PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON OLD SPANISH AUXILIARIES: *HABER, SER,* AND *ESTAR*

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The main purpose of this paper is to provide the reader with a preliminary description of the Old Spanish auxiliary system. As has been established in the literature, the future and conditional auxiliary is functional and the auxiliaries that constitute infinitival periphrases, either with temporal or modal meaning, and perfect compound tenses are lexical (cf. Rivero (in press)). From this standpoint, our goal is to show that: (a) Old Spanish temporal and modal periphrases can hardly conform to an analysis in which a VP subcategorizes for another VP; (b) the non-finite verb of the periphrastic future and conditional constructions undergoes excorporation in its movement to C^0; (c) the so-called perfect auxiliaries are lexical verbs which subcategorize for a small clause. Although our proposal is not totally free of the problems associated to the nature of participle preposing in compound tenses, it allows us to relate this movement to more general linguistic phenomena such as object preposing and topicalization in embedded sentences.

Following Martínez-Gil (1989), we will assume that Old Spanish is a VO language. Section 1 will be devoted to infinitival periphrases. For the time being, we will limit this paper to the description of empirical data.

In section 2, we will present an analysis of periphrastic futures and conditionals following Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991). Our purpose is to provide empirical support for the view that the non-finite verb, which moves to C^0 in order to satisfy Tobler-Mussafia's Law, excorporates from the auxiliary.
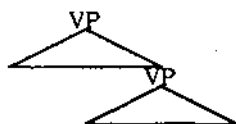
Section 3 will focus on the nature of participle-preposing constructions and the so-called 'perfect auxiliaries'. Since we postulate that they are lexical verbs, we should reverse the selection frame and instead of talking about 'auxiliary selection' we should say that: (a) *haber* subcategorizes for a small clause the predicate of which is the participle of a transitive or an active intransitive verb; (b) if the main verb is *ser*, the predicate of the small clause is unaccusative (the participle is either ergative, reflexive, deponent or passive). Tremblay's (1991) proposal about the differences and similarities between *avoir (haber)* 'have' and *être (ser)* 'be' concerning Case Theory gives an account of the differences in subcategorization. As for the structure of the Old Spanish constructions under discussion in this section, we will follow Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991), Kayne (1985) and Suñer (1990). In accounting for the syntactic change that has taken place from Old to Modern Spanish, we will follow the theory of Language Change revised and improved in Roberts (1992). We will assume Lois' (1989) analysis of compound perfect tenses in Modern Spanish and will make use of Lema's (1991) hypothesis concerning ASPP.

1.   Infinitival periphrases

According to Yllera (1973), Old Spanish periphrastic constructions in which *haber*, *ser* and *estar* play a central role belong to three main different sets: modal periphrases, temporal periphrases, and '*haber* + *que* + *infinitive*'.

For modal periphrases which express obligation (root meaning), Picallo (1991) postulates an analysis for catalan according to which a VP selects another VP as a complement:

(1)

Although we will assume this analysis at this time, it should be noticed that Old Spanish data do not fit in the analysis completely because, in many cases, there are not enough structural sites to accommodate all the elements which appear in the attested sentences.

As shown in (2), the subject usually precedes the auxiliary:[1]

(2)   Por esto *nós avemos de trabajar* mucho por aver... (*Cal.*:128)
        for this we have-AUX to work-INF much to have...
        'This is the reason why we have to work so much to have...'

However, we find two examples in which the subject follows the infinitive:

(3)   desí a pocos días *ovo de venir el religioso* a aquella çibdat. (*Cal.*:319)
        thus in few days had-AUX to come-INF the religious to that city
        'and in a few days the religious had to come to that city.'

(4)   et estés en el camino por do *ha de pasar el venador*. (*Cal.*:222)
        and stay-SUB in the path by where have-AUX to pass-INF the deer-hunter
        'and stay in the path by which the deer-hunter must go.'

Notice, though, that in both cases the infinitive is an ergative verb, which could account for the postposition of the subject.[2]

The insertion of an object between the infinitive and the subject is exceptional. We find a single example (with epistemic meaning):

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[1] Throughout the paper Old Spanish examples are labelled according to source. *Cal.* stands for *Libro de Calila e Dimna*, *Faz.* stands for *La Fazienda de Ultra Mar* and *Buen Amor* for *Libro del Buen Amor* (see references).

[2] We thank Dr. J. M. Brucart for this observation.

(5)   *Ovo de caer entre ellos contienda* sobre las cosas deste mundo. (*Cal.*:325)

        had-AUX to fall-INF among them contest about the things of-this world

        'They happened to discuss about the things of this world.'

Likewise, there are only two attested examples in which the subject intervenes between the 'auxiliary' and the preposition:

(6)   et *avrás tú de creer* lo que te dixeren de mí. (*Cal.*:314)

        and have-AUX-FUT you to believe-INF it that to-you$_{CL}$ tell-FUT.SUB of me

        'and you will have to believe what they will tell you about me.'

(7)   E *ovo esto a seer.* (*Faz.*:55)

        and had-AUX this to be-INF.

        'And this had to be (this way).'

In contrast, the insertion of clitic object pronouns is fairly frequent, due to the positional restrictions of Tobler-Mussafia's Law:

(8)   Puesto qu'el león non me pensase mal (...), *avríalos de escuchar.* (*Cal.*:162)

        given that-the lion not of-me$_{CL}$ think-SUB badly, have-AUX-COND-to-them$_{CL}$ to listen-INF

        'To prevent the lion from thinking wrong of me, I would have to listen to them.'

As for the occurrence of adverbs or adverbial phrases in this position, only one example was attested:

(9)   et por la tribulaçion que *avía en parte de aver* (*Cal.*:157)

        and for the tribulation that I had-AUX in part to have-INF

        'and for the trouble I was to endure in some degree'

As said and illustrated above, the interposition of such constituents between the 'auxiliary' and the infinitive could represent a problem for Picallo's (1991) proposal because it is not only the clitic but also the subject and some adverbial phrases that may appear in this position. Moreover, as the following example shows, there may be a negative marker between the preposition and the infinitive of the periphrasis, which suggests that this constructions should be analyzed as a VP which selects a CP:

(10)   et yo *só tenudo de te non enbiar* sin respuesta de tu ruego. (*Cal.*:245)
       and I am-AUX obliged to to-you$_{CL}$ not send-INF without answer to your plea
       'and I must not send you back without an answer to your plea.'

Notice that along with the passive form of *'tener de + infinitive'*, which according to Yllera (1973) means 'to be obliged', focusing on the person who must do the action, the negative marker appears between the clitic that follows the preposition and the infinitive. If we assume that negation is generated under NEGP, the projection subcategorized must be a CP. It could be argued that the negative marker could have incorporated into the verb owing to its clitic nature. However, our first impression is that *non* is not unstressed in Old Spanish because clitic pronouns can occur after the negative marker, at the beginning of a sentence, and after a pause without bringing about a violation of Tobler-Mussafia's Law:

(11)   ca el que se atreve a fiarse en alguno , *non lo aviendo provado...* (*Cal.*:317)
       for the who SE$_{CL}$ dares to rely-SE$_{CL}$ on someone, not to-him$_{CL}$ having-AUX proved
       'for the one who dares to rely on someone without having proved his worth...'

Finally, we will devote the last part of this section to illustrate clitic climbing in Old Spanish and, in particular, the sites in which unstressed object pronouns may appear. Three positions for clitics are attested: preceding the infinitive (12), following the 'auxiliary' (13), and preceding the 'auxiliary' (14).

(12) oviésemos de *nos* enemistar de la natura. (*Cal.*:206)

have-AUX-PAST.SUB to us$_{CL}$ become-enemies-INF with the nature

'we had to become enemies of nature.'

(13) avría*los* de escuchar. (*Cal.*:162)

have-AUX-COND-to-them$_{CL}$ to listen

'I would have to listen to them.'

(14) et yo *te* he de dezir muchas estorias et fazañas. (*Cal.*:209)

and I to-you$_{CL}$ have-AUX to say-INF many stories and deeds

'and I have to tell you many stories and deeds.'

2. Periphrastic futures and conditionals

In this section we will examine periphrastic future and conditional constructions. Many of the data show that the infinitive moves to C^0 to prevent the clitic pronoun from occupying the first position in the sentence. Whenever there is no unstressed pronoun, the infinitive undergoes incorporation into the auxiliary. Compare the two forms in italics in (15):

(15) Quando ovieses muerto estos, *apoderarse an* de ti et *avrán* tu reino así commo lo ante avían. (*Cal.*:286)

when have-AUX-PAST.SUB killed these, seize-INF-SE$_{CL}$ have-AUX of you and have-FUT your kingdom so as it$_{CL}$ before had.

'After having killed them, they will seize you and will have your kingdom as they did before.'

Sometimes a stressed element precedes the periphrastic future (or conditional). This might be regarded as a problem because, although this element already occupies the first position in the sentence, it does not preclude the movement of the non-finite verb to the left of the clitic:

(16) et *yo tajarte he* esta red un nudo en pos otro. (*Cal.*:271)

and I cut-INF-to-you$_{CL}$ have-AUX this net one knot in-after other

'and I will cut you this net knot by knot.'

Actually, what is happening is that the initial constituent is topicalized and occupies a position which is external to CP. Its presence does not affect Tobler-Mussafia's Law, which, as suggested by Lema and Rivero (cf. Lema (1991), Rivero (1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, in press), and Lema & Rivero (1989, 1991, 1992)), applies within CP. It is well known that Old Spanish discourse linkers such as *et, mas,* and *desí* do not count as initial elements because they do not appear inside CP.
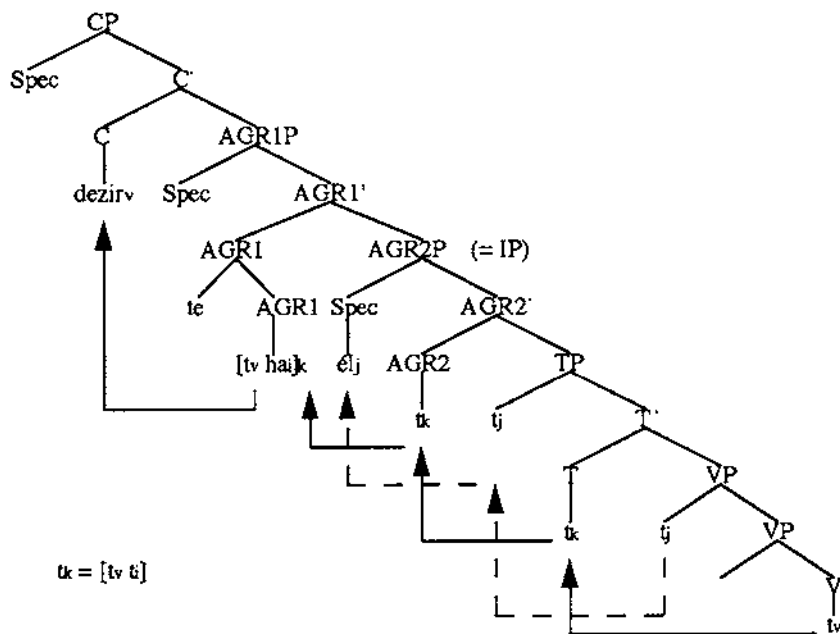
As for the structure of Old Spanish periphrastic futures and conditionals, we could adopt either the analysis proposed by Lema and Rivero or the one postulated in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991). We prefer the latter because its explanatory adequacy is higher (crosslinguistically as well). It must be pointed out, though, that this analysis will be applied here only to Old Spanish.

Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) propose that V2 languages and all languages in which clitics must satisfy either Tobler-Mussafia's or Wackernagel's Law have a maximal projection —AGR1P— between CP and the traditional AGRP, which they call AGR2P. This proposal provides us with a position for clitics in languages which show clitic second effects (or for the verb in V2 languages) —AGR1^0— and a landing site to place topicalized elements in embedded sentences —SPEC of AGR1P. Thus, it can be claimed that Old Romance languages have two TOP positions: one external to CP and the other one within CP. Furthermore, whenever the subject follows the future or conditional periphrasis, it is located in SPEC of AGR2P, where it receives nominative Case under government by the auxiliary *haber* (which occupies the head of AGR1P).

Examples (17), (18), and (19) illustrate subject postposition in periphrastic futures and (20) is the analysis given to these constructions:

(17) et *dezirte ha él* que ante fue él allá que tú. (*Cal.*:342)

and tell-INF-to-you$_{CL}$ have-AUX he that before went he there than you

'and he will tell you that he went there before you did.'

(18) e *bendezirte a la mi alma* antes que muera. (*Faz.*:47)

and bless-INF-to-you$_{CL}$ have-AUX the my soul before that die-PRES.SUB

'and my soul will bless you before I die.'

(19) Al tercero dia *sacarte a Pharaon* de la carcel. (*Faz.*:53)

at the third day remove-INF-to-you$_{CL}$ have-AUX Pharaoh from the prison

'On the third day the Pharaoh will release you from prison.'

(20)

Government of the infinitive trace is realized in terms of 'extended chain coindexation', as proposed by Lema and Rivero, so that there is no violation of the Empty Category Principle

(ECP). In our opinion, the non-finite verb incorporates into the auxiliary under T^0 and later on, under $AGR1^0$, it excorporates and moves to C^0. Thus, the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) is obeyed both in periphrastic and synthetic future and conditional constructions. Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) suggest two possibilities: either Long Head Movement of the infinitive to C^0 or excorporation. Although they prefer the former option, we will adopt the latter. They argue that if excorporation is assumed, we should find examples in which the whole complex moves into C^0. In fact, there is evidence of this type in *La Fazienda de Ultra Mar* and therefore we adopt the latter option. Notice that in these examples the synthetic future moves to C^0 preventing the clitic from occupying the first position within CP:
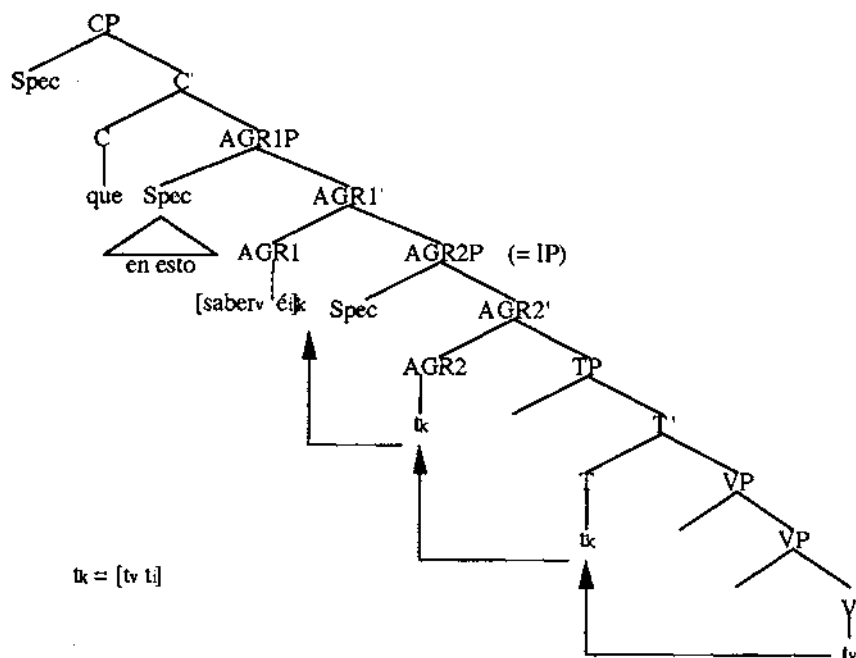
(21)   e *combredeslo* ayna; esta es la pascua al Sennor. (*Faz.*:70)
        and eat-INF-have-AUX-it$_{CL}$ in-haste; this is the passover to the Lord.
        'and you will eat it in haste; it is the Lord's passover.'

(22)   e *pornedeslas* sobre vuestras fijas. (*Faz.*:63)
        and put-INF-have-AUX-them$_{CL}$ upon your daughters
        'and you will put them upon your daughters.'

(23)   e *toldredeslas* a los Egiptos. (*Faz.*:63)
        and remove-INF-have-AUX-them$_{CL}$ to the Egiptians
        'and you will take them from the Egiptians.'

As shown in these examples, the non-finite verb has not excorporated from the auxiliary: *combr-edes*, *porn-edes*, *toldr-edes*.

Furthermore, the analysis given in (20) provides the correct account for embedded clauses such as (24), as illustrated in (25):

(24)   *que en esto saber é si sodes barruntes* (*Faz.*:55)
        that in this know-INF have-AUX if are spies
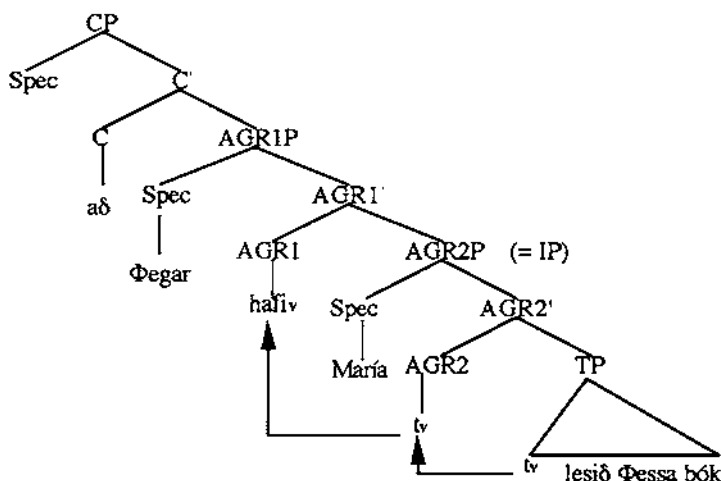   'that thus I will know if you are spies'

(25)

tk = [tv ti]

Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) argue that SPEC of AGR1P is a topic position within the embedded sentence. In systematic V2 languages such as Icelandic, this position hosts the first constituent in embedded clauses while the verb occupies the head of AGR1P. We reproduce some of their examples to illustrate this (Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991:4)):

(26)   a.   Ég held að **Þegar** hafi María lesið Þessa bók.

          I believe that already has Mary read this book

          'I believe that Mary has read this book already.'

     b.   Ég harma að **Þegar** hafi María lesið Þessa bók.

          I regret that already has Mary read this book

          'I regret that Mary has already read this book.'

(27)

As is well known, Yiddish may have topicalization in embedded clauses, as shown in (28), taken from Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991:19):

(28)   der yid vos **in Boston** hobn mir im gezen

the man that in Boston have we him seen

'the man that we saw (him) in Boston'

All these facts support a structure like the one illustrated in (20) for periphrastic futures and conditionals.

According to Cardinaletti and Roberts , the relationship between elements which can occupy $AGR1^0$ and those which can be located in SPEC of AGR1P may be described as follows:

(29)   a.   If $AGR1^0$ hosts an inflected verb, SPEC of AGR1P can be a TOP position (Icelandic, Old English main clauses). $AGR1^0$ is not a head which induces an A-position specifier.

b. $AGR1^0$ hosts a clitic and the SPEC of AGR1P is an A-position which can be occupied by the subject (Old English embedded clauses).

97

Some languages have both options; others, such as Icelandic and Dutch, only one of them. This must be related to the fact that: (a) Case-assigning heads in languages that possess both alternatives can assign nominative Case under government and under 'spec-head' coindexation; (b) in those in which only one possibility is available, nominative Case is assigned either under government (Icelandic) or 'spec-head' agreement (Dutch). Cardinaletti and Roberts consider that it is the nature of the nominative Case assigners in a given language which determines whether the language has nominative Case assignment under government, under 'spec-head' agreement, or under both.

In Old Spanish sentences where the verb is a periphrastic future or a conditional, the subject can precede the periphrasis but it can follow it as well:

(30)   et *el lirón* comerlos ha. (*Cal.*:173)
        and the dormouse eat-INF-them$_{CL}$ have-AUX
        'and the dormouse will eat them.'

(31)   et si las dexare (...), conprarlas ha *otro*. (*Cal.*:335)
        and if them$_{CL}$ leave-FUT.SUB, buy-INF-them$_{CL}$ have-AUX another
        'and if I leave them, another person will buy them.'

(32)   et turbarse ha *la pura amistad et el puro amor*. (*Cal.*:341)
        and disturb-INF-SE$_{CL}$ have-AUX the pure friendship and the pure love
        'and virtuous friendship and love will be disturbed.'

(33)   traértelo he *yo* del lugar do es. (*Cal.*:258)
        bring-INF-to-you$_{CL}$ have-AUX I from the place where is
        'I will bring it to you from where it is.'

It can be concluded that Old Spanish functional auxiliaries can license a subject in SPEC of AGR2P under government when they are in AGR1^0. Old Spanish displays the two options given in (34). As in the other Romance languages, there are two topic positions: one external to CP and another within CP,

(34) a. Topic in SPEC of AGR1P + V[+finite] in AGR1^0.

b. Subject in SPEC of AGR1P + clitic in AGR1^0.[3]

3. *'haber, ser* or *estar* + participle' constructions

It should be noted that in our opinion all constructions of this type conform to the same analysis. We assume that in Old Spanish *haber, ser* and *estar* are lexical verbs which select a small clause. The participle is the predicate of the small clause and may have different meanings: attributive, unaccusative, active and passive. Therefore, the participle subcategorization frame will diverge according to each meaning . As already noted, we will adopt Kayne's (1985) analysis of some of these constructions, but also Brucart's (1991). The latter provides a structure for passive sentences in Modern Spanish which is equivalent to the one given in Kayne (1985) ((35) is from Brucart (1991:19)):

(35) La edición$_i$ fue [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ reducida t$_i$].

'The edition was reduced.'

First, we will examine the data in which one or more elements have been inserted between the main verb and the participle. We find interpositions of one or two adverbs (*ya, sienpre, más, mejor*, etc.) between *ser* and the participle in passive constructions and in constructions which nowadays would be expressed by means of *estar.*

(36) nin podriés vedar lo que es *ende ya* fecho. (*Cal.*: 149)

nor be-able-COND ban it that is for-this already done

'nor would you be able to ban what is already done.'

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[3] It is not clear, though, whether this option is available or not, because the location of the subject in SPEC of AGR1P has not been attested.

(37) Aquella enzina (...) fue *cara mientre* tenuda. (*Faz.*:46)

that oak was dear like considered

'That oak was dearly appreciated.'

The same phenomenon is attested in periphrases in which the participles are ergative (*llegar*, *fuir*, *ir*, *entrar*, etc.):

(38) et só *ya* llegado a esto. (*Cal.*:314)

and am already come to this

'and I have already come to this point.'

In fact, it is not only adverbs which appear between the main verb and the participle. Subjects may do so as well (39-43), even though subject postposition is also common (44):

(39) Aqui fue *Josep* vendido en Egipto. (*Faz.*:52)

here was Joseph sold in Egypt.

'In this passage Joseph was sold in Egypt.'

(40) et eran *muchos omnes* sospechados et *otros* presos. (*Cal.*:320)

and were many men under-suspicion-PART and others arrested

'and many men were under suspicion and others had been arrested.'

(41) Del baron cuyos son estos pennos, so yo prennada. (*Faz.*:52)

by-the man whose are these tokens, was I impregnated

'I was impregnated by the man these tokens belong to.'

(42) et falló que avía *el ladrón* levado quanto tenía. (*Cal.*:93)

and found-out that had the thief taken all that had

'and he found out that the thief had taken all that he had.'

(43) Estava *aquel mançebo* asentado en los poyos. (*Cal.*:329)

was that youth sat on the boundary-stones

'That young man was sitting on the boundary stones.'

(44)   et fallarán que esto ha fecho *tu açorero*. (*Cal.*:199)

         and find-out-FUT that this has done your assistant

         'and they will find out that your assistant has done this.'

Different types of objects appearing in this position are attested as well. The most frequent are indirect objects (45) and direct objects (46). There are also examples in which the intervening phrase is a PP (47), and examples that show that two constituents may appear simultaneously in this position (48):

(45)   et ya me fue *a mí* dicho deste falso mintroso. (*Cal.*:188)

         and already to-me$_{CL}$ was to me said about-this false liar

         'and I was already told about this false liar.'

(46)   un río que estava aí, que avía *una puente* quebrada. (*Cal.*:124)

         a river that was there, which had a bridge broken

         'a river that was there, which had broken a bridge.'

(47)   ca será *por nesçio* contado , así commo el omne que... (*Cal.*:205)

         for be-FUT as foolish regarded, so as the man that

         'for he will be considered foolish as the man that ... (was)'

(48)   et fue *en esto el mur* engañado. (*Cal.*:349)

         and was in this the mouse misled

         'and the mouse was misled by this.'

The data just examined support Kayne's (1985) and Brucart's (1991) proposals. It can be argued that the elements inserted between the main verb and the participle illustrate the structural positions which are available within the small clause and, hence, that the underlying structure of these sentences must be as in (49):

(49)   *e* V [$_{SC}$ *e* participle NP {NP/PP}]

101

Furthermore, this hypothesis is supported by the position of floating quantifiers:
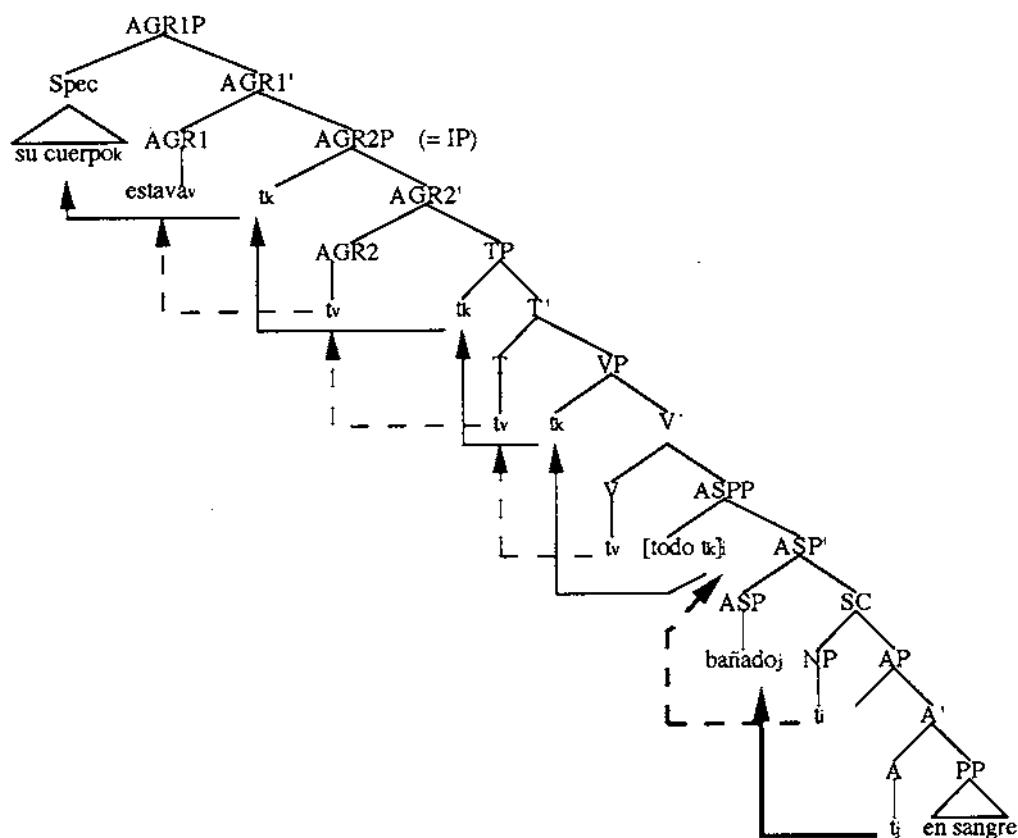
(50)   su cuerpo estava *todo* bañado en sangre. (*Cal.*:280)

his body was all bathed in blood
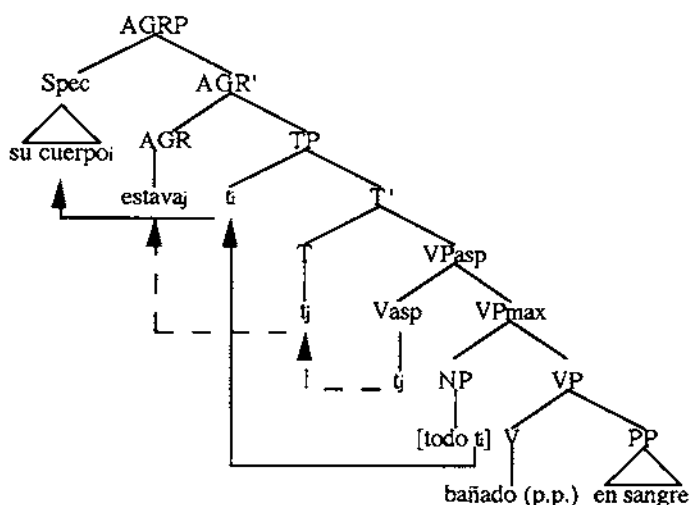
'his body was all covered with blood.'

Therefore, following Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991), Kayne (1985), and Brucart (1991), and assuming Suñer's (1990) analysis of small clauses, we obtain the structure shown in (51):

(51) Old Spanish

We assume that *haber*, *ser* and *estar* subcategorize for a small clause in Old Spanish. Neither of them assign a θ-role to the external argument and only *haber* assigns Case (cf. Tremblay (1991)). We believe, *haber* has lost its ability to assign Case to its internal argument and this led to a change in subcategorization. In Modern Spanish it selects a VP (cf. Lois (1989)). Furthermore, following Lema (1991), we assume that in Modern Spanish *haber* and *estar* are base-generated under a functional category ASPP (VPasp):

(52) Modern Spanish

To summarize, the major syntactic change from Old Spanish *haber*, *ser*, and *estar* to the Modern Spanish corresponding auxiliaries is due to a change in subcategorization: a lexical category VP has been reanalyzed as a functional category ASPP (represented here by means of VPasp to avoid confusions with ASPP in Old Spanish small clauses). There is one exception, though. *Ser* has kept its original subcategorization frame in passive constructions.

In addition to the loss of its ability to assign Case, *haber* ceased to mean *tener* 'have', which led to its gradual intrusion into the syntactic functions of *ser*. Consequently, the former started to be used in constructions where the latter had been used before. In the 13th century,

reflexives, deponents, and intransitives with *haber* are quite rare. From the 14th century onwards, *estar* specializes in the expression of aspectual features and at the end of the 16th century it ousts *ser* from the aspectual compound tenses. In contrast, *ser* remains in passive constructions, which is expected if we take into account that it has an active counterpart in the paradigm of syntactic functions. Notice that it is the only construction in which participle agreement has survived in Modern Spanish.

According to Yllera (1973), at the end of the 15th century participle agreement disappears completely (except for passives). Antonio de Torquemada, in the *Manual de Escribientes*, published at the beginning of the 16th century, regards periphrastic futures and conditionals as archaic constructions. It follows from this that Tobler-Mussafia's Law was no longer applicable at that time. Although we have not been able to confirm this, we guess that at that time participle preposing was considered to be archaic as well.

Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) suggest that all languages in which Tobler-Mussafia's Law or Wackernagel's Law apply have a maximal projection AGRlP. They add that the loss of clitic-second effects in Old Italian and the loss of V2 in Old French are to be related to the loss of this projection.

Following their analysis, we propose that the syntactic change that came to an end at the turn of the 16th century in Spanish is due to three basic aspects:

(53) a. Grammaticalization of several lexical elements which originated the gradual loss of their semantic content.

b. Reanalysis that led to changes of subcategorization in the verbal system and to the change of some lexical categories into functional categories (some of the VPs which subcategorized for a small clause were reanalyzed as ASPPs which subcategorize for a VP). *Haber* and *estar* ousted *ser*, except for passive constructions, because their syntactic functions took over those of *ser*.

(53)   c.   AGR1P was lost leading to the loss of Tobler-Mussafia effects, participle
           agreement, and participle preposing.

The existence of AGR1P provides an explanation for the position of unstressed object
pronouns in the following examples:

(54)   que *te* yo he fecho mal. (*Cal.*:314)
       that to-you$_{CL}$ I have done harm
       'that I have hurt you.'

(55)   Si *me* yo oviese llegado al león. (*Cal.*:129)
       if myself$_{CL}$ I have-PAST.SUB arrived at-the lion
       'If I had gotten to know the lion.'

The position of clitics in these sentences is commonplace in *Calila e Dimna*. Taking the pronoun
to be in AGR1^0, we could argue that in these examples nominative Case assignment takes place
under 'spec-head' agreement within AGR2P, which is the only one available in Modern
Spanish. The fact that this order is not possible in Modern Spanish supports the hypothesis
about the loss of AGR1P.

Taking this into account, we will focus on participle preposing. Lema and Rivero, in the
different works cited above, examine this construction and argue that it is neither VP preposing
nor Long Head Movement. Despite sharing some properties with these operations, participle
preposing does not display all of their properties.

González-Ollé (1983) documents the existence of participle fronting in the second half of the
10th century and, since there are about ten examples in Menéndez-Pidal's (1965) edition of the
Glosas Silenses (56), we will assume that participle preposing is productive in early Spanish
Romance.

(56)   *betatu* lo ayat. (*Glosas Silenses:*295)

       vetoed it$_{CL}$ have-PRES.SUB

       '(that he) have forbidden it.'

Notice that in the 13th century the participle could be fronted together with and adverb modifying it:

(57)   que *ya tornados* serían. (*Cal.*:144)

       that already come-back-PART be-COND

       'that they would have already come back.'

(58)   *Ya entendido* he agora esto. (*Cal.*:305)

       already understood have now this

       'I have already understood this now.'

(59)   *Ya llegado* ha tu fazienda a tal lugar. (*Cal.*:188)

       already come has your deed to such place

       'Your deed has already reached such a point.'

(60)   *fecho* as tú otro tal a los otros. (*Cal.*:301)

       done have you other such to the others

       'you have done the same to the others.'

(61)   *Benedicto* sea Abraam de Dyos. (*Faz.*:44)

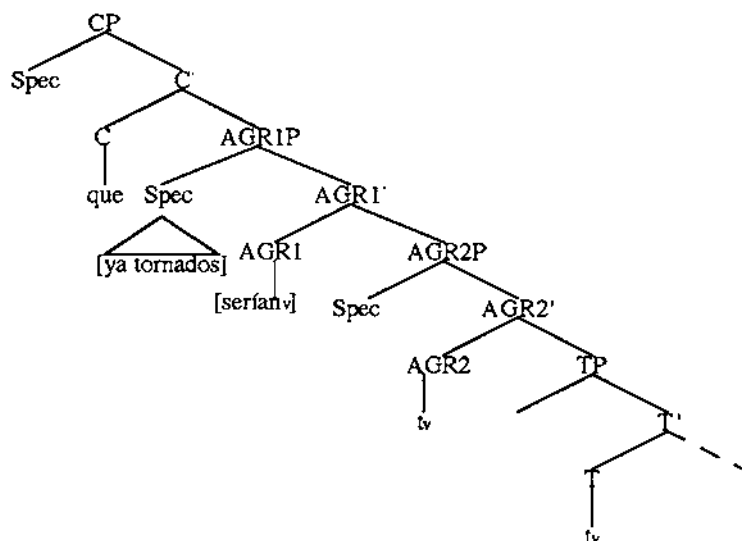   blessed be-SUB Abraham by God

       'Let Abraham be blessed by God.'

In (57) the non-finite verb *ser* has incorporated to the auxiliary (giving the conditional as a result) and the complex 'adverb+participle' has been fronted. This suggests that participle preposing is an X^{max} movement.[4] It can be claimed that the fronted element is the predicate of

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[4] However, it is difficult to sustain this because *esto* 'this' in (58) and *a tal lugar* 'such a point' in (59) are objects of their respective participles. Notice that (60) and (61) present the same problem. The adverb modifying

the small clause, an AP headed by the participle. Since participle preposing is possible in embedded clauses such as (57), we must assume that the predicate of the small clause is situated in SPEC of AGR1P and the main verb in AGR1^0. In general, the subject occurs after the auxiliary. In (59), (60), and (61), nominative Case is assigned to the subject in SPEC of AGR2P under government from AGR1^0.

(62)

Whenever a clitic pronoun follows the participle, it is adjoined to the main verb in AGR1^0:

(63) Engañados *nos* ha este cuervo. (*Cal.*:240)

      deceived us$_{CL}$ has this raven

      'This raven has deceived us.'

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the participle can be something other than *ya* 'already' (for instance *muy* or *mucho* 'very, much'). According to A. Suñer (p.c.) these facts are the same for Modern Spanish small clauses.

Example (64) could be interpreted as a possible counterexample to our proposal. It can be argued, however, that the object is occupying a TOP position external to CP, a view supported by the presence of the resumptive pronoun, and the participle is in AGR1[10]:

(64)   Esto oído lo he. (*Cal.*:122)

       this listened to-it$_{CL}$ have

       'I have listened to this.'

Negation also supports the treatment of participle preposing as an X^{max} movement because it does not prevent the movement from taking place:

(65)   si provados non fueren (*Cal.*:133)

       if proved not were

       'if they were not proved'

(66)   lo que en muchos días acabado non as (*Buen Amor*:579)

       it that in many days finished not have

       'what you have not finished in many days'

As Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) show, participle preposing does not only occur in Old Spanish. Icelandic stylistic fronting allows participle preposing, too. Compare the following sentences from Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991:13):

(67)   a.   Φarna er konan sem *kosin* var forsetí.

            there is woman that elected was president

            'There is a woman that was elected president.'

      b.   Φarna er konan sem var *kosin* forsetí.

            there is woman that was elected president

            'There is a woman that was elected president.'

Adjectives can be fronted in the same way participles are in Old Spanish. Notice that there are examples attested in which the whole AP is fronted:

(68) *Vivo* es e sano. (*Faz.*:56)

alive is and sound

'He is alive and well.'

(69) *Plus bellos* son sos ojos. (*Faz.*:59)

more beautiful are her eyes

'Her eyes are more beautiful.'

(70) Non podian bever de las aguas (...) que *amargas* eran. (*Faz.*:72)

not could drink of the waters that sour were

'They could not drink that water because it was sour.'

Thus, it must be claimed that adjective and participle fronting correspond to one and the same strategy: topicalization of the small clause predicate. As (71) shows, the participle may be fronted together with its complement ((72) is the underlying structure for (71)):

(71) maguer aborrida cosa sea. (*Cal.*:185)

though loathed thing be-SUB

'though (death) is a loathed thing.'

(72) sea [[aborrida cosa] [pro]]

Notice that what has been fronted is the small clause that constitutes the predicate of another small clause.[5] Finally, we find some examples in which the whole small clause has been fronted:

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[5] Thanks to N. Martí for this observation.

(73)   et desque *él muerto* fuere, ligera cosa es de matar a ella. (*Cal.*:345)

and since he dead be-FUT.SUB, easy thing is to kill her

'and when he will be dead, it will be easy to kill her.'

Taking into account that the small clause is analyzed as an ASPP, the subject of the small clause moves to SPEC of ASPP and the predicate to ASP[0] (spec-head agreemet takes place). Then the whole ASPP is fronted. Considering that the small clause is the internal argument of *fuere* 'be', this movement can be related to object preposing.

4.   Conclusion

To summarize, infinitival periphrases do not seem to conform to an analysis in which a VP selects another VP. The non-finite verb excorporates from the auxiliary in AGR1[0] and moves to C[0] preventing the clitic from being sentence initial in periphrastic futures and conditionals. *Haber, ser* and *estar* are lexical verbs which subcategorize for a small clause the predicate of which is a participle. Participle preposing can be related to the fronting of small clause predicates and to object preposing. The main syntactic changes from Old to Modern Spanish can be explained according to the following facts: (a) the grammaticalization of several lexical elements originated their gradual loss of semantic content; (b) reanalysis led to changes of subcategorization in the verbal system and to the change of some lexical categories into functional categories; (c) AGR1P was lost leading to the loss of Tobler-Mussafia effects, participle agreement, and participle preposing.

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