

# The Syntax of Old Catalan Clitics: *Llibre dels Fets*\*

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Received: March 17, 2022  
Accepted: September 15, 2022

## Abstract

Although the distribution of pronominal clitics in Old Catalan has been described in general terms (Fischer 2002; Batllori et al. 2005), there are no quantitative studies detailing the frequency of preverbal or postverbal clitics nor their diachronic evolution. The clitics appearing with verbs in the future and conditional tense (FC) are worth a separate mention, since these forms originate from periphrastic structures that involve an infinitive and the auxiliary verb HABERE, and which could appear as an analytic (*dir-li he*) or a synthetic form (*li diré* or *diré-li*). This paper describes the general clitic positioning and the one encountered with FC in order to verify the claim that they display parallel distributions, using a text from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, to wit *Llibre dels Fets*. This article analyses the pragmatic-syntactic environments in which the clitic are found, as well as the degree of grammaticalization and univerbation of the FC. Following previous work (e.g., Bouzouita & Sentí 2022), it is argued that the FC in Catalan appear to exhibit a more advanced degree of grammaticalization than the western languages of the Iberian Peninsula.

**Keywords:** clitics; word order; analytic future; Old Catalan; grammaticalization

**Resum.** *La sintaxi dels clítics en català antic: Llibre dels Fets*

Tot i que la distribució dels clítics pronominals en català antic ha estat descrita en línies generals (Fischer 2002; Batllori et al. 2005), encara no hi ha estudis empírics que analitzen la freqüència de la posició dels clítics en anteposició o posposició ni com ha evolucionat. Els clítics amb verbs en futur i condicional (FC) mereixen una anàlisi específica perquè provenen d'estructures perifràstiques amb un infinitiu i el verb auxiliar HABERE, les quals han donat lloc a la forma analítica (*dir-li he*) i a la sintètica (*li diré* o *diré-li*). Aquest estudi descriu la posició dels clítics en general i en el cas del FC en particular per comprovar que efectivament tenen una distribució equivalent, a partir d'un text del segle XIII, el *Llibre dels Fets*. L'article analitza els contextos pragmáticosintàctics en què apareixen els clítics, així com també el grau de gramaticalització i d'univerbació

\* This work has been supported by the research group “Linguistic variation in Catalan (VaLingCat)”, University of València (Ref: GIUV2017-397) and a Grant for the Requalification of the Spanish University System (Ministry of Universities of the Government of Spain), funded by the European Union, NextGeneration EU (Ref: UV-EXPSOLP2U-1801406).

del FC. Seguint estudis previs (e.g., Bouzouita & Sentí 2022), es defensa que el FC en català sembla tenir un grau de gramaticalització més avançat que en les llengües més occidentals de la península Ibèrica.

**Paraules clau:** clitics; ordre de mots; futur analític; català antic; gramaticalització

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## 1. Introduction

The position of pronominal clitics with respect to the verb in Old Catalan has been said to be motivated by syntactic-pragmatic restrictions, unlike what occurs in the present-day language (Fischer 2002; Batllori et al. 2005). The pronominal clitics in the present-day language are governed by morphosyntactic restrictions related to the type of verb form (IEC 2016: § 8.3.3). All verb tenses generally require proclisis,<sup>1</sup> as is the case in (1). However, verbal periphrases, such as in (2) admit both proclisis to the finite verb and enclisis to the non-finite one, and when the verb appears in the imperative, the infinitive or the gerund, only enclisis is possible (3).<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. Els xiquets *la deixen* al pati [la pilota]  
 ‘The children leave it in the yard [the ball]’  
 b. Els xiquets *la deixaran* al pati  
 ‘The children will leave it in the yard’
- (2) a. Els xiquets *la van deixar* al pati / Els xiquets *van deixar-la* al pati  
 ‘The children left it in the yard’  
 b. Els xiquets *l’han de deixar* al pati / Els xiquets *han de deixar-la* al pati  
 ‘The children have to leave it in the yard’
- (3) *Deixa-la* al pati, ara! / *Deixar-la* / *Deixant-la*  
 ‘Leave it in the yard, now! / To leave it / Leaving it’

In Old Catalan (and other Romance languages), the syntactic-pragmatic environments in which the finite verb appears determine the position of the clitics, i.e.,

1. In this paper, ‘clitic’ is used as a pre-theoretical label (and as a synonym for the unstressed pronoun), without alluding to the phonological status of the unstressed pronouns in question. ‘Proclisis’ and ‘enclisis’, therefore, refer to the preverbal and postverbal placement of the clitic pronoun.
2. Cf. Bonet (2002) for dialectal variation.

whether it appears in a subordinate clause or a main clause, as well as the position of other constituents in the main clause. Clitics generally occur in proclisis in subordinate clauses, as in (4a). In main clauses, they can either be proclitic in certain syntactic-pragmatic contexts, such as negative sentences (4b); they admit variation, such as when the verb follows the subject (4c-d), or they appear enclitically.

- (4) a. lo tort que *li* teníem (LF: 1r)  
 the damage that him.DAT have.IMP.F.1PL  
 ‘the damage that we did to him’
- b. E anch Nostre Seyor no *ns* castigà (LF: 1r)  
 And never Our Lord not us.ACC punish.PST.3SG  
 ‘And Our Lord never punished us’
- c. E ell *fià* *s* tant en él (LF: 4v)  
 And he trust.PST.3SG refl so.much in him  
 ‘And he trusted him so much’
- d. E Nostre Seyor *la* *amà* tant (LF: 4r)  
 And Our Lord her.ACC love.PST.3SG so.much  
 ‘And Our Lord loved her so much’

The diachronic evolution of pronominal clitics in Romance languages has been studied in various works (cf. Ramsden 1963; Rivero 1986; Granberg 1988; Fontana 1993; Martins 1994; Castillo Lluch 1996; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005; Bouzouita 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2016; among others). For Catalan, studies have also moved forwards in recent years (Fischer 2002; the work of Batllori et al. 2005 and Francalanci et al. in press). The paper by Batllori et al. (2005) carries out a Romance comparison and locates Old Catalan’s clitic behavior close to the one in Old Castilian and Old Portuguese and, in some respects, to that in Medieval French. This study concludes that i) subordinate clauses admit only proclisis; but ii) there is variation in clitic placement in main clauses; iii) in which enclisis is the most frequent and unmarked pattern, regardless of the verb being in the first, second or third position, iv) while certain preverbal constituents trigger anteposition (e.g., negation, quantifiers, *wh*-words, certain adverbials and focalized phrases), and v) variation is observed for main clause cases without these “proclisis triggers”, in which enclisis is quantitatively predominant and proclisis can be interpreted as a marked configuration and an emphasis strategy (cf. for Old Castilian, see also Granberg 1988, 1999; Castillo Lluch 1996; Bouzouita 2008a, 2008b). In other words, syntactic-pragmatic factors are said to govern clitic placement in these languages.

In spite of this knowledge on pronominal clitics in Old Catalan, several aspects still require more empirical analysis, which is the purpose of this paper. Firstly, there are no quantitative data regarding the frequency of the various patterns, since, as stated by Batllori et al. (2005: 169; the translation is ours), “a quantitative assessment is missing”. Secondly, more in-depth analyses of the various syntactic-prag-

matic environments are also needed, such as the cases in which clitics following adverbial clauses, concessive clauses and causal conjunctions can appear preverbally. Furthermore, there is lack of knowledge on which variation contexts favor preverbal placement and on the extent to which proclisis is linked to emphasis (or whether it can also appear in a neutral, i.e., non-emphatic environment, and then be used in innovative contexts). The same applies for its evolution throughout history and the fixing of word order with the clitics in proclisis to the finite verb, or its dialectal and discursive variations.

In the history of pronominal clitics, the formation of the futures and conditionals (from here on FC), such as *cantaré-cantaria* ‘I will sing-I would sing’, is worth a separate mention, since these forms originate from Latin periphrastic structures [infinitive + HABERE].<sup>3</sup> This evolution has been documented for French, Occitan, Catalan, Castilian, Aragonese, Asturian, Portuguese and some Italian dialects (Pérez Saldanya 1998; Paden 1998: 183-186; de Andrés Díaz 2013: 496-497, 499-500; Company Company 2006; Buridant 2019: 371-372; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted, among others). It is also well known that the grammaticalization process was not yet complete when the first written examples of Romance languages appeared and there is, therefore, variation between what have been denominated the analytic and synthetic forms of the FC (from here on, AFC and SFC) in many Medieval Romance languages, although not in all.<sup>4</sup> As can be seen, both the AFC (5a) and the SFC (5b-c) have been documented for the 13<sup>th</sup> century (e.g., Moll 2014; Alsina in press). Note that in the AFC, unstressed pronouns appear between the infinitive-like element and the auxiliary verb, as occurs in *mostrar-lo-us hé* (5a), while in the SFC, these pronouns precede the verb, as in *li faré* (5b), or they follow it, as in *diré-ls-ho* (5c). Having said this, the SFC, unlike the AFC (which always has mesocclisis), can also appear without an unstressed pronoun, as is the case with *enviaré* (5c).

- (5) a. E yo *mostrar -lo-us hé* a matar (LF: 36r)  
 And I show.INF it.ACC=US.DAT have.AUX.1SG to kill  
 ‘And I will show you how to kill him’
- b. açò *li faré* jo (LF: 45v)  
 that him.DAT do.FUT.1SG I  
 ‘that I will do to him’

3. Note that the first element of the Romance construction of the FC does not always coincide with the full form of the infinitive, as is the case of *diré* (< *decir*) and *haré* (< *hacer*) in Spanish, or in the FC with epenthetic consonants, such as *saldré*, *pondré*, etc. (e.g., Saralegui 1977, 1985; Moreno Bernal 2004; Bouzouita 2011, 2016), although diachronically it proceeds from this verb form. The term ‘infinitive-like element’ is used to refer to it.
4. We consider the SFC as a more grammaticalized form since univerbation took place (cf. Lehmann 2020) and there is more cohesion in the verbal paradigm (i.e., paradigmaticity, Lehmann 1985) than in the case of AFC. See, among others, Jensen (1986: 273; 1990: 351), Donaldson (2016, 2021), Mériz (1978) for Occitan; Company Company (2006), Bouzouita (2011, 2016), Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2015) for Castilian; and Saralegui (1977), Primerano & Bouzouita submitted; in prep. for Navarro-Aragonese.

- c. “*Enviaré a éls e diré ·ls-ho*” (LF: 23v)  
 send.FUT.1SG to them and tell.FUT.1SG them.DAT=it.ACC<sup>5</sup>  
 “‘I will send them and I will tell that to them’”

A lot of attention has been paid to the alternation among the different types of FC in Old Castilian (Eberenz 1991; Castillo Lluch 1996, 2002; Bouzouita 2011, 2012, 2016, *inter alia*). It has been shown that, in this language, the variation between the SFC and the AFC is regulated by principles that also govern the positioning of clitics in the contexts with other tenses (henceforth OT). More specifically, there is a distributional parallelism: the AFC (i.e., the mesoclitic construction) can be found in those syntactic-pragmatic environments in which the clitics appear postponed to OT, while the SFC with preverbal clitics have the same distribution as the proclitics that appear with OT. Therefore, these studies have shown that the AFC is not used as a topicalization strategy, as has been suggested by Company Company (2006). The variation between AFC and SFC has, however, not been studied to the same extent for Catalan, despite the aforementioned valuable contributions.

Moreover, not sufficient attention has been paid to the importance of the SFC with postverbal clitics in the grammaticalization of the FC neither for Old Castilian nor Old Catalan for (except for Eberenz 1991; Bouzouita 2011, 2016; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted). However, as already urged by Bouzouita (2016), the SFC with postverbal clitics should be scrutinized in more detail to determine how they differ from the AFC. Since these SFC appear in the same syntactic-pragmatic contexts as the AFC, there might be a difference in the degree of grammaticalization. Indeed, the fact that speakers choose to place the clitic after the verbal complex (SFC with enclisis) rather than separating the infinitive-like element from the auxiliary verb (AFC with mesoclis) could be indicative that a univerbation process is affecting the FC.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, the studies that examine the development of the FC have not considered diatopic variables, nor have they considered the possible influences resulting from dialect and language contact. However, as stressed in the work of Fernández-Ordóñez (2011), this dialectal perspective can be highly revealing in order to obtain a better understanding of the history of a language. In this respect, Bouzouita (2016: 293-295) proposes that the grammaticalization process of the FC could, given the greater frequency of SFC with postverbal clitics, have begun on the Iberian Peninsula in the varieties in the northeast and then extended to the west across the different Ibero-Romance languages, but without reaching completion, since present-day Portuguese still permits the AFC. Moreover, there are qualitative signs that

5. Until now, we have provided the glosses to show the different positions of pronominal clitics. From here on, however, we no longer provide them as the morphosyntactic features of the clitics do not play any role in the observed word order. Relevant verbs and clitics will appear in italics, and the latter also in bold in order to highlight the clitic placement. Other important elements will be underlined.
6. In this paper, we use of the term *univerbation* following Lehmann (2020: 205), i.e., “the syntagmatic condensation of a sequence of words recurrent in discourse into one word”. It is, moreover, considered to be a gradual process that can have weaker and stronger phases. The phase before univerbation implies the juxtaposition of two (or various) words.

the development of and changes in the FC in the northeast of the Ibero-Romance area were probably greatly influenced by contact with the Gallo-Romance varieties from the north of the Pyrenees, i.e., the Occitan area.<sup>7</sup> The suggested geographical spread of the change from east to west is also observed for other linguistic phenomena in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the last few years, several historical dialectal studies have, in effect, demonstrated that Old Castilian morpho-syntax was subject to the influences from the eastern Ibero-Romance languages.<sup>8</sup>

Bearing all of the above in mind, the present study has two objectives. Firstly, it aims to contribute to providing a better description of the morpho-syntax of Old Catalan by studying the syntactic-pragmatic distribution of pronominal clitics. We specifically propose to evaluate the following hypothesis: the general syntactic-pragmatic restrictions that explain the preverbal and postverbal placement of clitics also explain the behavior of the clitics in the FC. To do so, we will be carrying out quantitative and qualitative analyses of the clitic placement found with FC and OT in a particular 13<sup>th</sup> century text: *Llibre dels Fets del rei En Jaume* (= *LF*). This will provide more diachronic knowledge on clitic placement in Old Catalan, while comparing these results with those from previous studies on clitics with the FC as in *Vides de sants rosselloneses* (= *Vides*), another 13<sup>th</sup> century text (Torres-Latorre 2021), and the Gospels according to John and Matthew in the *Biblia del segle XIV* (= *Biblia*), a text that is, as its title suggests, from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Bouzouita & Sentí 2022). Moreover, by studying *LF*, we add a previously not analyzed discursive tradition, to wit the historiographic text. Secondly, these data will provide new empirical evidence to verify the hypothesis that the grammaticalization of the FC began in the east of the Iberian Peninsula and later spread to the western varieties through language and dialect contact. In fact, Bouzouita & Sentí (2022) already demonstrate that the Old Catalan FC have a greater degree of grammaticalization than their Castilian counterparts, similar to the Old Navarro-Aragonese FC which also appear to be more grammaticalized than the more western Castilian ones (Primerano 2019; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Justification for the text and the chosen methodologies is provided in Section 2, while Section 3 shows the quantitative results of clitic placement with the FC and the OT. An analysis of the syntactic-pragmatic environments is then carried out in Section 4 in order to explain the obtained data. In Section 5, we conclude this paper by summarizing the most important observations.

7. The Catalan-Occitan political, social and cultural relationships are extremely well known (e.g., Ferrando & Nicolás 2005). In fact, Catalan has also been treated as a Gallo-Romance variety, particularly because of its proximity to Occitan (Colón 1993). In this study, the label *Ibero-Romance* is used in order to include the languages of the Iberian Peninsula.
8. To illustrate, these include the development of the past compound tenses, the use of the personal subject pronouns *nosotros* and *vosotros*, and of certain demonstratives, and the modern-day order of clitic pronouns (Rodríguez Molina 2010; Fernández-Ordóñez 2011: 80-81; Romero Cambrón 2014; del Barrio de la Rosa 2016; Garachana 2016; Gomila Albal 2016, 2022; Moral del Hoyo 2016; Enrique-Arias 2018, among others). It has also been observed that the loss of the AFC occurred earlier in Italian and French than in Ibero-Romance (cf. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2015).

## 2. Corpus and methodology

In order to study the clitics used in the beginnings of literary Catalan, one of the most emblematic texts, *LF*, has been chosen. This is a historiographic text, a chronicle that narrates the reign of James I from the point of view of the monarch himself. It was written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the oldest preserved testimony manuscripts date back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Ferrando 2014; Biosca 2015). The edition we use is that of Jordi Bruguera (1991), which is based on manuscript H, the oldest of this work (1343), since it appears to be closer to the archetype and, although some changes have been made at some point, these concern formal or orthographic aspects (cf. Bruguera 2012).<sup>9</sup> Moreover, this is the edition used in the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (CICA), which served as the basis for data gathering.

The verb forms with adjacent clitics were extracted manually, given that the CICA is not a morpho-syntactically annotated corpus. All forms up to folio 38v of manuscript H were extracted, i.e., to Section 64 (page 76 of the Bruguera 1991 edition). This corpus contains 25,865 words.

However, in the case of the forms of the FC with clitics, extraction from the CICA has been carried out semi-automatically by searching the forms by the verb endings. Moreover, the analytic forms were found thanks to the diacritic accentuation available in the electronic edition of the text. In this case, the FC were extracted from the complete text, which comprises 135,954 words.

The FC and OT data are quantitatively similar and appear to be sufficient to observe whether the two groups behave similarly or not (see Table 1). Moreover, it is necessary to state that the quantitative and qualitative analyses (Sections 3 and 4) only include finite verb forms, since the non-finite ones behave differently. The adverbial clitic pronouns (e.g., *en* < INDE and *hi* < IBI) have not been included either. This decision makes it easier to compare Catalan and other Ibero-Romance languages that barely conserve these pronouns (e.g., Primerano 2021 for Navarro-Aragonese).

**Table 1.** Tokens found in our *LF* corpus

Verb tense	Finite forms with clitic pronouns	Finite forms with non-adverbial clitic pronouns
Future and conditional (FC)	1186	873
Other verb tenses (OT)	1194	946

9. For a syntactic study, this is a better option than the Ferrando & Escartí edition (2010), which is based on manuscript C from 1380. Manuscript C introduces certain forms that are typical of the *Cancelleria Reial* linguistic model, i.e., the king's administrative apparatus that is employed to diffuse the Catalan linguistic reference model – since the manuscript was commissioned by King Peter *el Cerimoniós* (Ferrando 2014). Although it is necessary to bear in mind that some points in manuscript C may contain certain linguistic characteristics that are closer to the original language of the archetype, such as some morphological verb forms (Wheeler 2012), manuscript H appears to be closer to the original for the purposes of a syntactic study. Although the responsibility for this decision lies completely with the authors, they would like to thank Prof. Antoni Ferrando (Universitat de València) for sharing his reflections on this matter with us.



### 3. Quantitative analyses

Quantitative data are needed to verify whether the clitic distribution with the FC coincides with the one with the other tenses (OT). This section, therefore, presents a quantitative analysis of the clitic placement for each syntactic-pragmatic environment found in *LF* for both the FC and the OT groups. In Section 4, we will discuss the qualitative results.

Following the literature, and particularly the one on Old Castilian (cf. Eberenz 1991; Castillo Lluch 1996, 2002; Bouzouita 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016), three groups of syntactic-pragmatic environments that determine the position of pronominal clitics in main clauses have been established: Group 1 always leads to proclisis; Group 2 only displays enclitic and mesoclitic pronouns, and Group 3 is made up of those environments in which variation in clitic placement is found. However, in the case of subordinate clauses, the clitic tends to be placed before the verb.<sup>10</sup>

This is, broadly speaking, the behavior of all the pronominal clitics with finite verbs in Old Catalan. The syntactic-pragmatic distribution is, therefore, shared by the FC and OT, as will be shown in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively.

#### 3.1. Clitics with futures and conditionals

The data set obtained on the clitic positioning with FC in *LF* is quite large as, once the adverbial pronouns have been excluded, 873 examples are retained. As summarized in Table 2, there are three groups of syntactic-pragmatic contexts in the main clauses. It will be shown that both the environments for obligatory clitic placement after the verb (Group 2) and the optional enclisis in the variation environments (Group 3) for clitics with OT coincide with those in which AFC (mesoclitisis) or SFC with enclisis is observed.

With regard to the main clauses, Group 1, as expected, contains environments that lead to proclisis, while in the examples obtained for Group 2 there are only enclitic and mesoclitic pronouns; mesoclitisis predominates in Group 3 (the variation one), although the preverbal clitic placement following a subject or an adverbial is notable. Nevertheless, the data show that the clitic behavior after a preverbal subject and an adverbial complement is not innovative in *LF* (48%, 30/62; 41%, 14/34, respectively) if compared with other Catalan texts. In both *Vides* and the *Biblia*, these FC environments with preverbal clitics form practically the totality of the cases: in *Vides* 90.7% (39/43) and 100% (26/26), while in the *Biblia* 100% (61/61) and 100% (16/16) of preverbal placement is found following a subject or an adverbial. This preverbal clitic positioning after a subject appears less frequently in comparison to 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century Navarro-Aragonese (88.7%, 71/80; and 85.4%, 47/55, respectively) (Primerano & Bouzouita submitted) and to the 13<sup>th</sup> century eastern Castilian Escorialense Codex I.i.6 (62.3%, 38/61; Bouzouita 2016). An attempt to explain these data will be made when analyzing this syntactic-pragmatic environment in Section 4.3.1.

10. These syntactic-pragmatic environments are explained and exemplified in Section 4.



Table 2. Clitic distribution with FC in *LF*

Syntactic-pragmatic environment		SFC with proclisis	AFC (mesocclisis)	SFC with enclisis
Main clauses: Group 1	<i>Wh</i> -pronoun	100% (12/12)	-	-
	Negation	100% (41/41)	-	-
	Non-coreferential NP	100% (8/8)	-	-
	Prepositional complement	100% (1/1)	-	-
	Predicative complement	100% (1/1)	-	-
	Contrastive <i>ans</i> 'but'	100% (5/5)	-	-
	Infinitive	-	-	-
	Participle	100% (1/1)	-	-
Main clauses: Group 2	P1 (Verb in first position)	-	80% (4/5)	20% (1/5)
	Paratactic clause	-	-	-
	Vocative	-	75% (3/4)	25% (1/4)
	Contrastive <i>mas, però</i> 'but'	-	75% (3/4)	25% (1/4)
Main clauses: Group 3	Subject	48.4% (30/62)	38.7% (24/62)	12.9% (8/62)
	Coreferential NP	20% (1/5)	60% (3/5)	20% (1/5)
	Adverbial	41.2% (14/34)	29.4% (10/34)	29.4% (10/34)
	Coordinative conj. <i>e, y, i</i>	4.3% (3/70)	57.1% (40/70)	38.6% (27/70)
	Disjunctive conj. <i>o</i>	-	-	-
	Non-root and absolute clause	-	40.9% (9/22)	59.1% (13/22)
Total Main clauses		42.6% (117/275)	34.9% (96/275)	22.6% (62/275)
Subordinate clauses		98% (531/542)	1.1% (6/542)	0.9% (5/542)
Insubordinate clauses		87.5% (14/16)	12.5% (2/16)	-
Ambiguous main/subordinate clauses		-	90.9% (10/11)	9.1% (1/11)
Clauses introduced by <i>car</i> 'because'		93.1% (27/29)	3.5% (1/29)	3.4% (1/29)
Total		78.9% (689/873)	13.2% (115/873)	7.9% (69/873)

In order to explain the grammaticalization of the FC, it is essential to observe the micro-variation between mesocclisis (AFC) and enclisis (SFC) in Groups 2 and 3. Given that they occur in the same syntactic-pragmatic environments and appear to be competing constructions, the degree of grammaticalization in SFC with enclisis, due to univerbation, appears to be more advanced once this structure starts appearing more frequently and the competing AFC begins to disappear. In the examples in Groups 2 and 3, mesocclisis predominates, but the presence of enclisis is also highly notable. *LF* is, once again, more conservative than *Vides* or *Biblia*, where enclisis predominates. However, it is at this point that it is possible to see a difference between 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century Catalan, Navarro-Aragonese, and Castilian.

As summarized in Table 3, enclisis appears less frequently in the latter two Ibero-Romance varieties, particularly in the case of Castilian (except for E6), than in the Catalan texts.<sup>11</sup> As can be seen, the data obtained for *LF* contain more enclisis cases than for the other Ibero-Romance languages (apart from E6), although it lags behind the other Catalan texts. All in all, *LF* can thus shed light on the progressive advancement of the grammaticalization of the FC in Old Catalan, which appears to be in a more advanced stage than the more western languages.

**Table 3.** Comparison of frequencies of mesoclis and enclisis in main clauses<sup>12</sup>

Text	Dating	Language	AFC (mesoclis)	SFC with enclisis
<i>LF</i>	13 <sup>th</sup> (ms. 14 <sup>th</sup> )		60.8% (96/158)	39.2% (62/158)
<i>Vides</i>	13 <sup>th</sup>	Catalan	33.3% (11/33)	66.7% (22/33)
<i>Biblia</i>	14 <sup>th</sup>		23.8% (5/21)	76.2% (16/21)
Diverse	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>	Navarro-Aragonese	84% (89/106)	16% (17/106)
<i>Biblia-E6</i>	13 <sup>th</sup>		55.9% (221/395)	44.1% (174/395)
<i>Conde Lucanor</i>	14 <sup>th</sup> (ms. 15 <sup>th</sup> )	Castilian	100% (46/46)	0% (0/46)
<i>Biblia-Evangelios</i>	14 <sup>th</sup>		100% (55/55)	0% (0/55)

As stated previously, the subordinate clauses are an environment that triggers proclisis, except in isolated cases that will be analyzed separately (cf. Section 4.1).

### 3.2. Clitics with other verb tenses

After separating the adverbial pronouns, 946 examples of clitics with OT were retrieved from *LF*. The distribution of the pronominal clitics with OT follows the same pattern as the one observed for the FC. As is shown in Table 4, the same three groups of syntactic-pragmatic contexts can be found for the clitic distribution in main clauses.

The first Group, as expected, consists of those syntactic-pragmatic environments that always trigger proclisis. Group 2 contains enclitics, apart from one example of anteposition following an adversative clause with the conjunction *mas* (cf. Section 4.2). The syntactic-pragmatic environments that display variation (Group 3), have tendencies similar to those seen for the FC, with some slight differences.

To exemplify the similarities, both FC and OT structures, on the contrary, contain solely non-preverbal clitics following a subordinate or absolute clause. However, if the quantitative results for the variation environments are analyzed in isolation, it is noted that anteposition is more frequent in the FC. As is shown

11. Eastern Castilian, as represented in E6, displays a different clitic behavior, one that is closer to Navarro-Aragonese and Catalan (Bouzouita 2016).

12. This refers to the following studies: *Vides* (Torres-Latorre 2021), *Biblia* and *Biblia-Evangelios* (Bouzouita & Sentí 2022), *Biblia-E6* (Bouzouita 2016), diverse (Primerano & Bouzouita submitted), *Conde Lucanor* (Bouzouita 2013).

Table 4. Clitic distribution with OT in LF

Syntactic-pragmatic environment		Proclisis	Enclisis
<b>Main clauses: Group 1</b>	<i>Wh</i> -word	-	-
	Negation	100% (33/33)	-
	Non-coreferential NP	100% (5/5)	-
	Prepositional complement	100% (1/1)	-
	Predicative complement	-	-
	Contrastive <i>ans</i> 'but'	100% (4/4)	-
	Infinitive	-	-
	Participle	-	-
<b>Main clauses: Group 2</b>	P1	-	100% (16/16)
	Paratactic clause	-	100% (4/4)
	Vocative	-	100% (12/12)
	Contrastive <i>mas, però</i> 'but'	25% (1/4)	60% (3/4)
<b>Main clauses: Group 3</b>	Subject	14.7% (16/109)	85.3% (93/109)
	Coreferential NP	-	100% (1/1)
	Adverbial	30.4% (21/69)	69.6% (48/69)
	Coordinative conj. <i>e, y, i</i>	0.9% (2/218)	99.1% (216/218)
	Disjunctive conj. <i>o</i>	-	100% (1/1)
	Non-root and absolute clause	-	100% (46/46)
Total Main clauses		<b>15.9% (83/523)</b>	<b>84.1% (440/523)</b>
Subordinate clauses		99.5% (392/394)	0.5% (2/394)
Insubordinate clauses		100% (15/15)	-
Ambiguous main/subordinate clauses		-	100% (1/1)
Clauses introduced by <i>car</i> 'because'		84.6% (11/13)	15.4% (2/13)
<b>Total</b>		<b>53% (501/946)</b>	<b>47% (445/946)</b>

in Table 5, the percentage of anteposition is significantly higher with FC than with OT in the subject environment.<sup>13</sup> The reasons for this difference remain to be explored.<sup>14</sup>

13. The clitic distribution with the FC and the OT in the subject environment is significantly greater in the FC group (Yates  $\chi^2$ : 21.154;  $p = 0.000004$ ; with a moderate strength of correlation between anteposition and the presence of the FC or OT of 0.267 = Cramer's V). In the adverbial environment, anteposition is apparently also greater with the FC, but there are no significant differences in the distribution in the OT group (Yates  $\chi^2$ : 0.329;  $p = 0.567$ ).
14. Other studies have noted grammatical differences among different discursive traditions, particularly with regard to the frequency with which a morphosyntactic change is documented (e.g., Enríquez-Arias & Bouzouita 2013).

Table 5. Clitic distribution in the variation environments (Group 3)

Tense	Preverbal clitics (proclisis)	Non-preverbal clitics (enclisis and mesocclisis)
<b>FC</b>	<b>24.9% (48/193)</b>	<b>75.1% (145/193)</b>
Subject	48.4% (30/62)	51.6% (32/62)
Coreferential NP	20% (1/5)	80% (4/5)
Adverbial	41.2% (14/34)	58.8% (20/34)
Coordinative conj. <i>e, y, i</i>	4.3% (3/70)	95.7% (67/70)
Disjunctive conj. <i>o</i>	-	-
Non-root and absolute clause	-	100% (22/22)
<b>OT</b>	<b>8.9% (40/448)</b>	<b>91.1% (408/448)</b>
Subject	14.7% (16/109)	85.3% (93/109)
Coreferential NP	-	100% (1/1)
Adverbial	31.4% (22/70)	68.6% (48/70)
Coordinative conj. <i>e, y, i</i>	0.9% (2/218)	99.1% (216/218)
Disjunctive conj. <i>o</i>	-	100% (1/1)
Non-root and absolute clause	-	100% (46/46)

#### 4. Qualitative analyses of the syntactic-pragmatic environments

This section provides qualitative analyses of the syntactic-pragmatic environments with FC and OT in order to observe their distribution and the degree of homogeneity of both groups.

##### 4.1. Environments that admit only proclisis

As mentioned previously, preverbal clitics are always found in main clauses with proclisis triggers (Group 1):

- (6) a. “*Què us semblaria, donchs, que hi metéssem?*” (LF: 121v)  
 ‘What do you think we should put there, then?’
- b. *E no·ns partrem de vós tro la conquesta sia complida.* (LF: 30r)  
 ‘And we will not leave you until the conquest is completed.’
- c. *lo feyt d’esta terra vos diré jo* (LF: 72v)  
 ‘what happened in this land I will tell you’
- d. *que no us farem mal, ans vos defendrem contra tots hòmens* (LF: 23r)  
 ‘that we will not hurt you, but we will defend you against all men’

The subordinate clauses make up another group in which clitic placement is almost systematically proclitic. Nevertheless, there are some cases of mesocclisis

and enclisis, the majority of which can be explained by the fact that these subordinate clauses are introduced by a *dicendi* verb. As has also been observed for Old Castilian (Granberg 1988: 47; Castillo Lluç 1996: 149-150; Bouzouita 2008a: 174-175), these reported speech environments that are introduced by verbs of communication (*dir* ‘say’) or cognition (*creu* ‘believe’) can have the syntax of main clauses and thus display enclitic or mesoclitic pronouns, as in (7):

- (7) a. éls creu que atorgar -m’ó *han.* (LF: 82r)  
 they believe.PRS.1SG that give.INF me.DAT=it.ACC have.AUX.3PL  
 ‘and I believe that they will give it to me’
- b. E nós dixem que dar -la l’ *iem* (LF: 86r)  
 And we say.PST that give.INF her.ACC=him.DAT have.AUX.1PL  
 ‘And we said that we will give her to him’

It is, in some of these cases, possible to find enclitic and mesoclitic pronouns after various subordinate clauses in the context of reported speech with a *dicendi* verb. Thus, (8) shows a subordinate clause with anteposition (“ho farien”), followed by another one with mesoclisisis that is also introduced by *que* (“soffrir-nos hien”), and finally, in coordination and without conjunction, another mesoclitic construction appears (“e ajudar-nos hien”). In other words, the subordinate clause syntax is being lost as more subordinate clauses are being added. This could also be explained as a “processing error” whereby the speaker forgets the subordinate environment:

- (8) dixerén, los bisbes primers e puyos los ríchs hòmens, que no seria cosa convenient e que seria mal qui àls nos en conseylava; que, pus aquí eren venguts, no romandria per ells que no la m’ajudassen a pendre; e que ho farien en guisa que nós coneixeríem que no romandrie en éls e que soffrir-nos hien de la messió e ajudar-nos hien de bona voluntat. (LF: 82r)  
 ‘they said, first the bishops and then the rich men, that it would not be convenient and that it would be a bad thing if someone advised us something else; that, since they had come here, it would not be for them that they did not help me take her; and that they would do it in such a way that we would know that it would not remain in them and that they would support us with the expense and would help us with good will.’

With regard to these reported speech environments, there are also insubordination examples, i.e., a clause with the complement *que* that does not depend on a main verb. The majority of these cases appear in anteposition (9a-b). Mesoclisisis is found only in certain examples, such as (9c), in which, although there is a main *dicendi* verb, i.e., *pregar* ‘pray’, the event expressed by the subordinate verb no longer indicates the idea of request and it is consequently no longer related to the main verb. These are, therefore, examples of a quotative *que*. As occurs in (8), this could also be explained as a “processing error” in which the speaker avoids the *dicendi* verb, possibly because *pregar* is now framed in the reported context:

- (9) a. e, si él conex que no, que·ns partirem d'esta demanda (*LF*: 136v)  
 'and, if he knows that is not the case, we will leave this demand'
- b. "Ara, si éls nos envien missatge, pus que ho tenits per bo, que ho farem"  
 (*LF*: 47v)  
 'Now, if they send us a message, since you consider it fine, we will do it'
- c. Però que·l pregàvem que no li pesàs e que·ns acordariem ab aquels nobles qui eren venguts ab nós e que al vespre tornar l'hiem veer e que li respondríem. (*LF*: 70v)  
 'But that we asked him not to be sorry about that and that we would come to an agreement with those nobles that had come with us and that in the evening we would see him again and that we would answer him.'

Other subordinate clauses that can present variation are external clauses introduced by *car* (Fischer 2002: 49) and *que*. In the clauses with *car*, or *ca* in Old Castilian, this variation has been explained by the hybrid nature of this conjunction, which behaves either in a coordinate or subordinate manner (Granberg 1988: 95; Bouzouita 2008a: 171-174).<sup>15</sup> This explains why, in some cases, anteposition predominates (subordinate use) (Bouzouita 2008a: 172-174; Castillo Lluch 1996: 177), while in others, the other clitic positions are in the majority (coordinate use) (Bouzouita 2016). In fact, this classification can be reformulated according to the type of adjunct of the causal clause: external causal clauses (sentence adjuncts) are more independent of the main clause and, therefore, closer to the coordinate structures, while internal causal clauses (predicate adjuncts) depend on the main verb and behave thus in a subordinate manner. The conjunction *car* almost certainly evolved from an internal to an external use, but the external use predominates in Old Catalan (Pérez Saldanya & Pineda in press).

Bearing this in mind, the majority of the examples with *car* from *LF* effectively have anteposition in both the FC and the OT (93.1%, 27/29 and 86%, 11/13), as occurs in (10a-b). Almost all these examples seem to be external causals (10a), although there is also an internal causal case (10b) that has anteposition.<sup>16</sup> The few enclitic examples are external causals, as is the case of (10c-d), which could be explained as an older use that has survived. All things considered, the causal type could also help to explain the clitics distribution in this environment in Catalan:

- (10) a. e, si n'hi ha, de mercaders, que·l nos presten, car ho assegurarem (*LF*: 159v)  
 'and, if there are merchants, that they lend it to us, since we will preserve it'

15. Fabra (1918: § 136) and Badia i Margarit (1962: § 252) consider the Catalan conjunction *car* as a coordinate conjunction.

16. An anonymous reviewer considers the sentences in (10) as internal causals. Certainly, this distinction is not always easy to make. However, we consider that in (10a) "car ho assegurarem" is not the answer to why "que·l nos presten" (i.e., an external causal) whereas in (10b) the causal sentence ("car major conseyl vos poríem donar de là") is indeed answering why "volem-nos n'anar" (i.e., an internal causal). For more information, see Pérez Saldanya & Pineda (in press).

- b. e volem-nos n'anar car major conseyl **vos poriem donar** de là (LF: 57v)  
'and we want to go away since we could give you better advice from there'
- c. car, si res me manats que·ls diga, *diré·ls·ho*. (LF: 155r)  
'because, if you command me to tell them something, I will tell them.'
- d. Car faç·vos saber que nuyl temps no garrejaré més ab vós (LF: 20r)  
'Because I let you know that I will never fight with you again'

External causal clauses are also formed with the conjunction *que*, and in some of these cases, it is possible to find enclitic and mesoclitic pronouns in the context of direct speech:

- (11) a. A, Seyor, lexats-nos aquest leó, que venjar·nos ém (LF: 15v)  
'My lord, leave us that lion, since we will take revenge'
- b. Don Pero Ahonés, gran tort nos deÿts, que nós la treuga que havem feyta, havem·la feyta per defalimén de vós (LF: 14r)  
'Don Pero Ahonés, you insult us severely, because the truce we have made, we have made it because of you'

It has, therefore, been shown that there are some contexts and constructions in subordinate clauses (direct speech and external causals) that display non-preverbal clitic placement, as in the case of neutral main clauses, which consequently differ from the syntax pertaining to the subordinate clauses.

#### 4.2. *Environments that only admit enclisis or mesoclis*

The syntactic-pragmatic environments in which a non-preverbal clitic (enclisis or mesoclis) is expected in all verb tenses are: i) those that appear with the verb in the first position (P1), ii) paratactic clauses, iii) after a vocative, and iv) in coordinated adversative clauses after the conjunction *mas* or *però* 'but':

- (12) a. E nós dixem: "Acordar·nos ém sobre açò (LF: 121v)  
'And we said: "We will agree on that'
- b. e veé que la batayla anava cessan, moch·se tant con los peus lo pogren levar (LF: 8r)  
'and he saw that the battle was finishing, he moved as much as his feet could take him'
- c. Seyor, acordar·nos ém (LF: 90r)  
'Lord, we will agree'
- d. Seyor, nós no sabem bovatge què s'és, en Aragó; mas acordar·nos ém (LF: 154r)  
'Lord, we do not know what 'bovatge' [=a tax] is, in Aragon, but we will agree'



Nevertheless, our corpus contains one example of innovative anteposition in the environment with the conjunction *mas*, although the preverbal clitic appears following a subordinate clause introduced by *en quant* ‘when/since’, which could also possibly act as a trigger:<sup>17</sup>

- (13) mas, en quant són los meus béns ni els hòmens meus, **vos** dó poder que us en servats (*LF*: 31r)  
 ‘but, since they are my goods and my men, I give you the power so that you can use them’

The examination of the CICA reveals that the conjunction *mas* tends to co-occur with enclisis in most of the examples found for this period, since only two preverbal cases (2/49) are found in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (14). For Old Navarro-Aragonese, one example of the FC with preverbal clitics has been documented for the 14<sup>th</sup> century (15), while none for Old Castilian.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, this can be interpreted as an indication that innovative uses of anteposition in Old Catalan and Navarro-Aragonese exist for that period, not (yet) found in Old Castilian.

- (14) no·ls desviarà, mas **los** menarà per la via de veritat. (*Informació*: 240)  
 ‘(he) will not deviate them, but he will lead them astray’
- (15) et no perdera su franqueza por la fama de las paraulas mas **se** amaestrara de saluarse (*Tuc*: 57r; Primerano 2019: 167)  
 ‘and (he) will not lose his frankness because of the fame of his words, but he will learn how to save himself’

In the case of the FC, it is important to review whether the cases in Group 2 are realized as mesoclisism, that is, a form that has no univerbation, or as enclisis, which exhibits a higher degree of grammaticalization in the formation of the Romance future. According to the data in Table 2, most of the cases in *LF* contain AFC, i.e., mesoclisism (76.9%, 10/13), but there are also examples with enclisis (23.1%, 3/13):<sup>19</sup>

- (16) a. Amich, en qual loch és Marquès? poríem l’aver hadés? (*LF*: 175r)  
 ‘Friend, where is the Marquis? Could we have him now?’
- b. Sí Déus m’ajut, seyor, diré-**us-ho** (*LF*: 55v)  
 ‘If God helps me, Lord, I will tell you’

17. We have examined the CICA in order to discover whether this environment (a subordinate clause introduced by *en quant* is preferred to the left of the main clause) triggers proclisis in the main clause in Old Catalan. Only 4 examples are documented for the 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, and they also appear with anteposition.

18. Despite the case illustrated in Bouzouita (2008a: 60–62), which appears to be a scribal error.

19. The modal verb *poder* ‘can/may’ is not attested with AFC in Old Catalan (cf. example 16a; Alsina in this volume). However, it can be found in Navarro-Aragonese: “*poder lo ha fer* aquesto por siempre” ‘he will be able to do it forever’ (*Fueros de Aragón*: 33r)” (Primerano & Bouzouita in prep.). This could further support our diatopic hypothesis.

- c. *mas diré·ls* que m'ajuden (*LF*: 151v)  
 'but I will ask them to help me'

The data in Table 6, although not abundant, show that enclisis was indeed present in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and appears even more frequently than mesocclisis in some texts.

**Table 6.** Distribution in Group 2 environments: mesocclisis vs. enclisis in FC

Work	Dating	Mesocclisis	Enclisis
<i>Fets</i>	13 <sup>th</sup> [ms. 14 <sup>th</sup> ]	76% (10/13)	23% (3/13)
<i>Vides</i>	13 <sup>th</sup>	33% (4/12)	66% (8/12)
<i>Biblia</i>	14 <sup>th</sup>	20% (1/5)	80% (4/5)

This is relevant from the Ibero-Romance point of view, since enclisis in Old Castilian is, in these environments, very infrequent before the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Eberenz 1991; Bouzouita 2013; Bouzouita & Sentí 2022), except for eastern Castilian texts (Bouzouita 2016). Nor has enclisis been found in these environments in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries Navarro-Aragonese (Primerano & Bouzouita submitted). These enclitic examples could, therefore, indicate that univerbation (as part of a coalescence process) and thus the grammaticalization process (cf. Lehmann 2020) appear to be more advanced in Old Catalan.

Some studies have examined the factors that could explain the presence of enclisis in these contexts (Matute & Pato 2010; Bouzouita 2016), such as the presence of syncopated forms in the verbal morphology or constructions with a non-finite verb following the FC, such as periphrases or compound tenses (cf. Bouzouita 2016; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted; Alsina in this volume). These reflections will be explored in greater depth in future studies due to space reasons and the few data in *LF*.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.3. Syntactic-pragmatic environments with variation

As mentioned before, in Old Romance, several syntactic-pragmatic environments admit variation. As shown previously (Section 3), the quantitative data indicate that the clitic distribution with FC and the OT is fairly similar, although there are more cases of anteposition with the FC.

20. Nevertheless, the data from *LF* appear to confirm that syncopation favors the appearance of enclisis, since no examples of this type have been found for mesocclisis. The presence of a non-finite verb, as is the case of verbal periphrases and compound tenses, appears to favor enclisis. These types of examples with mesocclisis appear to be rare (cf. example (9c)). Further, there is not a greater association between the appearance of conditionals and enclisis, unlike what has been observed in other studies for Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese (cf. Primerano & Bouzouita submitted): there are slightly more cases of mesocclisis for the conditional (62%) than for the future (58%) in *LF*.

#### 4.3.1. Preverbal subject

Clitic placement varies after the preverbal subject in main clauses. The default position appears to be enclisis (S-V-cl) until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the generalization of anteposition of the clitics is consolidated (cf. Batllori et al. 2005; Francalanci et al. in press).<sup>21</sup>

The variation that existed in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries has been explained on the ground of pragmatic (information-structural) reasons. According to various studies on Medieval Castilian, anteposition appears when the subject is emphatic or contrastive, and is thus in focus (cf. Granberg 1988, 1999; Castillo Lluch 1996; Bouzouita 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2012, 2016; see Batllori 2021 and Bouzouita & Sitaridou in press for more details on Information Structure in Old Castilian). Similar explanations have been provided for Navarro-Aragonese (Primerano 2019) and Catalan (Bouzouita & Sentí 2022). This explanation is also corroborated by modern Galician and Asturian since preverbal clitics in these western Ibero-Romance languages appear in the presence of a focused / emphatic preverbal subject (cf. Álvarez Blanco et al. 1986; Academia de la Llingua Asturiana 2001: 366-367; González i Planas 2007).

In the case of *LF*, the data show that the examples of anteposition respond to various configurations associated with emphasis. First, if there is a quantifier in the subject, the appearance of preverbal clitics is necessary:

- (17) *tots s'auran* a retre (LF: 67r)  
 'all [the castles] will have to be returned'

According to the literature, the presence of a quantifier makes proclisis necessary (Batllori et al. 2005). In the case of Castilian, the quantifier *todos* has been specifically identified as an element that can receive an emphatic interpretation that could explain anteposition (e.g., Bouzouita 2008a, 2011). Although anteposition predominates in Old Catalan (18a), enclisis is also possible (18b) following *tots* as a subject:<sup>22</sup>

- (18) a. e en aquela saó *tots la desconegueren*. (Desclot, *Crònica*: II.47)  
 'and on that occasion everyone ignored her'  
 b. e *tots feeren-li-n* gràcies. (Desclot, *Crònica*: III.34)  
 'and everyone thanked him for it'

It is also necessary to bear in mind that the spoken or reported passages in direct speech have been associated with a greater appearance of emphatic subjects (cf. Granberg 1988, 1999). The anteposition cases in this environment in *LF* clearly

21. There are no studies for Catalan regarding the diachronic change in the position of pronominal clitics between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (enclisis > proclisis) that distinguish between the syntactic-pragmatic environments, such as following a subject. This paper has the objective of providing empirical data on this phenomenon.  
 22. The CICA contains for the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century 10 examples in which the quantifier *tots* precedes a clitic: anteposition occurs in most of these (6/9).

contain direct speech. All the FC cases too appear almost always in contexts of direct speech (95.2%, 59/62 following a subject). As concerns only anteposition with FC, there are 29/30 tokens (96.7%) in direct speech passages. For the OT too, most of the preverbal clitics are concentrated in the passages written in direct speech: 10/16 cases of anteposition appear in direct speech (i.e., 62.5%) vs. 3/93 (3.2%) of those with enclisis.

Moreover, subjects with personal pronouns in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person (the interlocutors in a dialogue) tend to be associated with emphatic subjects, since in a null subject language such as Catalan, the subject can easily be recovered from the context (cf. for Old Castilian, see Ramsden 1963: 164; Castillo Lluch 1996: 201; Bouzouita 2008a: 65-66). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person, on the contrary, is made explicit to facilitate anaphora resolution and is therefore not always linked to an emphatic interpretation. The data obtained from *LF* appear to confirm this association, since there are 31.8% (27/85) of anteposition cases with personal pronouns in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, while there are only 17.5% (7/40) of cases with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as shown in Table 7.<sup>23</sup>

Table 7. Clitic positioning with FC and OT following personal pronoun subjects

	Anteposition	Postposition
1 sg., pl.; 2 sg., pl.	31.8% (27/85)	68.2% (58/85)
3 sg., pl.	17.5% (7/40)	82.5% (33/40)

Contrastive subjects in which the referent is opposed to the one of a different subject, as in (19), are also emphatic cases. In (19a), the subject that precedes the clitic and the verb (*él* ‘he’) contrasts with the previous subject (*vós* ‘you’). On other occasions, the clause of the preverbal subject marks the beginning of direct speech and, thus, contains new information, and possibly an emphatic element (20). Other elements that can have an emphatic reading are the demonstrative pronoun *açò* when used as a subject (21) and important entities in the narration, such as *Nostre Seynor* in (19c) or *Déu* (20b).<sup>24</sup>

- (19) a. si vós volets, él vos darà del seu (*LF*: 110r)  
 ‘if you want, he will give you of what he has’
- b. si vós ho volets, jo us mostraré con poremaquesta guerra vençre (*LF*: 73v)  
 ‘if you want that, I will show you how we can win this war’
- c. mas Nostre Seyor nos volgué estorçre que no moríssem (*LF*: 4r)  
 ‘but Our Lord wanted to save us from death’

23. Even more tokens of anteposition with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons have been found for Old Castilian (e.g., 62% vs. 21% in 3<sup>rd</sup> person; Castillo Lluch 1996: 201; Bouzouita 2008a: 66).

24. Preverbal clitics following a subject without emphasis are rarely found. However, this placement can also be an innovative preverbal use of the clitic since it has been observed that there is another change taking place, which involves an increase of anteposition cases over the years (cf. Bouzouita & Sentí 2022: 261). One such example found in *LF* could be the following: “Barons, la comtessa vos graex molt can deïts que farets ço que fer devets” (*LF*: 25r) ‘Barons, the countess is very grateful to you when you say that I will do what you must do’.

- (20) a. E él dix: “Jo us diré per què me·n vuyl anar” (*LF*: 105v)  
 ‘And he said: “I will tell you why I want to go away”’
- b. “Déu vos confona” (*LF*: 15v)  
 ‘God confuses you’
- c. “Qui à la clau d’esta porta?” E él dix: “Los jurats la han” (*LF*: 19r)  
 “‘Who has the key of this door?’ And he answered: “The members of the jury have it”’
- (21) e açò·m deu valer ab vós (*LF*: 20r)  
 Lit. ‘and that must be enough for me with you’

The data from *LF* also make it possible to observe the difference between mesoclis and enclisis with FC. While it has been found that mesoclis is particularly present in Medieval Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese and enclisis is not at all common (Bouzouita 2011, 2016; Bouzouita & Sentí 2022; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted), in Catalan enclisis is present since the oldest written texts. In *LF*, 8/32 (25%) cases are enclitic (cf. Table 2) and this frequency is even higher in *Vides* (3/4, 75%), though note the small data set.

#### 4.3.2. Coreferential NP

There are few cases in *LF* in which a coreferential NP, which can be interpreted as a left-dislocated construction, is followed by a pronominal clitic: 5 tokens with enclisis or mesoclis, and only 1 with anteposition are found (cf. Table 5):

- (22) Tots los ociuria hom de part del collet (*LF*: 89v)  
 ‘All of them, someone would kill them on the hill’

As indicated above, various quantifiers, and *tots* in particular, trigger proclisis, as illustrated in example (22).

#### 4.3.3. Adverbial phrase

Sentences that contain an adverbial phrase at the left periphery are also a syntactic-pragmatic configuration that admits variation. Here too, the default position is enclisis-mesoclis, while anteposition is triggered by certain types of adverbial phrases (Granberg 1988; Castillo Lluch 1996; Martins 2003; Bouzouita 2008a: 257). According to the literature, these anteposition cases can also be explained by the notion of emphasis (and presumably the associated prosody), which falls on the adverbial. In other words, these constructions appear to be focused (cf. Bouzouita & Sitaridou in press). Interestingly, this distribution coincides with that of modern Galician. Given the impossibility to carry out prosodic analyses for Medieval languages, previous studies have related (prosodic) emphasis to the meaning of the adverbial phrases. In the analysis presented here, the various adverbial phrases from *LF* are investigated in order to explain the clitic distribution in these contexts and contrast them with that of previously studied Ibero-Romance languages.

Although more empirical data is required to observe the general tendencies in Old Catalan, it is possible to observe that *LF*, once again, clearly contains fewer cases of anteposition than the other Old Catalan texts analyzed. This could, therefore, indicate that the FC in this text appear to be less grammaticalized than elsewhere – in both *Vides* and the *Biblia* 100% (26/26; 16/16) of FC cases exhibit anteposition in this environment. Moreover, the qualitative analyses for these adverbials show that there is little innovation in this environment in *LF*.

The only syntactic-pragmatic environment with adverbials that triggers proclisis in all the examples from *LF* are those containing the relative adverb *on*, which has a discursive connection function, and other cases with similar discursive connectors:

- (23) a. On yo **us** *prech* e **us** *man* (*LF*: 24v)  
‘So I beg and command you’
- b. On **li** *grahiem* (*LF*: 1r)  
‘So we thanked him’
- c. E d’una part **li** *ó daven* de paraula e d’altra part **li** *ó tolien* per obra (*LF*: 4v)  
‘And, on the one hand, they gave it to him verbally and, on the other, they removed it from him’

Adverbials of manner always trigger anteposition in *LF*, except for the adverbial *així* ‘like this’, as is also the case in Medieval Castilian (Granberg 1988; Bouzouita 2008a). In *LF*, the adverbials *bé*, *en tal guisa*, *en esta manera*, etc. trigger the greatest cases of proclisis, as is illustrated in (24). On the contrary, *així* permits variation, as shown in (25).

- (24) a. Ben **ho** *sabrets* (*LF*: 143r)  
‘You will know it well’
- b. nós sí **la** *havem* bona (*LF*: 29r)  
‘we have it [= the fame] good’
- c. mal **ho** *fan* (*LF*: 38r)  
lit. ‘badly they do it’
- d. ab amor **vos** *vençré* (*LF*: 20r)  
‘with love I will defeat you’
- e. en esta manera **lo** *cobrem* (*LF*: 29r)  
‘in this way we will acquire it’
- f. en tal guisa **vos** *farem* vostres ops (*LF*: 40v)  
‘in this way we will satisfy your needs’

- (25) a. E així **ho faem** (LF: 10r)  
 ‘And we do it this way’
- b. així **fassam-ho** (LF: 23r)  
 ‘let’s do it like this’

Temporal adverbials also trigger quite a lot of anteposition cases (26-28), although the majority appears with enclisis or mesocclisis (29-30). This variation has been explained by Granberg (1988: §2.1.1) for Old Castilian as follows: temporal adverbials that have a narrative function indicating chronological progression (*después, luego...*) appear with enclisis; in contrast, proclisis is activated with temporal adverbials that indicate a moment in the course of time, a contrast, and are emphatic. This appears also to be the case of anteposition in the Catalan in LF, since almost all the preverbal clitics can be explained by an emphatic interpretation of the adverbials, such as *vuy* ‘today’ and *tan yvàs* ‘as soon as’ in (26). Moreover, as explained by Granberg, some Spanish adverbials such as *ante* ‘before’, *siempre* ‘always’, *todavía* ‘still’ and others that have a meaning related to duration or frequency, always trigger anteposition. LF contains two similar examples: *totstemps* ‘always’, *encara* ‘still’, and an example of frequency given in (27). What remains to explain is the case of anteposition in (28), since *sobre açò* ‘then’ is an adverbial with a clearly narrative function, which on many other occasions triggers postverbal clitics (29a). However, the preverbal clitic in (28) can be explained due to the presence of the subject (*nós*), which could be emphatic. In view of this, this case has been classified as belonging to that syntactic-pragmatic environment. Finally, the examples in (29) show adverbials that allow the narrative to advance, as is the case of *puyts, llaora, al matí*, etc. Enclisis and mesocclisis principally appear in narrative passages and not in reported speech – only 22.5% (9/40) of the examples contain non-preverbal clitics in direct speech –, while anteposition, linked to emphasis, is clearly associated with direct speech fragments – 90.9 (10/11) of the examples.

- (26) a. Vuy **nos oçiurets** tots (LF: 38v)  
 ‘Today you will kill us all’
- b. tan yvàs **con vós siats exida de fora, los mouré** paraules (LF: 13r)  
 ‘as soon as you will be gone, I will discuss it with them’
- c. Sus aquí **nos desexim** de vostra amor (LF: 12v)  
 ‘Nearby we will abandon your love’
- (27) a. tots temps **lo-m cercaria** (LF: 151v)  
 ‘always I would look for him’
- b. E encara **us volem**, de més, pregar (LF: 19v)  
 ‘And we still want, moreover, to beg you’
- c. mas altra vegada, si Déus ho vol, **nos respondran** mils (LF: 155r)  
 ‘but again, if God wants it, they will answer us better’



- (28) E sobre açò nós **li** dixem (*LF*: 14v)  
‘And then we told him’
- (29) a. E sobre açò levà·s (*LF*: 30v)  
‘And then he got up’
- b. E en tant levà·s (*LF*: 31r)  
‘And meanwhile he got up’
- c. E puys levà·s (*LF*: 31v)  
‘And then he got up’
- d. E laora donà-li ela lo dret (*LF*: 21r)  
‘And then he gave her the right’
- e. e al matí veurem-nos (*LF*: 74v)  
‘and in the morning, we will see each other’

Finally, the behavior with the temporal adverbial *ara* varies in *LF*, and in Old Catalan in general,<sup>25</sup> like Old Castilian (Bouzouita 2008a: 254). In (30a), there is a postverbal clitic following the adverbial *ara*, while (30b) displays anteposition.

- (30) a. Ara dats-la tost (*LF*: 19r)  
‘Now give it [=a key] soon’
- b. Ara us direm con pendrem València (*LF*: 67r)  
‘Now we will tell you how we will conquer Valencia’

Adverbials of quantity and accompaniment trigger proclisis in Old Castilian (Granberg 1988). This also occurs in the Old Catalan in *LF* for the first case (31). However, the adverbials of accompaniment appear with enclisis in *LF* (32), unlike in Old Castilian.

- (31) molt vos avem amat (*LF*: 12v)  
‘we have loved you so much’
- (32) a. e ab Déu vençrem-la (*LF*: 73v)  
‘and with God we will win it [the battle]’
- b. ab cavallers qui eren ab éls, exiren-nos recollir (*LF*: 36v)  
‘with the knights that were with them, they went to pick us up’

The clitics in *LF* always appear in enclisis or mesoclis when they are preceded by a locative adverbial (33). Old Castilian admits variation (Granberg 1988; Castillo Lluç 1996), and, thus, also preverbal clitics, not found in *LF*.

25. Cases with the adverbial *ara* have been analyzed in CICA for the period comprising the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup>: 60.4% of (29/48) examples exhibit proclisis vs. 39.6% (19/48) of enclisis.

- (33) a. e aquí sabran-ho les viles (*LF*: 17r)  
 ‘and here the towns will know that’
- b. E aquí juraren-nos (*LF*: 6r)  
 ‘And here they swore to us’

The adverbials introduced by the causal preposition *por* display enclisis in Old Castilian when “circumstantial information” is added (Granberg 1988: 188-194). This is also the case for the four examples in *LF*, which are external causals, such as (34). Similarly, the adverbial introduced by the preposition *per* + *aventura*, ‘for any reason’, displays mesoclisisis (35). The clitic placement in Old Castilian presents a similar situation (Granberg 1988: 189; Castillo Lluch 1996: 232).

- (34) a. per aquela temor conseylaren-nos (*LF*: 9v)  
 ‘because of that fear they advised us’
- b. per lo peccat que era en ells, hac-se a vençre la batayla (*LF*: 5r)  
 ‘because of the sin that was with them, the battle had to be won’
- (35) per aventura descobrir-nos ha tal cosa (*LF*: 44v)  
 ‘by chance he will discover such a thing to us’

#### 4.3.4. Coordination

Coordinated sentences with *i* (and the orthographic variants *e*, *et*, *y*) and *o* vary as regards clitic placement. Unlike the aforementioned syntactic-pragmatic environments, anteposition is here less frequent (4.3%, 3/70 in FC; 0.9%, 2/218 in OT), as is also the case in *Vides* and *Bíblia* (Torres-Latorre 2021; Bouzouita & Sentí 2022). The preverbal clitics in *LF* appear when proclisis is triggered in the preceding conjunction. In (36a-b), the emphatic subject triggers anteposition after the coordinating conjunction; in (36c) an adversative sentence with *ans* appears, in addition to the temporal adverbial, *sovén e menut*. In (36d), the preverbal clitic is triggered by the adverbial of quantity *molt*.

- (36) a. nós le us esmenarem e **us** farem vostres obs cumplidament (*LF*: 40v)  
 ‘we will compensate that to you and will satisfy your needs duly’
- b. E **Nostre Seyor** la amà tant e **li** donà tanta de gràcia (*LF*: 4r)  
 ‘And Our Lord loved her so much and gave her so much grace’
- c. ans per ma ajuda e per ma persona sovén e menut nos veurets e **ns** aurets (*LF*: 58r)  
 ‘but because of my help and my person you will often see us and will have us’
- d. molt vos avem amat e **us** havem feyt honrar (*LF*: 12v)  
 ‘we have loved you so much and have made you be honored so much’

#### 4.3.5. Following a subordinate or absolute clause

When the main clause follows a subordinate or absolute clause, the clitics in these main clauses always appear in mesoclitisis or enclisis in *LF* (cf. Table 5), for example, following a conditional (37a), causal (37b) or absolute clause (37c). These clitic positions can also be found for those environments identified in the literature as triggering proclisis in Old Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese (Granberg 1988; Castillo Lluch 1996; Bouzouita 2011, 2012, 2016; Primerano in prep.; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted), such as temporal clauses introduced by *antes que* ‘before that’ or *cuando* ‘when’. Unlike Old Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese, there are many examples of postverbal clitics in *LF*, following subordinate clauses with *ans que* (or *enans que*), along with *quan*, as in (37d-f).

- (37) a. si algunes vegades nos dava malauties, *fehya-ho* en manera de castigament (*LF*: 1r)  
 ‘if he gave us at times diseases, he did it as a punishment’
- b. pus siam en lur poder, *forçar-les àn* (*LF*: 47r)  
 ‘since we are in his power, they will force them’
- c. E, passat açò, *isquem-nos* de Tortosa (*LF*: 13v)  
 ‘And, then, we left Tortosa’
- d. Enans que hobrissen la porta *dixeren-nos* (*LF*: 23r)  
 ‘Before they opened the door, they told us’
- e. ans que fos la batayla, *volie-s metre* (*LF*: 5r)  
 ‘before that the battle took place, he wanted to take the power’
- f. quan ella fo venguda, *donà-li* Montmagastre (*LF*: 20v)  
 ‘when she came, he gave her Montmagastre’

It is, however, possible to find proclisis in other texts in the CICA dating from the same period (1250-1350):

- (38) E si per aventura ladona ans que prena marit *s’obligarà* deutora principal (*Costums*: 197)  
 ‘And if by chance the woman before she takes husband will be considered principal debtor’

## 5. Conclusions

The study of pronominal clitics and word order in *LF* has made it possible to verify the hypothesis that the pronominal distribution is independent of the verbal morphology: the results obtained for the clitic distribution are similar for both the FC and OT. This is relevant when considering the AFC of Old Catalan as an alternative form to the SFC with enclisis that is not related to emphasis (i.e., focus), as has also been defended for Medieval Castilian (Bouzouita 2011), unlike in other previous proposals (Company Company 2006). The AFC is a construction that disappears in

favor of the SFC with enclisis, since the grammaticalization of the FC is advancing in the Medieval period to the point of achieving univertation, and the SFC begin to be established as the only form in the syntactic-pragmatic environments where previously enclitic and mesoclititic pronouns could occur. The empirical and quantitative data obtained from *LF* have made it possible to evaluate and compare the advancement of the grammaticalization process for the FC in Old Catalan in this period. A notable number of AFC has been documented in comparison to other texts from the same period: this suggests that *LF* appears to be less innovative than others from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, such as *Vides* (cf. Torres-Latorre 2021), or from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, such as *Biblia* (cf. Bouzouita & Senti 2022). However, when compared to Old Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese (cf. Bouzouita 2011; Primerano & Bouzouita submitted), *LF* – and the other Catalan texts for that matter – confirm the language and dialect contact hypothesis: the more widespread presence of SFC with enclisis in Old Catalan confirms a more advanced grammaticalization degree of the FC than in other Ibero-Romance varieties, along with the diffusion of these syntactic forms starting in Old Catalan and advancing towards the west of the peninsula. We leave the discussion of the factors explaining this micro-variation between enclisis and mesoclitisis to future studies.

The data obtained also make it possible to verify the linguistic change that pronominal clitics underwent throughout the Medieval period and that consolidated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Francalanci et al. in press), to wit the progressive increase in preverbal clitics at the expense of the enclitic and mesoclititic ones. In-depth analyses have been carried out for the syntactic-pragmatic environments that trigger proclisis and those that allow variation. This has made it possible to conclude that, in some respects, *LF* once again does not appear to be a particularly innovative text in the Old Catalan context. This is at least the conclusion reached when comparing it with *Vides*, a northern Old Catalan text in which the anteposition of clitics occurs with a significant frequency. Despite this, innovative uses of anteposition have been documented, as in the adversative clauses with *mas* ‘but’.

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