic words in accordance with Gerlach's (and van der Leeuw's) assertions and Raposo's (2000) and Monachesi's (2005) observations. As such, each morpheme carries its own prosodic stress in accordance with phonological conventions. Following cliticization principles, *o* is left-adjoined to the highest or leftmost verbal host, and the structure is well-formed.

Below are two more analyses of Portuguese by Gerlach for illustrative purposes, one involving the imperfect tense (tableau 4.3) and the other involving the conditional without clitics present (tableau 4.4). The constraints and hierarchy remain the same.

Tableau 4.3 – Enclisis to past tense

	/contar/ + /vamos/ + /o/	MORPH INT	ALIGN-R(CS,PW)	MAX (STRESS)	NO CLASH	STM DOM	*STRUC
a.	[contá][lo-vámos]		*!				*
b.	[contá-lo][vámos]						*!
c.	☞ [contávamo-lo]						
d.	[conta-lo-vámo]		*!			*	
e.	[co-lo-ntavámo]	*!	*			*	

Tableau 4.4 – Conditional tense without clitics

	/contar/ + /íamos/	MORPH INT	ALIGN-R(CS,PW)	MAX (STRESS)	NO CLASH	STM DOM	*STRUC
a.	[contár][íamos]				*!		*
b.	[contar][íamos]					*	*!
c.	[contáriamos]			*!			
d.	☞ [contaríamos]					*	

Tableau 4.3 illustrates a key difference between the conditional and the imperfect: the inflectional ending is more bound in the imperfect than it is in the conditional. As such, any object pronoun in a root context must encliticize to the entire verb – after the inflectional morpheme – and the possibility of mesocliticizing is zero. Furthermore, we see that in tableau 4.4, the only way for the correct production to surface is if the two fuse into one prosodic word instead of remaining two as with the intercalated clitic.

Implications of Gerlach's approach for analysis of Old Spanish constructions will be discussed in the following subsection.

4.1.3. Gerlach's analysis extended to 17th-century Spanish

The outcome of tableau 4.2 from the previous section is equivalent to the surface representation of the future and conditional with a clitic in Old Spanish through the 1500s: mesoclisis was the dominant structure in root contexts, and the infinitive stem and auxiliary affix were regarded as separate prosodic words. Similarly, tableau 4.3

illustrating the imperfect (as well as every other finite tense) adheres to Spanish

cliticization rules at the time. Finally, tableau 4.4 reflects the synthetic form without any

clitics, identical between Spanish and Portuguese.

During the later decades of the 1500s, however, the situations change. Instead of

default mesoclisis with enclisis as a dispreferred variant, the reverse becomes true.

Encliticization onto futures and conditionals becomes the preferred variant, remaining so

until the 18th century when Spanish becomes a proclitic-default language (see Anipa

2001). To illustrate this change in terms of the analysis from the previous subsection, I

have provided Gerlach's tableau of a conditional with clitics, changing the input and

outputs as necessary to reflect Spanish instead of Portuguese.

Tableau 4.5 – Cliticization to conditional – post-16th c. Spanish – Gerlach's hierarchy

	/contar/ + /íamos/ + /lo/	MORPH INT	ALIGN-R(CS,PW)	MAX (STRESS)	NO CLASH	STM DOM	*STRUC
a.	[contár][loíamos]		*!				*
b. ☞	[contárlo][íamos]						*
c.	[contárlo][iamos]			*!			
d.	[contár][íamoslo]				*!		
e.	[contáriamoslo]			*!			
f. ☹	[contaríamoslo]					*!	
g.	[conta-lo-íamos]		*!			*	
h.	[co-lo-ntaríamos]	*!	*			*	

As was true for Portuguese, the candidate that shows mesoclisis via adjunction to the

lexical verb emerges as the optimal output. However, by now it is obvious that this

outcome is contrary to fact. The outcome of an undesirable candidate winning implies

that the earlier constraint hierarchy is no longer in effect: candidate (b) wins in place of

the now-preferred candidate (f).

In order to reflect the reality of the times, I propose to re-rank the lowest two

candidates – STM DOM and *STRUC – so that candidate (f) emerges the clear winner. As

such, the constraint hierarchy becomes the following:

(4.16) MORPH INT, ALIGN-R(CS,PW), MAX(STRESS), NO CLASH, *STRUC >> STM DOM

Because candidates (a), (c-e), and (g-h) still lose and are thus inconsequential to the

analysis, I will reproduce the tableau above showing only the relevant candidates as well

as only the re-ranked lower two constraints. In other words, the following tableau 4.6

will ignore the highest four constraints.

Tableau 4.6 – Cliticization to conditional – post-16th c. Spanish – after reranking

		/contar/ + /íamos/ + /lo/	*STRUC	STM DOM
a.		[contárlo][íamos]	*!	
b.	☞	[contaríamoslo]		*

In this smaller analysis, the reason for candidate (a) losing is the fact that the verbal

morphemes formed prosodic words, against which *STRUC militates. The lowest

constraint STM DOM reflects the presence of only one prosodic accent, located on the

inflectional ending of the verb instead of the stem. Though the two constraints shown in

4.6 are the lowest-ranked overall, taking into account tableaux 4.4 and 4.5, their

importance is far-reaching. Noting that the prohibition on creating prosodic structure

with the phonological input has become more inviolable than before, it is evident that the

former auxiliary affix *haber* is no longer its own prosodic word but rather has become

fully morphologized and paradigmaticized, much like every other inflectional morpheme

in Spanish. As such, it is completely inseparable from the verb and will no longer permit other morphemes to break that adjacency. Additionally, in future/conditional contexts the new inflectional ending levied a phonological influence on infinitives which they modified; these infinitives could no longer carry the original primary stress lest a clash occur between the adjacent syllables.

4.1.4. Morphological complexity, enclisis, and mesoclisis

In Chapter 2, various derivations of mesoclisis and enclisis were discussed, with the less economical derivations discarded in keeping with principles of Economy. Regarding the derivation of the synthetic future in Old Spanish, analogy was the preferred justification for the seemingly sudden rise in enclitic futures and the concurrent disfavoring of mesoclitic futures. The core of the argument within this section that the persistence of a more independent inflectional morpheme in Spanish future and conditional paradigms – as put forth by Raposo (2000) for Portuguese – is impossible. There are two closely related reasons: the lack of attestation of unmarked (regular) stems of irregular verbs in enclitic structures, and the lack of attestation of marked (irregular) stems of otherwise irregular verbs in mesoclitic structures.

4.1.4.1. Unmarked stems and enclisis. The CdE corpus search, in addition to returning the tokens with context, provided the opportunity to observe the absolute frequencies of each verb that met the criteria as delineated in Chapter 3. With these data, one can see a breakdown of the number of occurrences of each particular form, be they shortened (*hacer*, *decir*, and their compounds), syncopated (*caber*, *haber*, *poder*, *querer*, *saber*), or either metathesized or with epenthetic /d/ (*poner*, *salir*, *tener*, *valer*, *venir*, and

their compounds). The following tables (4.7-9) show these forms alongside the number

of instances of unmarked stems hosting enclitics.

Table 4.7 – Irregular verbs with shortened stems and enclisis

Verbs with shortened stems	# of irregular stems	# of regularized stems
decir (dezir, dizir)	454	0
- *maldecir*	*maldiréla* – 1	0
hacer (facer, fazer)	318	*fazeríela(s)* – 2 *fazerégelo* – 1
- *deshacer (desfazer)*	3	*deshaceríase* – 1
- *satisfacer (satisfazer)*	3	0

Table 4.8 – Irregular verbs with /e/-syncopated stems and enclisis

Verbs with /e/-syncopated stems	# of irregular stems
haber	83
poder	232
querer	89
saber	105

Table 4.9 – Irregular verbs with /d/-epenthesis and enclisis

Verbs with /d/-epenthetic stems	# of irregular stems
poner	*pondré* – 75 *porné* – 4 *porré* – 4
- *componer*	1
- *disponer*	1
- *exponer*	1
- *oponer*	35
- *proponer*	*propondré* – 4 *proporné* – 1
salir	83
tener	*tendré* – 87 *terné* – 54
- *detener*	*detendré* – 1 *deterné* – 1
- *entretener*	6
valer	19
venir	20
- *avenir*	3
- *convenir*	*converná* – 1
- *prevenir*	2

Only four verbs showed enclisis with a regularized stem, all four being either forms of *hacer* or one of its compounds. The fact that enclisis occurred almost categorically on irregular future and conditional stems is an indication that the regularized stems were a dispreferred variant during the timeframe of the study. It is possible, therefore, that the presence of an enclitic might have exerted considerable influence over the choice of stem.

A distinction must be made here. The data above reflect only verbs with clitics. There were instances of all of the verbs with regularized stems but without enclitics. In most cases the regularized stems were extremely infrequent, with two exceptions. For example, the verb *poder* appeared 139 times in the corpus with a regularized stem and no clitic (*poderé/podería*) versus 232 instances with a syncopated stem and an enclitic. The verb *salir* appeared 112 times as a regular future or conditional with no clitic (*saliré/saliría*) versus 89 instances with a syncopated stem and an enclitic.[45]

4.1.4.2. Marked stems and mesoclisis. As with the breakdown of unmarked stems with enclisis, the corpus search facilitated the counting of irregular future and conditional verbs showing mesoclisis. Unlike the previous section in which every category of irregular verb is tested, the syncopated and /d/-epenthetic stems are phonologically inviable in contexts of mesoclisis. For this reason we focus solely on *decir* and *hacer*, whose shortened stems *dir* and *har/fer/far* can still be realized in Spanish. Below in table 4.10 are the different mesoclitic constructions with irregular infinitival stems found in the corpus, with examples following thereafter.

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[45] One possible explanation for this is that *poder* is an auxiliary verb that permits clitic climbing, while *salir* is an intransitive verb that frequently does not take a clitic.

Table 4.10 – Shortened infinitives in mesoclitic constructions

Verb	Mesoclitic construction
decir	*dirte he* *dirvos he*
hacer	*farse ha* *ferlo he* *ferlas has*

(4.17)   E si estuuiere fol gando perdera lo suyo: & si enrriqueciere arru *far**se** ha*

'And if he be idle, he shall lose that which is his; and if he get rich, he

shall turn to gold'

(CdE; *Bocados de oro*)

(4.18)   Sodes de mal sentido, commo loco fablades, ***Fer**vos** e* sin los oios, si

mucho papeades

'You are senseless and speak as a fool. I will make you without eyes if

you scoff much.'

(CdE; *Vida del glorioso confeso Santo Domingo de Silos*)

There are a few sporadic instances of *dir* and *far/fer* as standalone infinitives in the

corpus, appearing as infrequently as instances of mesoclisis. Example (4.19) is one

particular example of *far*:

(4.19)   Yo soy ida a su casa no a **far** mal, sino bien […]

'I am gone to his house not to do evil but good […]'

(CdE; *La lozana andaluza*)

Even still, the full forms of the mesoclitic future and conditional of the verbs in question -- OSp *dezirlo he* and *fazerlo he* – far outnumbered the short forms. The shortened forms appear to have been a vestige of similar forms in Vulgar Latin or Proto-Romance, forms which became the standard infinitives in other Romance languages such as French (*dire, faire*) and Italian (*dire, fare*). In most other Romance languages, as in Spanish, Portuguese, and Galician, these forms serve as the most widely accepted stems of the future and conditional paradigms.

4.1.5. Summary

Though the changes in parameters do appear to reflect the changes in morphological structure of the future and conditional in Old Spanish – namely, the disappearance of mesoclisis as a viable variant – this may not be the only approach to the problem. Where Gerlach's discussion ceases to apply to Spanish is the presence of irregular stems in the future and conditional, a phonological phenomenon not nearly as prominent in Portuguese. The current hypothesis, following Gerlach, is that mesoclisis disappeared on its own to be replaced by enclisis. However, in light of the different stem complexities in Spanish and the presence of enclisis to all other finite paradigms in Spanish, as well as the observed coexistence of enclisis with mesoclisis to future and conditional verbs (though varying in tendency), it is possible that a discussion of analogical change may better inform the investigation. I leave this discussion for section 4.3. For now I turn to a discussion of the lexical, semantic, and pragmatic effects of the grammaticalization of the future and conditional.

4.2. Semantic and pragmatic considerations of grammaticalization

Regarding the grammaticalization of the future and conditional, it has been claimed, as mentioned before in Chapter 1, that while most Romance languages showed a "completed" path, Portuguese had not done so (Grandgent 1907; Ledgeway 2012), and Raposo (2000) appears to follow the same line of analysis. The reasoning behind this lies solely in the separability of the root and the inflectional morpheme in the presence of clitics. Bearing this in mind, one could claim that in Old and Classical Spanish, a "full" stage of grammaticalization had not yet been reached either, due to the persistence of the split construction. Let us investigate this notion of "full" versus "partial" grammaticalization and how it applies to the constructions in question in Old Spanish. Unlike the previous section in which morphophonological and morphosyntactic considerations were detailed, in this section the discussion will pertain to diachronic semantic and pragmatic change regarding the future and conditional and how grammaticalization processes factored into the restructuring of (or loss of) one of the forms. Here we take a more functionalist view of language change based on speakers' use of the language, recalling Matasović's (2002) argument in favor of the same as discussed in Chapter 2.

4.2.1. Semantic reanalysis, bleaching, and grammaticalization

The Latin predecessor of the future indicative in much of modern Romance – the split CANTĀRE HABEŌ construction – received its future meaning as a periphrasis at an early point, as already discussed in Chapter 1, and retained that reading through the divergence of Vulgar Latin into each of the Romance languages. Pinkster (1987) claims

that the verb HABĒRE, in constructions denoting futurity, had already lost its

independence in that it could not select its own complements, ceding that "authority" to

the infinitive with which it was now bound. The use of HABĒRE allowed speakers (and

writers) of Latin to express futurity in ways not permitted by the synthetic CANTĀBŌ

future, and thus arose anterior futurity readings such as the following examples (4.20-21):

(4.20)   NĀZARĒUS **VOCĀRI HABĒBAT** SECUNDUM PROPHĒTIAM

              'he *was to call* himself N. according to the prophecy' (lit. *was to have been*

              called)

              (Tertullian. adv. Marc.4,8)

(4.21)   ALITER PRAEDICANTUR, QUAM **EVENĪRE HABENT**

              'it is predicted that otherwise than they *will come out* (= shall happen)'

              (Tertullian, *Scorp. II*; in Thau-Knudsen 2002)

With this new function of HABĒRE as a marker came an eventual reanalysis of the two

constituents as one unit, even within Classical Latin as Pinkster and Thau-Knudsen have

both shown. This reanalyzed construction, already shown as example (4.1) and reprinted

below as (4.22), survived into the earliest stages of Spanish, as stated by Roberts (1993):

(4.22)   [[CANTĀRE] HABEŌ] > [CANTĀRE HABEŌ] > *[cantar he] > [cantaré]

                    (I)   (II)   (III)   (IV)

By the second phase in (4.22) above, the periphrasis had undergone reanalysis to a singular constituent. Neither word in the periphrasis, the infinitive CANTĀRE nor the possessive/auxiliary HABEŌ, encodes a future meaning on its own; this meaning is less morphological than it is pragmatic. Together, though, the implicature[46] of the structure was that the event was situated in the future.[47] Even as the structure became monoclausal, there still existed the possibility of separability of the two formerly independent morphemes. As noted by various authors such as Schwegler (1990) and Klausenberger (2000), the only constituents that could be intercalated in these contexts were clitics. Not only were clitics the only possible intervening constituents, but in the earliest times of Old Spanish, clitic intervention – mesoclisis, in effect – was highly preferred in root clauses. This is illustrated by the constituent structure below in (4.23):

(4.23)   [contar [te lo] he]

It must be noted that, while the infinitive and auxiliary morphemes were separable, the orthography of the time did not always reflect this. There are instances in the literature, some in the *CdE* and others from Moreno Bernal (2005), of clitic attachment to the infinitive (*contártelo he*) and even appearances as one whole word (*contarteloé*). Further confounding matters, according to Moreno Bernal, were instances in which the vowel in the clitic apocopated, as in the following: *nafregarsan* (~ *nafregarse han*).

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[46] Though not expressed directly or lexically, this is the suggestion of the utterance.
[47] A brief discussion of which constituent within the periphrasis connoted futurity will take place in subsection 4.2.2.

As shown, though, while Portuguese and Galician have maintained mesoclisis to this day in some dialects or literary varieties (Pires and Thomason 2008:63), Old Spanish all but lost it by the early 17th century. Instead, object pronouns encliticized to future and conditional verbs where they could not before. This development reflected two changes in the verbal structure:

1) In these structures, the inflectional ending derived from *haber* was no longer an auxiliary but rather a paradigmatic morpheme.

2) As such, there was no more possibility for mesoclisis due to the requirement that inflectional morphemes attach to verbal stems (in proper contexts).

The shift of *haber* from lexical to auxiliary verb was already an instance of desemanticization – a loss of semantic meaning – which is part of the grammaticalization cline. According to Anipa (2001), during the Old Spanish period *haber* and *tener* were coincident in most if not all of their possible meanings and uses: possession, deontic modality, auxiliary, and even as a future marker. Below are examples of these uses from literary works.

(4.24)   Señora, soy española; mas todo mi bien lo **he habido** de un ginovés que

            estaba para ser mi marido y, por mi desgracia, se murió; y ahora vengo

aquí porque *tengo de* **haber** de sus parientes gran dinero que me ha dejado

para que me case.

'Madam, I am a Spaniard; but everything I own I have gotten from a

Genoese man who was to be my husband, and, unfortunately for me, he

died; and now I come here because I must get from his relatives the large

amount of money that he left to me so that I may marry.'

(*Retrato de la Lozana andaluza* XII; in Anipa 2001; translation mine)

Example (4.24) contains both *tener* (in italics) and *haber* (in bold) in the same passage.

Here *tener* encodes deontic modality in the set phrase *tener de*, while *haber* is purely a

possessive. Interestingly, both instances of *haber* encode a telic use of possession; the

speaker tells of a discrete state of possessing – perfective in the first instance, inceptive in

the second. Anipa does state that during the 16th century *tener* was the clearly preferred

verb to denote possession, but possessive *haber* was unmistakably salient enough to be

regarded as a variant.

(4.25)   No piensen que **ha de** pasar así, que yo *casar<u>me</u> tengo*

             'Do not think that it has to happen this manner, for I have to marry'

             (CdE, *Correspondencia*)

In example (4.25) we have *haber* as a deontic modal and *tener* as the future marker.

Deontic *haber* is unremarkable, as this expression *haber de* + infinitive has existed in

Romance for centuries and, according to data from Schwegler (1990), was likely an

inherited structure from Latin. The use of *tener* as a future marker illustrates the competition between it and *haber* in all contexts. Similar to possessive *haber* in (4.25) being salient but not default at the time, futurate *tener* also existed alongside the much more widespread *haber*.

Though *tener* and *haber* competed for meaning and function in Old Spanish, as has been shown, speakers and writers of the time demonstrated different tendencies in the use of the two verbs meaning 'have'. *Tener* came to be the predominant possessive verb in Spanish, a role it continues to this day. *Haber*, on the other hand, lost its possessive meaning in favor of *tener* and became exclusively an auxiliary. This change is analogous to what took place in Latin, as HABĒRE 'to have' was first the preferred verb of possession, while TENĒRE 'to hold or grasp' had a similar yet separate function. As would be the case in Spanish, TENĒRE assumed the role possession as HABĒRE became primarily a perfective auxiliary. In doing so, by canonical definition *haber* grammaticalized to a more functional than lexical verb. It is this step of grammaticalization that paved the way for further grammaticalizational phenomena to take place, particularly the loss of morphosyntactic independence and the phonological erosion that *haber* underwent in its transition to paradigmatic morphology.

4.2.2. *Pragmatics of the future/conditional periphrasis from Latin to Classical Spanish*

As stated in the previous section, neither the infinitive nor the auxiliary connoted futurity on its own. However, in tandem the infinitive and auxiliary carry the feature [+fut] for one of two reasons. On the one hand, Gerlach (2002) claims the induction of that particular feature by the auxiliary, where it was earlier underspecified on the non-

finite form. On the other hand, D'hulst (2004) holds that it is the infinitive and not the auxiliary that induces the reading of futurity, owing to the fact that in verbal periphrases containing HABĒRE and a lexical non-finite verb, the form of the lexical verb determines the understood tense, whether posterior as in (4.26) or anterior as in (4.27):

(4.26) a)   CANTĀRE HABEŌ/HABEŌ CANTĀRE

           'I will sing' (lit. 'I have the obligation to sing')

     b)   HABEŌ CANTĀTUM

           'I have sung'

(4.27) a)   CANTĀRE HABĒBAM/HABĒBAM CANTĀRE

           'I would sing' (lit. 'I had the obligation to sing')

     b)   HABĒBAM CANTĀTUM

           'I had sung'

Whether it is the auxiliary or the infinitive that elicits the understanding of futurity is not crucial, though both can be debated. Rather, it is agreed that the periphrasis is unmistakably an expression of the future, and it continued to be such through the early Romance languages.

How was it that two distinct constructions carrying a futurate meaning could coexist without overlapping? In Medieval Spanish, for example, Fernández Martín showed that the synthetic and analytic forms of the future and conditional coexisted in antiquity, complementary to but not competing with one another until later in that period.

Company Company (2006a) describes the dichotomy between the two forms based on the exact moment during which the action will take place, if known. Future events expressed by the synthetic construction carried any of the following meanings or implications:

1) that the event would take place immediately after the time of the speech act,

2) that the event would take place immediately after a particular point in time not yet reached,

3) that the event would take place during an absolute future without respect to any point in time,

4) that the event is supposed by the speaker to occur in the future,

5) that the event is likely to happen, or

6) that the event carries a nuance of obligation, such as an indirect command.

By contrast, says Company Company, while the analytic construction carries with it a meaning of obligation (see also Rini 2009), it differs from that of the synthetic construction in that it is constant due to the presence of the verb *haber*: "[…] no hay casos de duda, ni tampoco se documenta en ellos el valor atemporal de verdades universales"[48] (2006a:408). What stands out here is the characterization of the analytic construction as a *modal* future, in contrast to the *temporal* future that the synthetic construction implies.

As mentioned in the first chapter, Fernández Martín (2008) maintains that, prior to the Medieval period, when a speaker wished to express desire or willingness to

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[48] "[…] there are no cases of doubt, nor is documented in them the atemporal value of universal truths." (translation mine)

perform an action – the deontic reading – the synthetic form was used; otherwise, to

express an epistemic future, the analytic form was used. However, according to the

analysis, this distinction between the structures became blurred over time. The following

examples (4.28-31) from Fernández Martín show analytic futures and conditionals in

contexts of deontic modality – the inevitability or irrevocability of the expressed action

occurring in the future.

(4.28)   Pues si ellos quisiesen pedirlo [el Espíritu Sancto], ¿*negárseles hía*?

                 'Therefore if they would ask for it [the Holy Spirit], would it be denied

                 them?'

                 (*Diálogo*[49] 169; Fernández Martín 2008:55, ex. 79)

(4.29)   Eso lo dirán los necios, a cuyos falsos juicios sería imposible satisfacer;

                 que los prudentes y sabios, conociendo convenir al bien de la cristiandad

                 que el Papa esté en poder del Emperador, *tenerlo han* por muy bien

                 hecho, y loarán la virtud y la prudencia de su Majestad, y aun *serle ha* la

                 cristiandad en perpetua obligación.

                 'That is what the foolish will say, whose false judgments it will be

                 impossible to satisfy: and the prudent and wise, familiar with

                 accommodating the good of Christianity in which the Pope has the power

                 of the Emperor, will have it for having done well, and will praise the

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[49] Alfonso de Valdés, 1528, *Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma.*

virtue and prudence of his Majesty, and Christianity will be unto them in

perpetual duty.'

(*Diálogo* 225; Fernández Martín 2008:56, ex. 82)

(4.30)   Por no romperos el hilo, no lo quise acordar, mas pues me distes este

officio y vos le olvidastes, ***dezirle he*** yo si os parece.

'For not breaking the thread, I did not want to agree to it; but since you

gave me this position and forgot about him, I may tell him if it pleases

you.

(*Nombres*[50] 306; Fernández Martín 2008:56, ex. 88)

(4.31)   Y ***decirse ha*** hasta el fin del mundo que Jesucristo formó la Iglesia y el

Emperador Carlo Quinto la restauró.

'And it shall be told until the end of the earth that Jesus Christ formed the

Church and Emperor Carlos V restored it.'

(*Diálogo* 234; Fernández Martín 2008:57, ex. 92)

In investigating whether the synthetic forms absorbed the functions of the analytic forms – that is, whether synthetic forms replaced analytic forms in all contexts -- Fernández Martín shows via examples like the four above that not only did the synthetic future assume functions of the analytic-mesoclitic form, but even the analytic future had come to fulfill roles of the synthetic future. To wit, the two forms became identical in use and,

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[50] Fray Luis de Leon, 1583-1585, *De los nombres de Cristo.*

in theory, were in free variation with one another. Curiously, though the analytic future was nearly identical in scope with the synthetic future (aside from contexts of negation, focusing, and strong subordination due to still-extant syntactic restrictions), it was the former and not the latter that disappeared from use. Fernández Martín gives the following explanation, based on semantics and pragmatics:

> […] en el nivel semántico se argüiría que la principal esfera cognitiva que se representaba mediante estas formas fue absorbida por completo por el condicional sintético […], y, en alguna ocasión, por la perífrasis en pretérito imperfecto *haber de* + infinitivo. Este hecho eliminaría la razón de existir de las formas condicionales analíticas, puesto que no es posible que haya una forma tan marcada y, a la vez, tan semánticamente semejante a otra, sin que no acabe imponiéndose sobre ésta. (Fernández Martin 2008:55)[51]

Of the three extant future/conditional constructions available in Medieval Spanish, the analytic construction was easily the most marked and least preferred, as claimed by Company Company and Medina Urrea (1999) as well as shown in the data in Chapter 3. Given its highly marked status in its time, it disappeared while the synthetic construction – and, according to the literature, the *haber de* + infinitive periphrasis – persisted.

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[51] "[…] at the semantic level one could argue that the main cognitive sphere that was represented by these forms was completely absorbed by the synthetic conditional […], and, at times, by the periphrasis *haber de* + infinitive in the imperfect past. This fact would eliminate the reason for the existence of the analytic conditional forms, given that it is not possible for there to be a form so marked and, at the same time, so semantically similar to another, without its ending up imposing itself on that other form." (translation mine)

<u>*4.2.3. Conclusion*</u>

In this section we have seen the lexical/semantic distribution of the two futurate expressions from Latin, with the infinitive + HABĒRE construction initially being concurrent with yet distinct from the preexisting synthetic CANTĀBŌ/PETAM form. As the two became less distinct in meaning, there became less of a reason for both to exist, and the more complex form disappeared while the more flexible and identifiable form remained.

<u>**4.3. The verdict: grammaticalization, analogy, or both?**</u>

In this chapter we have seen evidence that the synthetic future and conditional in Old and Classical Spanish was morphophonologically distinct from the analytic future, borne out by the prevalence of irregular stems in such constructions as opposed to regular stems based purely on the infinitive form of the verb. The presence of these irregular forms suggests that the synthetic future was not simply a variant based on allomorphy but rather a parallel form with divergent morphosyntactic roots. This divergent morphosyntax is shown, conversely, by the relative lack of these irregular stems in analytic constructions, the preference instead being the full infinitive form of the verb as the lexical stem.

This evidence fortifies the position that the split/analytic form gave rise to the synthetic form due in part to the grammaticalization of the auxiliary verb *haber*. Literary evidence confirms the existence of fully grammaticalized and paradigmaticized future/conditional forms – without object clitics present – as early as the 13th century (and probably prior). From Old to Classical Spanish, the analytic form with mesoclisis gave

way to the synthetic form with enclisis in increasing measure, displacing it completely in

the 18th century. The clitic parameters of the era as well as the properties of *haber*,

though, do not support the gradient evolution of grammaticalization in moving from

analyticity/mesoclisis to syntheticity/enclisis, for the following reasons:

1) The full infinitive of an irregular verb is (largely) only seen in mesoclitic

   configurations. Any instance of the verb conjugated in the future or conditional

   with strict enclisis, in obligatory proclitic contexts, or with no clitic at all, was

   attested in the expected irregular form.

2) Grammaticalization is said to produce an innovative structure. However, the

   change from mesoclisis to enclisis caused the future and conditional to converge

   upon an already extant form in the language.

Based on these reasons, I argue that the loss of the mesoclitic analytic form of the future

and conditional in Spanish was not simply the result of a grammaticalizational process

but rather a change based on *analogy*.

4.3.1. *Rationalizing analogy: evidence from Latin and Spanish*

The states of coexistence, analogy, and supplantation are ubiquitous in the history

of the Spanish future and conditional, even dating back to Classical Latin. Regarding the

grammatical status of analytic futures and conditionals in Latin, Company Company and

Medina Urrea state that "un par de trabajos, hasta donde tenemos noticia, ha abordado el

estatus gramatical de los futuros analíticos por sí mismos, considerándolos como formas

sintácticas específicas, con valor propio" (1999:70)[52].   One of those two works, by

Benveniste (1968), explains in great detail the chronology of the infinitive + HABĒRE

construction as well as the factors that eventuated the loss of the preexistent Latin

paradigm. Another account by Juge (2009) explains the disappearance of the Latin

synthetic future based on phonological changes that caused confusion with other forms. I

will discuss each account of Latin here and then return to the discussion of analogy in

Spanish.

　　　4.3.1.1. Lexical-pragmatic broadening: Benveniste (1968). Benveniste's work

heavily involves the scope of each form – the synthetic future –BŌ/–AM form and the

infinitive + HABĒRE construction, an innovation in later varieties of Latin. At the outset,

his most controversial claim about the infinitive + HABĒRE construction in Latin is that it

did not replace the future active indicative paradigm entirely. Of the literature stating

that this was the case, he calls such accounts "erroneous" and states that the Latin

synthetic future was never replaced by the periphrasis in question "and it never could

have been" (1968: pp). These are the conditions that he delineates regarding the genesis

of the periphrasis:

1) The periphrasis began with HABĒRE and the passive infinitive, not the active.

2) The periphrasis was initially used with the imperfect tense of HABĒRE (e.g.

   HABĒBAM).

3) The periphrasis was restricted to subordinate, relative (adjectival) clauses.

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[52] "A pair of works, as far as we know, have covered the grammatical status of the analytic futures on their own, considering them to be specific syntactic forms in and of themselves." (translation mine)

Each of these can be substantiated vis-à-vis other accounts (see Pinkster 1987 for examples). As the periphrasis was initially found with the imperfect of HABĒRE, this gives credence to the claim of some, such as de Oliveira (2003) and Slobbe (2004) that the lexical progenitor of the *conditional* predated that of the *future*. Regarding the restriction of the periphrasis to subordinate clauses, Benveniste states that this was the first property to disappear; afterward, the restriction of HABĒRE to passive infinitives weakened, allowing all infinitives instead.

Another distinction Benveniste makes regarding the Latin synthetic future and the HABĒRE periphrasis was the original meaning. The synthetic future carried the expression of intention ("what one means to happen"), while the periphrasis signaled predestination ("what is to happen"). Since these two meanings are very close, sometimes indistinguishable, it was evident that the two would be confused. Confused they were, so much so that the periphrasis assumed many of the simple future's uses and ultimately supplanted it.

Here is where I call into question Benveniste's claim that the synthetic –BŌ/–AM form was not replaced by the infinitive + HABĒRE form. Most if not all of the literature would agree that once the periphrasis appeared, the original future form did not immediately disappear to be replaced by the new periphrasis. What was observed in Latin was first an innovative form that emerged to fulfill one particular, restricted grammatical role. Over time, its role expanded due to the relaxation of the syntactic-pragmatic restriction that previously bound it. Eventually, as its scope expanded, it encroached on the older, established form to the point that it obviated it completely. Therefore in the grand scheme of the evolution from Classical Latin to Vulgar or Late

Latin, I claim that the infinitive + HABĒRE periphrasis did indeed replace the older

synthetic future, in opposition to Benveniste's position. Because of the process by which

the innovative form replaced the older established form, this is the clear effect of

grammaticalizational processes.

    4.3.1.2. Morphophonological analogy: Juge (2009). Whereas Benveniste

investigated the lexical, semantic, and pragmatic changes that caused the disappearance

of the Latin synthetic future and only paid minimal attention to the phonological changes

that facilitated the change, Juge investigates these changes more in depth. As stated in

Chapter 1, the Latin future was "a tense with unstable phonetic characteristics" (cf.

Lathrop 1984). This instability has been noted in the differences between future

morphemes in the first (-ĀRE) and second (-ĒRE) conjugations and those belonging to the

third (-ERE) and fourth (-ĪRE) conjugations. We will call the first and second conjugation

the –BŌ group because of the first-person singular reflex of the synthetic future

(CANTĀBŌ, RIDĒBŌ). Contrastively, we will call the third and fourth conjugations the –AM

group since this is the first-person singular ending in these conjugations (PETAM,

AUDIAM).

    As Latin underwent the very well documented sound changes in the transition to

Proto-Romance, future reflexes in the –BŌ group likely would have become homophonic

with reflexes in other paradigms. Below in table 4.11 are examples that Juge (2009:70)

states are often cited in supporting the homophony argument:

Table 4.11 – Selected reflexes of AMĀRE > Sp amar

Reflex	Latin	Proto-Romance (via regular sound change)	Spanish
Future active indicative 3sg	AMĀBIT		(amará)
Perfect active indicative 1sg	AMĀVĪ	*/amaβe/	amé
Perfect active indicative 3sg	AMĀVIT		amó

Above, we can see how via regular sound change the future tense would become homophonous with what is now the preterite in Romance. Juge cites Vincent (1988), who stated that this homophony – or *syncretism* – in later stages of Latin expedited the disappearance of certain forms, in particular the future tense. On the surface, it seems that there is a strong case for grammatical category loss due to avoidance of homophony between paradigms. However, Juge states that citing only phonological concerns is insufficient to explain the loss of these categories, as many modern languages, not only within Romance but in other families, contain syncretic reflexes.

Further criticizing the homophony argument, Juge (2009:70) notes that syncretism when it develops "is often 'tolerated' indefinitely." To further illustrate this point, let us now look at the reflexes of a regular verb of type –AM in Latin, Proto-Romance, and Spanish (also see Penny 2002 for a similar analysis).

Table 4.12 – Selected reflexes of DĪCERE > Sp decir

Reflex	Latin	Proto-Romance (via regular sound change)	Spanish
Future active indicative 1sg	DĪCAM		(diré)
Present active conjunctive 1sg	DĪCAM	*/diɣa/	diga
Present active conjunctive 3sg	DĪCAT		diga

As we see, a few of the reflexes of the verb were already syncretic, as the first-person singular of the future indicative and present subjunctive showed the same form. Even before the shift to Proto-Romance, it is evident that homophony already existed in Latin between paradigms of the same verb.

As Juge noted, this homophony created in later varieties of Latin persisted into Romance. Modern Spanish, for example, shows identical forms of the first- and third-person singular in the present subjunctive, imperfect indicative and subjunctive, and conditional paradigms. Across paradigms, Portuguese shows complete homophony between the future subjunctive and personal infinitive in all verbs with regular preterite stems:

(4.32)   Future subjunctive and personal infinitive paradigms

-ar verbs: *falar, falares, falar, falarmos, falardes, falarem*

-er verbs: *vender, venderes, vender, vendermos, venderdes, venderem*

-ir verbs: *dormir, dormires, dormir, dormirmos, dormirdes, dormirem*

French is neither an exception to this tendency, for in most paradigms the only reflexes not to be homophonic are the first- and second-person plural forms; every singular person and the third-person plural are phonologically (but not orthographically) syncretic.[53]

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[53] Unlike most other Romance languages and similarly to English, French avoids most ambiguity with its syncretic forms by means of its status as a non-pro-drop language. However, homophony remains in the 3rd-person subjects *il/ils*.

Table 4.13 – French present indicative

chanter – to sing			
chante	/ʃãt/	chantons	/ʃãtõ/
chantes			
chante		chantez	/ʃãte/
chantent			

Through crosslinguistic evidence Juge's position is supported: though it may (and often does) accompany category loss, phonological syncretism alone cannot account for this phenomenon due to the multiple attestations of syncretism not only in verbal paradigms but also the loss of other distinguishing morphology in Latin, particularly the case system seen in nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. In his words,

> The loss of grammatical categories, as addressed here primarily with respect to the synthetic future […], reveals that some scholars' emphasis on the role of sound change and consequent syncretism cannot fully explain such losses, even when supplemented by arguments based on morphological factors. Although sociolinguistic and sociogeographic models appear promising, these particular cases do not seem amenable to such approaches, partly because of chronological considerations. Communicative considerations, however, may indeed play a significant role in such changes. (Juge 2009:78)

In mentioning the significant role that communicative considerations may play, Juge implicitly recalls the work of Benveniste (1968) who, as explained in the previous subsection, detailed the eventual replacement of the Latin synthetic future by the infinitive + HABĒRE periphrasis. Based on that work, it does appear likely that lexical-pragmatic broadening rendered the Latin synthetic future obsolete. Furthermore,

phonological change may have expedited the process of eliminating the now obsolete

form, but it was by no means a causal factor.

4.3.2. *Applying theories of analogical change to the loss of mesoclisis/analyticity in Spanish*

As Fernández Martín has described the loss of the analytic future and conditional,

synthetic forms took their place:

> A medida que las formas sintéticas iban poco a poco
> adquiriendo los usos semánticos de las formas analíticas,
> éstas iban perdiendo cada vez más fuerza, quedando
> relegadas a un uso muy marcado, hasta que se perdieron
> por completo a mediados del siglo XVII.   (Fernández
> Martín 2008:43)[54]

Therefore, Fernández Martín holds that the synthetic form increased in its semantic-

pragmatic scope, assuming every role that was previously associated with the analytic

forms used at the time. As is frequently an effect of grammaticalization, the older and

entrenched form yielded to the more innovative form and disappeared from the language.

Once again, Benveniste's analysis of pragmatic broadening applies not only to Latin but

also to its descendants, in this case Spanish. It is not unreasonable to claim that the

replacement of old forms by newer ones via pragmatic broadening is a pan-Romanic

phenomenon, if not pan-linguistic.

Following the assumption of the pragmatic domain of the analytic

future/conditional construction by the synthetic, the latter became the standard form

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[54] "As the synthetic forms little by little acquired the semantic uses of the analytic forms, the latter increasingly lost strength, finding itself relegated to a very marked use until its complete loss halfway through the seventeenth century." (translation mine)

while the former disappeared from the language. One could claim that the auxiliary morpheme within the analytic form with mesoclisis finally underwent grammaticalization and became an affix, then a clitic, then simply an inflectional morpheme. In keeping with the current topic of analogy, however, I present a different explanation. In Old and Classical Spanish, the future and conditional paradigms were the only two that permitted mesoclisis, made possible by the still separate infinitive and auxiliary morphemes. Every other simple indicative paradigm – present, imperfect, preterite – allowed pronouns to encliticize to it within the proper contexts, contexts within which mesoclisis would customarily be observed if the verb were in the future or conditional. Following the cliticization conventions of the time period, when the context required proclisis, it was observed with all paradigms, including the future and conditional, which would have exhibited the synthetic construction. Without a clitic present, the future and conditional also could not be analytic but synthetic. I argue here that, because of this distribution, the analytic *cantarlo he* and synthetic *cantarélo/lo cantaré* futures were coexisting, parallel structures.

Based on the frequency of these contexts in Old and Classical Spanish, the analytic construction was in a weaker position from its genesis, which likely also played a role in its disappearance (Company Company 2006). This is where I make a case for morphosyntactic analogy: enclisis to the future and conditional became a more widely acceptable variant during the 16th century, then became the standard thereafter. Granted, it might be an argument from teleology to state that the future and conditional analogized to other forms so as to simplify the verb-clitic dynamic in the language; certainly, having more than one non-proclitic structure in the grammar may have seemed superfluous. But

then again, so would have the two forms of the imperfect subjunctive (*cantara*, *cantase*), both of which exist today. However, one may take the position that analogy in language change has been frequently attested in the history of Spanish, particularly in morphosyntax and morphophonology (see Lloyd 1987) and even syntax (see Rini 1999), and I claim that this is another occurrence of such.

4.4. Conclusions

We have discussed how phonological and morphosyntactic constraints factored into the structural changes observed in the grammaticalization of the future and conditional in Latin and Spanish, paying special attention to prosody, cliticization rules and customs, and the phonological status of auxiliary *haber* and how the three were interrelated. In doing so, we restricted the grammaticalization to the auxiliary, noting how it was the only structure to change as the paradigm developed. We have also shown how the semantics and pragmatics of the structures evolved, to the point that the synthetic and analytic structures eventually shared meanings and domains. Finally, bearing in mind that the analytic and synthetic future and conditional coexisted throughout Old Spanish, we have posited that the analytic construction did not eventually arrive at the same "level of grammaticalization" as the synthetic construction, but rather that the synthetic future became the default construction due to having assumed the pragmatic domain of the analytic as well as due to analogical pressure from other tenses in Spanish.

Having detailed the pragmatic shifts and structural changes in the language, we have deliberately left aside how cliticization principles played a part in the grammaticalization of this form. The change from the analytic *cantarlo he* to the

synthetic *cantarélo* (> *lo cantaré*) exhibits structural changes beyond what can be

explained through morphological analogy. Instead, my position is that, through various

syntactic changes brought about by the paradigmaticization of *haber*, the analytic future

ceased to be a viable option. Additionally, once proclisis became the only option for

clitic placement with finite verbs in Spanish, the possibility of a mesoclitic future

disappeared as well. These two findings will be the basis of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5
SYNTACTIC ASPECTS OF GRAMMATICALIZATION

5.0. Preliminaries

In the preceding chapters the data have been shown to suggest that, across centuries of Old and Classical Spanish, the synthetic future with enclisis and the analytic future with mesoclisis were not in completely free variation, as it was previously thought. Nor could it be said that the structures were in complementary distribution during those years. To hold either of the preceding statements as true across the entire time period under study is unsustainable at best. Rather, based on the synchronic evidence presented, it appears there is a case to be made for shifting syntactic properties of Spanish during each of those six centuries.

To better explain the changes in the syntax of the future and conditional in Old Spanish, it is necessary to define parameters affecting the auxiliary properties of *aver/haber* in order to establish its ability to host clitics. As an auxiliary in Portuguese it cannot host enclitics, as already stated by Raposo (2000). However, in old Spanish auxiliary *haber* was indeed a suitable phonological host for encliticization in some contexts – for example, *haber* + $V_{[-finite]}$ orders such as in the present perfect – as corpus data will later show. Following and building upon Schwegler (1990) and Klausenburger (2000), the auxiliary within the structure infinitive + *haber* must have been parametrically different in order to disallow enclitics during the periods of permissible mesoclisis.

Regarding the syntactic structure of Spanish, based on the behaviors of the observed data, the claim of this study is that the properties and behaviors of the F projection have changed across the eras of Spanish, causing the changes in the data across each century under study. It is easily observed, for starters, that cliticization patterns of Old Spanish – most notably obligatory enclisis – aligned more closely with languages such as Galician-Portuguese, as did much of Romance at the time. Analytic constructions of the future indicative tense – marked by mesoclisis – were also the default construction. As the centuries passed, though, Spanish moved away from analyticity and mesoclisis in favor of syntheticity and enclisis, possibly through analogy with every other indicative tense (e.g. present, imperfect, preterite). We have already seen that, based on work by Uriagereka (1995b), Raposo (2000), and the two together (2005), F is integral in all clitic placement in finite verb contexts. Therefore, if a language allows a particular clitic construction at one point in time but no longer does so in the next, the logical conclusion is that a property of F – a parameter, ostensibly – had to have changed through the years.

In sum, this chapter will address parametric variation of the two structures mentioned. The nature of *haber* will be discussed, particularly its nature as a lexical or auxiliary verb and how clitics behave in its environment. Next, derivations of mesoclisis and enclisis will be discussed, weighing different options. Third, cliticization parameters will be defined and discussed, and it will be shown how the relevant parameters have "conspired" in order to establish the clitic placement patterns that have surfaced diachronically in Spanish. Finally, following Batllori et al. (2005), the discussion will turn to how these parameter shifts have played a crucial role in the grammaticalization of

the future and conditional in Spanish. Because of the similarities in clitic placement

patterns found in the data, the working assumption of this chapter is that Old and

Medieval Spanish were much more similar to European Portuguese in this respect, the

two diverging partially in the late 16th century with the disfavoring of mesoclisis in

Spanish and completely by the end of the 18th century once Spanish no longer permitted

finite enclisis.

5.1. The status of aver/haber: lexical verb – auxiliary verb – affix

In Latin, HABĒRE was the primary verb denoting ownership, holding, or

possession.

(5.1)   VĪVŌ ENIM NOVA VĪTA, QUAM **HABEŌ** PER CHRISTUM

'I truly have a new life, which I have through Christ'

(VL; *Biblia sacra Vulgatae*, commentary on Galatians 2:20; translation

mine)

(5.2)   **HABĒMUS** PAPAM

'We have a pope!'

The examples (5.1-2) above illustrate the lexical nature of HABĒRE at the time. It is

apparent that the verb assigns Case to the other constituents in the phrase: apart from the

null subjects which have nominative Case, VĪTA in (5.1)[55] and PAPAM in (5.2), as the direct objects of HABĒRE, are assigned accusative Case. As noted by Roberts (1993) and others, even at the genesis of the infinitive + HABEŌ construction to denote futurity, HABĒRE still retained its lexical meaning of possession, with the infinitive verb being assigned accusative Case as an argument of HABĒRE.

Returning again to Roberts' Diachronic Reanalysis, we saw that structures like [[DĪCERE] HABEŌ] were reanalyzed as [DĪCERE HABEŌ] and became monoclausal. In essence, HABĒRE was an auxiliary verb in both structures. However, as Roberts states, auxiliary HABĒRE was recategorized from being a *lexical* auxiliary to a *functional* one (1993:235). Syntactically, HABĒRE no longer assigns thematic roles, as it is now generated in I whereas thematic roles are assigned by V heads (Adger 2003). So in Latin we already see HABĒRE changing polarity in one of its most important features:

(5.3)   HABĒRE: [+lexical] → [-lexical]

The shift of HABĒRE to a base-generation site in I and the loss of its capability of assigning thematic roles also marks a shift in subordination; no longer is HABĒRE the main verb in the sentence, but now it is an auxiliary bound to a lexical verb. Once this change has taken place, HABĒRE only fulfills the role of carrying Tense and Agreement (T/Agr) features, as is the duty of all auxiliaries.

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[55] As (5.1) is taken from the Latin Vulgate, the CL case morpheme has been lost; instead, the morphology of VĪTA reflects oblique case instead. Context and the lexical entry of VĪVERE lead to the conclusion that VĪTA is a direct object.

The following diagram illustrates a crucial divergence between Latin and Old Spanish structure. Recall that Roberts supposes VP (called XP here) as a complement to the *left* of the head of I below as in figure 5.1, both before and after reanalysis.
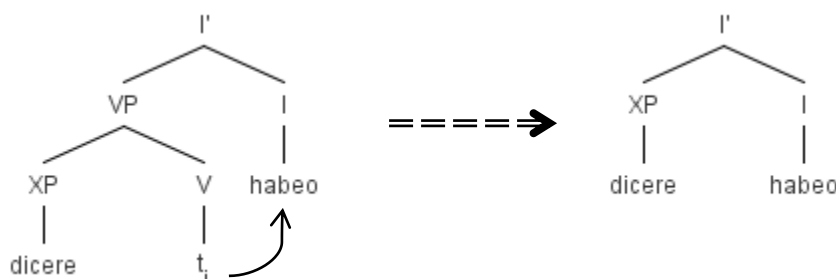

Figure 5.1 – Reanalysis (Roberts 1993:235)

In modern Spanish, however, it is held that VP as a complement to I branches to the *right* of I, meaning that any placement of the VP to the left of I requires movement. We also know that movement in Romance must be leftward (Kayne 1991; Raposo and Uriagereka 2005), meaning that a movement analysis such as one that results in a derivation such as figure 5.1 for Old Spanish would be invalid under a more modern Minimalist approach. The main difference in initial structures may lie in the fact that Latin was by default an SOV language. While Spanish evolved to be primarily SVO in the modern variant, the corpus and other sources provides a multitude of examples of OV orders as well, suggesting that, in accordance with Eide (2014), (S)OV and OV(S) were productive orders in Old Spanish. The following are examples of this, with verbal complements underlined:

(5.4)   E <u>dos fijas que yo tengo</u> ***darlas he*** por mugeres a vuestros fijos

'And two daughters that I have, I will give them to your sons for wives'

(CdE; *Libro de Caballero Zifar*; OV)

The above example, because of the presence of the analytic construction *darlas he* with the requisite mesoclitic, is classifiable as an instance of *clitic left dislocation* (CLLD). CLLD objects are topics that in most cases require a clitic with the matrix verb, more specifically an enclitic or mesoclitic in Old Spanish. When there is no resumptive clitic, the coreferent of the left-dislocated constituent must be an empty pronominal (Olarrea 2012:611). Examples of such are below as (5.5-7).

(5.5)   <u>Grande duelo</u> ***avien*** las yentes christianas

'The christian people experienced great grief'

(*Cid* 0029, translation Fontana 1993; OVS)

(5.6)   <u>Al que contra mi peccare</u> ***dessatare*** yo del mio libro dela uida

'I will dismiss from my book of life all those who sin against me'

(*General estoria*, translation Fontana 1993; OVS)

(5.7)   e <u>deste</u> ***fablaron*** todos los sabios que <u>estorias</u> ***<u>fizieron</u>***

'And all the wise men who wrote stories spoke of this'

(*Primera crónica general*, from Eide 2014; OV)

What we see, then, are two different possible motivations for V surfacing to the left of I: preservation of default word order derived from Latin, or proper hosting of clitics in Old Spanish. It is crucial to include clitics in the discussion, because although clitics did not exist in Latin in the form that we now know them in Modern Romance, much has been written about their properties. Therefore, if one is to hold that infinitive heads moved leftward for the purposes of hosting clitics, there is still the matter of motivating an example such as the following in (5.8), which is an analytic construction without the presence of a clitic:

(5.8)   Aquelas non las puede leuar sinon ***ser yen*** ventadas

               'he can't carry [the chests], or else, they ***would be*** discovered'

               (*Cid* 0116)

Admittedly, the structure above is comparatively uncommon; in fact, Company Company's (1985, 2006) and Company Company and Medina Urrea's (1999) studies and findings suggest that an analytic structure without an intervening clitic was disallowed. It is highly possible that this is a variation in orthography and not a different syntactic structure, given the extremely low number of occurrences of futures and conditionals without intervening clitics. Nonetheless, if the argument is that the future and conditional were grammaticalized in Old Spanish, it is necessary to account for the operations that cause this structure and others like it to surface.

As regards cliticization, according to Raposo's (2000) claim the auxiliary HABĒRE in the modern descendants of Latin is insufficiently phonologically strong to host an

enclitic. Is this true of crosslinguistic cases of finite *haber*, however? Consider this

example (5.9):

(5.9)   Eres mi señora, tengo*te* de callar, he*te* yo de seruir, has*me* tu de mandar

             'You are my lady, I cannot answer back to you, I must serve you, you

             must order me'

             (*Celestina* VI)

As we see above, enclisis to auxiliary *haber* was indeed a permissible construction in Old

and Classical Spanish at the time of the writing of *Celestina*. Even still, the clitic in each

phrase is the dative argument of the infinitive verb: *servir* in the first instance and

mandar in the second instance of *haber de* + infinitive. Additionally, in accordance with

analyses presented in Chapter 4, this reading of *haber* is not purely auxiliary; the two

instances in this example are of deontic modality. As such, the possibility of enclisis to

haber is permissible due to the [+lexical] property of the verb and the phonological

heaviness it retains. Though clitic climbing to pure auxiliaries has never been (and still is

not) uncommon in Spanish, it was still relatively rare to see enclisis to auxiliary *haber*.

Yet it existed, even with present perfect participial constructions as in (5.10-11):

(5.10)   Agora ha*me* traydo la fortuna a tal estado

             'Fortune has now brought me to this state

             (*Celestina* IX)

(5.11)   pero que te cuesta? has***le*** dado algo?

'… but what does she cost you? Have you given her anything?'

(*Celestina* VIII)

In fact, a cursory search of the *Corpus del Español* shows that *haber* did, in fact, allow enclisis through the 18th century, seemingly contradicting Raposo's (2000) intuition about the morphophonological weight of *haver* in European Portuguese[56] and the underlying similarities between the two languages with respect to cliticization principles. However, a similarly cursory search of the *Corpus do Português* returns infrequent examples of enclisis to *haver* – yet, unlike Spanish, only in *haver de* + infinitive contexts and not at all in participial constructions such as **hei-lhe dado*. We see these reproduced below as (5.12-13):

(5.12)   Sejam milagres de Amor, ***hei-os*** de sofrer assi

'Be they miracles of Love, we must endure them in this manner'

(CdP; Camões, *Obras*)

(5.13)   Não se hão os Santos de tomar na boca, nem na história para matéria de

entretenimento, mas ***há-se*** de escrever deles com toda a reverência, e

decência devida […]

---

[56] See Chapter 2.

'The Saints need not be mentioned, nor their history as a subject of

entertainment, but one must write of them with total reverence and due

decency […]'

(CdP; *Discursos vários politicos*)

Under the assumption that in *haver de* + infinitive contexts *haver* retains its function of

possession and still remains a lexical verb, one can conclude that Portuguese *haver* lost

its lexical properties, one of which being its phonological weight and thus its status as an

encliticization host, earlier than Spanish *haber*. What is in place here is a difference in

parameters between Spanish and Portuguese – exemplifying the fact that Spanish lost

enclisis to finite verbs while Portuguese otherwise retained it. Regardless, the pattern of

climbing to encliticize to Spanish *haber* was much less frequent than either proclisis

above it or remaining in place with the infinitive below it, and less frequent still in the

case of Portuguese *haver*.

Returning our attention to future/conditional periphrases involving *haber*, we

concluded in Chapter 4 that in order for enclisis to obtain on the entire verbal complex,

the auxiliary had to have lost all independence as a separate verb and instead become a

paradigmatic affix. If we restate this phenomenon in terms of syntactic constituents,

haber ceased to be generated as the head of I as it is with perfective constructions.

Rather, the purpose of I at that moment in synchrony was to be the domain within which

verbs picked up finite agreement morphology (see Pollock 1989 for a discussion of this

operation in French).[57] As this regards the future and conditional, the inflectional

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[57] For the sake of the scope of my argument, I will not expand IP beyond the one projection and will instead refer to it as the general category within which all verb agreement is realized.

endings were "added to the inventory" of I and thus assimilated the properties of all other finite verb morphology in Spanish. Having assimilated in this manner, becoming paradigmatic endings, the phonological-syntactic consequence is that all finite and conditional verbs in root contexts could henceforth host enclitics – again in line with every other finite tense in Spanish. The underlying structure of these verbs, no longer including an auxiliary, evolved as follows in (5.14):

(5.14)   OSp   MedSp

              [cantar [he]] > [cantaré]

Furthermore, clitics by rule adjoin to the highest permissible verbal host (Sportiche 1996). Because of this, even if *haber* were phonologically able to host enclitics, a derivation such as (5.15) would be unacceptable due to the presence of the higher infinitive:

(5.15)   * [cantar [he[lo]]]

For this reason mesoclisis (*cantarlo he*) was the more acceptable structure, as *cantar* was a higher host than *haber*. Once the *haber* ending lost its status as an auxiliary and instead became an affix (and inflectional morphology onward), enclisis became the more acceptable option with the future/conditional because the entire verb [cantaré] was the highest – and only – verbal host.

To conclude this section, we have outlined the trajectory of Latin HABĒRE > Spanish *haber* from lexical possessive verb to auxiliary to affix to inflectional morpheme. I concede that in the latter part of the discussion, assumptions were made about the hierarchy of the verbs, especially with respect to clitic hosting. The justification of the lexical verb above the auxiliary, involving proposals of verb movement for the purpose of hosting clitics, follows in the next section.

5.2. Mesoclisis, enclisis, and F

As posited in Uriagereka (1995a, 1995b), Raposo (2000), and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005), the main distinction between languages that permit finite enclisis (such as Portuguese and Galician) and those that do not (such as Spanish and Catalan) is the morphological strength of verbs in the language and the strength of the F projection itself. The languages that permit finite enclisis facilitate movement of the verb from V to F via I, whereas finite verbs remain in I in those languages that prohibit encliticization to such verbs. It is the strength of F that determines whether finite enclisis is possible; strong-F languages such as Portuguese and Galician are default enclitic, whereas weak-F languages such as Spanish and Catalan are default proclitic (Uriagereka 1995b; Raposo 1999; Martins 2003b, 2005 using Σ). By this description we claim that Old Spanish, due to finite enclisis being the default arrangement in the language, was a strong-F language. According to Raposo and Uriagereka (2005:643), verbal elements and clitics are not the only constituents hosted in F; the projection also hosts certain affective operators such as aspectual adverbs and focus elements such as dislocated objects. How does this fit into a study of parameter resetting and grammaticalization?

We have shown in the previous section that auxiliary *haber* had been an unsuitable phonological host for enclisis through most of the history of Spanish; this leaves its lexical verb complement as the only viable host, moving from V to F in order for the clitic to then move and land with its phonological host. What is the nature of V-movement to F in the case of infinitive *hacer*, however? It has been proposed that tensed lexical verbs move to I from V, and in the case of strong-F languages, excorporate from the verbal domain to F (see Uriagereka 1995b:101, ex. 18; 103, ex. 21). An abstraction of this verb movement is as follows:
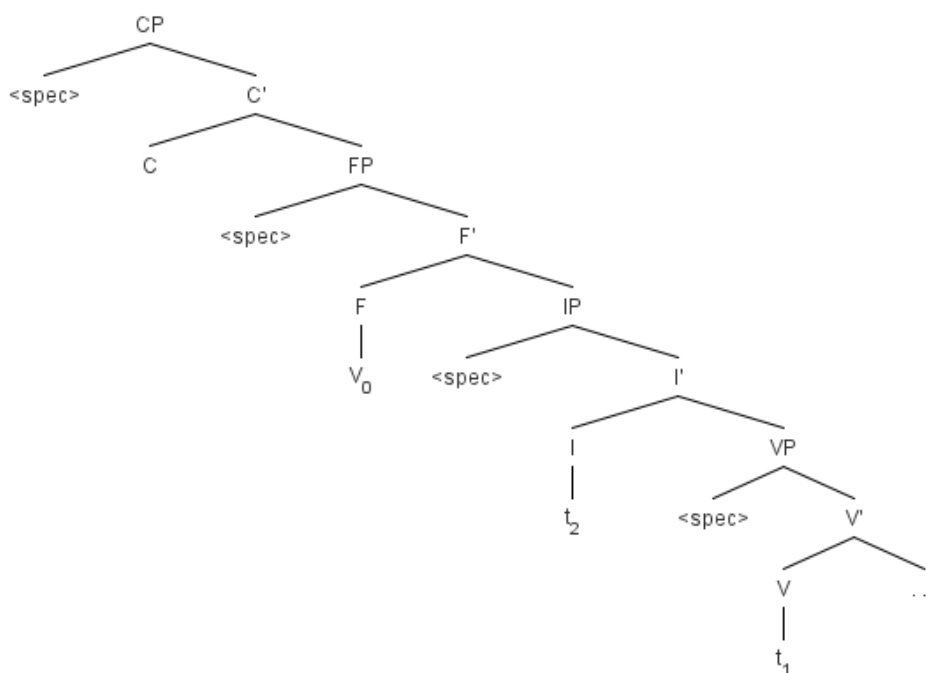

Figure 5.2 – V-to-I-to-F movement

In the above figure, the indices of the traces denote the order in which the verbal head (V_0) moves from V to I to F. The lexical verb is base-generated as the head of VP. In order to check agreement features, the verb firsty merges with – incorporates into – the head position of IP. Languages that are default enclitic allow for a further verb

movement to a site above the verbal domain so as to host the clitic. As stated in Chapter 2, many syntacticians who hold that verbs move out of I in order to host enclitics describe this entire process as V-to-C movement (Rivero 1980, Barrie 2000 for Portuguese; Roberts 1993 for Old Spanish; Alboiu, Hill, and Sitaridou 2013 for Early Modern Romanian). To an extent, I agree with these analyses but also take the position that the verbs move to the F projection in order to host the enclitic, pursuant to Uriagereka (1995a, 1995b), Raposo (1999, 2000), and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005).

For the remainder of this section, the encliticizing operation will be referred to as V-to-F movement. This movement, I posit, is not restricted to enclisis but is also crucial to the derivation of mesoclisis in the languages within which it exists. However, mesoclisis requires a different derivation than enclisis due to the persistence of the auxiliary *haber* serving as the future/conditional marker. That operation will be discussed in the following subsection.

5.2.1. *Mesoclisis*

Let us recall that, as Roberts (1993) stated, in the Latin infinitive + HABĒRE construction, the verb in the infinitive was a predicate argument of HABĒRE – specifically, an accusative argument. Though Roberts stated that constructions such as DĪCERE HABEŌ were rebracketed to form a monoclausal unit in Latin, it is plausible that the verb-argument relationship between the infinitive and the auxiliary persisted into Spanish. This can be justified in part by the plain existence of mesoclitic constructions across older varieties of Romance, as shown by examples already put forth earlier in this work.[58]

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[58] See Chapter 2, ex. (2.35-39).

In the earliest four centuries covered by the study – the 13th through the 16th centuries – mesoclisis was the prevailing order in future and conditional constructions (leaving aside contexts where proclisis was obligatory). Since this order was salient during those years, the grammar of the speakers of the day had to have allowed it to surface as in the derivation below in (5.16):

(5.16) Lo que es justo, **hacerlo has** justamente.

```
                        TopP
                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                  XP            Top'
                  △         ┌────┴────┐
           Lo que es justo_k  Top      CP
                                  ┌─────┴─────┐
                                  C           FP
                                        ┌─────┴─────┐
                                     hacer_i        F'
                                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                                             F             IP
                                          ┌──┴──┐     ┌────┴────┐
                                        lo_j  F has  VP
                                                  ┌────┴────┐
                                                 pro        V'
                                                       ┌────┴────┐
                                                      t_i        DP
                                                            ┌────┴────┐
                                                           t_k        D'
                                                                     ┌─┴─
                                                                    t_j
```
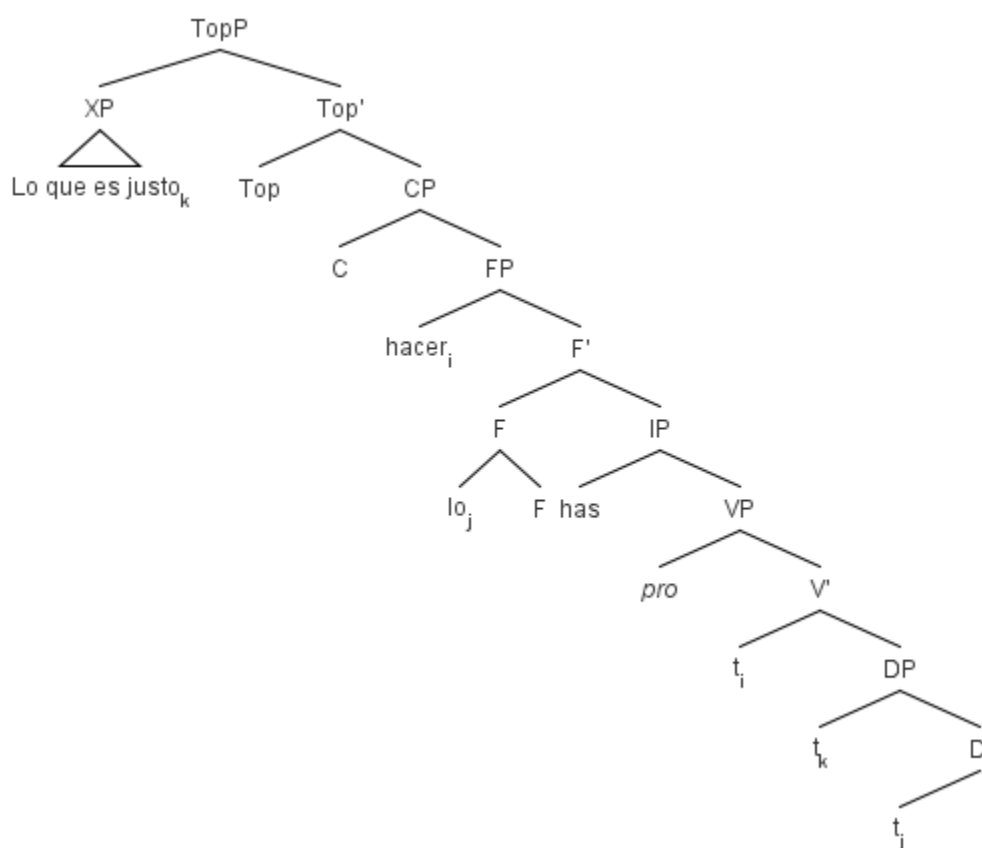
Let us examine the initial state of this derivation – before any movement takes place. Following Roberts' (1993) analysis, *haber* is generated in and remains in I as its head; meanwhile, the lexical component of the verb – *hacer* – is the head of V as expected. The relative clause *lo que es justo*, assuming that it has undergone
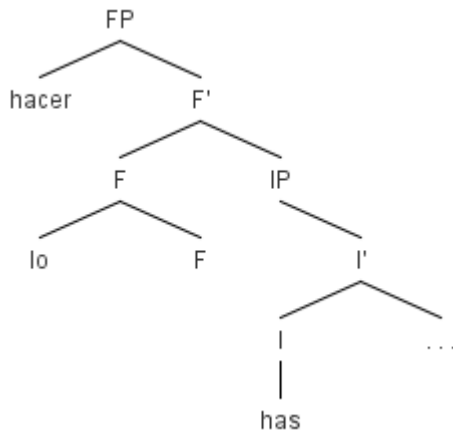
movement[59], is the double of the accusative clitic *lo,* generated in (Spec, DP) per

Torrego's (1995) analysis. During the movement stage, the relative clause leaves (Spec,

DP) and lands above the verbal complex after the infinitive and clitic have landed in F,

hence the *k* index. In many cases a preverbal operator would cause the proclitic future to

surface: *lo harás.* Yet we see this is not the case; instead, the mesoclitic future is the

output. How is this possible? Pursuant to Raposo and Uriagereka (2005), topicalized

elements are not hindrances to enclisis; by extension, neither do they block mesoclisis.

Since mesoclisis has obtained, we can conclude that the relative clause is a left-dislocated

object functioning as a topic. Topics such as this have the CP-domain, particularly

Top(ic)P, as their landing place for movement, bypassing FP completely.[60] Therefore, in

order to satisfy morphophonological weight requirements for clitic movement to F, there

are two options: lexical *hacer* and auxiliary *haber*.

 Considering Raposo's (2000) earlier model in which the infinitive would land in

[Spec, F] so as to satisfy the phonological requirement that there be support to the left of

F, there is another possible derivation, shown below as (5.17) in abbreviated fashion with

modifications that will be discussed:

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[59] It is also possible that the XP is base-generated in [Spec, TopP]. For the purposes of this analysis I do not speculate on which is correct.
[60] See Benincà (2004:54-58) for a detailed discussion of the left periphery focusing on Italian, which bears strong similarities to the CP structure in Spanish.

(5.17)   Lo que es justo, ***hacer<u>lo</u> has*** justamente.

```
                FP
              /    \
          hacer     F'
                  /    \
                 F      IP
               /  \    /  \
              lo   F  ...   I'
                        /  \
                       I    ...
                       |
                      has
```

Another possible option for movement would be early fusion of the clitic(s) to the

infinitive. This operation involves the clitics leaving their base positions to adjoin to the

infinitive within the *v*-V domain before leaving to land above the auxiliary in I. Raposo

and Uriagereka (2005:668) detail this operation of early/low fusion, stating that in

Spanish subordination as in (5.18) and negation (5.19) will not interfere with the

derivation.

(5.18)   Para ***ver<u>la</u>*** más, haría de todo.   (*<u>**la**</u> ver)

                'In order to see her again, I would do everything,'

                (Raposo and Uriagerela 2005:668, ex. 57c with modifications)

(5.19) a)   *Invitarla* nosotros a la fiesta sería una buena idea.   (*__la__ invitar)

'For us to invite her to the party would be a good idea.'

b)   No *invitarla* nosotros a la fiesta sería una buena idea.   (*no __la__ invitar)

'For us not to invite her to the party would be a good idea.'

(Raposo and Uriagereka 2005:668, ex. 57)

Note that in (5.19), (a) and (b) above are judged to be equally acceptable, though one has

negation and the other does not. The mesoclitic construction, involving an infinitive as

the matrix verb, would attract a clitic much the same as (5.19) if fusion holds. While at

first glance this would seem to apply to future and conditional mesoclisis, a low fusion

analysis brings certain consequences in practice such as the context of (5.20).

(5.20) a)   *Adelantar__me__ he* si puedo con las alas de mi miedo al jardín

'I will go forth, if I can, to the garden on the wings of my fear'

(CdE; *Averígüelo, Vargas*)

b)   *No *adelantar__me__ he* si puedo con las alas de mi miedo al jardín

An early fusion analysis correctly predicts (5.20a), as the clitic moves to its surface

position together with its host. However, problems occur if we attempt the same analysis

in a context that obligates proclisis, such as (5.20b).   The negative particle *no* should

cause *me* to procliticize (and, consequently, cause the synthetic *adelantaré* to surface),

but early fusion does not allow for proclisis. We know that cliticization rules in Old

Spanish obligated proclisis wherever negation was present. If fusion were the primary

operation in obtaining mesoclisis, then, according to Raposo and Uriagereka's earlier observation, operators such as negation and affective adverbs would have no effect in blocking mesoclisis. Yet this is never shown to be the case in the corpus data; negation and affective operators in focus always cause proclisis to obtain. If we follow the assumptions of Crysmann (1997), Gerlach (2002), and Monachesi (2005), who showed that negation always forces proclisis in EP even with future and conditional constructions, we preliminarily assume the same for Old Spanish based on the lack of attestation (see also Company Company 1985). Here is where another principle from Raposo and Uriagereka may explain the differences between mesoclitic structures and true infinitivals with regard to enclitic fusion:

(5.21) a)   Early rightward fusion obeys morphological constraints.

        b)   Late leftward fusion obeys prosodic constraints.

                (Raposo and Uriagereka 2005:665, ex. 48)

Following this binary property of fusion, it appears that mesoclisis as shown in (5.22ab) is a product of late leftward fusion. Because of the availability of *no* as a phonological host, early fusion of the clitic *me* to the infinitive *adelantar* would be "disobedient" to the prosody of the structure; let us recall that if there is a higher available cliticization host, the clitic must adjoin to it. So instead of early, low fusion in which the clitic moves to adjoin to the infinitive before leaving V, we adopt late, high fusion which involves the clitic being the last element moving into F in order to adjoin to its already-present host.

Therefore, of the three possibilities put forth –

a) movement of the infinitive to [Spec, F],

b) movement of the infinitive to the head of F, and

c) early fusion of the clitic to the infinitive below F then movement into the head of F

− the preferred derivation involves movement of the infinitive to [Spec, F]: possibility (a). Ordinarily, movement of a verb to a Spec position would be impermissible. However, Raposo (2000) claims that such an operation is a Last-Resort movement in order to provide the clitic F with a suitable phonological host to its left.

A further justification for this could be the possibility of infinitives fulfilling nominal roles such as being predicative subjects and objects (Javens 1964), thereby leaving open the possibility of the Spanish infinitive having an underspecified noun [+N] feature and thus licensing it to occupy a spec position. Aside from Roberts and Javens, it has been argued by Pérez Vázquez (2002) that the Spanish infinitive heads a "mixed extended projection." Within this, the I_NP (inflectional nominal projection) contains interpretable nominal features and allows for determiners, adjectival modification, and subjectification by a PP. The other projection, Inf(initive)P, contains features allowing for selection of arguments and non-lexical clitic hosting. The two projections never merge, however; a nominalized infinitive in Spanish, according to the author, cannot host non-reflexive or non-inherent clitics, and neither can it take a direct or indirect object. If Pérez Vázquez's claims are to be believed, an analysis of movement into F claiming the infinitive to contain a [+N] feature in order to move into [Spec, F] seems to be unfruitful at present. This position is based on the observation that infinitives are the cliticization hosts in contexts of mesoclisis. To illustrate this point more concretely and further flesh

out Pérez Vázquez's argument, I present an example of mesoclisis from the corpus that, unlike (5.20), does not feature a reflexive clitic, thereby removing any possibility that the infinitive is nominalized.

(5.22) a)   Mas ***prouar<u>lo</u> he*** con tres testigos.

'But I will prove it with three witnesses.'

(CdE; *Sermones contra los judíos y moros*)

b)   * Mas no ***prouar<u>lo</u> he*** con tres testigos.

Just as in (5.20), (5.22b) shows a clitic that does not obey the prosodic constraints of the language; *no* is available as a host, but if the clitic has already fused with the infinitive within V, it cannot satisfy the prosodic rules of the language and climb to the highest possible host. Again, low fusion cannot come into play with mesoclisis.

What is the path taken by the infinitive to the final landing spot? We could assume that the infinitive takes the same path as finite verbs: from V to I, then from I to [Spec, F] via excorporation. In theory, this derivation should yield a well-formed result. However, Pollock (1989) in studying French infinitives showed that though infinitives can incorporate in I before moving leftward, it is not obligatory that they do so. The other possibility is, as described by Rivero (1991), long head movement (LHM). It is this particular movement that makes the infinitive + clitic order – and consequently mesoclisis – possible. Consider the following examples (5.23-24):

(5.23) *Conosçer-le hedes* esta vegada mejoría.

'You will see in him some improvement this time.'

(CdE; *Libro de Caballero Zifar* 200)

(5.24) *Dezir lo hedes* al rey?

'Will you say it to the king?'

(CdE; *Libro de Caballero Zifar* 124)

According to Rivero, incorporation of the infinitive in I^0 is impossible in these contexts, as the clitic would be clause-initial otherwise. Because I maintain that the clitic moves leftward only after a suitable phonological host is in place, in agreement with Raposo's (2000) assumption that clitics are the last elements to move to their landing site, I disagree with that portion of Rivero's claim.[61] Otherwise, the action of bypassing the auxiliary in I completely and landing above it in F – as long as it is unimpeded by operators such as negation and focused constituents – can be adequately described as LHM, and I agree with Rivero in that this movement is necessary in order to yield mesoclisis. My only other deviation from Rivero is that instead of moving to the head of C, the infinitive moves to F. I leave the matter of LHM of the infinitive to the F projection until section 5.3, within which I shall discuss the structure of F in more detail with regards to clitics, affective operators, and focused elements.

---

[61] Rivero's claim may be plausible for our purposes if taken to mean that proclisis implies incorporation of the infinitive in I; as it reads, her point is a bit ambiguous to me. However, I provide a counterpoint to infinitive incorporation into I in Chapter 4, taking into account infinitive morphology in proclitic contexts, and revisit it later in this chapter.
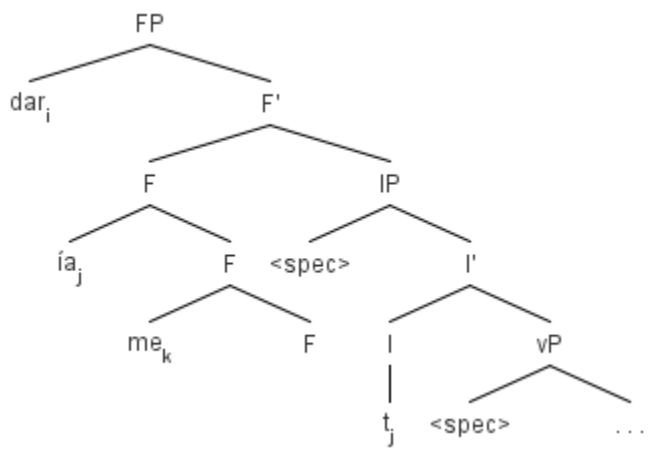
<u>*5.2.2. Enclisis*</u>

The enclitic future and conditional structure represents the result of what Grandgent (1907) and Ledgeway (2012) have called a "completed" grammaticalization path. In more descriptive terms, the verbal stem and the inflectional ending are no longer separate constituents (an infinitive and an auxiliary) but rather complete reflexes in and of themselves. Syntactically speaking, my position is that the entire future expression is the head of one projection as opposed to being a periphrasis across two. The resulting derivation of a future or conditional expression with enclisis is unremarkable to analyze, however. All simple indicative paradigms in Old Spanish permitted enclisis in root contexts by default. The future (and conditional) indicative after the 16th century, at that time more likely to be synthetic and enclitic than analytic/periphrastic and mesoclitic, derives identically to a verb in the present indicative.

(5.25)   Si esto fuese así, ***daría<u>me</u>*** mucho consuelo

              'If this were so, it would comfort me greatly'

              (CdE; *Epistolario*)

Two diachronic views of this development are possible, depending on the status of the inflectional morpheme. One, posited by Rivero (1991) for Old Spanish and by Raposo (2000) for European Portuguese, is that the periphrasis still exists underlyingly, implying that the grammar shifted to allow enclisis to the auxiliary *haber*. Under this view, two derivations involving F are possible and will be shown below, using the matrix clause from (5.25). Following an abstraction by Raposo and Uriagereka (2005:659-60,

ex. 35), both of the derivations below involve movement of the verbal heads to F and the

formation of a complex F head; the derivation in (5.26) involves movement of the lexical

stem to [Spec, F], while (5.27) shows the lexical stem in F as the complement to the

auxiliary.

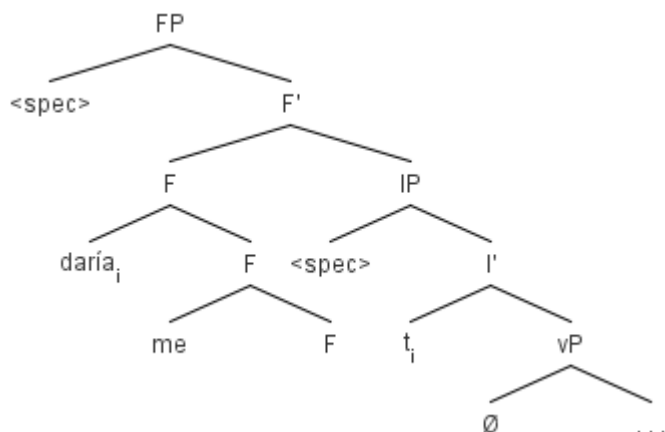(5.26) Enclisis to future; split morphemes; infinitive in [Spec, F]

(5.27) Enclisis to future; split morphemes; infinitive as complement of I in F
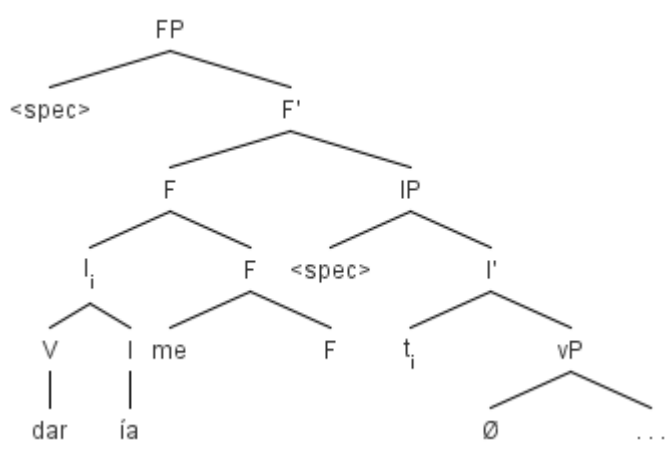
The crucial difference between the two derivations is the placement of the infinitive stem. In (5.26) the derivation suffers from moving a verbal head to a Spec position, while as noted the verb remains adjoined to the I head in (5.27). Being that *dar* is a verbal head, again, it would excorporate and move to [Spec, F] in order to satisfy phonological requirements, again violating HMC in the process. Otherwise, we see (5.26) as a preferable derivation. This is possible if, in line with Roberts (1993), the *haber* ending retains a [+lexical] feature and the infinitive retains a [+N] feature as in Vulgar Latin. However, this complication is avoided in (5.27) in which the lexical *dar* remains incorporated in I alongside the auxiliary. Under this derivation, it need not be assumed or conjectured that either verbal morpheme retain any features from Latin that are no longer present in Spanish.
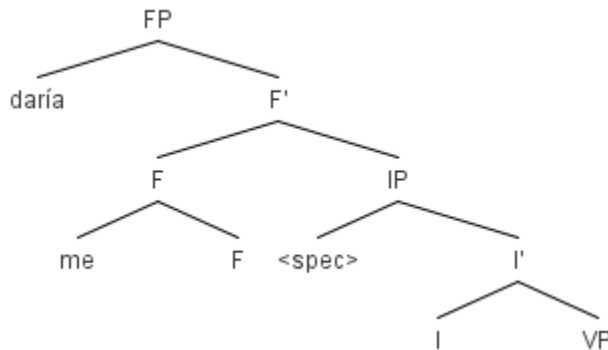
The other view of enclisis to futures and conditionals is that the inflectional morpheme is completely affixal at this point, and enclisis is now permitted through analogy to almost all other verbal paradigms in the language. This structure derives, unexceptionally, like any other finite verb in Spanish from this period.

(5.28) Enclisis to future/conditional; paradigmaticized, bound inflectional ending

```
                    FP
              _____|_____
           <spec>          F'
                      _____|_____
                     F            IP
                  ___|___    _____|_____
               daría_i    F <spec>       I'
                       ___|___       _____|_____
                      me      F     t_i        vP
                                           ____|____
                                          Ø        . . .
```

Unlike the previous derivations in which the inflectional ending is generated in I and the

lexical stem in V, the entire verb is generated in V and moves to I to check TAM features

and pick up appropriate morphology, after which it moves to F in order to host the

enclitic *me*. As inseparability of the two morphemes becomes more the default,

displacing the analytic future/conditional in all contexts, the likelihood of (5.28) being the

more appropriate derivation increases. However, in keeping with the definition of the

head of F as a necessary enclitic (see Raposo 2000, discussed in this chapter in section

5.2.1), the problem here is that *daría*, though a verb, is still in a position within the head

of F that at the syntax-phonology interface requires a host to its left. Once again, the

operation of Last-Resort is necessary here to move the verb to a proper position in order

to host the enclitic head F, as below in (5.29). Here the verb has moved from its

generation site in V to the inflectional head I, then to [Spec, FP] to host the enclitic.

(5.29) Enclisis to future/conditional; verb in [Spec, F]

```
               FP
         _____|_____
      daría          F'
                 _____|_____
                F          IP
              __|__      __|__
            me    F  <spec>   I'
                          ___|___
                         I      VP
```

If we hereby assume that the future and conditional endings are fully

morphologized at this point as in (5.28), analogy becomes the more probable cause of

enclisis being the dominant structure as discussed in Chapter 4. A fully synthetic form

would have allowed for a more economical derivation, with only projection heads

moving up the tree and landing only in head positions and with the least amount of

movement. This contrasts with both derivations (5.26) and (5.27), in which the former

shows the lexical stem landing in [Spec, F] and the latter shows that same stem lexically

incorporated in I before moving to F. Without launching anew into a discussion of

historical Spanish morphosyntax, the categorical absence of regular variants of irregular

forms in the corpus data such as *haceré, *decirán*, as well as other literary sources,

strongly implies that structures like (5.26) and (5.27) were impossible. Because of this,

we hold that those structures do not accurately represent the derivation of the enclitic

future in Old and Classical Spanish. Taking things a step further, based on Raposo and

Uriagereka's imagining of F with a necessarily enclitic functional head, we tentatively

adopt (5.29) over (5.28) as the underlying structure of enclisis to a future/conditional verb

in Old Spanish, preferred over the other two options based on Raposo's work.

<u>*5.2.3. Conclusion*</u>

In this section movement of the verb into F was discussed for mesoclisis and enclisis alike in Old Spanish (up to and including the 16th century) and Classical Spanish (17th and 18th centuries). It was argued that movement of the infinitive for the purpose of hosting an enclitic was the result of Long Head Movement, in agreement with Rivero (1991); this movement into [Spec, F] was a Last-Resort operation (Raposo 2000) due to the necessity of hosting the clitic. The concept of verb movement into [Spec, F] in order to host a clitic also applies to strict enclisis with futures and conditionals per the analysis here.

<u>**5.3. Accounting for the effects of focused elements: the F projection reimagined as a domain**</u>

Recalling that, in the presence of several classes of constituents, proclisis obtains over enclisis or mesoclisis, it is necessary to investigate the properties of the F projection – and others like it – in order to determine a more proper derivation of root mesoclisis in Old Spanish. The F projection as defined by Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) has already been discussed here and in Chapter 2, albeit with little reasoning for why constituents such as focused elements, *wh*-operators, affective operators, and negation militate against enclisis and mesoclisis while topics do not. Therefore, it is necessary to amplify or redefine some properties of F in order to account for these behaviors. Raposo and Uriagereka, though featuring prominently, are but two of the authors who have detailed a functional projection above T/Agr/I and below C that governs clitic movement and placement.

5.3.1. Shortcomings with F as previously defined

Martins (1993, 2003a, 2003b, 2005), for example, has written extensively about a projection similar to F in function, which she calls Σ (sigma). This projection is similar to F in that, depending on the language, it can be classified as strong or weak: strong Σ allows for finite enclisis, as in Portuguese, Galician, and other archaic (regarding verb movement and cliticization) dialects; weak Σ does not permit finite enclisis, as in Spanish, Catalan, and French. According to Martins, the primary distinguishing property between strong and weak Σ is the ability to attract verbs from V into Σ, similar to Uriagereka's definition of F, which in turn is responsible for obligatory enclisis or proclisis in root clauses. Though similar in the end result, Uriagereka and Martins' proposals differ in a few key respects:

1) Martins' Σ merges with C, Neg, and V; Uriagereka explicitly describes only mergers with V.

2) Uriagereka states that clitics are hosted in F; Martins maintains clitics in the inflection phase, specifically AgrS.

Martins (2003b, 2005) claims that clitics land in the highest [Spec, AgrS], assuming that AgrSP projects multiple Specs.   However, I have two problems with this theory. First, according to Galves (2003), the position [Spec, AgrS] is reserved for preverbal subjects as it is the highest position in the inflectional phase. Second, Martins claims that enclisis is derived by the verb moving into Σ while the clitic is incorporated in [Spec, AgrS]. This violates the phonological requirement of the clitic to move to its final landing spot

only after a suitable host is to its left. In light of these deficiencies, I continue my

analysis using Uriagereka's F projection.

What was not discussed adequately by Uriagereka, however, was the fact that

certain constituents obligated *proclisis* and thus the synthetic form. Raposo and

Uriagereka claim that elements in focus and certain other adverbs target [Spec, F] and

cause proclisis to obtain. Because of this phenomenon, verb movement to F and affective

operator movement to/generation in F appear to be mutually exclusive. However,

Raposo and Uriagereka claim that topics are hosted within FP as adjuncts, which unlike

focused elements permit enclisis as below:

(5.30)   Dizem que *esses panfletos*, **distribuiu-*os*** (o partido) ontem.

                (*os distribuiu)

                'They say that those pamphlets, the party distributed them yesterday.'

                (Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: ex. 40)

Even though a complementizer *que* is present, the CLLD element *esses panfletos* "breaks

the chain" and causes there to not be a clitic host for *os*; for this reason, *distribuiu* raises

to F in order to host said clitic.[62] As I have claimed in the previous section, the finite

verb raises to [Spec, F].

Here is where I must depart from their reasoning of F and the elements it can host.

Instead of continuing with previous analyses that state that all affective operators move to

[Spec, F], I will propose in the next section a more complex structure of F, not as a

---

[62] Kempchinsky (2013) shows that in Asturian, CLLD motivates *proclisis*, contrary to my analysis.

simple projection but rather a larger, more complex domain, not unlike Rizzi's (1997) and Benincà's (2004) left-peripheral analysis. Using this domain, I will continue to concur with the claim by Raposo and Uriagereka that elements in focus target F; however, I will argue that topicalized elements are either generated above F in, or move past it completely to, the left periphery.

Another shortcoming with Uriagereka's F as a singular projection is the treatment of overt complementizers. It is long evidenced that the presence of a complementizer such as *que* or *si* usually blocks enclisis or mesoclisis. Yet how does one motivate complementizer-driven proclisis through the use of only F? The overt complementizer, heading simple CP, does not target FP, nor does it act as a barrier to any movement to F. Though frequently true, the corpus search in this study revealed a small number of cases in which mesoclisis was attested even with a complementizer present, such as (5.31):

(5.31)   Pero, mirad, no temáis a Roma, que *daros he* tanto ánimo y tanto esfuerzo

'But, behold, do not fear Rome, for I will give you much energy and

power'

(CdE; *Sermones*)

This same infrequent structure is attested in Portuguese, where a complementizer followed by a topic permits mesoclisis even though on the surface it should not, according to Crysmann (1997):

(5.32)   Acho **que** <u>ao João</u>, *far-<u>lhe</u>-ia* bem ir à festa

'I think that it would be good for John to go to the party'

(Crysmann 1997:7, ex. 12)

Even in other languages such as Conservative Asturian, enclisis is permissible after a

complementizer under certain circumstances which will be further explained, such as

(5.33):

(5.33)   Digo **qu'*ayúda<u>me</u>***   (CAst)

'I say that s/he helps me'

(Fernández Rubiera 2010:87, ex. 32)

At this point I would like to address one particular claim by Fernández Rubiera, which

has also been posited by Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2009). Using the left

periphery in lieu of a singular CP, these authors hold that complementizers can target the

heads of any of the left peripheral projections. Demonte and Fernández Soriano provide

examples of complementizer doubling with a topic, one of which I present as (5.34)

below:

(5.34)   Ordeno **que** <u>esos árboles</u> **que** los talen.

'I order that those trees be cut.'

(Demonte and Fernández Soriano 2009:40, ex. 33)

For this construction to be acceptable, there must be more than one position available for the complementizer to generate. Demonte and Fernández Soriano state that the leftmost *que* is generated in the head of Force and that the rightmost *que* is generated in Fin, as in (5.35) below:

(5.35) [ForceP [Force *que* [TopP *esos árboles* [Top [FocP … [… [FinP [Fin *que* […

To better explain these multiple positions for *que*, Fernández Rubiera defines the features that motivate their placement. This feature, which he calls [±conviction], has a value that reflects the speaker's assuredness of what follows. Embedded phrases pragmatically encoded as declaratives are fronted by *que*[+conviction], and more doubtful embedded phrases are fronted by *que*[-conviction]. This polarity affects where the complementizer is generated. The feature [+conviction] must be checked in ForceP due to its illocutionary force, whereas the feature [-conviction] does not encode such force and is checked in FinP. Compare the following two examples (5.36-37):

(5.36)   Digo **qu'*ayúda<u>me</u>***   (CAst)

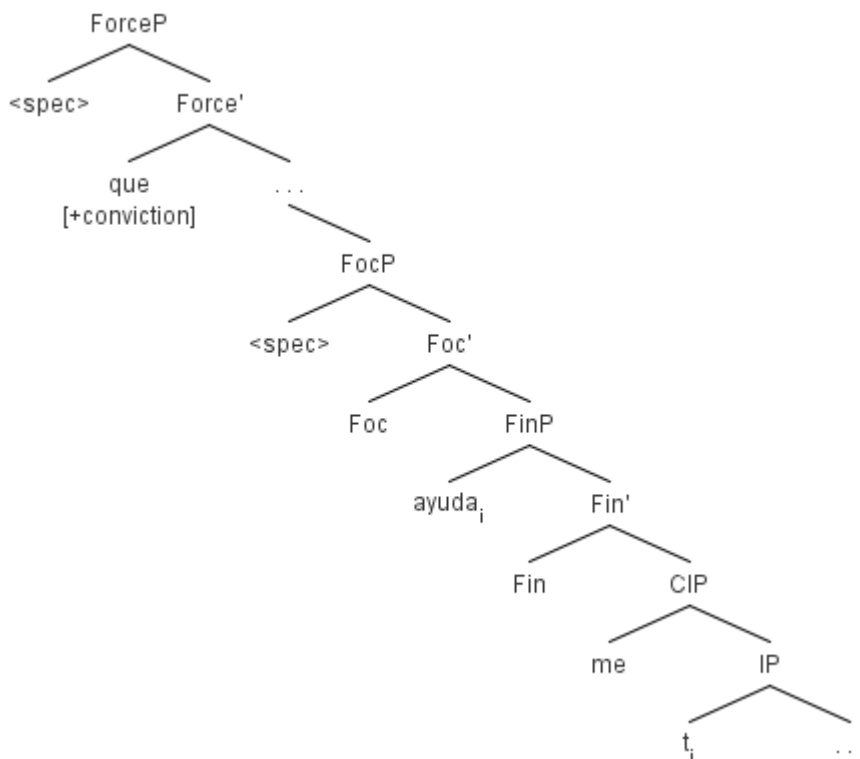   'I say that s/he helps me'

(5.37)   Digo **que *<u>me</u> ayuda***   (CAst)

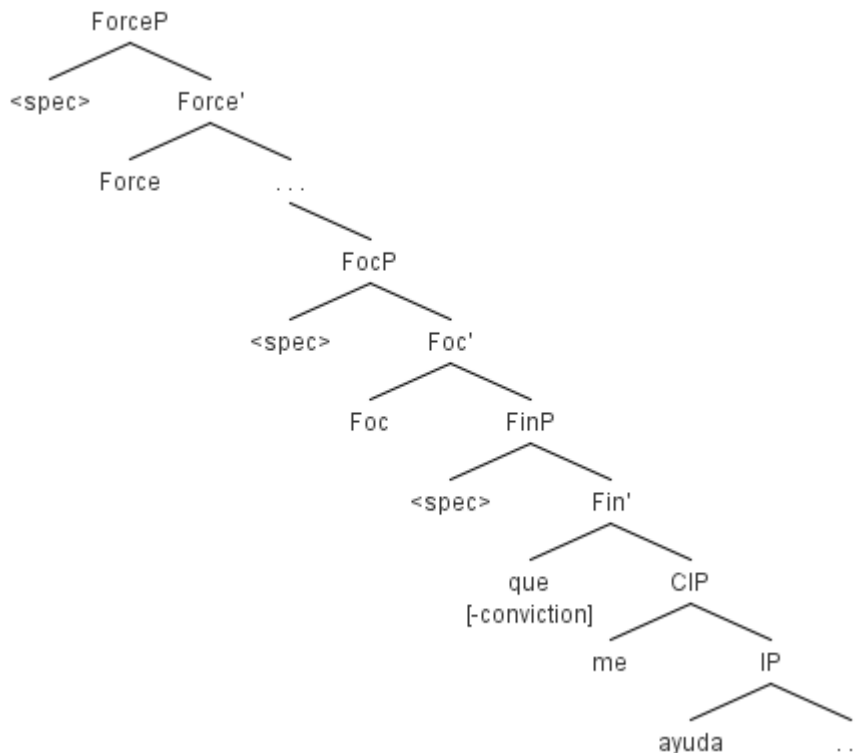   'I say that s/he helps me' [*but I am not quite sure*]

Under Fernández Rubiera's assumptions, the more assertive statement (5.36) has *que*

generated as the head of ForceP. As this is above the landing site for verbs in his

analysis, enclisis is the order that obtains. On the other hand, the less assertive statement

(5.37) leaves *que* in Fin. The occupying of Fin blocks verb movement past this site and,

accordingly, proclisis obtains. First, the derivation of (5.36) is as follows:

(5.38)　　　　　(Digo) **qu'*ayúda<u>me</u>***

```
           ForceP
          /      \
     <spec>      Force'
               /       \
            que          . . .
         [+conviction]      \
                           FocP
                          /     \
                    <spec>       Foc'
                               /      \
                            Foc        FinP
                                      /      \
                                 ayuda_i     Fin'
                                            /     \
                                         Fin       ClP
                                                  /    \
                                                me      IP
                                                       /   \
                                                     t_i    . . .
```

As we see here, the overt complementizer *que* generated above FocP and FinP is too high

in the derivation to block enclisis much like a topicalized XP, and we see *ayuda* free to

move to [Spec, FinP] uninhibited. Next, we look at the derivation of (5.37):

(5.39)   (Digo) **que *me* ayuda**

```
              ForceP
             /      \
        <spec>     Force'
                  /      \
               Force      . . .
                            \
                           FocP
                          /    \
                     <spec>    Foc'
                              /    \
                           Foc     FinP
                                  /    \
                             <spec>    Fin'
                                      /    \
                                   que      CIP
                               [-conviction]   \
                                               /    \
                                             me      IP
                                                    /   \
                                                ayuda    . . .
```

In this case, the *que* with lower conviction, according to Fernández Rubiera's analysis, is generated in Fin. Because complementizers are barriers of leftward movement of verbs and at the same time proper leftward hosts of clitics, proclisis obtains in this example.

The possibility of multiple *que* generation sites as well as enclisis with topicalized and framed constituents is inadequately predicted by Uriagereka's (1995b) definition of F. What follows now is my reworking of F as a CP-like domain comprising multiple functional projections.

5.3.2. *F: a multi-layered domain*

In order to reconcile differences between the two concepts so as to provide an account for mesoclisis, I now provide a modification of the functional projection above

T/Agr/I. I maintain the designator F but redefine it as a domain with its own clausal

hierarchy, much like layered CP (see Rizzi 1997 and Benincà 2004). The F hierarchy as I

define it is as follows: FocP > FinP > ClP. Below are figures 5.3 and 5.4, contrasting

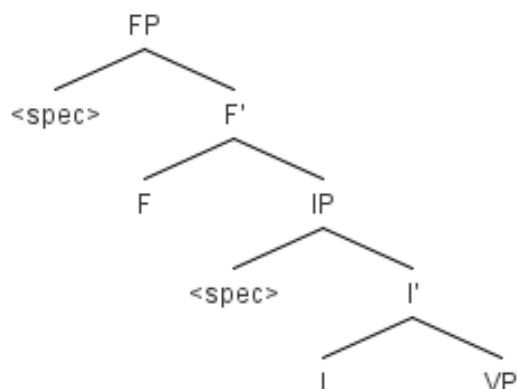Uriagereka's F projection with my own:
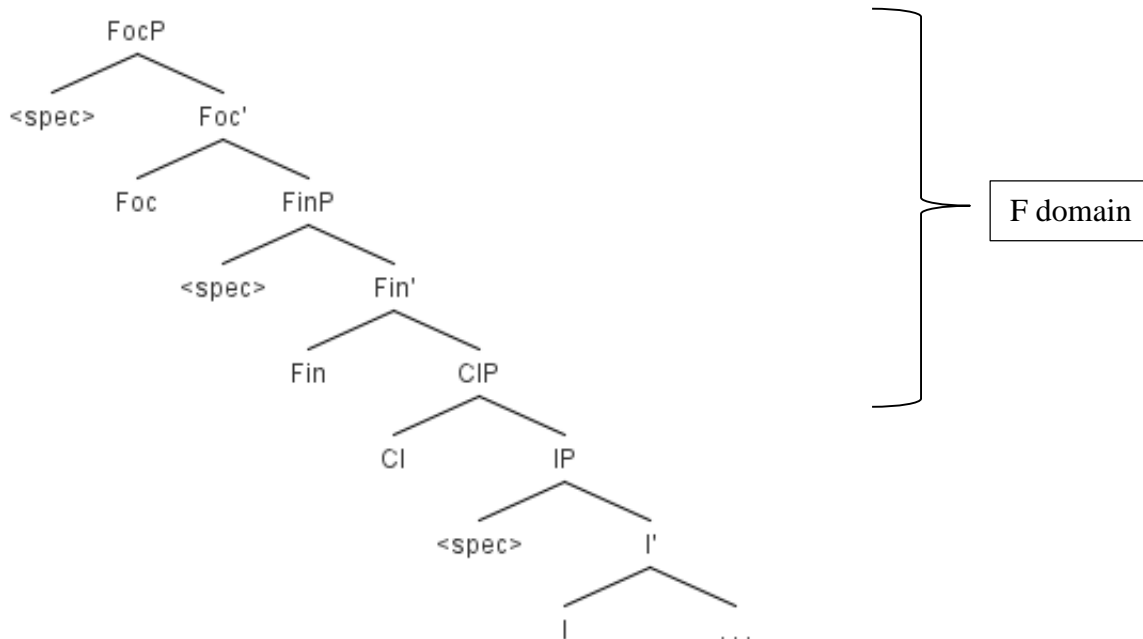
Figure 5.3 – The F projection by Uriagereka

F domain

Figure 5.4 – F as a multi-layered domain

My justification for redefining F as the domain above versus a singular projection

is as follows. First, Uriagereka (1995b) has long described F as an interface between

syntax and pragmatics due to the landing of focused constituents and affective elements

surfacing there. These operators, as can be observed, prevent enclisis and mesoclisis

from obtaining in languages in which the possibility exists. The reason for proclisis

obtaining is that with a filled [Spec, FocP] due to fronting of those elements, verb

movement leftward to host a clitic, being a Last Resort operation (Raposo 2000), is not

only unnecessary but impossible. If Fernández Rubiera's (2010) analysis of movement

through the left periphery to satisfy enclisis is correct in that focused elements move from

Spec to Spec, as in (5.40) below, then the presence of the trace left by the focused

element in [Spec, FinP] means that verb movement to that same position would crash the

derivation.

(5.40)   YO MESMA _**me la**_ repito un ciento vegaes [*repítomela]

          'I myself repeat it to myself one hundred times'

          (Asturian; de Pablo, *Memoria*; Fernández Rubiera 2010:82)
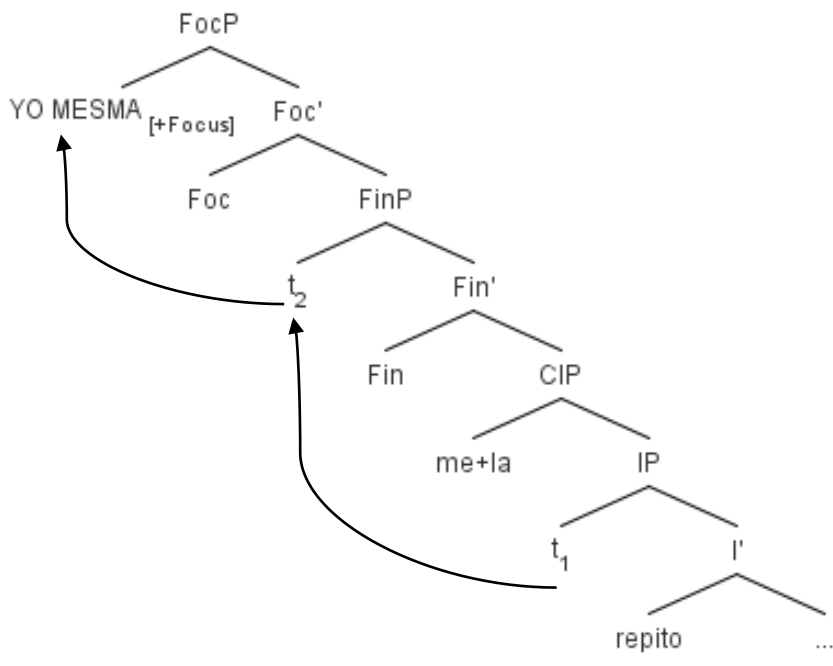
Note that in a proclitic arrangement Fernández Rubiera leaves the finite verb in I instead of moving it to F, consistent with Martins (2003b) and Uriagereka (1995b) but contra Raposo (1999, 2000).[63]

In root contexts without any enclisis-blocking operators such as focus or negation, I propose a similar derivation involving movement into F but of the verb and not a focalized element. My proposal involves movement of the verb from I to Fin, landing in its specifier position. The Fin projection encodes a vast array of tense, aspect, mood, and modality sub-projections within its hierarchy (Batllori 2011, 2012; citing Cinque 1999). The Fin hierarchy is as follows:

(5.41) FinP hierarchy (Cinque 1999)

$MoodP_{speech\ act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{evidential} > ModP_{epistemic} > TP_{Past} > TP_{Future} > MoodP_{irrealis} > TP_{anterior} > ModP_{alethic} > AspP_{habitual} > AspP_{repetitive(I)} > AspP_{frequentative(I)} > ModP_{volition} > AspP_{celerative(I)} > AspP_{terminative} > AspP_{continuative} > AspP_{perfect} > AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximative} > AspP_{durative} > AspP_{progressive} > AspP_{prospective} > AspP_{inceptive(I)} > ModP_{obligation} > ModP_{ability} > AspP_{frustrative/success} > ModP_{permission} > AspP_{conative} > AspP_{completive(I)} > VoiceP > AspP_{repetitive(II)} > AspP_{frequentative(II)} > AspP_{celerative(II)} > AspP_{inceptive(II)} > AspP_{completive(II)} > V$

Within this hierarchy is every defined verbal property, which means that any verb can move to FinP in order to check (possibly uninterpretable) temporal, aspectual, modal, and/or mood features. Batllori's position is that mesoclitic constructions in Old Spanish (and Old Catalan) represented speech-act, evidential, or irrealis moods; epistemic, alethic, or deontic modality; and future temporality (I add the possibility of *anterior* temporality, represented by the conditional). In mesoclitic configurations, the infinitive moves into FinP to check the appropriate features. For future constructions, I propose that the infinitive raises into FinP and is checked in the embedded TP_{Future} projection; if the verb

---

[63] However, Kato and Raposo (1996) maintain that the finite verb remains in T/I/Agr.

is conditional, it is checked first in TP$_{Anterior}$, then in TP$_{Future}$. It seems odd that an infinitive would carry one of the above features to check, but this can be explained as well. As the speaker is intending to convey a future meaning with the periphrasis, the notion is that the order infinitive + *haber* is not encoded in the grammar of the language but rather is a *pragmatic* understanding, much as it was in Latin. So movement of the infinitive into FinP is licensed not syntactically but pragmatically. Under this explanation, Uriagereka's description of F as a syntax-pragmatics interface still holds. Another possible explanation could be that the features being checked are *uninterpretable* – that is, that the semantics of the structure are not inferable from the syntax or the morphology. From a syntactic perspective, it is possible that the infinitive in analytic constructions is generated with an uninterpretable and unvalued Tense feature. It only receives its values of [+Future] and [+Anterior] (the latter for conditionals only) via an Agree relationship with the auxiliary generated in I (see Biberauer and Roberts 2008 for an explanation of the same phenomenon in English). From there, I propose that the infinitive raises to [Spec, FinP] in order to check those now-valued features.

Though we know that the peripherasis infinitive + clitic + *haber* represented the future, there was no morphological cue that this was so, as stated. Since said order was obligatory in root contexts in Old Spanish – for example, **había lo cantar* was unattested – both the clitic and the infinitive had to raise above the auxiliary. Superficially, the infinitive raised in order to host the enclitic. Pursuant to Uriagereka (1995b), the strong features of F necessitated verb raising to that projection for checking purposes. In this light, though, can we really posit that temporal features are being checked in FinP? If F is to be redefined, we gain nothing from redefining it for the sole purpose of explaining

the derivation of the analytic future and conditional in Spanish. The present tense, for example, raises to F as well in order to host enclitics, and present tense is absolutely interpretable. This holds true for aspect and mood, which are checked within I (in AspP and MoodP respectively; see Suñer 1994). I turn my argument in this direction, consequently: while tense, aspect, and mood are interpretable features in Spanish (Old, Classical, and Modern), modality is not readily available in the morphology. Based on analyses by Company Company and Medina Urrea (1999) and Fernández Martín (2008) as outlined in Chapter 4, future and conditional expressions often conveyed either epistemic – the speaker's belief or confidence in an action occurring – or deontic – the expression that the action is imminent – modality when used, although this had to be made clear from the context and was not evident via any modality morpheme. As such, instead of temporal features which I will maintain remain in IP, I present a parallel hypothesis that verbs raise to F in order to check uninterpretable features pertaining to modality.

This is the basis of where I disagree with one part of Batllori's analysis, however. It is her claim that the auxiliary *haber* moves into Fin as well, deriving as in the following in (5.42):

(5.42)   Batllori (2012)

Mood$_{evidential}$P
dezir
Mood$_{evidential}$'
Mood$_{evidential}$
|
vos + emos
. . .
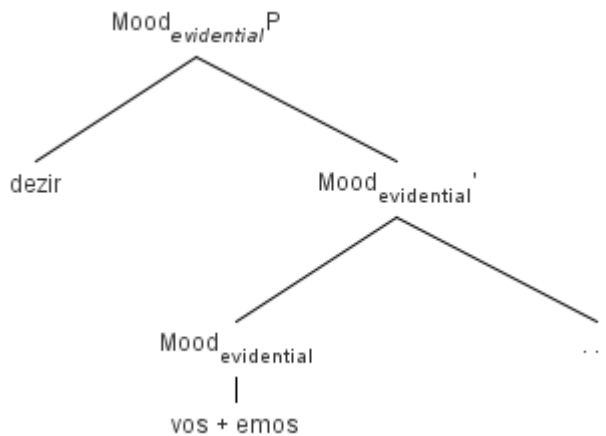
It is notable from (5.41) earlier that FinP is located directly above VP in Cinque's

hierarchy. In most other abstractions, FinP is located higher up in the structure, still

within CP but above IP. For Batllori, FinP takes the place of T/I/Agr as well as the

function. Her analysis is tenable in that light. However, other analyses such as Rizzi

(1997), Benincà (2004), Fernández Rubiera (2009, 2010), Villa García (2012), and

Gupton (2014) describe FinP as above IP. Based on my position of verb raising into F

driven by uninterpretable feature checking, I lean toward the other analyses and hold that

Fin and I are two different domains within two different phases.

        Having defined F as a split domain as opposed to a singular projection, there

remains the distinction between "strong" and "weak" F. Here I shall attempt to maintain

the spirit of Uriagereka's as well as Raposo's research by continuing with their argument

that verbs move to F in order to host the enclitic. The main difference between languages

that exhibit one of these two possibilities is the permissibility of finite enclisis; as stated,

strong F correlates with permitted enclisis, while weak F is characterized by obligatory

proclisis. If we maintain that FinP attracts the finite verb for the purposes of enclisis due

to the strong features on the finite verb, the verb moving to [Spec, FinP] will not

contradict either Raposo or Uriagereka since both are still defined as part of F. Neither

would the phenomenon of proclisis with focalization; per Fernández Rubiera (2010), the

fronted focalized constituent moves through every Spec position within F, leaving a trace

in [Spec, FinP] before finally reaching its surface position in [Spec, FocP].

By contrast, we define weak F as only FinP and the landing site for the clitic – in

other words, not including FocP. Since default-proclitic languages such as Modern

Spanish do not require phonological support to the left of the clitic, there is no need for

any material to occupy the left edge of the phase in order to license F under

morphophonology. Therefore the functional category FocP remains a member of the CP

domain in weak-F languages. I leave FinP as a member of the F domain here solely for

the purposes of hosting affirmative commands (e.g. *haz**lo***) that by necessity host enclisis.

My justification is that the imperative is the only finite verb paradigm in Spanish that has

a strong feature (see Rivero and Terzi 1995; Harris 1998), and as such it must raise out of

I to check that feature. Incidentally, if there is no affirmative imperative context, FinP

will host no feature to check and therefore will be inactive, and FP = ClP. This includes

negative commands which are categorically linked to proclisis in Spanish (e.g. *no lo*

hagas/*no hágaslo).

The following trees in figures 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate the differing structures of
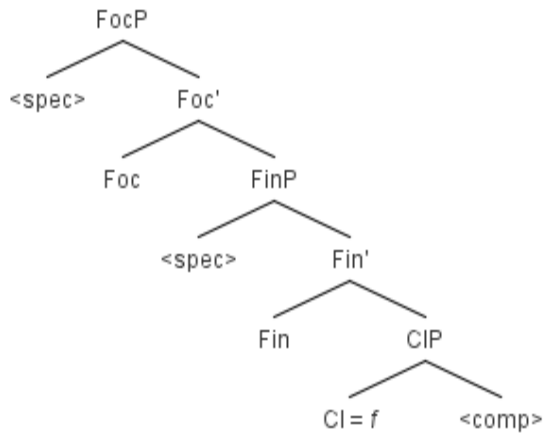
strong and weak F.

```
              FocP
             /    \
     <spec>       Foc'
                 /    \
             Foc       FinP
                      /    \
                 <spec>     Fin'
                           /    \
                        Fin      CIP
                                /    \
                            Cl = f    <comp>
```
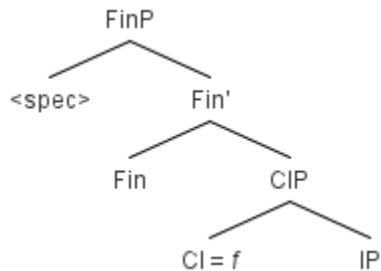
Figure 5.5 – Strong F (Conservative Romance dialects)

```
          FinP
         /    \
   <spec>     Fin'
             /    \
          Fin      CIP
                  /    \
              Cl = f    IP
```

Figure 5.6 – Weak F (Modern Romance dialects)

In keeping with the spirit of Uriagereka's (1995b) and Raposo and Uriagereka's (2005) conception of F as a host for affective operators and focused elements, I define F as not simply a projection but rather a layered domain between C and I such that CP > FP > IP. Strong F, which categorizes languages that permit widespread finite enclisis according to the aforementioned authors, includes both the domain FocP and strong (uninterpretable) features in FinP. Weak F differs from strong F in these two aspects: FocP is not part of F but remains above and outside it, and FinP (largely) lacks strong features, concurrent with Uriagereka (1995b). As FP has been defined by Uriagereka (1995ab) as an interface between syntax and pragmatics, my description of FP as a domain whose strength is

defined by the presence or absence of FocP allows left-peripheral material to determine verbal and clitic placement.

In the following subsection we discuss the behavior of the F domain in Old and Classical Spanish and the changes in the properties of said domain that conditioned cliticization with futures and conditionals.

5.3.2. *Application of the F domain to Old Spanish futures and conditionals*
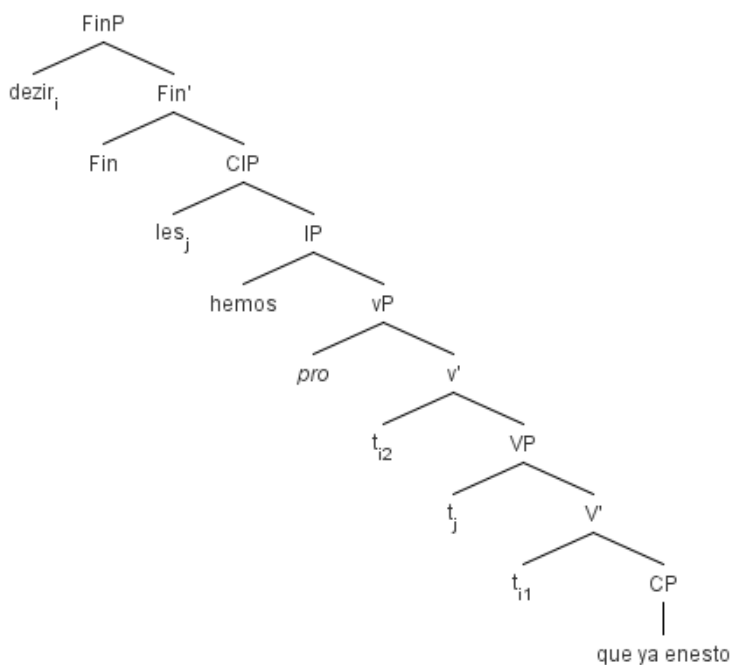
For my purposes in redefining the F projection, I concur with the aforementioned authors that complementizers can head several projections in the left periphery. If there is a complementizer present and mesoclisis occurs in Old Spanish (and, for that matter, Portuguese), that complementizer must necessarily head ForceP and therefore be generated *outside* the F domain, allowing mesoclisis and enclisis to be realized. This holds true as well in the presence of topicalized constituents within embedded clauses, which are either generated in or move into [Spec, TopP]. Otherwise, the complementizer is generated as the head of FinP, and proclisis is the only allowed order.

First, I will discuss an analytic construction in a root context without any elements to its left:

(5.43)   ***dezir<u>les</u> hemos*** que ya enesto se someten ala ley de rresçebimjento

          'We will tell them that in this they are already subject to the law of

          receiving'

          (CdE; *Libro del Cuzari*)

In V1 contexts we would expect either enclisis or mesoclisis, and this is what is attested. The infinitive has moved leftward via LHM to [Spec, Fin], skipping the entirety of I to land within F. Since the auxiliary *hemos* is unsuitable for hosting clitics, the clitic also moves past I and lands in F, heading its own projection Cl. The representation is below:

(5.44)   ***dezir<u>les</u> hemos*** que ya enesto…

```
              FinP
            /      \
       dezir_i      Fin'
                  /      \
               Fin        ClP
                        /      \
                     les_j      IP
                             /      \
                         hemos       vP
                                   /      \
                                pro        v'
                                         /     \
                                      t_i2       VP
                                               /    \
                                            t_j      V'
                                                   /     \
                                                t_i1      CP
                                                           |
                                                    que ya enesto
```

As described in the previous section, the lexical verb moves leftward into [Spec, FinP]. The clitic follows, landing in Cl and adjoining leftward to Fin. The inflectional auxiliary remains in I. Next, I show a synthetic construction with V1 context and enclisis:

(5.45)   ***Tendréis<u>me</u>*** amor como madre

              'You shall love me as a mother does'

              (CdE; *Las grandezas de Alejandro*)

Instead of the analytic *tenerme heis/habéis*, the enclitic was produced here. The

derivation is undramatic, with the finite verb and the clitic moving into their respective

surface positions within F as shown here:

(5.46)   ***Tendréis<u>me</u>*** amor como madre
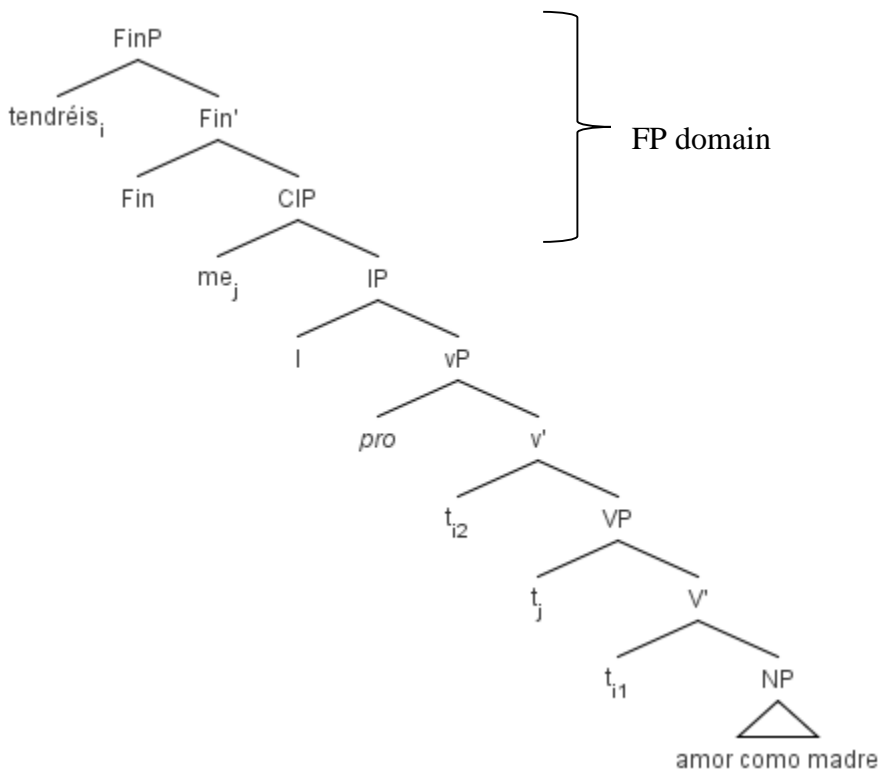
We assume strong F here, given the presence of enclisis. Note that FocP is not shown for

simplicity's sake due to the lack of a focalized constituent in this example.

        Let us now apply the F domain concept, as well as the *que* generation principles

from Fernández Rubiera and Demonte and Fernández Soriano, to the following example

(5.47) from the corpus.

(5.47)   [Y cantad, cantad, pastores,] que para cantar de amores ***ayudar<u>os</u> he*** yo

              luego.

'[…] for later I will help you in order to sing of love'

(CdE; *Teatro completo*)

This is clearly a case of a mesoclitic future occurring within a subordinate clause, which according to many grammarians and syntacticians is not supposed to be acceptable but yet appears. How can we account for this? First, following Fernández Rubiera's claims, a complementizer that precedes a clause containing an enclitic (or, by extension, mesoclitic) has the value [+conviction]. This feature must be checked in ForceP, outside what I have referred to as the F domain. As such, this instance of *que* must be generated as the head of ForceP[64] and thus does not intervene within F. Second, the adverbial clause *para cantar de amores* is generated as an adjunct of the verb *ayudar*. According to Benincà (2004), such a constituent preceding the verb with no intervening material must be generated in FrameP or TopP, a position still higher than F and therefore not blocking of enclisis (or mesoclisis). Without any operations taking place to host the clitic and consequently block enclisis/mesoclisis, the verb satisfies that requirement by raising to Fin. The derivation of that clause is below:

---

[64] Haegeman (2004) holds that a complementizer introducing a subordinate clause occupies the head position of a projection SubP.

(5.48)   que para cantar de amores ***ayudar<u>os</u> he*** yo luego
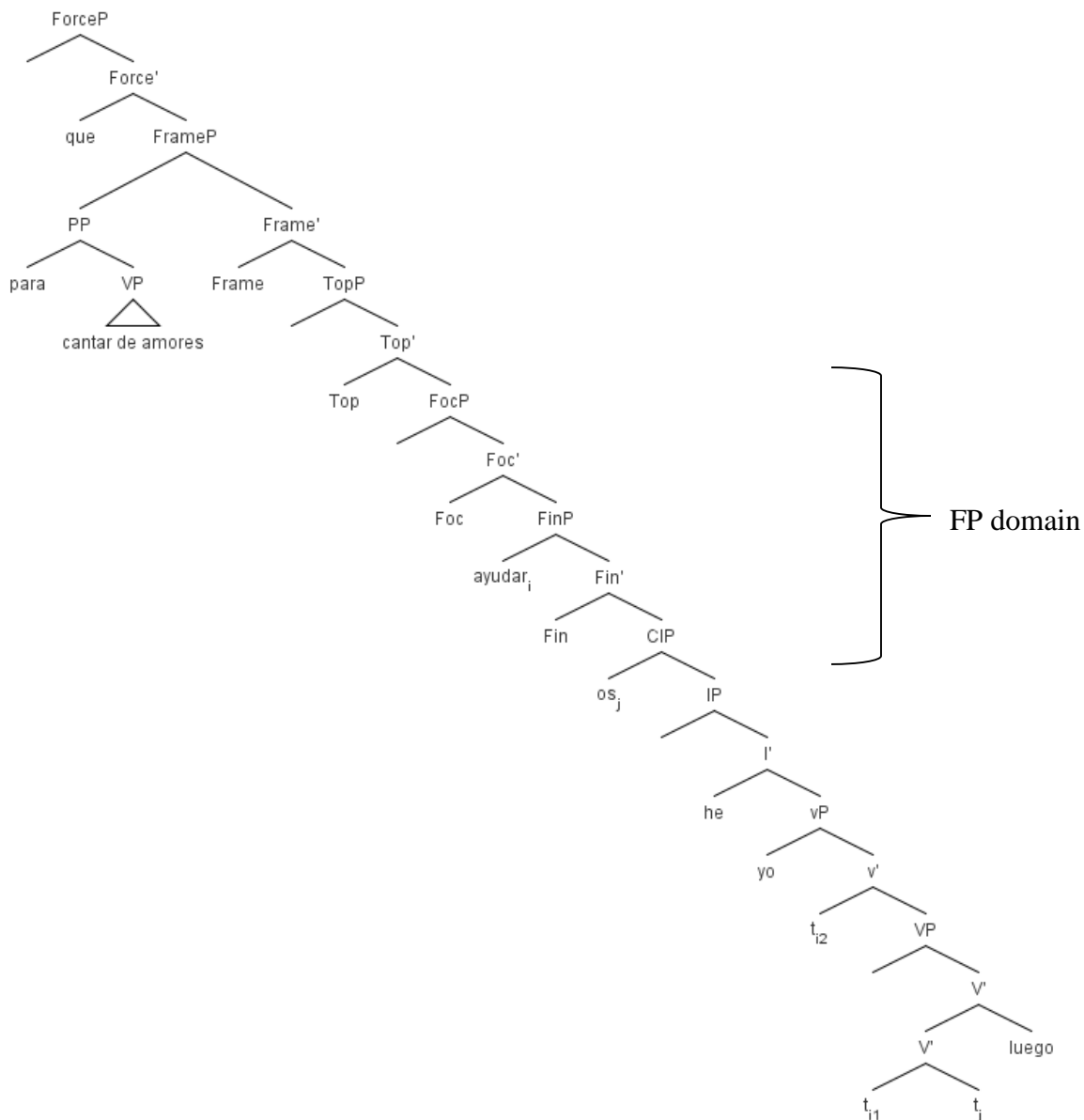
The principal matter here is the movement of the infinitive to Fin, satisfying the

phonological support needed by the clitic. It is plain to see from this example that Old

Spanish is a strong-F language.

Finite verbs in Old Spanish, as has been shown, behaved much like Modern EP in

many respects: obligatory enclisis in the absence of negation, affective operators,

complementation, focused elements, and preverbal subjects – in contrast to Modern

Spanish – and obligatory proclisis otherwise. Regarding overt subjects, Company

Company (1985) stated that preverbal subjects often blocked mesoclisis and instead only

allowed proclisis, particularly in emphatic contexts as per her example below:

(5.49)   Y̲o̲ ***te lo diré***. Dias ha grandes que conozco en fin desta vezindad vna

              vieja barbuda que se dize Celestina […]

              'I shall tell you. It is now a good while ago, since at the lower end of this

              street I fell acquainted with an old bearded woman called Celestina […]'

              (*Celestina* I)

Indeed, the corpus data shows some evidence of Company Company's assertion as well,

with certain instances of proclisis and mesoclisis occurring in contexts of coordination as

in (5.50):

(5.50)   […] e sy vn buen consejo me dieres, yo ***te̲ dexare*** e ***dart̲e̲ he*** de mano.

              '[…] and if you give me good counsel, I will leave you be and will give to

              you from my hand.'

              (CdE; *Libro del Caballero Zifar*)

The phrase *yo te dexare e darte he de mano* is an amalgamation of two root clauses

coordinated by *e*. The overt subject belongs to the first phrase, while the second phrase

contains a null subject anaphoric to *yo*. If we continue with Company Company's

position that preverbal subjects followed by proclitics indicated that the subjects were produced emphatically, then the logical conclusion is that these subjects moved into F in this manner: raising from the base position to [Spec, IP], then through [Spec, FinP] and finally to [Spec, FocP]. Under this assumption, for this example the assertion holds.

Furthermore, the reason for proclisis with overt subjects cannot be phonological, as preverbal subjects are supposed to be "invisible" to Tobler-Mussafia effects (Raposo and Uriagereka 2005). From the same work as above, we also have this example (5.51) which illustrates the inadequacy of phonology alone militating against enclisis or mesoclisis:

(5.51)   e Dios **ayudar<u>nos</u> ha** e destoruara a ellos

              'and God will help us and hinder them'

              (CdE; *Libro del Caballero Zifar*)

Rather, following Company Company's claim that overt subjects were most frequently used for emphasis, we can argue that, in the instances of proclisis following preverbal subjects, they are focused elements (Martins 2003, 2005; Benincà 2004; Shlonsky 2004), similar to Modern Portuguese based on these examples from Fernández Rubiera (2009):

(5.52)   OS TRÊS HOMENS <u>*se*</u> *sentaram* à mesa   [*sentáram-se]

              'It was the three men who sat at the table'

              (Vázquez Cuesta and Mendes da Luz (1971: 166))

Subjects in Portuguese also do not block enclisis with regular intonation. However, in

order to indicate focalization, speakers will apply greater prosodic stress to the subject,

yielding a proclitic arrangement as seen in (5.52) and rendering enclisis ungrammatical.

If Company Company's claim is correct, and if we assume that cliticization patterns are

similar between Old Spanish and European Portuguese, it follows that the subject has

moved to Foc(us)P and therefore blocks movement of the verb to F. To illustrate this, we

return to example (5.49) here and show the derivation thereof:

(5.53)   YO *te lo diré.* […]
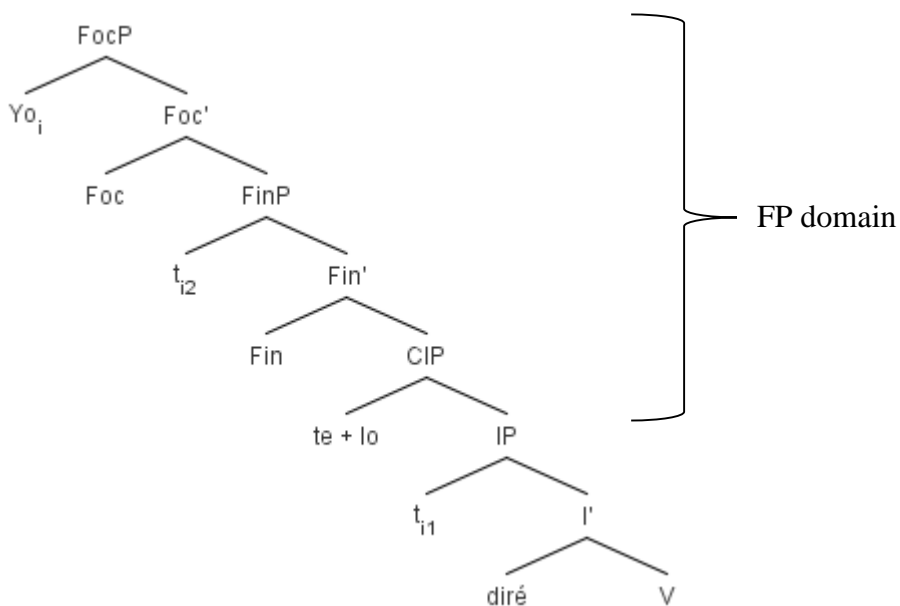
Following our previous analysis, the verb is blocked from moving into the F domain by

the focalized subject, remaining in I. The clitic cluster, using the subject as a host,

appropriately moves to F in order for the proclitic order to surface.

This is my position regarding preverbal subjects and proclisis versus

enclisis/mesoclisis, based on the data and prior research: the subject lands in a different

projection depending on the observed clitic placement. If there is a preverbal subject and an enclitic/mesoclitic order, the subject is higher in the structure, i.e. in TopP, FrameP, or ForceP and outside of F, thus being invisible to its effects and phonological requirements. Conversely, if there is a preverbal subject and proclisis is observed, the subject has moved to FocP through FinP, thus blocking enclisis.

5.3.3. *Feature checking and the Extended Projection Principle (EPP): an external consideration*

One area of concern of my analysis of mesoclisis in Old Spanish rests within the reconciliation of infinitive movement into FP and what is known as the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). As described by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Beas (2007), and Fischer (2014), the EPP states that there is an interpretable eponymous feature in IP (or TP in their terms) that, in non-null subject languages such as English and French, must be checked by a subject in [Spec, IP]. In null-subject languages, there are two possibilities for EPP checking depending on the position of the subject. If there is a preverbal subject, it moves to [Spec, IP] to satisfy the requirement via Spec-head agreement. Otherwise, if the subject is either postverbal or altogether null, this EPP feature is said to be checked via verb movement to I.

Per Fernández Rubiera's (2009) account of Western Iberian, EPP-checking via verb movement to I obviates the projection of [Spec, IP] due to no need for a subject to land there; this should also cause proclitics and verbs in I to be strictly adjacent to one another, as his analysis has ClP strictly dominating TP. It must be noted that this analysis by Fernández Rubiera appears to be unique to cases of *wh*-movement. However, as my

analysis involves infinitives moving into the left periphery via LHM as well, there are some similarities. Interpolation, the presence of constituents between the proclitic and the matrix verb, is well attested in Old Spanish, as in the following examples:

(5.54)   Si **_me_** *tú* quisieres honrar, déxame en estos canpos seguro

'If you want to honor me, let me stay safely in these fields'

(*Calila* 308; in Batllori, Sánchez, and Suñer 1995:191, ex. 7d)

(5.55)   creyóla e tomó una soga que **_le_** *ella* envió.

'He believed her and took a rope that she sent to him.'

(*Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho* XVII; in Batllori, Sánchez, and Suñer 1995:192, ex. 7f)

However, Batllori, Sánchez, and Suñer (1995) do not give any examples in which interpolation is attested in phrases where *wh*-movement is present, giving credence to Fernández Rubiera's account as being crosslinguistically sound, at least within Romance. Following this, I propose that LHM of infinitives in mesoclitic constructions behaves similarly to *wh*-elements: causing [Spec, IP] not to project due to a verbal element filling the head of I. Though most accounts state that EPP is satisfied via V-movement to I (including Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Beas 2007, Fischer 2014), I hold that auxiliary *haber*, being generated in the head of I, checks EPP in the place of the infinitive V that bypasses I.

5.4. Cliticization parameters across the history of Spanish

The following section will present a discussion of changing parameters regarding cliticization throughout the history of Spanish, focusing primarily on the time period of the corpus data. Three concepts to be discussed are the following: the possibility of the existence of a Mesoclisis Parameter based on evidence from other languages, particularly Romance; the necessity of a purely syntactic distinction between the mesoclitic/analytic and enclitic/synthetic constructions; and the varying strength of the F projection and the effects it had on mesoclisis and enclisis, as well as the disappearance of these two clitic placement structures in favor of obligatory proclisis.

5.4.1. On the existence of a Mesoclisis Parameter: crosslinguistic studies

It was shown in Chapter 1 that apart from Spanish, Portuguese, and Galician, many Romance languages such as Occitan and Catalan, among others, exhibited the mesoclitic construction with the future tense (see Moreno Bernal 2005 for examples, also in Chapter 1), leading Silva Villar (1995) to call this construction a "pan-Romanic phenomenon." In this light, one could take one of two positions related to the saliency of this particular structure:

1) The order INF-CL-AUX from Latin led directly to what is known as the mesoclitic construction in Old (and in a few languages, Modern) Romance and can be held as vestigial.

2) There is a parameter that conditions the (dis)allowance of interposition of clitics between the verbal stem and the inflectional ending. Said parameter

had a positive value in Old Romance that is now negative in most of Modern Romance.

Position (1) is held or alluded to in the literature by Roberts (1993) and Silva Villar (1995) and has been discussed from a grammaticalizational standpoint. Noting the disappearance of mesoclisis in almost all Romance languages and the tendency away from it in spoken Galician and European Portuguese (Duarte and Matos 2006), position (2) may instead hold the greater merit. However, unlike the distinction of allowing enclisis to *all* tenses or not due to the strength of F, a parameter governing mesoclisis would affect only the future and conditional if Spanish and Portuguese are the only languages considered. Instead, it is necessary to discuss other tenses as well as other languages.

There may be evidence from other Romance languages such as Early Modern Romanian (EMR)[65] that implies the existence of a specific Mesoclisis Parameter. According to Alboiu and Hill (2012), EMR employed the analytic future much like Old Spanish did, with the order INF-CL-AUX.[66] Additionally, past participial constructions were structured very similarly to futures and conditionals, showing the order PRTC-CL-AUX in certain syntactic environments. Consider the constructions below (all translations original):

---

[65] EMR is defined by Alboiu and Hill as being extant between the 16th and 18th centuries, contemporary to Classical Spanish that exemplified many of the same verb-clitic relationships.

[66] EMR frequently used the 'go' auxiliary to denote future where Spanish showed the 'have' auxiliary, but the analysis remains the same.

(5.56)   [şi] [de taină   crediincios] *făcutu-l̦   -au*   boiarin,

and of counsel truthful   made -him-has   lordship

'and he made him a lord trusted with counselling.'

(Alboiu and Hill 2012:14, ex. 8c)

(5.57)   Toţi amu *învie   -i̦   -va* Dumnezeu într-aceaia zi   fricoşată si -i

and so resurrect-them-will God   in- that   day terrible and-them

va   aduna

will gather

'God will rescue them in that terrible day and will gather them'

(Zafiu 2014:79, ex. 23)

Example (5.56) reflects mesoclisis with a present perfect construction. The participle is

fronted and serves as morphophonological support to the left of the clitic *il*, and the auxiliary

au (< *a avea* 'have') appears in final position. Similarly, example (5.57) is identical to a

mesoclitic conditional in Old Spanish, with the infinitive to the left of the clitic and the future

marker in final position. According to Zafiu's analysis as well as that of Alboiu and Hill,

neither construction is permitted in Modern Romanian (MR). In all periphrastic verbal

constructions in all varieties of Romanian, there is always a verbal element filling T (Alboiu,

Hill, and Sitaridou 2013) which happens to be an auxiliary, consistent with my analysis of

Old Spanish. This means that, in the modern language, the lexical verb does not move

leftward over the clitic and instead remains in T. As such, we can consider EMR a strong-F

language and MR a weak-F language.

The same constructions in EMR were found in Old Spanish and Old Catalan, as noted

by Batllori (2011). She investigates them as separate phenomena: future/conditional verbs as

mesoclisis and present perfect verbs as participle preposing. The latter, called *stylistic*

fronting by Fischer (2014) and also applicable to adjectives, was also clause-bounded,

meaning it could not escape a subordinate clause by raising above *que*, such as the following:

(5.55) a. el ssu plazo que **tomado** ha __ de mano

'his place that he has taken at hand.'

b. * el ssu plazo **tomado** que ha __ de mano

(Anónimo, *Biblia romanceada* 14s; cf. Fischer 2014, ex. 5)

Fischer further states that preposed participles move over the verb in T and land in [Spec,

F]. As we see, therefore, there is theoretical precedent for preposing.

Nevertheless, none of the arguments above answers whether there exists a Mesoclisis

Parameter. I believe it to be less a question of adequacy and more a matter of necessity. My

claim henceforth is that the discussion of LHM of lexical stems into F and the generation of

the auxiliary ending of future and conditional verbs in I satisfies the description of the

analytic-mesoclitic construction. Since the lexical stem moved into F preemptively in order

to host the enclitic, this caused the structure that we know as mesoclisis to surface. As it was

discussed in Chapter 4 and earlier in this chapter, analogical change was the most likely force

in the disappearance of mesoclisis in Spanish, as opposed to a Mesoclisis Parameter turned

"off." However, this analogical change entailed the grammaticalization of the inflectional

auxiliary, which was no longer generated as a separate constituent in I but instead surfaced to

satisfy Agreement in the same manner as all other verbal agreement morphemes (see Zagona

2004 for this explanation). A syntactic consequence of the paradigmaticization of the

auxiliary was that the lexical verb no longer raised to F via LHM. Since the future and

conditional endings were now incorporated into the inventory of verbal paradigms, that morphology had to be "picked up" via movement through I on the way to F.

To conclude, via accounts of LHM and the affixal nature of postposed *haber* from the 16th century onward, the positing of a separate Mesoclisis Parameter is rendered superfluous. The loss of movement of nonfinite forms over auxiliaries in the modern variants of the aforementioned Romance languages is also necessary for the explanation of the loss of mesoclisis.

5.4.2. *On the necessity of a syntactic distinction between mesoclisis and enclisis*

One of the largely under-discussed issues in the previous literature pertaining to verb movement and cliticization patterns in Romance, including Old Spanish, is whether a syntactic distinction exists between mesoclisis and enclisis. I have established that where enclisis surfaces in contexts with verbs conjugated in other tenses such as the present and preterite, mesoclisis occurs in the future and conditional. Accordingly, all tenses follow the same restrictions on when enclisis can surface: depending on the nature of material to the left of the verb, either enclisis/mesoclisis or proclisis surfaces. The question is this: is it therefore necessary to distinguish enclisis from mesoclisis?

An argument *against* a distinction between mesoclisis and enclisis is the fact that both orders surface in the same contexts, as stated earlier. Both orders involve a lexical verb serving as a phonological host to a clitic, with the verb moving into F so as to provide support to which the clitic can left-adjoin. Due to the verb hosting the clitic in both contexts, it can be said that all such orders can be categorized as enclisis.

An argument *for* the distinction between mesoclisis and enclisis is the fact that the lexical stems differ depending on the clitic placement. In Old Spanish, we have evidence

from irregular verbs that enclisis (and proclisis) contexts do not use the full infinitive stem. Yet with mesoclisis, the full stem was observed the majority of the time, as below:

Table 5.1 – Clitic placement with irregular verbs in Old Spanish

Verb	Proclisis	Enclisis	Mesoclisis
ponerse	se pondrá	pondráse	ponerse ha
saberlo	lo sabréis	sabréislo	saberlo heis
facerse	me faré	faréme	facerme he (farme he)

There are comparatively few attestations of mesoclisis with shortened forms, as discussed in Chapter 4. The mesoclitic form *ferlo he* appeared three times within the corpus, all within *Cid.* Moreover, instances of mesoclisis with a shortened form of *decir* were not attested at all.

5.4.3. On the F projection and diachronic clitic placement in Old Spanish

Continuing with the view that F in Old Spanish was akin to European Portuguese as well as Galician, we shall also claim that many of the analyses already presented apply to Old and Classical Spanish. Of particular interest is how the languages differ in their treatments of mesoclisis and enclisis to future and conditional verbs. The differences can be seen in table 5.2 below. Differing views of the status of mesoclisis in Portuguese and Galician exist, as shown in the table. What can be concluded, however, is that mesoclisis is still part of the grammar of at least some speakers in Portugal and Galicia. So, to a certain extent, the behaviors of the future and conditional verbs are/were similar among Galician, Portuguese, and Old Spanish through the 16th century, as stated in section 5.2: movement of the infinitival component to the F domain, followed by movement of the clitic to left-adjoin to the infinitive.

Table 5.2 – Cliticization to future/conditional verbs in Old Spanish, European Portuguese, and Galician

Language	*Mesoclisis*	*Enclisis*
OSp 13th-16th c.	Standard; favored	Infrequent
OSp 17th-18th c.	Disfavored; in the process of being displaced at the time	Favored
EP, Gal	Literary; dialectal (Raposo 2000; Pires and Thomason 2006); regressing (Duarte and Matos 2000)	Dialectal (Raposo 2000); increasing in younger speakers (Duarte and Matos 2000)

Even when synthetic futures increased in frequency and displaced the analytic construction, there is a period of a little more than two centuries during which the analytic future is still shown with mesoclisis in root contexts.

(5.58)   […] como se ve en el refrán que dice: «Haceos miel, i ***comeros han***

moscas».

'[…] as the saying goes: "turn into honey and flies will eat you."'

(CdE; *Rhetorica*)

However, this construction was disappearing during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the last two centuries, though, a lower percentage of future and conditional verbs were found with enclitic and mesoclitic orders. Contexts which before required the enclitic/mesoclitic order due to the necessity of clitic hosting to the left of the verb were beginning to relax that requirement. For instance, it was no longer as unacceptable for clitics to be in absolute initial position in a sentence, as in the following example from the 16th century:

(5.59)   Alfonso: ¿Qué es esto, Garcerán, que por mí pasa? Pero, ¿qué dudo?

                        Parte apresurado; busca al punto a Raquel; di que la espero.

          Manrique: ***Lo haré*** como mandáis.

          'Alfonso: What is this, Garcerán, passing before me? But what do I

                        doubt? Leave quickly, look now for Raquel, say that I

                        await her.

          Manrique: I will do as you command.'

          (CdE; *Raquel*)

Examples like (5.59) above and others like these are evidence of shifting clitic placement

parameters. Though enclisis and mesoclisis are still found during these times, what has

happened is that the grammar of some speakers of Spanish is changing to allow other

orders such as absolute proclisis. What, then, does this mean for the syntax of the

language at the time? It implies that there is variation in the strength of F: for some

speakers, F is still strong and disallows absolute proclisis; for others, F has become weak

and clitic hosting is not mandatory.

5.5. *Conclusions*

     In applying minimalist syntax principles to Old Spanish, particularly those

principles that pertain to clitic placement and verb movement, we have shown that said

principles did, in fact, shift in value throughout the history of the language. We showed

that Old Spanish qualified as a strong-F language, based on the permissibility of enclisis

and mesoclisis in finite contexts. Regarding the future and conditional

mesoclitic/analytic forms, not only have we shown how they derived in antiquity, but, via a redefinition of the F projection as a domain in the spirit of the CP-left periphery, we provided a model of the derivation of mesoclisis as well as enclisis. Finally, we showed differences between the strong-F and weak-F domains and how it came to pass that operations allowed in strong-F Old Spanish were no longer acceptable in weak-F Modern Spanish. In achieving all of this, we provided a syntactic basis of grammaticalization that is applicable to the shift away from analyticity and toward syntheticity in the history of the future and conditional.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

6.0. Recapitulation

        Regarding grammaticalization and the loss of categories and forms in diachronic

change, Juge (2009) states the following:

> Surveys like that of Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca on
> grammaticalization patterns provide useful overviews.
> However, I suggest that case studies with narrower scope
> and more-detailed analysis complement cross-linguistic
> comparison, which in turn enriches the investigation of
> more "local" problems. In some cases like those explored
> here, certain difficulties arise from not extrapolating ideas
> and claims to their logical conclusions. Finally, I contend
> that identifying and rejecting not only incorrect answers but
> also non-answers helps us resolve linguistic puzzles. (Juge
> 2009: 78)

This is what I have labored to do with this work: provide a more detailed analysis of the

problem of the loss of analyticity in the Spanish future and conditional constructions

during the evolution of the language. My working assumption throughout this

dissertation has been thus: that the diachronic shift from analyticity to syntheticity of

these paradigms involved or implied changes in the phonological, syntactic, and

morphosyntactic structure of Spanish. Consequently, the majority of my approach

centered around analyzing these grammatical aspects of the language on a greater plane

before focusing on the problem at hand:

- the importance of the mesoclitic construction and how its presence affects paradigmaticization of the future and conditional

- the evolution of the role of F and how it affects the categorical nature of proclisis in Modern Spanish

- the usefulness of considering UG parameters in historical language change

The following sections comprise a summary of my findings and arguments as well as considerations for future study.

6.1. *(Morpho)syntax, semantics/pragmatics, or both?*

This dissertation has discussed not only the grammar of Spanish, but the lexical, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of the language as well. Prior research had shown that the semantics and pragmatics of the analytic and synthetic future and conditional forms were distinct in earlier stages of Old Spanish and that when this distinction was lost, so too was the analytic form as the synthetic form had displaced it. What had remained open was this question, a classic chicken-or-the-egg conundrum: did the change in morphosyntax cause the semantic change via the broadening of the synthetic form and the narrowing of the analytic form, or did the latter bring into effect the former?

6.1.1. *Evidence for form following function in the loss of the analytic construction*

My own data as well as that from prior studies by Company Company (1985, 2006), Company Company and Medina Urrea (1999), and Fernández Martín (2008) suggest that the synthetic and analytic forms coexisted for several centuries in Old and

Medieval Spanish. As was noted, my empirical analysis diverged from that of Company Company in the inclusion of synthetic futures and conditionals; whereas her analysis included *all* such forms, I purposely (and purposefully) excluded instances of synthetic futures and conditionals within which analytic forms would not be acceptable, more specifically contexts requiring proclisis such as negation, subordination, and fronted focusing. My purpose in this was to examine the variation between two forms that, according to the grammar of the time, were expected to have occupied the same syntactic contexts. Once this was done, the data gave a clear picture of the future/conditional structure trend from Old to Medieval Spanish. Synthetic constructions with enclisis, though they were attested in the same contexts as analytic constructions, were much rarer than analytic constructions between the 13th and 15th centuries. However, their use surged in the 16th century to where it could be considered much more salient, and through the 17th and 18th centuries it was clearly the preferred form over the analytic structure.

It remained open, however, whether the function of the future followed the form or vice versa. Fernández Martín and Company Company have both claimed that there was a point of instability during which either the synthetic or the analytic form could fulfill any lexical, semantic, or pragmatic function reserved for a future or conditional verb. Once the two constructions were identical in scope and there were no restrictions on which meanings could convey, there became less of a need to distinguish the two. The synthetic form ultimately prevailed, as history showed and continued to show as finite verbs now only permit proclitics in Modern Spanish.

6.1.2. Syntactic implications of the loss of the analytic form, as well as lost finite enclisis

The gradual loss of the analytic form during Medieval Spanish demonstrated a few changes in the syntactic structure of the language. First, as the future and conditional ceased to be periphrastic, so also did preposing of nonfinite verb forms cease. Aside from the analytic future, we also discussed the phenomenon of participle preposing as it existed in Old Spanish and Catalan (Batllori 2011) and Early Modern Romanian (Alboiu and Hill 2012). The syntactic ramifications of this are that in most modern registers, nonfinite forms are prohibited from climbing over auxiliaries. Not only does this cause the structure *amar lo he* to be nonexistent in the modern language, but attested structures such as *amado (lo) había* also fail to exist.

The loss of finite enclisis was attributed to changes in the structure of FP, itself reimagined as a domain and not just a projection. Languages with a strong F domain were those that allowed enclisis to finite verbs under certain conditions, while those with a weak F only ever allowed finite proclisis. The variation between proclisis and enclisis in strong-F languages was attributed to the nature of any preverbal constituent: negation, focused elements, *wh*-elements, and complementizers caused proclisis to obtain, whereas other constituents such as topics and preverbal subjects did not block enclisis. The reason cited for proclisis obtaining has been the aforementioned constituents occupying a position within F usually reserved for a finite verb so as to host a clitic (see Uriagereka 1995a, 1995b; Raposo 1999, 2000; Martins 2003b using ; Raposo and Uriagereka 2005; *inter alia*). In order to clarify which elements land where, I proposed an expanded definition of F incorporating ideas from Fernández Rubiera (2009) and Gupton (2014) about the nature of the Finiteness projection. My reimagination of F as a domain not

only comprised the Fin(iteness)P projection, but also the Foc(us)P projection normally reserved to the left periphery (Rizzi 1997; Benincà 2004) as well as a minimal-maximal Cl(itic)P. Movement of focused elements through F, leaving a trace within Fin, causes proclisis to obtain. Otherwise, the verb lands within Fin and the clitic is situated to its right in an enclitic position.

Spanish became a weak-F language after the 18th century. This meant that FocP was no longer situated within F but was outside it. A second change to F's strength caused FinP to no longer host verbs save for affirmative imperatives. Finally, weak F no longer carried the requirement of phonological support to the left of the clitic. These changes caused proclisis to finite verbs to be obligatory and, additionally, clitic-verb arrangements to be acceptable in clause-initial position.

6.2. Grammaticalizational implications of the loss of one form

There were two other theoretical issues posed at the beginning of this work that I sought to resolve. One of the issues dealt with the measure of "complete grammaticalization" as it pertains to the structure in question. The second was the persistence of both the synthetic and analytic forms and the eventual loss of the latter.

6.2.1. The notion of "completed" grammaticalization

The primary assumption about the analytic future and conditional from Old Spanish was that their presence indicated that the grammaticalization process of these tenses was "incomplete." This position was stated by Grandgent (1907) and reiterated by Ledgeway (2012) for Portuguese, one of the last Romance languages to exhibit this

structure in any register. Their claim is that a condition of "complete

grammaticalization" of a form implies that a structure must progress along the entire

cline of grammaticalization (see Eckardt 2006) in order to complete the process. If we

consider the formation of the futurate/conditional periphrasis as it existed in Latin and

how the HABĒRE constituent was less lexical and more of a marker of futurity, then

according to the definitions of grammaticalization proffered at the beginning of Chapter

1, the analytic future and conditional were completely grammaticalized long before the

advent of the Romance languages as we know them today.

Referring to the grammaticalizational cline mentioned in Chapter 1, rooted in

theory by Eckardt (2006, 2010), restated below in (6.1), I hold that any movement of a

particle from a less to more grammatical step along that cline is only evidence of

grammaticalization of said particle.

(6.1)   content word > function word > clitic > affix > ø

That is, each stage in my own cline of grammaticalization of the future/conditional has

the function of marking the particle as having saliently grammaticalized. I explain

below.

(6.2)   [[CANTĀRE] HABEŌ] >   (Stage 1)

             [CANTĀRE HABEŌ] >   (Stage 2)

             * *cantar* /ajo/ >   (Stage 3)

             * *cantar he* >   (Stage 4)

             cantaré   (Stage 5)

Stage 1 was the initial, ungrammaticalized condition of the periphrasis: the possessive

was still a lexical verb and the head of the phrase. The transition from stage 1 to 2, which

saw the two separate constituents rebracketed into one, took place once the possessive

verb became more auxiliary, or at the very least less independent than it was before. By

this time one could posit that the grammaticalization of this verb form was "complete."

The next two stages, which involve phonological erosion of the auxiliary, increase the

saliency of the grammaticalizational path. Finally, stage 5 marks the loss of analyticity of

the structure, as the former auxiliary is now a completely paradigmatic *and* inseparable

morpheme marking futurity.

I reiterate: the "completely grammaticalized" future and conditional first appeared

in Latin once CANTĀRE HABEŌ/HABĒBAM acquired its primary function as a marker of

futurity, whether anterior or posterior. The role of HABĒRE as a tense marker and its loss

of lexical properties in this position cause this to be true. Therefore, I disagree with

Grandgent's and Ledgeway's premises that the fully synthetic future and conditional are

the only "completely grammaticalized" evolutionary forms of this structure. Instead, I

continue to maintain that it may be more proper to refer to the analytic and synthetic

forms in a scalar fashion (analytic = "less" grammaticalized, but synthetic = "more"

grammaticalized) instead of referring to completeness, the latter having been achieved during Latin.

6.2.2. *The synthetic-analytic duality and completed grammaticalization*

Continuing with the theme of completed grammaticalization, it was shown that in Old Spanish that there were two clearly distinct forms in a distribution that might not have been completely complementary. Indeed, the synthetic future/conditional had a wider scope of acceptability, being attested in every possible context without clitics and being the standard in contexts that necessitated proclitics. The analytic forms, as has been stated repeatedly, were very limited in scope, only appearing (with few exceptions; see the discussion of analytic forms under subordination in Chapter 3) where proclisis would have been obligatory instead. The period of Classical Spanish, defined as the 17th and 18th centuries, saw the decline in analytic forms and the subsequent rise in synthetic futures/conditionals marked by enclisis.

Was the loss of the analytic future/conditional another step in the "completed grammaticalization" epiphenomenon? Again, as in the previous subsection, I say no. In fact, I restate that the loss of analyticity in the future/conditional had less to do with grammaticalization on an epiphenomenal level and more to do with syntactic analogical change. As the vast majority of paradigms admitted enclisis before Modern Spanish, so too went the future and conditional; speakers' preference changed from the analytic, mesoclitic form to the synthetic, enclitic form. It is not a matter of a new synthetic future with enclisis being formed in the grammar of Classical Spanish speakers; the form, though very infrequent, had always been salient in Spanish. To this end I also reject any

notion that the analytic/mesoclitic future grammaticalized "into" the synthetic/enclitic (and later proclitic) form. My reason for this is the lack of attestation of intermediate forms involving irregular verbs with clitics such as *decirásmelo* (= *dirásmelo*) or *se ponerán* (= *se pondrán*). If it were simply a matter of mesoclisis ceasing to be an option in the language, one might expect to these intermediate forms; this is not the case.

6.3. Final remarks

From the outset I had the intentions of revisiting a very common topic in historical change, but with new import: extending newer theories of Minimalism and grammaticalization to an older problem. I believe that my contributions will not only further the understanding of the evolution of the future and conditional from Latin to modern Spanish – and Romance in general – but also open the door to generative analyses of grammaticalization as well as diachronic studies of generative syntax.

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