

# A Corpus Study of Clitic Placement with Infinitives in the Diachrony of French



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# Abstract

This thesis explores the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives (both in restructuring and other infinitival clauses) in French in a corpus of legal texts from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century which was built as part of this research project. We find enclisis in non-restructuring clauses until ca. 1300, and clitic climbing (CC) in restructuring clauses until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The two orderings are subsequently replaced by proclisis. These findings challenge the view that enclisis and CC are necessarily found within the same system, as Middle French is a language with proclisis and CC. Furthermore, CC is the major ordering found in restructuring clauses in Old French, and its frequency tops 100% from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. This finding reveals that the construction was not optional in Middle French. This thesis develops a theory of cliticisation based on verb movement: we account for the shift from enclisis to proclisis in non-restructuring clauses with the loss of V-to-T movement with infinitives. Independent evidence for this hypothesis stems from the loss of infinitival suffix -r in early Middle French, which we show acted as a movement trigger in Old French. This proposal is further supported by the consideration of the crosslinguistic picture: Romance languages that have enclisis also have infinitival suffixes and V-movement to a high position (e.g. Standard Italian). Regarding CC, the analysis we propose is one of mono-clausal restructuring with cliticisation on the higher v-head. We argue that from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century on, the lower v-head is

reanalysed as a cliticisation site, yielding proclisis. The diachrony of other Romance languages supports the view that cliticisation on the lower *v* is an innovation of late Medieval Romance. Unlike other canonical languages however, French did not retain the optionality of cliticisation on the higher *v* and proclisis generalised to all infinitival clauses.

# Résumé

Cette thèse explore la diachronie du placement des clitiques avec les infinitifs en français dans un corpus de textes légaux du 12<sup>ème</sup> au 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle qui a été créé pour les besoins de ce projet. On trouve l'enclise dans les propositions sans restructuration jusqu'à l'an 1300, et la montée du clitique dans les propositions avec restructuration jusqu'à la fin du 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Les deux ordres seront remplacés par la proclise. Ces données remettent en cause l'idée que l'enclise et la montée font nécessairement partie du même système, étant donné que le moyen français est une langue avec proclise et montée. De plus, la montée est la construction principale dans les propositions avec restructuration en ancien français, et sa fréquence atteint 100% entre le 14<sup>ème</sup> et le début du 17<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Ce résultat révèle que la construction n'était pas optionnelle en moyen français. Cette thèse développe une théorie de cliticisation basée sur le déplacement du verbe : nous expliquons le changement de l'enclise vers la proclise dans les propositions sans restructuration par la perte du déplacement V-à-T avec les infinitifs. Pour soutenir cette hypothèse, nous utilisons le phénomène d'amuïssement de l'r au début du moyen français, lequel se comportait comme un déclencheur de déplacement en ancien français. Une comparaison avec les autres langues romanes apporte des preuves supplémentaires : les langues romanes qui ont l'enclise ont aussi un suffixe infinitif et déplacement du verbe vers une position haute (ex : l'italien standard). Nous analysons la montée en adoptant l'hypothèse de la restructuration

mono-clausale avec cliticisation sur le *v* le plus haut. Nous défendons l'idée qu'à partir du début du 17<sup>ème</sup> siècle, le *v* le plus bas est réanalysé comme un site de cliticisation, entraînant la proclise. La diachronie des autres langues romanes soutient l'hypothèse que la cliticisation sur le *v* le plus bas est une innovation de la fin de l'aire médiévale. Contrairement aux autres langues romanes, le français n'a pas gardé l'option de la cliticisation sur le *v* le plus haut et la proclise s'est généralisée sur tous les infinitifs.



# Abbreviations

CC — Clitic Climbing

EModF — Early Modern French

LSD — Leftward Stylistic Displacement

MidF — Middle French

ModF — Modern French

OF — Old French

OV — Object-Verb

PCC — Person Case Constraint

PLD — Primary Linguistic Data

SF — Stylistic Fronting

SP — Strong Pronoun

TM — Tobler-Mussafia

V2 — Verb Second

V<sub>INF</sub> — Infinitive

V<sub>FIN</sub> — Finite Verb

VO — Verb-Object

WP — Weak Pronoun



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

A lot has been written about clitics yet some corners remain unexplored. French is the odd one out amongst other Romance languages, as its clitic objects systematically precede the verbs of which they are the complement. Comparatively, other Romance languages show a wider range of constructions. The present thesis will show that this peculiarity can be explained from a diachronic perspective.

Throughout this work, I will use the term *clitic* to refer to weak pronominal objects that attach to a prosodic host, as defined by Zwicky (1977). In the last twenty years or so, Hirschbühler and Labelle have researched clitic placement with finite verbs and imperatives in the diachrony of French (Hirschbühler and Labelle, 2000, 2003, 2006; Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005; Simonenko and Hirschbühler, 2012). They report substantial changes and show that constraints on initial clitic placement (i.e. the Tobler-Mussafia law) are not operative in Modern French anymore, yet they leave out clitic complements of infinitives. Different clitic orderings have nonetheless been reported with infinitives throughout the history of French, such as clitic climbing,

enclisis, proclisis and interpolation, yet we lack perspective on how these orderings connect with each other both synchronically and diachronically, and why a language has one (or more) or the other. Thus, this thesis will only consider clitics that are the complement of an infinitive.

There is evidence that different orderings were available at earlier stages: de Kok (1985) provides examples of both *clitic-infinitive* (1) (henceforth, proclisis) and *infinitive-clitic* (2) (henceforth, enclisis) from Old French. Throughout the thesis, clitics are in bold. In the following three examples, I have underlined the infinitive.

- (1) ... *que je ne soy*                    **les** *nombrer*.  
       that I not know.PRS.1SG them count.INF  
       ‘... that I don’t know how to count them.’                    (*Joinville*:43, de Kok 1985: 127)
- (2) *Il veut*                    *repenre*                    **la** *tant bonement*.  
       he want.PRS.3SG take.back.INF her much really  
       ‘He really wants to take her back.’                    (*Bérout* 2260-1, Foulet 1919: 112, footnote 1)

The literature offers scattered examples of the two orderings in the old language, yet our understanding remains narrow as there is no quantitative evidence that would contrast and contextualise enclisis and proclisis in the diachrony of French. Nevertheless, it is clear that enclisis was lost in the evolution of the language whereas proclisis remained. This is not only a diachronic issue, as it also directly interacts with clitic placement theory. On a comparative level, canonical Romance languages (Italian, Catalan, Spanish) have enclisis with infinitives, whereas Modern French has proclisis. This is an issue that authors have sought to account for in proposing different syntactic mechanisms (Kayne, 1991; Uriagereka, 1995; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010). I argue that understanding the development of French clitics can help us identify what causes proclisis and what causes enclisis in Romance languages, as French had both orderings and lost one.

Furthermore, there is evidence that clitics did not need to attach to the infinitive

they were complements of. Indeed, some studies have investigated cases where the complement of the infinitive cliticises on a main verb, a construction traditionally called *clitic climbing* in the literature (Rizzi, 1982). This construction was available at earlier stages of French, as illustrated in (3) where the clitic *le* ‘him’ is the object of the infinitive *visiter* ‘visit’, yet it cliticises on *vient* ‘come’ (Martineau, 1990; Iglesias, 2015; Amatuszi et al., 2020).

- (3) *Il le vient tost visiter*  
 he him come.PRS.3SG early visit.INF  
 ‘He comes to visit him early’ (Martineau, 1990: 57)

Clitic climbing is not available in Modern French anymore: instead, we observe proclisis on the infinitive. Despite the fact that the diachrony of French is indisputably one of the best-researched in historical linguistics, there is no study that investigates changes in clitic placement with infinitives over a long span of time, and the contrast between proclisis and enclisis in Old French has not generated much interest. Clitic climbing is understood better, yet it has mostly been studied in a synchronic fashion with data from Middle French.

In sum, despite an extensive documentation of the evolution of clitic placement with finite verbs and a certain interest for the synchrony of clitic climbing in earlier French, there is no quantitative study of clitic placement with infinitives in Old French, and there is no diachronic study of clitic climbing in French. The main aims of this thesis are to cover these gaps in providing a comprehensive documentation of the various placements of infinitival clitic complements in the diachrony of French and to analyse them within a generative framework, whilst answering the diachronic questions they pose.

## 1.2 Research questions

The purpose of this research is twofold. It seeks to: (i) document clitic placement with infinitives in the diachrony of French, and (ii) provide a theoretical analysis of the evolution of clitic placement in the language, and by extension clitic placement in general.

The documentation of the various orders is guided by the following questions:

1. In which contexts are proclisis and enclisis found? Can a context predict the ordering?
2. In which contexts is clitic climbing attested? With which main verbs?
3. During which period(s) do we observe each ordering? When do enclisis and clitic climbing start decreasing and when are they lost?
4. Does the presence of enclisis depend on that of clitic climbing and vice versa? Considering that Spanish, Italian and Catalan have both whilst French has neither.

The theoretical analysis seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Which parameters are directly responsible for clitic placement?
2. What other parameters interact with clitic placement?
3. Clitic climbing appears as a construction where the clitic moves from one clause to another: how do we derive its structure?
4. How do the answers to these questions shape the theory of clitics?

## 1.3 Main findings

A corpus of texts has been designed to consider this topic in the evolution of French from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An overview of the findings is given in Figure 1.1.

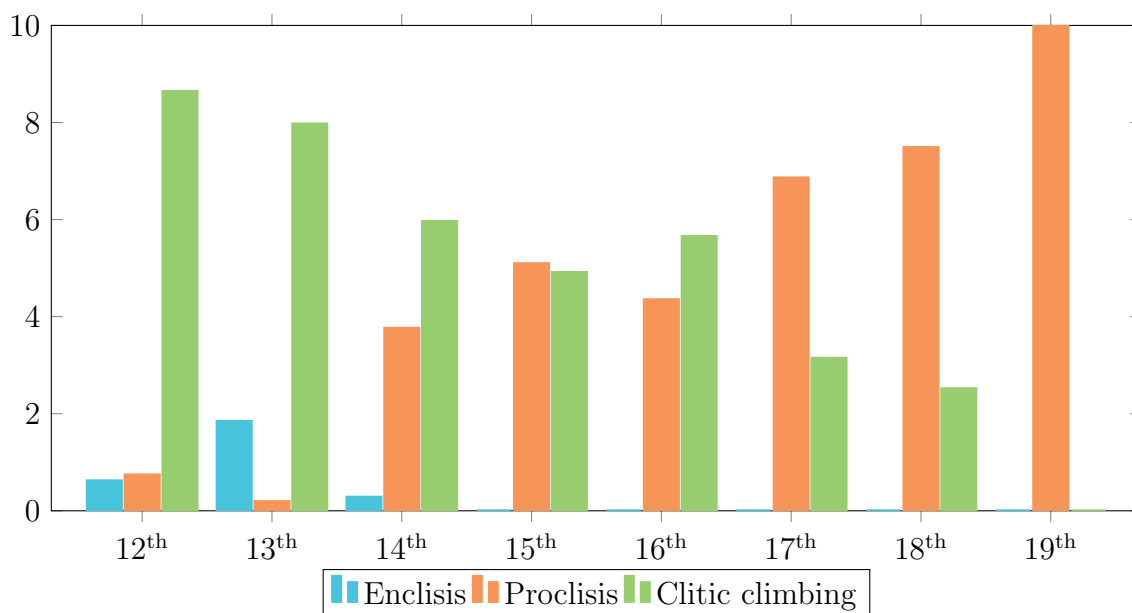


Figure 1.1: Clitic placement in all infinitival clauses (percentage per century)

Upon investigation, the data were split in two: (i) restructuring clauses, and (ii) non-restructuring clauses. In the former, a main verb introduces an infinitive and clitic climbing is likely to be found. The latter includes all constructions where an infinitive is not introduced by a main verb; in other words, all sentences where the infinitive is introduced by a preposition, a conjunction, a subordinator, or when the infinitive is subject of the clause. This is where the clitic is either proclitic or enclitic. Let us consider non-restructuring clauses first (i.e. the infinitive is not introduced by a main verb). We observe the loss of enclisis before 1350, as reported here in Figure 1.2.

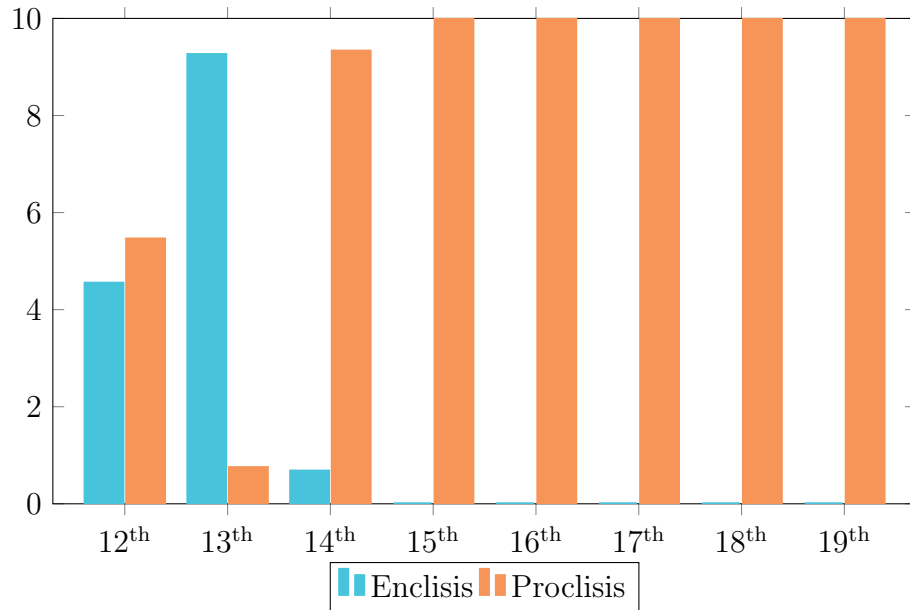


Figure 1.2: Clitic placement in non-restructuring clauses (percentage per century)

The data for the 12<sup>th</sup> century are relatively meagre, as only 11 clitics were found. Nevertheless, the data available for the 13<sup>th</sup> century replenish our insight into clitic placement in Old French: when grouping these two centuries together, it appears that enclisis was more frequent than proclisis. It is interesting to note that proclisis is found for each century in our corpus. Figure 1.2 is the first quantitative report of enclisis and proclisis in the literature; from a sheer descriptive point of view, our findings match de Kok’s, who also situates the loss of enclisis around the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Turning to restructuring clauses: the findings for this environment are given in Figure 1.3 (cliticisation on the infinitive is enclitic during the first two centuries and proclitic after). Although we find rare occurrences of cliticisation on the infinitive during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the tendency clearly shows a preference for clitic climbing. The situation is more clear-cut during the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, as clitic climbing is the only attested ordering. The situation remains stable until approximately the year 1600: the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries show a period where clitic



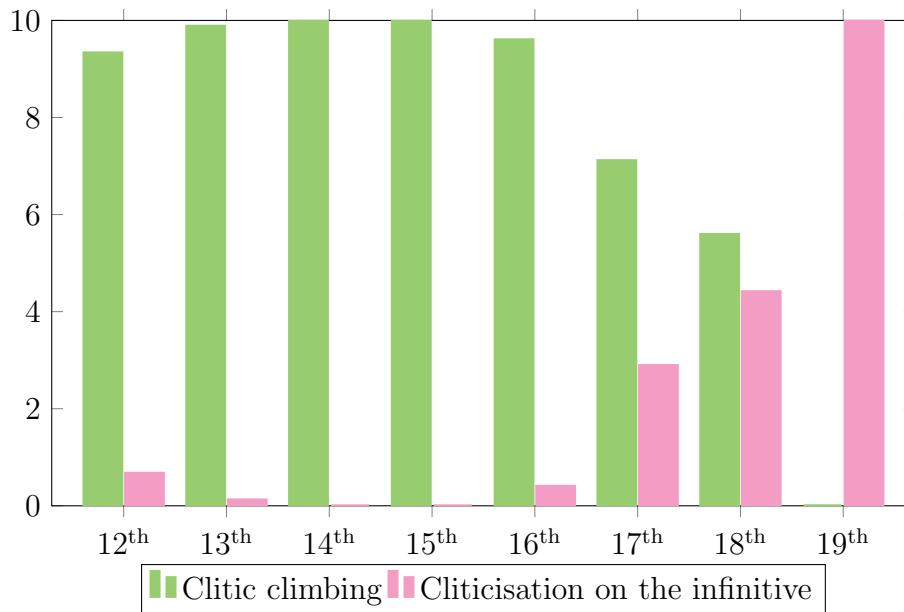


Figure 1.3: Clitic placement in restructuring clauses (percentage per century)

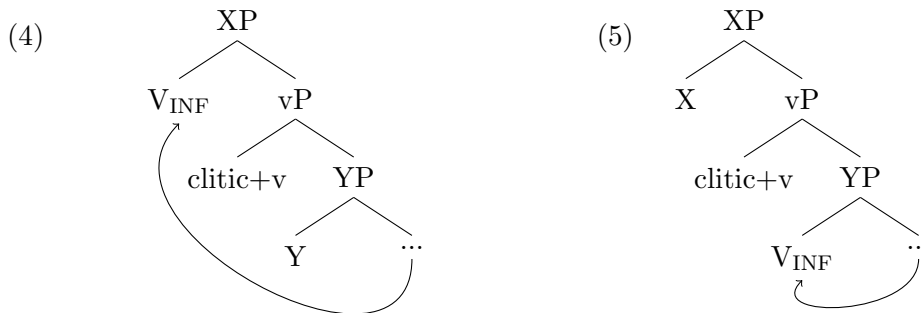
climbing remains frequent but weakens. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century on however, only proclisis is found in this context.

In the Chapters that follow, we will carry out an in-depth investigation of the syntax of clitic climbing, enclisis and proclisis. Aside from these three constructions, the discussion will also include strong pronouns where relevant, as well as other clitic placement constructions (e.g. interpolation). When studying different clitic orderings in Romance languages, we must also examine verb placement, as there is a thorough documentation that shows that patterns of proclisis and enclisis can also depend on whether the verb is the first element of the clause or not (see Hirschbühler and Labelle, 2000 and references below). Our analysis will include the syntax of verbs and will connect to that of clitics.

## 1.4 Analyses proposed

The shift from enclisis to proclisis in non-restructuring clauses, and the shift from clitic climbing to proclisis in restructuring clauses are treated independently, since I did not find any supportive evidence that the first shift directly led to the second. The two contexts are different and the crucial centuries of each change are also different.

I adopt the view that clitics are base-generated (Kayne, 1991) and target a constant functional head all along the evolution of the language, which I take to be *v* (Roberts, 2010).<sup>1</sup> This suggests that patterns of enclisis and proclisis do not directly depend on the syntax of clitics. Instead, I follow the assumption that enclisis obtains when the infinitive moves to a position higher than *v*, whereas proclisis is found when the infinitive targets a position below *v* (Kayne, 1991; Uriagereka, 1995; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010). The structure of enclisis is schematically given in (4) and proclisis in (5).



I argue that long movement of the infinitive as in (4) was lost around the early 14<sup>th</sup>

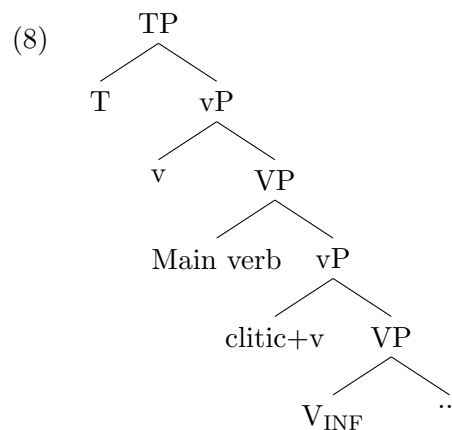
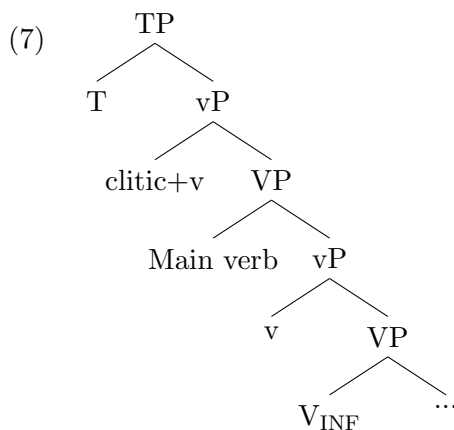
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<sup>1</sup>The position targeted by clitics is debated in the literature. Whilst previous research have put forward hypotheses whereby clitics can be CP/TP/*v*P-oriented, *v* appears to be a particularly advantageous considered the cliticisation mechanism adopted in the thesis: that clitics possess a subset of *v*'s  $\varphi$ -features.

century, when the inflectional morphology of infinitives weakened and disappeared. I propose that this new impoverished morphophonology of infinitives aligns with the rise of proclisis. Furthermore, I show that a subsequent change took place in French, which is the shift from phonological to syntactic clitics: this is supported by the evidence that cases of interpolation are found until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which shows an intervening element between the clitic and the infinitive (6). In Modern French, the clitic is strictly adjacent to the infinitive.

(6) [... clitic **XP** V<sub>INF</sub>]

Moving on to the loss of clitic climbing, I assume a mono-clausal structure à la Cinque (2004) and Wurmbrand (2004), that is with no intervening CP and TP. Clitic climbing is represented in (7). Proclisis is given in (8): the structure remains identical, yet the clitic is realised on the lower v and procliticises on the infinitive.



I adopt Roberts's (2010) proposal that cliticisation is an Agree operation, that is the  $\varphi$ -features of the clitic are valued on v. I propose that until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the lower v did not possess a set of unvalued  $\varphi$ -features, whereas the upper one did. The rise of proclisis indicates that the situation changed, as cliticisation is more local: I argue that Agree is available on lower v in restructuring clauses from the

early 17<sup>th</sup> century on. For a short time then, clitic climbing was optional in French and proclisis was also an option. As we have just seen above, clitics underwent a shift from phonological to syntactic around 1800: I further connect this to the loss of clitic climbing, as syntactic clitics much cliticise on their infinitive.

## 1.5 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is divided into three main parts. Part 1 consists of three Chapters: Chapter 2 conducts a review of the syntax of Medieval French, which helps us define the language with its main features and parameters, such as pro-drop, the shift from OV to VO, V2 and infinitive placement. In Chapter 3 we will move away from the diachrony of the French clause to define the hybrid nature of clitics, which oscillates between word and affix, and we will discuss clitic placement. This will be a matter of assessing recent theories but also evaluating influential contributions from an earlier generative framework. With the elements covered in Chapters 2 and 3, Chapter 4 reviews the diachrony of clitic placement in Medieval French finite and non-finite clauses. At the end of Chapter 4, we will have identified gaps in the literature that remain unaccounted for.

Part 2 is dedicated to the data collection and presents an exhaustive documentation of the findings. In Chapter 5, I explain and justify the methodology adopted and I present the corpus. The latter includes a series of sources that have never been investigated in relation to clitic placement, therefore this process ensures a fresh eye on the issue. The findings are presented in a quantitative framework and analysed chronologically: Chapter 6 conducts a thorough review of each clitic placement within their context for Old French, whereas Chapter 7 presents the data from Middle (and early modern) French. By the end of this part we will have uncovered the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives.

Part 3 presents the theoretical analyses of the changes attested in the second part: in Chapter 8, I evaluate the parameters responsible for the shift from enclisis to proclisis, and I contextualise the findings with the use of other Romance languages. I argue that the shift is triggered by a reanalysis of infinitive movement, and I support this argument with evidence from inflectional morphology and the syntax of adverbs. In Chapter 9, I give an analysis of the loss of clitic climbing in French without resorting to the loss of restructuring, which I claim remains operative to a certain extent. I take this second shift to result from a novel ability of lower *v* to Agree with clitics. Lastly, Chapter 10 draws the main conclusions and implications on the nature of clitics, the diachrony of French and the ‘exceptionality’ of Modern French vis-à-vis other Romance languages.



# Part I

## Medieval French syntax and clitics





# Chapter 2

## The Medieval French clause

### 2.1 Introduction

This Chapter introduces the syntax of the French clause during the Middle Ages and discusses the aspects of the language that are necessary for the present work. To do this, I will review the most influential studies that have been produced in relation to word order. I will use the term Old French (henceforth, OF) to refer to the language between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, and I will use the term Middle French (henceforth, MidF) for the language between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Smith, 2002; Combettes and Marchello-Nizia, 2008; Marchello-Nizia, 2008). When a distinction should not be made between the two, I will simply encompass the periods under the non-traditional yet convenient designation of Medieval French.<sup>1</sup>

The important production of textual documents during the Middle Ages has en-

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<sup>1</sup>The choice to use OF and MidF follows from most studies. Although useful, these periods are completely artificial and can only apply to a certain extent. I am aware that, strictly speaking, the last centuries that constitute the MidF period here do not enter the Middle Ages. I will use the term *Medieval French* where emphasis should be made on a construction that remains productive until an advanced stage situated in the MidF period, e.g. V2 orderings (section 2.6).

abled the elaboration of numerous grammars (Foulet, 1919, 1930; Moignet, 1976) which were subsequently coupled with more theoretical analyses of the syntax of the language (Adams, 1987, 1989; Vance, 1989, 1997; Pearce, 1990). In this Chapter we will focus on the latter.

First, I introduce the reduced morphological case system of OF in section 2.2. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 respectively review null subjects and null objects and provide insights into the loss of pro-drop. After showing that overt case marking and null arguments provide the language with a rather free word order, the discussion moves on to the organisation of the clause: section 2.5 presents changes in the typology of the language with a focus on the transition from OV to VO. Section 2.6 discusses V2 constructions in relation to recent generative analyses. Lastly, section 2.7 reviews constructions involving the fronting of infinitives, which will be crucial at a later stage of the present study. Ultimately, this Chapter introduces necessary background to enable us to focus on the evolution of clitic placement; clitics will be discussed in subsequent Chapters.

## 2.2 Morphological case

Although Latin exhibits a reduced case system in comparison to Proto-Indo-European (Bossong, 1991), it morphologically marks several different cases, as evidenced in (9) below.

- (9) *lupu-s arguebat vulpe-m furt-i crimin-e* [Latin]  
 wolf.NOM accused fox.ACC theft.GEN crime.ABL  
 ‘The wolf accused the fox of the crime of theft’ (Bossong, 1991: 145)

This erosion continues during the Proto-Romance stage, as OF resorts to morphological case only to differentiate subjects from oblique objects. Its paradigm is presented in Table 2.1 with the masculine noun *chevalier* ‘knight’ and the feminine

noun *terre* ‘earth’.<sup>2</sup> Case morphology consists of the suffix *-s*, sometimes realised as *-z*. Its relevant aspects are given in (10).

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>chevalier-s</i>	<i>chevalier</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>tere-s</i>
<b>Oblique</b>	<i>chevalier</i>	<i>chevalier-s</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>tere-s</i>

Table 2.1: Morphological case on nouns in Old French

- (10)
- Two cases are distinguished: nominative<sup>3</sup> and oblique<sup>4</sup>. Case morphology shows on nouns and adjectives in the same manner, and on determiners (see Table 2.2 below).
  - On nouns and adjectives, the unique flexion is the suffix *-s*.
  - Masculine singular nouns and adjectives form the nominative with the suffix, whereas oblique ones are suffixless.
  - Masculine plural nouns and adjectives form the nominative without the suffix, whereas oblique ones take the suffix.
  - Feminine nouns and adjectives do not exhibit morphological case. Their singular is suffixless and their plural is formed with the suffix *-s*.

Determiners also display morphological case when masculine and nominative with the form *li* (Table 2.2). The pattern of oblique and feminine determiners is identical to what is found in ModF.

<sup>2</sup>Table 2.1 is adapted from (Foulet, 1930: 4-5) and (Pope, 1952: 310).

<sup>3</sup>This case is traditionally referred to as *cas sujet* in traditional grammars. It is also used for the vocative.

<sup>4</sup>This is the *cas régime*, which is used for complements of verbs and prepositions.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>les</i>
<b>Oblique</b>	<i>le</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>les</i>

Table 2.2: Morphological case on determiners in Old French

In his grammar, Foulet (1930) notes considerable exceptions and constant readjustments in the paradigm, which is irremediably irregular. Although case declension remains robust during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, it disappears during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Foulet (1930) argues that morphological case is lost by analogy: masculine substantives follow feminine substantives and the *nominative/oblique* opposition is replaced by the *singular/plural* one, which remains in ModF. In other words, the oblique paradigm is generalised. Schøsler (2013: 179) identifies that the case system in OF had several functions, and that it was a "diatopic, diastratic, and diaphasic marker of the text" shows that an intermediate case system was present in later OF, which was marked by the presence of long vowels instead of affixes, which still had the function to identify arguments, yet it was less transparent.

There is a general observation that the rise of the determiner system in French coincides with the loss of morphological case (Meillet, 1912; Marchello-Nizia, 1995; Vincent, 1997; Boucher, 2003). For instance, Boucher (2003) notes that whilst morphological case erodes, determiners are bleached from their semantic content and grammaticalise as overt agreement markers. Although Schøsler (2013) makes a similar observation, she also claims that Romance languages still mark case with 'specialised' constructions and have extended the use of prepositions whilst grammaticalising arguments identification.

As in Latin, morphological case in OF coincides with a certain freedom in word

order. Its loss towards the end of the period led to a more rigid word order, whereby arguments are identified by their position in the clause, rather than by their morphology (see Kiparsky, 1996 and references therein on case morphology and freedom of word order).

## 2.3 Null subjects

Most Romance languages are pro-drop languages: their pronominal subject needs not be overt for the sentence to be grammatical (and the presence of an overt pronoun tends to be used for emphasis, see Perlmutter, 1971; Sheehan, 2016; Roberts, 2019).<sup>5</sup> French is a notable exception, since the subject must always be expressed (11e).<sup>6</sup>

- (11) a. *Canti bene.* [Italian]  
           sing.PRS.2SG well  
       b. *Cantas bien.* [Spanish]  
           sing.PRS.2SG well  
       c. *Cantas bem.* [European Portuguese]  
           sing.PRS.2SG well  
       d. *Cantes bé.* [Catalan]  
           sing.PRS.2SG well  
       e. \* *(Tu) chantes bien.* [French]  
           you sing.PRS.2SG well  
           ‘You sing well.’ (Sheehan 2016: 329-330)

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<sup>5</sup>According to Kaiser (2009), French and Swiss Romansh are the only Romance languages that do not exhibit pro-drop, whilst Brazilian Portuguese is in the process of losing the null subject parameter (although see Roberts, 2014 for a different view on the loss of null subjects in Brazilian Portuguese). He adds that some Romance languages and dialects show partial pro-drop (Occitan, Francoprovençal, and some Northern Italian dialects).

<sup>6</sup>It is uncontested that ModF is not a pro-drop language, although colloquial French shows constructions where the pronominal subject is omitted, mainly with impersonal verbs like *falloir* ‘must’, where the expletive may be dropped (Zimmermann and Kaiser, 2014).

However, OF (12) and MidF (13) had null subjects in main and embedded clauses (14) (Adams, 1987; Vance, 1989; Hirschbühler, 1995; Vance, 1997; Balon and Larrivée, 2016).

- (12) *Au matin s'apareilla por aler au tornoient.*  
 at-the morning REFL-prepare.PST.3SG to go.INF at-the tournament  
 'He got ready in the morning to go to the tournament.'

(*La Mort le Roi Artu* 7, Adams 1987: 2)

- (13) *Et ly direz que...*  
 and him.DAT say.FUT.2PL that...  
 'And you will tell him that...' (Saintré p. 131, Marchello-Nizia 2008: 104)

- (14) *Je croiy que les ayez perdus.*  
 I believe.PRS.1SG that them.ACC have.PRS.2PL lose.PP  
 'I think that you have lost them' (Saintré p. 52, Vance 1989: 425)

Kaiser (2009: 138) reviews the development of French from pro-drop to non-pro-drop language and reports that the change took place as follows:

1. Decrease of verbal inflection.
2. Decrease of verb second effects (see section 2.6 for further discussion).
3. Emergence of subject clitic pronouns.
4. Emergence of expletives.

The general observation is that pro-drop languages show a rich verbal agreement morphology whereas non-pro-drop languages do not (Taraldsen, 1980; Chomsky, 1982: 86-87; Rizzi, 1986; Sheehan, 2016; Roberts, 2019).<sup>7</sup> The well-established observation that ModF verbal agreement inflection cannot be recovered in phonology provides evidence that agreement must be 'rich' (tense inflection, on the other hand,

<sup>7</sup>This observation is relevant to a certain extent, since some languages (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean) lack agreement yet drop the subject. Such languages are traditionally analysed as *topic-drop* languages (Huang, 1984; Kaiser, 2009; Barbosa, 2019). In topic-drop languages, both the subject

is rich enough in this language, see Biberauer and Roberts, 2010 for a discussion on agreement and tense).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Kaiser (2009) demonstrates that Brazilian Portuguese agreement is not rich enough to support a null-subject grammar, yet the language still has pro-drop. The notion of ‘richness’ is not an obvious one: according to Roberts (2014), *pro* is a weak pronoun (in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999, which we will discuss in section 3.4) whose features are a subset of that of T. Building on Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) and Holmberg (2005), Roberts (2014) proposes that T has both referential D- and  $\varphi$ -features in null-subject languages. Furthermore, he analyses *pro* as a defective goal whose features are included in its probe’s. This proposal assumes that if T has a definite D-feature, then its  $\varphi$ -features are specified; contrarily, impoverishment of the  $\varphi$ -features means that *pro* cannot value T’s D-feature. This ultimately leads to a scenario where T does not have a D-feature anymore, therefore *pro* cannot be a defective goal and the null-subject parameter vanishes. To summarise the latter point, Roberts (2014) proposes that T is rich enough to license pro-drop in languages where it has a D-feature, and where all its  $\varphi$ -features are specified. Impoverishment of the latter immediately cancels the presence of the D-feature, and consequently incorporation of *pro*. Furthermore, Roberts (2014) argues that the loss of pro-drop in French does not stem from the weakening of the agreement system, rather he proposes the V2 configuration was a necessary environment to license null-subjects, therefore the loss of the former directly induced the loss of the latter. From a different methodological perspective, Simonenko et al. (2019) explore a corpus of Medieval French and introduce evidence

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and the object may be dropped (unlike in pro-drop languages, where only the subject is concerned) and they are recoverable in the discourse. See Roberts (2019) for a comprehensive discussion on the null-subject parameter.

<sup>8</sup>For instance, the verb *manger* ‘eat’ is realised as /mãʒ/ for the present tense of all singular persons and the third plural one.

that the impoverishment of the agreement system (i.e. ending ambiguity) contributes to the loss of pro-drop, although this relationship might be less strong than previously assumed. To conclude on this brief discussion, there lacks a consensus on the link between morphology and subject realisation.

Different studies on French situate the transition from null subject language to overt subject language at different times. Balon and Larrivée (2016) claim that from the 12<sup>th</sup> century on already, pro-drop decreases and disappears during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This claim challenges previous studies: Adams (1987) identifies a steady decrease of pro-drop from 1300 to 1500, and Hirschbühler (1995) shows that null subjects can be licensed in a text from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In a recent study, Wolfe (2020) splits up the OF period into Early OF (pre-1200) and Late OF and reports that pro-drop is found between 44.5% and 50% of all clauses before the 13<sup>th</sup> century and between 29% and 32.5% after. In summary, the studies mentioned here indicate that pro-drop is characteristic of OF, but it is also present in MidF in a relatively high frequency.

## 2.4 Null objects

Null objects are also attested in OF, yet in a wider range of contexts than in ModF (Arteaga, 1998; Donaldson, 2013). Whilst subject pro-drop is well documented for OF and MidF, null object constructions have been investigated to a much lesser extent.

Donaldson (2013) offers an extensive insight into constructions that exhibit null objects. Building on Arteaga's (1998) study, he discusses the optional omission in seven contexts, for instance with the phenomenon of *écrasement* (15) 'crushing' in which a sequence of two third-person clitics renders the accusative implicit, when two verbs are coordinated and have the same object (16), or in adjunct clauses (17).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>I have added  $\emptyset$  in the examples to indicate the null object based on Donaldson's (2013) glosses.



- (15) *Et cil dit que l'an li aport ses armes, et an  
and this-one say.PRS.3SG that one him.DAT bring.SBJV.3SG his weapon and one  
li aporte ø.  
him.DAT bring.PRS.3SG ø*  
'And he asked that someone bring him his weapons, and one brought ø to him.'

(*Perceval* l. 2138-2139, Donaldson 2013: 69)

- (16) *Einsi le pans et cuit ø et croi ø.  
thus it.ACC think.PRS.1SG and believe.PRS.1SG ø and believe.PRS.1SG ø*  
'Thus, I think this and believe ø and believe ø.'

(*Perceval* l. 1044, Donaldson 2013: 70)

- (17) *Car il les conquiest sanz occirre ø.  
for he them.ACC defeat.PST.3SG without kill.INF ø*  
'For he defeated them without killing ø.'

(*Queste del Saint Graal* §54, Donaldson 2013: 74)

Although null objects remain possible in a limited range of contexts in ModF (Donaldson, 2013), little is known about their evolution. The equivalent to (15) is grammatical in ModF, as evidenced in (18)

- (18) *Et il demande qu'on lui apporte ses armes, et on (les)  
and he ask.PRS.3SG that-one him.DAT bring.SBJV.3SG his weapon and one (them)  
lui apporte.  
him.DAT bring.PRS.3SG*  
'And he asked that someone bring him his weapons, and one brought (them) to him.'

The ModF equivalent to (16), given here in (19), is dubious but not ungrammatical.

- (19) ? *Ainsi, je le pense et imagine ø et crois ø.  
thus I it.ACC think.PRS.1SG and imagine.PRS.1SG ø and believe.PRS.1SG ø*  
'Thus, I think this and imagine ø and believe ø.'

A ModF equivalent to (17), where the infinitive is within an adjunct PP and the object is null, is however not grammatical, see (20).

- (20) \* *Car il les conquit sans tuer*  $\emptyset$ .  
 for he them.ACC defeat.PST.3SG without kill.INF  $\emptyset$   
 ‘For he defeated them without killing  $\emptyset$ .’

The presence of morphological case and of null-arguments in Medieval French is relevant to the present study: case morphology and the null-subject parameter interact with other orderings in the syntax of a language (see Kiparsky, 1996 for case morphology and Roberts, 2019 for the syntax of languages that are pro-drop). In this thesis, we will analyse the placement of clitics, which we will see interacts with the aforementioned parameters.

## 2.5 From OV to VO

We now turn to the position of the verb in Medieval French and more generally, we focus on the typology of the language and changes therein. Lehmann (1974) discusses the syntax of Proto-Indo-European and claims that the common ancestor of European languages shows OV ordering. The situation has changed in some subfamilies, since Romance now exhibits SVO. Whilst this gives us a margin of a few millennia to locate the transition, research on OF has shown that the shift was ongoing during the Middle Ages (Buridant, 1987; Marchello-Nizia, 1995; Labelle, 2007; Zaring, 2011, 2018; Scrivner, 2015). In his grammar, Moignet (1976) claims that SVO becomes the prevailing order early on. In what follows, I briefly report on the diachrony of this shift.

Further examination on word order has shown that OV remains rather common in OF (Buridant, 1987; Marchello-Nizia, 1995; Zaring, 2010, 2011; Scrivner, 2015). For instance, Zaring (2011) finds that the frequency of OV represents 77% in main

clauses and 78% in subordinate clauses at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Examples (21) to (23) show OV: the object is in bold and the verb is underlined.

- (21) *Uns des vaslez **son cheval** prant,...*  
 one.NOM of-the young-men his horse take.PRS.3SG  
 ‘One of the young men takes his horse...’ (Perceval l. 1416, Zaring 2011: 1846)
- (22) ***les portes** a bandon ovrirent...*  
 the gate fully open.PST.3PL  
 ‘They opened the gates fully...’ (Perceval l. 2438, Zaring 2010: 5)
- (23) *a force **le doi** li estant...*  
 with force the finger her.DAT extend.PRS.3SG  
 ‘He straightens her finger by force...’ (Perceval l. 718, Zaring 2010: 5)

In (21), the order is SOV, in (22) the object precedes the verb and an adjunct appears between the two, whereas in (23) the order is XOV.

According to Buridant (1987), this transition is the result of a deeper transformation, i.e. the typology of the language shifted from synthetic to analytic. OF is traditionally analysed as an OV language that loses its synthetic typology inherited from Latin. In turn, this has a serious impact on word order: since synthetic languages use inflection to mark grammatical distinctions and analytic languages use free morphemes instead, word order has been argued to play a more important part in the latter languages (Haspelmath and Michaelis, 2017). Nonetheless, Poletto (2014) shows that Old Italian OV orders are naturally generated by a VO grammar.

From a diachronic perspective, the transition from OV to VO seems on its way to completion with finite verbs by the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Marchello-Nizia, 1995; Zaring, 2010). Labelle (2007) compares early and late OF and she claims that during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, finite embedded clauses are mainly of the SVO type. Interestingly, the shift is not simultaneous in infinitival contexts: in the two texts investigated by Zaring (2010), the  $OV_{INF}$  construction remains frequent longer than the  $OV_{FIN}$  one. Additionally, the OV ordering of Medieval French interacted with other XVS

constructions, commonly referred to as verb-second (henceforth, V2), which I discuss below.

## 2.6 V2

### 2.6.1 Construction

A V2 language places finite verbs directly after an initial constituent (which may be an argument or an adjunct), either only in main clauses (asymmetric V2) or in main and subordinate clauses (symmetric V2). Recent studies have shown that several Medieval Romance varieties exhibit V2 clauses, at least on a descriptive level (see Wolfe 2019*a,b*; Pescarini 2021 and references below). In (24), the verb occupies the second position of the clause and the pronominal subject follows.

- (24) *les deniers prendrons nos.* [Old French]  
 the pennies take.FUT.1PL we  
 ‘We’ll take the money’. (Wolfe 2019*b*: 2)

This construction is well documented for Germanic languages (Holmberg, 2015), which we will use here before discussing V2 in OF further. Consider Norwegian (25), where *er* ‘be’ systematically occupies the second position of the clause.<sup>10</sup>

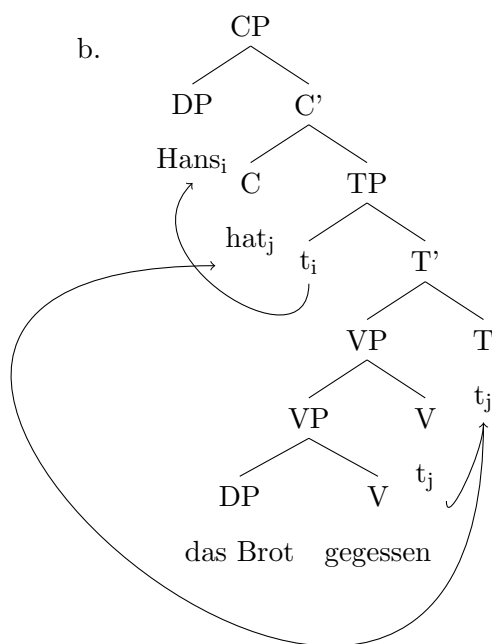
- (25) a. *Det er kaldt i dag.* [Norwegian]  
 it is cold in day  
 ‘It is cold today’  
 b. *I dag er det kaldt.*  
 in day is it cold  
 ‘Today it is cold’ (Salvesen and Bech 2014: 202)

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<sup>10</sup>Although characteristic to Germanic languages, V2 is noticeably absent from Modern English. Old English was a V2 language (see amongst others Roberts, 1996; Haeberli, 2002; Haeberli and Ihsane, 2016; Salvesen and Bech, 2014). The phenomenon is not restricted to Germanic and Old Romance languages: it is also attested in Celtic languages like Breton (Borsley and Kathol, 2000).

In the generative literature, this construction is analysed as a result of V-to-C movement: whilst a functional head in the left periphery attracts the finite verb, the specifier position of that functional head requires to be filled by a topic or focus XP (26b) (Adams, 1987; Vance, 1997; Mathieu, 2013; Holmberg, 2015).

- (26) a. *Hans hat das Brot gegessen.* [German]  
 Hans have.PRS.3SG the bread eat.PP  
 ‘Hans has eaten the bread’.



(Vance 1997: 12)

Whether Medieval Romance had a V2 grammar is controversial (Kaiser, 2002; Sitaridou, 2012; Wolfe, 2016*b*; Pescarini, 2021), on the grounds that occurrences of

V1, V3 or V4 appear more freely than in prototypical V2 languages like German.<sup>11,12</sup> Reviewing the situation in its entirety would take us too far afield, so I will limit the discussion to OF (an extensive documentation of V2 across Medieval Romance can be found in Wolfe, 2019*b*).

Ledgeway (2017) shows that Late Latin already had a V2 grammar, which was then inherited by Romance.<sup>13</sup> Despite the controversy, there is a general observation that most (root) clauses in OF are X<sub>1</sub>VY. The following section reviews whether this reflects a genuine V2 structure according to recent analyses.

### 2.6.2 Current debate on symmetry

The interest for the V2 phenomenon in OF is not recent (Thurneysen, 1892), yet it has received a lot of attention in the last decades (Adams, 1987, 1989; Roberts, 1993; Vance, 1997; Labelle, 2007; Ledgeway, 2007; Marchello-Nizia, 2008; Sitaridou, 2012; Salvesen and Bech, 2014; Wolfe, 2016*a,b*, 2019*b*, 2018, 2020, 2021; de Andrade, 2018; Klævik-Pettersen, 2018, 2019; Ledgeway, 2021; Pescarini, 2021). OF has been described as a symmetric V2 language (Roberts, 1993; Côté, 1995; Lemieux and Dupuis, 1995; Labelle, 2007; Salvesen and Walkden, 2017; Zaring, 2018), an asymmetric V2

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<sup>11</sup>The issue of recurrent V1 and V3 orderings has nonetheless been addressed by Sitaridou (2012), Wolfe (2016*b*), Ledgeway (2021) and Pescarini (2021). Sitaridou (2012) finds that V2 orders represent 80.6% of her data in main clauses and 97.3% in embedded clauses. According to her, there is sufficient evidence to claim that OF was a structural V2 language. Furthermore, Wolfe (2016*b*) and Ledgeway (2021) incorporate non-V2 sentences in their respective analyses and claim that they are natural orders generated by V2 languages.

<sup>12</sup>As a comparison, non-V2 orderings in V2 Germanic languages are rare (Swedish) or ungrammatical (German) (Bohnacker and Rosén, 2007).

<sup>13</sup>Classical Latin is SOV whereas Modern Romance is SVO. The V2 ordering is generally analysed as an intermediate step from SOV to SVO: Ledgeway (2017) only considers the *late* period of Latin, which he shows exhibits a V2 grammar.

language (Adams, 1987; Vance, 1997; Mathieu, 2006*b*; Wolfe, 2016*b*; Ledgeway, 2021) or a language not displaying V2 at all (Kaiser, 2002; Rinke and Elsig, 2010).

XVY constructions are observed in main clauses (27), (28), (30) and in embedded clauses (29), (30). The first element is in small capitals and the verb in second position is in bold.<sup>14</sup>

- (27) TANT **ont** François chevauchié.  
 long have.PST.3PL French ride.PP  
 ‘The French have ridden a long time.’ (*Le Charroi de Nîmes* 1070, Adams 1989: 2)

- (28) ENSI **fut** Joseph perdus une grant piece.  
 thus be.PST.3SG Joseph lose.PP a long time  
 ‘Thus, Joseph was lost for a long time.’ (*Le Roman du Graal* 27, Adams 1989: 3)

- (29) Et il respont que CE ne **feroit** il pas.  
 and he respond.PRS.3SG that that NEG do.SBJV.3SG he NEG  
 ‘And he replied that he would not do that.’

(*Graal* 183a, 1.40, Salvesen and Walkden 2017: 180)

- (30) OR **veit** Rollant que MORT **est** sun ami. . .  
 now see.PRS.3SG Rollant that dead.PP be.PRS.3SG his friend  
 ‘Now Rollant sees tht his friend is dead.’

(*La chanson de Roland* 151.2041, Zaring 2018: 289)

There is a general observation that V2 orderings are more restricted in embedded clauses (Lemieux and Dupuis, 1995; Mathieu, 2013; Salvesen and Walkden, 2017; Zaring, 2018; Ledgeway, 2021). Salvesen and Walkden (2017) note that embedded V2 is only possible with some classes of predicates, for instance they find that V2 is more common with strong assertive verbs; Mathieu (2013) argues that embedded V2 is possible yet vanishingly rare, and most cases of apparent embedded V2 should be

<sup>14</sup>Complementisers and clitics do not ‘count’ as elements in calculating ‘second’ position: therefore in (29), the complementiser *que* and the negative clitic *ne* are not taken into account in the V2 ordering; the first element is the pronoun *ce*.

analysed differently (possibly revealing cases of Stylistic Fronting, see section 2.7). In a recent study, Ledgeway (2021) shows that most embedded clauses are SVX (89.2% of all embedded V2) and other orderings are not frequent enough to analyse OF as a symmetric V2 language.

Some studies draw a time line to account for the symmetry of V2; for instance, Labelle (2007) claims that embedded V2 is possible in Early OF only (early 12<sup>th</sup> century), an issue we will return to below.<sup>15</sup> According to her, the verb remains in the IP domain of embedded clauses and a constituent is fronted in a functional phrase above. Zaring (2018) makes the opposite claim: she uses post-verbal pronominal subjects to diagnose V2 in main and embedded clauses, and she observes an increase of V2 in embedded clauses introduced by a conjunction during the early 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup>

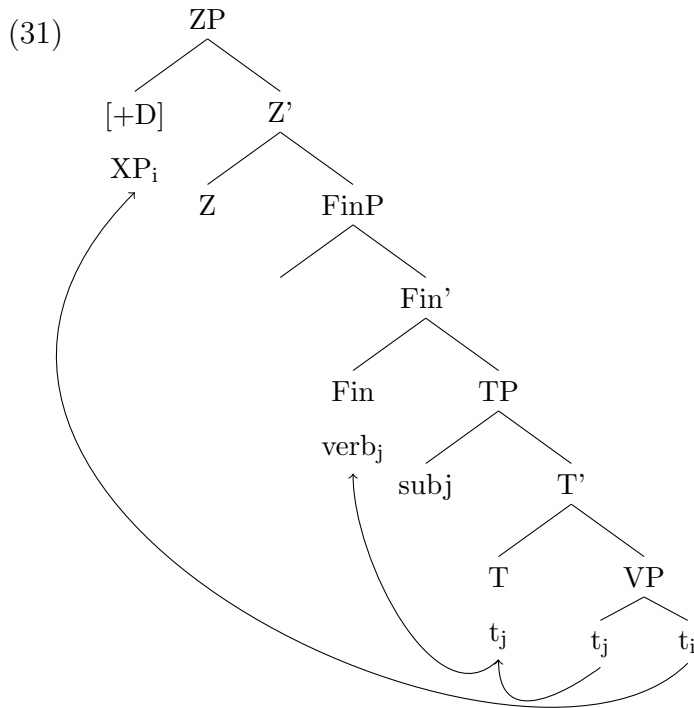
Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005) and Mathieu (2006*b*) assume a split CP *à la* Rizzi (1997) to account for V2 in OF main clauses (31). In Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2005) proposal, the verb moves to Fin and a constituent is fronted in a layer above (which they call ZP). According to them, a Discourse-related [+D] feature in Z attracts the XP in its specifier (analysed as a Topic-related phrase by Mathieu, 2006*b*). Unless topicalised, the subject remains in Spec,TP and may be null.

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<sup>15</sup>Labelle (2007) shows that Early OF has embedded V1, V2 and V3 orderings, whereas Late OF embedded clauses are SVO. Interestingly, she also claims that only Early OF has pro-drop in embedded clauses.

<sup>16</sup>Zaring (2018) provides an impressive quantitative analysis of V2, yet she acknowledges that the use of verse and prose may have an impact on the results.





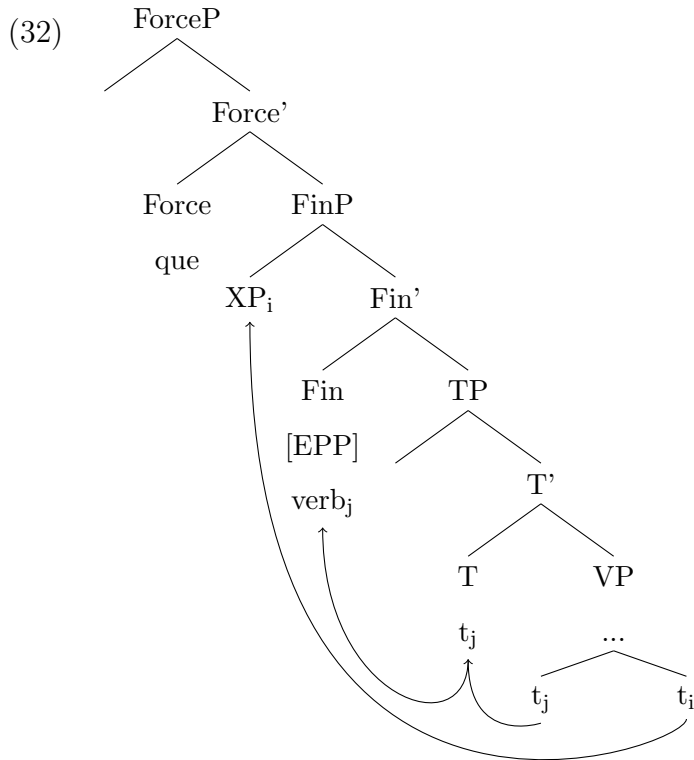
V2 in main clauses (adapted from Labelle and Hirschbühler 2005)

The V-to-C hypothesis is problematic in embedded clauses, since a complementiser sits in the landing site of the verb. Zaring (2018) argues that a structure like (26b) cannot account for structural embedded V2. She also assumes a split-CP: after observing that V2 is permitted in embedded conjunctive clauses only, she claims that embedded V2 is possible as long as it is introduced by a complementiser like *que* ‘that’.<sup>17</sup> She proposes the articulated structure (32) in which *que* is in Force. This proposal assumes that Fin inherits<sup>18</sup> a generalised EPP feature from Force that

<sup>17</sup>Examples of V2 introduced by a null complementiser are also discussed by Roberts and Roussou (2002), and Adams (1987) claims that complements of bridge verbs allow embedded V2. Mathieu (2006b: 224) argues that when a V2 embedded clause is introduced by a null complementiser, it behaves like a root clause.

<sup>18</sup>Zaring (2018) assumes the mechanism of inheritance developed by Chomsky (2008: 148).

attracts the verb and requires its specifier to be filled by a phrase.<sup>19</sup>



V2 in embedded clauses (adapted from Zaring 2018)

Some authors consider OF to be an asymmetric V2 language: Adams (1987) and Vance (1997) argue that V2 was restricted to main clauses, an observation reiterated in recent studies (Mathieu, 2006*b*; Wolfe, 2016*b*). Examples like (33) where the verb is not bound to the second position of the embedded clause are numerous.

<sup>19</sup>Whilst Zaring (2018) assumes that embedded V2 is realised in the CP-domain, Labelle (2007) propose that embedded V2 can be satisfied in the IP-domain. Conversely, Ledgeway (2021) claims that OF has asymmetric V2, and that the verb does not move higher than T in embedded clauses.

- (33) *et disoies que [ja] [en ceste maleurté] ne charroies.*  
 and say.PAST.2SG that never in this misfortune NEG fall.SBJV.2SG  
 ‘and you said that you would never fall into this misfortune.’

(*Queste del Saint Graal* 123-30, Vance 1997: 206)

Mathieu (2006*b*) argues that if V2 were present in embedded clauses, the verb would necessarily precede the null subject and be preceded by a constituent [XP V pro]. This is not the case in (34), where there is no lexical element in first position (the *Wh*-phrase *a cui* ‘to whom’ is in the CP) and the verb is in situ.

- (34) *Je suis le sire a cui Ø volez parler.*  
 I be.PRES.1SG the lord to whom *pro* wish.PRS.2PL speak.INF  
 ‘I am the lord to whom you wish to speak.’

(*Aymeri de Narbonne* 4041, Mathieu 2006*b*: 227)

Moreover, Mathieu (2006*b*) observes that apparent V2 constructions in embedded clauses are not the result of ‘genuine’ V2, since the fronted element is a head. In languages that display the constraint, the fronted element must be a phrase.<sup>20</sup> This leads him to attribute the apparent V2 ordering in embedded clauses to Stylistic Fronting, which allows the fronting of heads and requires a subject gap. The analysis of Stylistic Fronting in Medieval French is not novel, yet it recently saw a rise of interest (Roberts, 1993; Labelle, 2007; Salvesen, 2011; Mathieu, 2013; Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2014, 2017; Klævik-Pettersen, 2018). The construction is reviewed in detail in section 2.7.

As said above, V2 is challenged by V1 and V3 in OF. Kaiser’s (2002) quantitative study of word order shows that less than two thirds of main declarative sentences are V2, most of which are actually SVO. Thus, non-SVO V2 sentences represent 11.7% of

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<sup>20</sup>Whether only phrases or both phrases and heads can satisfy V2 is debated. Labelle (2007) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017) claim that past participles and infinitives can count as first elements (which might be light VPs, or remnant VPs).

his data, which he considers too low to compare to Germanic V2. In other words, two issues arise from his findings: non-V2 orderings are numerous and most V2 sentences may be analysed as SVO sentences that do not categorise as V2. Furthermore, the quantitative study produced by Rinke and Elsig (2010) supports the view that a high frequency of V2 clauses does not necessarily define the language as having an underlying V2 grammar: they argue that such a grammar would not be able to generate as many V1 and V3 clauses. They conclude that superficial V2 is not compulsorily triggered by a V2 grammar, and that other grammatical systems may generate V1 and V3 as well. On the other hand, both Wolfe (2016*b*) and Ledgeway (2021) argue that exceptional cases of V3 can be generated by a V2 grammar.

### 2.6.3 Interim summary

In OF, the verb generally occupies the second position of the clause. Several quantitative studies find a high frequency of V2: for instance, Sitaridou (2012) and Klævik-Pettersen (2019) both report that the ordering is found in at least 80% of all constructions. This number varies, as Kaiser (2002) finds that V2 clauses represent about two thirds of all word orders. Rinke and Elsig (2010) and Sitaridou (2012) report that non-V2 sentences are common as well, which posits an issue when defining OF as a V2 language (considering that V2 Germanic languages are stricter). Thus, there is an active debate on whether Medieval French should be analysed as a V2 language or not. Recently, OF (and to a certain extent, Old Romance) has been defined as ‘relaxed V2’ by Wolfe (2019*a*). It appears that although some cases of true embedded V2 are attested, the constraint principally applies to main clauses.

The role of diachrony plays an important part in the discussion: in OF, the V2 constraint was evolving rapidly, and this review shows it was rather unstable. For instance, Labelle (2007) finds that embedded V2 is possible until the 12<sup>th</sup> century,

whilst Zaring (2018) claims that embedded V2 is restricted and increases from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century on, and it becomes available for a short time. The observation that the V2 constraint has evolved rapidly and was unstable is not a recent one (Côté, 1995; Vance, 1997) and it suggests that studies focusing on the language at the beginning or towards the end of the OF period might posit different assumptions on the symmetry of V2.<sup>21</sup> Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) claim that the loss of V2 takes place after the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, whereas Adams (1987) situates it during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. To conclude, the V2 constraint on finite verbs is seen on the decrease during the MidF period as the language transitions into SVO.

## 2.7 Non-V2 Fronting

### 2.7.1 Stylistic Fronting

To understand the position of the verb in OF, it is important to consider the left periphery of the clause. Apparent cases of embedded V2 have subsequently been dismissed by some authors: consider examples (35) and (36) where the verb follows an initial constituent (a PP and an adjective respectively) and a null subject ('Ø'). This construction cannot be analysed in terms of V2 since the verb does not move to C (Mathieu, 2006*b*, 2013; Salvesen, 2011), although this stance is disputable.

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<sup>21</sup>Several extra-linguistic parameters should be taken into consideration: first, the OF period lasts for a few centuries. As mentioned, it is not surprising to obtain different results when investigating the language at two different points in time. Second, the role of register can have an important impact on the results. We may assume that verse, being more flexible, may resort to the fronting of elements more frequently than prose. Lastly, there might also be some dialectal variation that may be hard to take into account, for little is known about the typological differences between them: Lodge (1993) reports that there were four distinct French dialects spoken during the Middle Ages.

- (35) *Ce sanc que an mes dras Ø regart.*  
 that blood that in my sheet see.PRS.1SG  
 ‘That blood that I see in my sheets.’

(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 4800, Mathieu 2013: 330)

- (36) *As epees que nues Ø tienent.*  
 their sword that bare.FEM hold.PRS.3PL  
 ‘Their swords that they hold bare in their hands.’

(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 5025, Mathieu 2013: 330)

Constructions whereby an element is fronted in the presence of a subject gap are analysed as Stylistic Fronting (henceforth, SF) in Scandinavian languages (Maling, 1990; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995; Holmberg, 2000; Ingason and Wood, 2017). For instance in (37), the past participle *sagt* ‘said’ is fronted within the embedded clause.

- (37) *Honum mætti standa á sama, hvað sagt væri um hann.* [Icelandic]  
 him.DAT might stand on same what said was about him  
 ‘It might be all the same to him what was said about him’

(*Tilhugalíf* Ch.5, Maling, 1990: 74)

- (38) **Stylistic Fronting:** ‘The leftward movement of an XP or a head into a position that precedes the finite verb when Spec-TP, the canonical subject position, is not occupied by an overt subject DP’ (Mathieu, 2006*b*: 219)

Several authors claim that SF was also possible in OF (Roberts, 1993; Cardinaletti and Roberts, 2002; Mathieu, 2006*b*, 2013; Salvesen, 2011), or at least in late OF (Cardinaletti and Roberts, 2002; Labelle, 2007). Additionally, it can front heads - which do not satisfy V2. See fronting of a past participle in (39) and fronting of an infinitive in (40).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>SF requires that Spec,TP be empty; Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014: 200) claim that the subject must be extracted, null or post-verbal.

- (39) *Quant levé<sub>i</sub> Ø furent t<sub>i</sub> del mangier.*  
 when stand.PP be.PST.3PL from-the eat.INF  
 ‘When they had finished eating (and stood up).’

(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 1043, Mathieu 2006b: 225)

- (40) *Riens nule que dire<sub>i</sub> Ø li sache t<sub>i</sub>.*  
 thing none that say.INF him.DAT know.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘What he will say is completely useless.’

(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 6929, Mathieu 2006b: 225)

A phrase and a head may be SFed within the same clause (in this order) - but crucially not two XPs or two Xs. This observation, also made by Salvesen (2011), is illustrated with a PP and an infinitive in (41) and a DP and a past participle in (42).

- (41) *Se lieve sus, et cil le voient qui [avoec lui]<sub>j</sub> aler<sub>i</sub> Ø*  
 REFL get-up.PRS.3SG quickly and those him see.PRS.3PL who with him go.INF  
*devoient t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>.*  
 must.PST.3PL  
 ‘He gets up quickly and they, who should have gone with him, see him.’

(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2203-5, Mathieu 2006b: 234)

- (42) *Cele dame une fee estoit qui [l’anel]<sub>j</sub> doné<sub>i</sub> Ø li avoit t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>.*  
 that woman a fairy be.PST.3SG who the-ring give.PP him have.PST.3SG  
 ‘That woman was a fairy who had given him the ring.’

(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2357-8, Mathieu 2006b: 234)

Maling (1990) observes that when several elements are in competition for the fronting process, the highest one is chosen. This is referred to as the Accessibility Hierarchy, a version of the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky, 1995).<sup>23</sup> The main differences between V2 and SF are reported in Table 2.3.

<sup>23</sup>Minimal Link Condition: K attracts  $\alpha$  only if there is no  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$  closer to K than  $\alpha$ , such that K attracts  $\beta$  (Chomsky, 1995: 311).

	V2 Topicalisation	Stylistic Fronting
<b>Requires focus</b>	✓	
<b>Applies to XPs</b>	✓	✓
<b>Applies to Xs</b>		✓
<b>Clause-bound</b>		✓
<b>Common in embedded clauses</b>		✓
<b>Requires a subject gap</b>		✓
<b>Obeys the Accessibility Hierarchy</b>		✓

Table 2.3: Verb-second *vs.* Stylistic Fronting (Mathieu, 2006*b*: 226)

### 2.7.2 Leftward Stylistic Displacement

The presence of SF in OF is debated. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017) argue that the fronting operation observed in Medieval French is not SF; rather, they distinguish three different constructions that they atheoretically call Leftward Stylistic Displacement (henceforth, LSD): V2, LSD<sub>Left</sub>, LSD<sub>Right</sub>.<sup>24</sup> In V2 constructions, the subject is post-verbal and the fronted element fills the first position (XVS); in LSD<sub>Left</sub> constructions, the fronted element and the subject precede the finite verb in that order (XSV); in LSD<sub>Right</sub> constructions, the subject and the fronted element precede the finite verb in that order (SXV). Consider the following examples: V2 (43), LSD<sub>Left</sub> (44), LSD<sub>Right</sub> (45). The fronted element is in bold, the subject is underlined and the main verb is in small capitals.

<sup>24</sup>Unlike Mathieu (2006*b*), Labelle (2007) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014) consider that a head can satisfy V2.



- (43) **Beneit** SEIEZ *vus de nostre Seignur*  
 blessed be you from out Lord  
 ‘May you be blessed by our Lord.’

(ca. 1170, *QUATRELIVRE*, Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2017: 162)

- (44) *Et se bien li nostre* ASSAILLOIENT, / *Li autre mieus se deffendoient.*  
 and if well the ours attacked the others better REFL defended  
 ‘And if our men attacked well, the others defended themselves better.’

(1370, *PRISE*, Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2017: 165)

- (45) *por savoir s’il verroit riens de la chose qu’il plus* DESIRROIT.  
 to know if-he see.COND.3SG anything of the thing that-he most desired  
 ‘to know if he would see anything of the thing that he most desired.’

(ca. 1225, *QUESTE*, Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2017: 157)

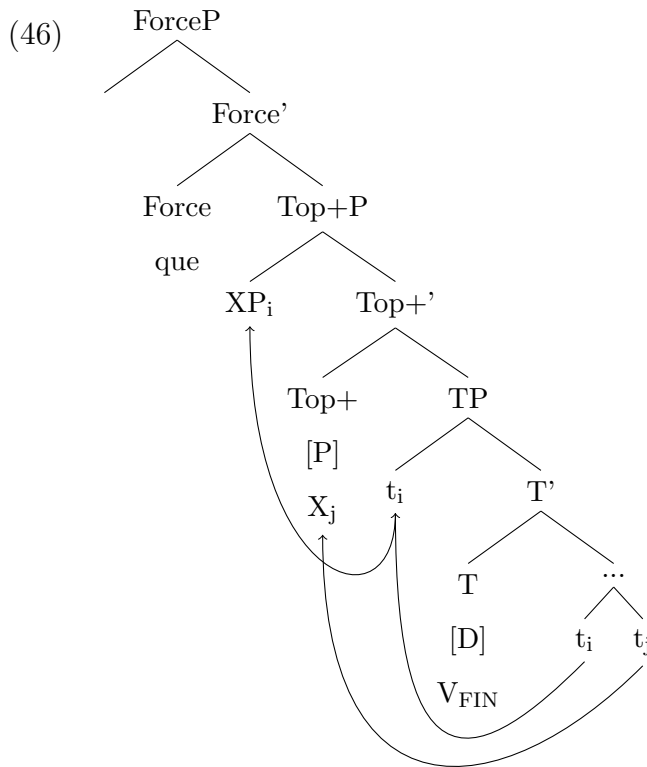
In (45), the subject occupies the canonical subject position before the main verb, and the fronted adverb appears between the two. According to Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017), this shows that the subject gap condition is not necessary, unlike in true SF constructions. Additionally, they show that the Accessibility Hierarchy does not hold in Medieval French (contra Mathieu, 2006*b*): when several elements compete for SF in Icelandic, only the highest can move. This does not appear to be the case in Medieval French.

### 2.7.3 Theoretical proposals

The position of the fronted element is debated.<sup>25</sup> Mathieu (2006*b*) argues that the SFed elements are not focused and that they land in Top+P, a pragmatically unmarked phrase. Following Holmberg (2000), he assumes a split EPP, which in turn

<sup>25</sup>Early studies propose that the fronted element fills the subject gap (Maling, 1990; Holmberg, 2000), whereas later analyses propose that the landing site is in a higher functional projection (Mathieu, 2006*b*; Franco, 2012).

needs its [P] feature to be checked by an element within the Top+P layer and its [D] feature to be checked by verbal agreement in T.<sup>26</sup> In other words, the SFed elements satisfy the EPP via [P] feature checking.



(adapted from Mathieu 2006*b*: 251)

His proposal accounts for the subject gap necessity with SFed XPs and apparent V2 and V3 linear orderings in embedded clauses. In (46), a SFed XP must move through Spec,TP; Mathieu (2006*b*) accounts for this step in the derivation by considering that TPs are phases in OF (Chomsky and Kenstowicz, 1999; Chomsky, 2001*b,a*, 2007, 2008). Heads, on the other hand, do not need to stop in Spec,TP on their way to Top+.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Mathieu (2006*b*: 222) defines the split EPP as the combination of '[D] (a categorial feature) and [P] (a feature requiring visibility, i.e., a specifier to be filled)'.

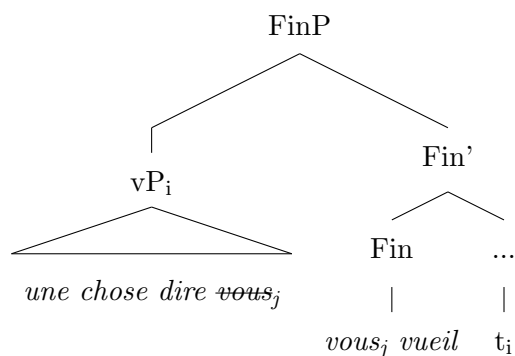
<sup>27</sup>This means that SF of a head is possible when there is an overt subject in Spec,TP. In the

Salvesen (2011) follows Franco's (2009) study of Old Italian and proposes that SF is not the result of two movements, i.e. the fronting of an XP and the fronting of a head, but that the whole vP moves to Spec,FinP (48b).<sup>28</sup> She argues that SF is generated by Remnant Movement (47).

- (47) **Remnant Movement:** 'A process where a phrase containing deleted copies is moved to a position to the left of the landing site of the evacuated elements' (Salvesen, 2011: 335).

- (48) a. *Une chose dire vous vueil.*  
 one thing say.INF YOU.DAT want.PRS.1SG  
 'I will tell you one thing'.

b.



(Berthe 218, Salvesen 2011: 354-5)

Along the same lines, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) show that vP movement is available in Medieval French and accounts for apparent cases of SF. They treat constructions of double SF (Mathieu, 2006*b*) as instances of Remnant Movement. In any case, these constructions are relevant to our study as they interact with clitic placement: in section 9.7, I will develop an update on this construction in terms of mono-clausal restructuring.

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latter configuration, the two features of the EPP remain in T, as no XP can check the [P] feature in Spec,Top+.

<sup>28</sup>Salvesen (2011) proposes that the clitic incorporates with the verb. We will return to this construction in Chapter 9.

## 2.8 Concluding remarks

This Chapter introduced some relevant properties of the syntax of Medieval French (i.e. OF and MidF) with a particular focus on pro-drop, and the position of objects and of the verb. I have reported four major observations: (i) the language has pro-drop, (ii) OF (but not MidF) has morphological case, (iii) the language is V2 and more generally (iv) the left periphery is active at this stage (more so than in ModF).

OF inherits a reduced morphological case from Latin visible on determiners, adjectives and nouns. The presence or absence of the suffix *-s* (and depending on gender and number) differentiates nominative (with vocative) from oblique cases. The pro-drop parameter decreases during the MidF period, by the end of which the subject is obligatorily expressed (unlike what we observe in other Romance languages like Italian, Spanish and Catalan). Lastly, I have reviewed a series of studies that investigate variable word orders, whereby constituents are fronted in main and embedded clauses, leading to V2 and non-V2 orderings.

Having reviewed the general properties of OF and MidF, I now draw attention to the properties of the language which are particularly relevant to my study: first, OF is a language with a verbal system stronger than the one of ModF (hence pro-drop). Next, there is a certain freedom in word order whereby finite verbs can move to the left periphery (yielding V2), and other elements (phrases and/or heads, notably infinitives) can also target higher positions. This has implications on my investigation, as we know that clitic placement is sensitive to verbs (Kayne, 1975), and perhaps even to inflection (Kayne, 1989; Martineau, 1990). The following Chapter introduces a thorough review of the theory of clitics and clitic placement in Romance, and I will then proceed to contextualise clitics within the syntax of Medieval French.

# Chapter 3

## Clitics

### 3.1 Introduction

Clitics are elements that show some level of dependency on other elements in the clause (Zwicky, 1977) and they appear in a derived position (Kayne, 1975). In Romance, the verb is the element on which argument clitics (henceforth, clitics) are dependent. It is notorious that clitic placement obeys similar constraints crosslinguistically, yet differs at the same time: in particular, proclisis (in pre-verbal position) and enclisis (post-verbal) are both sensitive to the position of the verb, yet contexts in which each ordering is found differ across Romance. For instance: in finite contexts, the clitic is enclitic in Borgomanerese (49) yet it is proclitic in Spanish (50).

- (49) *La môngia-la.*  
she eat.PRS.3SG-it  
'She's eating it.' (Tortora, 2010: 137)

- (50) *Lo oimos.*  
it hear.PST.1PL  
'We heard it.' (Uriagereka, 1995: 92)

The same contrast exists with infinitives: we find enclisis in Standard Italian (51)

and proclisis in Languedocien (52).

- (51) *Detesterei      andarci      con Maria.*  
 detest.COND-1SG go-INF-there with Maria  
 ‘I would detest to go there with Maria.’ (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004: 521)
- (52) *Gausèri      **li**      parlar.*  
 dare.PST-1SG him speak-INF  
 ‘I dared speak to him.’ (Alibèrt, 1976: 290)

From these four examples, defining a clitic placement parameter relying on finiteness appears challenging (although see Mavrogiorgos, 2010 for an interesting discussion).

This Chapter is organised as follows: section 3.2 presents a description of Romance clitics and draws generalisations. Section 3.3 offers a comparison between clitic and articles to examine their structural properties, before contrasting them further with other pronouns in section 3.4. Section 3.5 briefly addresses constraints in clitic clusters, and section 3.6 introduces an extensive review of the main analyses that have been put forward in the generative literature to account for clitic placement in Romance. Section 3.7 concludes.

## 3.2 Clitics

Zwicky (1977) differentiates *simple clitics* from *special clitics*. He associates the former with phonological reduction and stylisation that belong to discourse and language registers: for instance, Zwicky (1977) considers ‘she met him’ and ‘she met’im’ and characterises the pronoun in the latter as a simple clitic. They will not be considered here. The second type is under our scope and I will simply refer to them as *clitics*. The term is borrowed from Ancient Greek *κλιτικός* ‘inflectional’, encompassing the notion of an item leaning on a word: traditionally, the word on which the clitic leans

is called the *host*. The study of clitics is not recent: Wackernagel (1892) uses the term in his work on Ancient Greek, where he shows that enclitic pronouns must occupy the second position of the clause.<sup>1</sup> Clitics resemble affixes as they cannot stand alone, yet they exhibit certain independent traits that categorise them as words, at least to some extent: in the words of Uriagereka (1995: 79), they ‘exist as morphophonological units’ (see also Somesfalean, 2007). In sum, clitics have a hybrid nature that makes them especially interesting theoretically, which I illustrate below.

Amongst the interesting features of clitics are their impossibility to bear contrastive stress, to stand alone or to be coordinated (Kayne, 1975). Zwicky (1977) observes a certain degree of asymmetry in the languages that have clitics, namely that clitics are somehow weaker than a pronominal counterpart that is stronger and more independent (see also Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999 and Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002 in section 3.4). This is observable in Romance: the paradigm presented in Table 3.1 contrasts accusative clitics (hosted by a verb) and strong pronouns (generally but not necessarily occurring after a preposition).

	Italian		French		Catalan		Spanish	
	Clitic	Strong	Clitic	Strong	Clitic	Strong	Clitic	Strong
<b>1</b>	mi	me	me	moi	em	mi	me	mí
<b>2</b>	ti	te	te	toi	et	tu	te	ti
<b>3</b>	lo/la	lui/lei	le/la	lui/elle	el/la	ell/ella	lo/la	él/ella
<b>1</b>	ci	noi	nous	nous	ens	nosaltres	nos	nosotros
<b>2</b>	vi	voi	vous	vous	us	vosaltres	os	vosotros
<b>3</b>	li/le	loro	les	eux/elles	els/les	ells/elles	los/las	ellos/ellas

Table 3.1: Clitics *vs.* strong pronouns in Romance

<sup>1</sup>Wackernagel (1892) shows that Ancient Greek clitics are enclitics, and therefore cannot be clause-initial or they would lack a host.

The cognates in Table 3.1, mainly for the singular, give evidence of a common ancestor. Latin has been discussed in relation to clitics, but it is not clear whether its weak pronouns had acquired a status of cliticness then (Wanner, 2011). More probably, clitics appeared during the Late Latin / Proto-Romance stage. Posner (1996: 170) supports the view that although late Latin colloquial uses have been claimed to have generated cliticisation, the only evidence that is received of the existence of ‘true’ clitics dates back from the early Middle Ages with Old Romance. Similarly, Vincent (1997) draws attention towards the fact that unlike clitics in Table 3.1, Latin (weak) pronouns can be coordinated with other pronouns or full DPs. Although this strongly suggests that they had not acquired a clitic-like behaviour just yet, we will see below that there is evidence indicating that, at this stage already, their evolution is foreseeable and thus exhibited some (but not all) clitic properties.

Some authors have discussed evidence of cliticisation in texts from the Latin period (Salvi, 1991, 2004, 2005; Adams, 1996; Clackson and Horrocks, 2007; Ledgeway, 2017). Adams (1996) analyses two military texts from the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century and notes that the authors use interpuncts to separate units of words, or words. Interpunction is however absent between verbs and their pronominal objects, which leads him to claim that pronouns are enclitic at this stage. This claim seems hard to maintain solely based on the writing system, however Adams (1996) convincingly shows that the verb and the pronoun have gotten closer: if this is not cliticisation, it might be an early sign of its development. His study is not the only one to mention such an observation: according to Clackson and Horrocks (2007), unaccentuated pronouns are found within the immediate periphery of the verb from the third century already.<sup>2</sup> More recently, Ledgeway (2017) proposes that late Latin

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<sup>2</sup>Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 255) write: ‘There seems to have been a general tendency to place unaccented pronouns next to the verb, either following it or in front, as in the final phrase, *saluta qui nos amant* ‘greet those who love us’ (which may well be formulaic)’.



pronouns should be considered as clitics since they are dependent on the position of the verb and are phonologically enclitic on it (53).

- (53) *Et ait nobis sanctus episcopus:* [Late Latin]  
 and says us.DAT holy.NOM bishop.NOM  
 ‘And the holy bishop tells us: [...]’ (Ledgeway, 2017: 190)

Regardless of the lack of clarity with regards to Latin, the clitic status of weak pronouns in Old Romance is not debated and we will focus on them in the remainder of the Chapter (we will refine the notion of clitics *vs.* weak pronouns in section 3.4).

### 3.3 D-elements

Pronouns and articles are connected on different levels. For instance, Postal (1969) claims that English pronouns should be analysed as articles, that is *I, you, she* are structurally analogous to *the*: this is notable when we compare *the linguists are happy* with *we linguists are happy*. Postal (1969) claims that this proposal should hold in Romance languages as well. Later, Vincent (1997) investigates the correlation between 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics and definite articles in a selection of Romance languages. He argues that, since all these languages have both and Latin has neither, they must stem from the Proto-Romance stage.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, (partial) syncretism between the two clearly indicates that they are related (Table 3.2).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Early Old French already has a fully developed determiner system (see Boucher, 2003).

<sup>4</sup>The data presented in tabel 3.2 is from Alibèrt (1976) and Vincent (1997: 151).

		M. SG	F. SG	M. PL	F. PL
<b>Italian</b>	<b>article</b>	il/lo	la	i/gli	le
	<b>clitic object</b>	lo	la	li	le
<b>French</b>	<b>article</b>	le	la	les	les
	<b>clitic object</b>	le	la	les	les
<b>Spanish</b>	<b>article</b>	el	la	los	las
	<b>clitic object</b>	lo	la	los	las
<b>Occitan</b>	<b>article</b>	lo	la	los	las
	<b>clitic object</b>	lo	la	los	las
<b>Portuguese</b>	<b>article</b>	o	a	os	as
	<b>clitic object</b>	o	a	os	as

Table 3.2: Morphological overlap between accusative clitics and articles in Romance

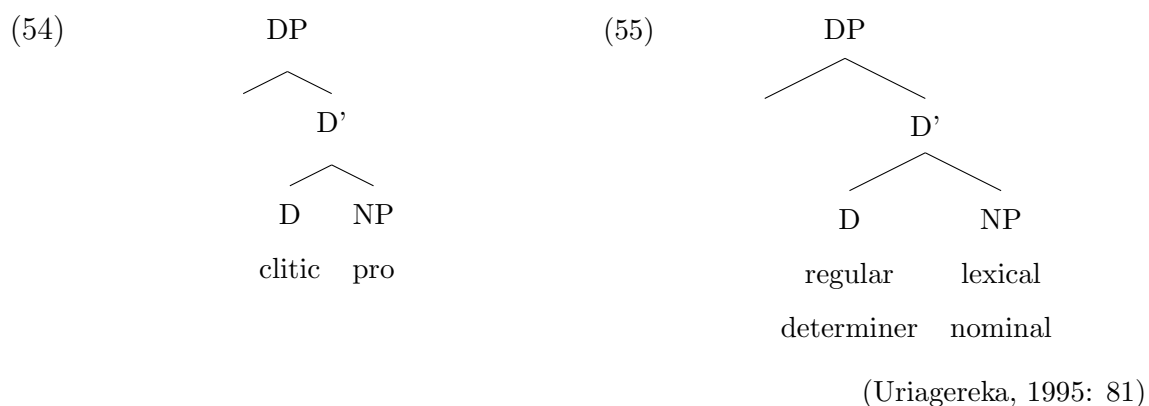
Based on the strong morphological overlap between clitics and articles, Vincent (1997: 152), amongst others (cf. Uriagereka 1988, 1995; Wanner 2011), shows that they stem from the same source, i.e. the Latin pronoun/article *ille*.<sup>5</sup>

Additionally, Vincent (1997) notes a correlation between the loss of morphological case and the rise of D-elements. According to him, *ille* maintained its [+ definite] feature whilst morphological case eroded. In his view, it thus became used as a pronominal determiner in an increasing manner ‘to mark a particular nominal unspecified in respect of proximity’ (Vincent, 1997: 152). Regarding the birth of clitics, Vincent (1997) claims that *ille* (and its relevant declensions) started being used as a deictic weak pronoun. It is the fronting the verb that led to place this weak pronoun systematically in second position, reanalysing it as a clitic of the verb. Furthermore, Vincent (1997) characterises this change as a result of the synthetic-to-analytic shift

<sup>5</sup>The (nominative) declension in Latin is: *ille* (masculine singular), *illa* (feminine singular), *illi* (masculine plural), *illae* (feminine plural).

from Latin to Romance, whereby word order became less free and a series of grammaticalisations took place.

Uriagereka (1995) also claims that 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics and determiners are related. He assumes that they share the same structure: clitics have a null argument (54) instead of an overt NP (55). Accordingly, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics have evolved from corresponding Latin (weak) pronouns.



Although Vincent's (1997) diachronic study exposes a strong relationship between definite articles and clitics, he does not mention the relationship between clitics and strong pronouns. We have seen here that analysing clitics as D-elements is common (Uriagereka, 1995; Mavrogiorgos, 2010), yet some authors posit different analyses (for instance Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002 and Roberts, 2010 analyse clitics as  $\varphi$ -heads). Before reviewing the main proposals for clitic placement in Romance and Greek in section 3.6, we will look at the different pronominal categories that have been introduced in the literature in order to clarify why clitics occupy a different position in the clause than strong pronouns.



The series of differences they observe between clitics, weak and strong pronouns is reported in Table 3.3.

	Clitic	Weak	Strong
<b>X<sup>0</sup></b>	✓		
<b>Found with Clitic Doubling</b>	✓		
<b>X-chain formation</b>	✓		
<b>Moves to a higher position</b>	✓	✓	
<b>XP</b>		✓	✓
<b>Bears Lexical Stress</b>		✓	✓
<b>Satisfies V2</b>		✓	✓
<b>Bears Functional case features</b>			✓
<b>Can be coordinated</b>			✓
<b>Can be c-modified</b>			✓

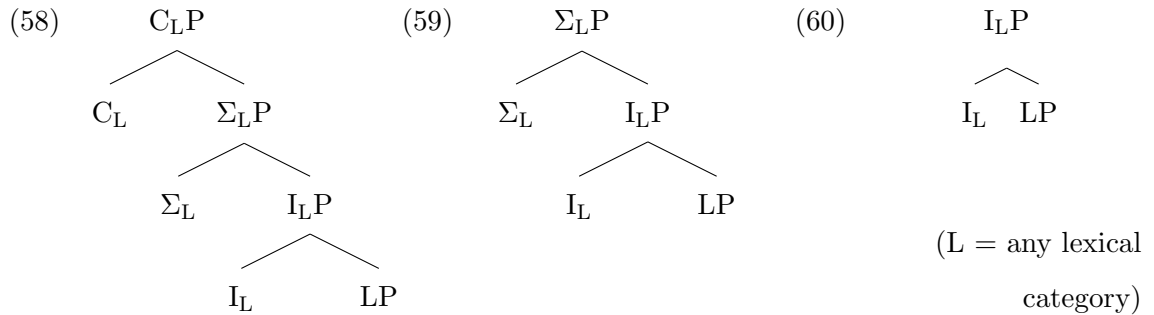
Table 3.3: Main characteristics of pronominal subcategories

According to Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), strong pronouns enjoy some degree of independence and check case *in situ*,<sup>7</sup> whereas clitics and weak pronouns move (or are not generated in the canonical object position; I will return to this debate in section 3.6) and cannot be coordinated nor c-modified. These remarks lead them to postulate that strong pronouns possess a functional layer that they identify as CP, that clitics and weak pronouns lack. C can host case markers like Spanish *a* or Rumanian *pe* or be null (so strong pronouns are the only pronominal category that can license case internally). Thus, they assume that weak pronouns and clitics must move to Spec, AgrO to check case. The presence (or absence) of a CP allows them to account for the differences between strong and deficient pronouns. They propose

<sup>7</sup>In early Minimalism, Chomsky (1995) proposed that uninterpretable features at LF must be checked by movement.

that cliticisation is realised in two movements: an XP movement to Spec,AgrO and a X movement to a higher functional head. This ensures that the clitic checks case and is prosodically hosted.

They peel off the pronominal structure again to explain further deficiency with clitics. They posit that a nominal support morpheme  $\Sigma$  is present in weak and strong pronouns and carries lexical stress (this allows V2 orderings, which clitics cannot satisfy). In order to recover (some) prosodic features, the clitic head subsequently moves to  $\Sigma$  or V.<sup>8</sup> The three structures are given below: strong pronouns (58), weak pronouns (59) and clitics (60).



(Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999: 214)

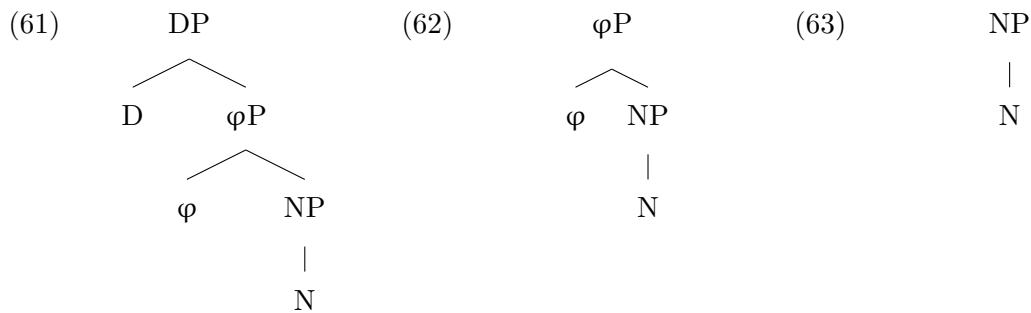
Their hypothesis distinguishes several functional projections. The C-head encodes referentiality and definiteness features whereas the I(nfl)-head encodes  $\phi$ -features. L holds for the *Lexical N*-head. In their analysis, I and L are shared by all subcategories.  $\Sigma$  encodes prosodic-related features and is absent in clitics. They adopt an economic constraint according to which the most deficient form must be chosen. In other words, they claim that the syntax must minimise the structure ‘up to crash’ (Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999: 204), i.e. a stronger pronoun may only be used when a more deficient

<sup>8</sup>In some languages, clitics are systematically in second position and do not necessarily lean on the verb, hence movement to  $\Sigma$  instead of V.

form would yield ungrammatical results (see also the Avoid Pronoun Principle in Chomsky, 1981).

### 3.4.2 Pro-DP, pro- $\varphi$ P, pro-NP

Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) also propose that pronouns, or proforms (in their terms), can be divided in (at least) three different categories. Unlike Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) they do not use the notion of deficiency. Rather, they point out that the binding properties of each proform is relevant to its structure. Their main claim is that ‘the notion of “pronoun” is not a primitive’ (Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002: 438) and not all proforms can be analysed as D-elements.



(Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002: 410)

This tripartition is mainly based on the binding status of each kind of proform, which according to Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) reflects their syntactic and semantic properties. They claim that pro-DPs contain both a  $\varphi$ P and a NP, yet being DPs they must occupy an argument position and obey binding Condition C. Pro- $\varphi$ Ps encode  $\varphi$ -features and have neither the syntax of DPs nor of NPs. They only spell out  $\varphi$ -features, which implies that they have no semantic content and are subject to binding Condition B. Pro-NPs simply have the syntax of lexical nouns and are not

subject to any binding condition. The NP position may be overt or covert in (61) and (62): when covert, pro-DP and pro- $\varphi$ P are pronominal.

According to Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002), English first and second person pronouns are pro-DPs whereas third person pronouns are pro- $\varphi$ Ps. Whilst pro-DPs must be arguments, pro- $\varphi$ Ps may be arguments or predicates. Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) analyse Romance clitics as pro- $\varphi$ s (64): argument pro- $\varphi$  inflects for gender whereas predicate pro- $\varphi$  does not.<sup>9</sup>

- (64) a. *Jean le/la voit.* [pro-argument]  
 Jean him/her sees  
 ‘Jean sees him/her.’
- b. *Marie est une avocate, et Jeanne le/\*la sera aussi.* [pro-predicate]  
 Marie is a.FEM lawyer.FEM and Jeanne it will.be too.  
 ‘Marie is a lawyer, and Jeanne will be (it) too.’

(Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002: 428)

Lastly, pro-NPs have the syntax of nouns: to illustrate their point, they analyse Japanese *kare* as a pro-NP, for it can follow an adjective, a possessive or a demonstrative (65).

- (65) a. *tiisai kare* [Japanese]  
 small he  
 ‘he who is small’
- b. *watasi-no kare*  
 I-GEN he  
 ‘my boyfriend’
- c. *kono kare*  
 this he  
 ‘this guy here’

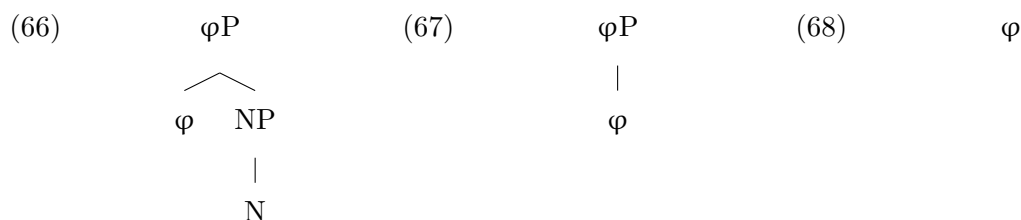
(Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002: 417)

In sum, Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) suggest a new interpretation of Cardinaletti and Starke’s (1999) tripartition (56), namely strong pronoun (66), weak pro-

<sup>9</sup>Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) argue that French articles should be treated as pro- $\varphi$ Ps as well.



noun (67) and clitic (68).



(Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002: 439)

The two proposals put forward do not exclude each other; or put differently, the fact that two independent proposals propose tripartite structures for pronouns suggests that they are headed in the right direction.

In the sections that follow, I briefly review clitic orderings where more than one clitic is present. I will then discuss theoretical analyses of clitic placement and we will see that authors have chosen one of the two interpretations reviewed above or sometimes their own.

### 3.5 Person Case Constraint

The Person Case Constraint (henceforth, PCC), initially *\*me lui* constraint in Perlmutter (1971) and later refined by Bonet (1991, 1994), has been described as a universal constraint that prevents constructions with two phonologically weak pronouns when the direct object is not a third person.<sup>10</sup> In other words, in a series of two clitics including a dative and an accusative (in whichever order), the PCC holds as follows:

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<sup>10</sup>Bonet (1991: 199) attests the PCC with the four following constructions: ditransitives, causatives, benefactives and dative of inalienable possession.

- (69) a. **Strong version:** the direct object has to be third pronoun  
 b. **Weak version:** if there is a third person it has to be the direct object

(Bonet, 1991: 182)

A great amount of variation has been observed in the diachrony and synchrony of (Romance) languages (see section 4.4 for changes in the PCC in French). The strong version of the PCC is found in Greek (70) and French (71): a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person accusative clitic cannot co-occur with a dative/indirect object (Anagnostopoulou, 2005; Sheehan, 2020).

- (70) \* *Tha su me sistisune.* [Greek]  
 FUT YOU.GEN me.ACC introduce.3  
 ‘They will introduce me to you.’ (Anagnostopoulou, 2005: 202)

- (71) \* *Paul me lui présentera.* [French]  
 Paul me.ACC him.DAT present.FUT.3SG  
 ‘Paul will introduce me to him.’ (Kayne, 1975: 173)

The weak version of the PCC is found in Italian (72), Catalan (73), Spanish (74) and in the diachrony of Occitan (75) (Anagnostopoulou, 2005; Sheehan, 2020).<sup>11</sup> In these languages, a 1<sup>st</sup> person and a 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic can appear together when one is dative.<sup>12</sup>

- (72) % *Mi ti ha affidato.* [Italian]  
 1SG 2SG have.PRS.3SG entrust.PP  
 ‘He entrusted you to me/me to you.’

(Bianchi 2006: 2027, in Sheehan 2020: 145)

<sup>11</sup>In the examples introduced by Sheehan (2020), % indicates that the examples are not accepted by all speakers and are subject to idiolectal variation.

<sup>12</sup>In such sentences, Bonet (1991) and Sheehan (2020) add that the preferred reading interprets the 2<sup>nd</sup> person as accusative.

- (73) % *Te' m van recomanar per la feina.* [Catalan]  
 2SG 1SG PST recommend.INF for the job.  
 ‘They recommended me to you/you to me for the job.’

(Bonet 1991: 179, in Sheehan 2020: 145)

- (74) % *Te me recomendaron.* [Spanish]  
 2SG 1SG recommend.PST.3PL  
 ‘They recommended me to you/you to me.’

(Perlmutter 1971: 61, in Sheehan 2020: 145)

- (75) *qu'ie us mi don ses bauzia.* [Old Occitan]  
 that-I 2PL 1SG give.PRS.1SG without deceit  
 ‘I surrender myself to you without deceit.’

(Jensen 1986: 105-106, in Anagnostopoulou 2005: 117)

It is notorious that the PCC is not applicable with ethical datives, as first noted by Perlmutter (1971) and exemplified in (76).

- (76) *No me li diguis mentides.* [Catalan]  
 not 1SG.ETH-DAT 3SG-DAT tell.SBJV.2SG lies  
 ‘Don’t tell him/her lies (on me).’ (Bonet 1991: 197)

Bonet (1991) notes that the PCC behaves similarly with three elements: (i) Romance clitics, (ii) Basque and Georgian agreement markers and (iii) English weak pronouns<sup>13</sup> - all elements displaying  $\phi$ -features. Following Kayne (1975), she claims that weak pronouns (and therefore, clitics) land in Infl. Based on these crosslinguistic evidence, she argues that the constraint affects ‘infl-related material’ (Bonet, 1991: 191). Overall, her analysis treats the PCC as a morphological restriction.

Some authors have since claimed that the PCC is derived in syntax. Anagnostopoulou (2005), for instance, proposes that the two versions of the PCC should be considered as two phenomena. Her analysis takes the two arguments to compete for the same functional head, transitive v (henceforth, v-Tr). On the one hand, the

<sup>13</sup>See Wallenberg (2008) for a study on English weak pronouns.

strong version sees the  $\varphi$ -features of v-Tr checked separately: the dative checks person and the accusative checks number. This claim relies on the assumption that a 3<sup>rd</sup> person is [-person] and a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> is [+person]. Furthermore, Anagnostopoulou (2005) assumes that dative arguments are specified for person whereas accusative ones lack the feature. On the other hand, languages that display the weak version have the option of *Multiple Agree* (by which the direct and the indirect objects check person features on v-Tr).

What is striking in the latter analysis is that ModF does not behave like the rest of Romance, i.e. it does not seem to obey the same syntactic constraints and shows the strong version of the PCC (yet see section 4.4 for the PCC in OF, which is distinct from that of ModF). In Chapters 8 and 9, I will return to the changes and differences in clitic placement in ModF *vs.* the rest of Romance.

## 3.6 Syntactic approaches to clitic placement

### 3.6.1 Clitic placement

Depending on the context (finite *vs.* non-finite, V1 *vs.* V2) and the language, clitics often appear in a different position than the DP object they substitute. This is a central element that makes them clitics and not akin to full object DPs. In declarative sentences (77) and (78), the clitics *la* and *lo* respectively refer to *une tomate* and *un pomodoro* ‘a tomato’.

- (77) a. *Charlie mange une tomate.* [French]  
 Charlie eat.PRS.3SG a tomato  
 ‘Charlie eats a tomato.’
- b. *Charlie la mange.*  
 Charlie it.FEM eat.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Charlie eats it.’

- c. \* *Charlie mange la.*  
 Charlie eat.PRS.3SG it.FEM
- (78) a. *Charlie mangia un pomodoro.* [Italian]  
 Charlie eat.PRS.3SG a tomato  
 ‘Charlie eats a tomato.’
- b. *Charlie lo mangia.*  
 Charlie it.MASC eat.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Charlie eats it.’
- c. \* *Charlie mangia lo.*  
 Charlie eat.PRS.3SG it.MASC

In these sentences, and elsewhere in Romance and Greek, the clitic must precede the finite verb, whilst a full DP-object must follow it (all these languages are SVO). Putting the clitic in the same position as the full DP results in the ungrammatical (77c) and (78c) and vice versa.

The same contrast is found between clitics and strong pronouns, as the latter cannot appear pre-verbally. Strong pronouns are usually introduced by a preposition, see *elle* in French (79) and *lei* in Italian (80). The clitic cannot occupy the position of the strong pronoun (79c), (80c), and the strong pronoun cannot occupy the position of the clitic (79d), (80d), even if there were a preposition introducing them.

- (79) a. *Je parle avec elle.* [French]  
 I speak.PRS.1SG with her  
 ‘I’m speaking with her.’
- b. *Je lui parle.*  
 I her.DAT speak.PRS.1SG  
 ‘I’m speaking to her.’
- c. \* *Je parle lui.*  
 I speak.PRS.1SG her.DAT
- d. \* *Je elle parle.*  
 I her.DAT speak.PRS.1SG
- (80) a. *Parlo con lei.* [Italian]  
 speak.PRS.1SG with her  
 ‘I’m speaking with her.’

- b. *Le*      *parlo*.  
her.DAT speak.PRS.1SG  
‘I’m speaking to her.’
- c. \* *Parlo*              *le*.  
speak.PRS.1SG her.DAT
- d. \* *Lei*      *parlo*.  
her.DAT speak.PRS.1SG

In sum, strong pronouns essentially pattern with full DPs in terms of their placement, and not clitics.

Cliticisation is an interesting phenomenon for two main reasons: clitics are hybrid elements whose nature differs from that of free morphemes and bound morphemes, and they necessarily occupy a derived position. The past fifty years have seen different analyses emerge to capture these two points: the main question that has driven the literature on the subject is on why pronominal clitics are not in the argument position. We have seen that Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) answer this question with a mechanism of case checking, yet different accounts have been posed. In the following sections, I present a chronological review of different proposals that have been produced in the generative literature.

### 3.6.2 Kayne (1975, 1991)

Kayne (1975) proposes a *clitic placement rule* for the construction exemplified in (77b) and (78b):

- (81) **Clitic placement rule:** the clitic attaches to the left of the verb

$$W \ NP \ V \ X \ Pro \ Y \ \rightarrow \ 1 \ 2 \ 5 \ + \ 3 \ 4 \ 6$$

$$1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6$$

(Kayne 1975: 201)

In this early proposal, *W*, *X* and *Y* are variables and *Pro*(noun) is the clitic, which may be either accusative or dative. Kayne (1975) argues that the clitic moves from

an internal argument position where it leaves an XP\* trace and lands in a pre-verbal position. The main criticism against this analysis is that it does not account for constructions where an overt XP is present in the complement position of the verb, i.e. clitic doubling: in (82), the clitic *lo* ‘doubles’ the object *a Juan* (a construction that I discuss in more detail in the following sections).

- (82) *Lo vimos a Juan.* [Rioplatense Spanish]  
 him see.PST.1PL a Juan  
 ‘We saw Juan.’ (Jaeggli 1986: 32, in Anagnostopoulou 2017: 2)

Later, Kayne (1991) takes another look at cliticisation and justifies why the clitic targets a higher functional head. To do so, he uses infinitives in French (83) and in Italian (84). In this context, French shows proclisis and Italian shows enclisis.

- (83) *Lui parler serait une erreur.* [French]  
 him.DAT speak.INF be.COND.3SG an error  
 ‘Speaking to him would be a mistake.’ (Kayne 1991: 648)

- (84) *Parlargli sarebbe un errore.* [Italian]  
 speak.INF-him.DAT be.COND.3SG an error  
 ‘Speaking to him would be a mistake.’ (Kayne 1991: 648)

Kayne (1991) proposes that, in both languages, the clitic adjoins to (the left of) Infl. This revises the clitic placement rule given in (81): the clitic adjoins to the left of the highest inflection head available. The analysis goes as follows: both French and Italian verbs must move to get their infinitival suffix (*-er* and *-ar(e)*) in Infl (which he calls Infn). He proposes that Italian T is strong enough to L-mark the VP and allow extraction of the verb to a higher functional position:<sup>14</sup> thus [V+Infn] adjoins to T’ yet does not merge with T, which is then free for the clitic to attach.

- (85) ... V + Infn ... Cl + T ... [Infn e] ... [VP[V e] ... ] [Italian]  
 (Kayne 1991: 651)

<sup>14</sup>L-mark: Where  $\alpha$  is a lexical category,  $\alpha$  L-marks  $\beta$  iff  $\beta$  agrees with the head of  $\gamma$  that is  $\theta$ -governed by  $\alpha$  (Chomsky, 1986).

Contrarily, French T is not strong enough to L-mark the VP. Thus, verbs do not move farther than the functional head Infn and the clitic left-adjoins to [V+Infn].

- (86) T ... Cl + [Infn V + Infn] ... [VP[V e] ... ] [French]  
 (Kayne 1991: 651)

Therefore, Kayne (1991) claims that clitics target a constant functional head. He essentially proposes that the verb moves higher than the clitic in languages that have enclisis, so clitic placement is an epiphenomenon of verb placement. Crucially, this view depends on MOVE  $\alpha$  and supposes that the clitic is generated in the complement of V. Kayne (1975, 1991) does not discuss the nature of clitics, as his primary focus is on clitic placement.

### 3.6.3 Jaeggli (1982, 1986)

As mentioned above, early studies of clitic placement have accounted for *clitic doubling*, a construction found in some Romance languages (Spanish, Rumanian) but also in Semitic, Slavic, Albanian and Greek (Anagnostopoulou, 2017). In doubling constructions, the clitic and the corresponding DP/PP-object are not in complementary distribution. The construction is illustrated in (82), repeated here in (87), and in (88), where the full object is in its argument position.

- (87) *Lo vimos a Juan.* [Rioplátense Spanish]  
 him see.PST.1PL a Juan  
 ‘We saw Juan.’ (Jaeggli 1986: 32)

- (88) *Ton idha ton Jani.* [Greek]  
 him see.PST.1SG the Jani.ACC  
 ‘I saw Janis.’ (Mavrogiorgos 2010: 138)

As we will see in this section and the following ones, the question of clitic placement has often been attempted to be answered in conjunction with the clitic dou-



bling phenomenon (Jaeggli, 1982, 1986; Uriagereka, 1988, 1995; Sportiche, 1996, 1999; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010).

Although present crosslinguistically (but absent from French and Italian), the construction varies from one language to another. In some languages, the full DP is necessarily introduced by a special preposition (*a* in Spanish, *pe* in Romanian, *šel* in Hebrew, Anagnostopoulou 2017: 1) whilst in others, the preposition is not required (for instance in Greek, Mavrogiorgos, 2010: 139). This renders Kayne's (1991) analysis problematic, since there is an XP in place of the trace of the clitic if clitic doubling is indeed related derivationally with the 'undoubled' version.

Jaeggli (1982: 12) notes that the clitic must agree with the DP in number, person and gender. The construction exemplified above has led him, amongst others, to argue that the clitic is generated in its surface position (see Borer 1984 and Jaeggli 1982, 1986 expanding on Rivas 1977). The base-generation proposal assumes that the clitic checks case from the verb whilst the theta-role is assigned to the XP (here *a Juan* in (87) and *ton Jani* in (88)). This proposal, unlike Kayne's (1975; 1991), does not analyse clitic placement as a movement operation.

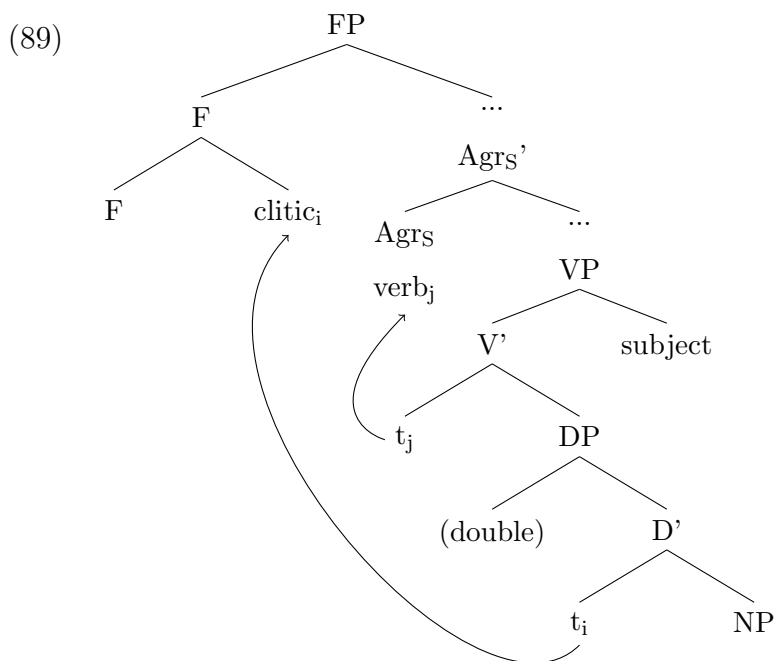
### 3.6.4 Uriagereka (1988, 1995)

We have seen that Kayne (1975, 1991) proposes a movement analysis whilst Jaeggli (1982, 1986) argues for a base-generated analysis because of clitic doubling structures. Uriagereka (1988, 1995) argues that clitic movement can account for doubling constructions, and he proposes that the clitic originates in the complement of V and heads its own DP (introduced earlier in (54) and illustrated in context below).<sup>15</sup>

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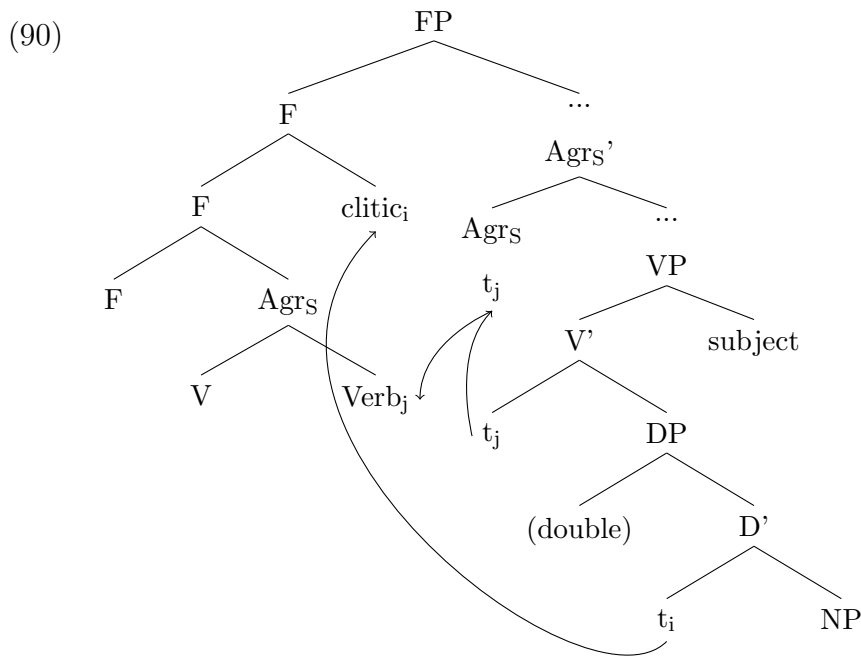
<sup>15</sup>Uriagereka (1995) focuses on 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics. He assumes that clitics project a DP which takes *pro* as a complement and the doubled phrase in its specifier. According to him, the motivation to treat 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics as DPs comes from two observations. First, they evolved from Latin *ille*, the accusative demonstrative. Second, a comparison between English and Romance, whereby *the one*

In doubling constructions, the doubled phrase occupies the specifier of the clitic-DP. From there, Uriagereka (1995) applies two movements targeting the left periphery of the clause, situated in a high functional layer.<sup>16</sup> First, the verb moves: in a clause that displays proclisis, the verb lands in Agr<sub>S</sub> (89), and when the order is enclitic, it lands in F (90). The clitic then moves to F to license its *pro*. Uriagereka (1995) argues that F has a [+focus] feature that attracts clitics, which he considers to be specific and referential elements, like demonstratives.



*who came* and *he who came* are analogous, and following Postal (1969), Uriagereka (1995) claims that in *el que vino*, ‘the one’ is expressed as the demonstrative *ille*, under the clitic form *el* (1995: footnote 6 page 81).

<sup>16</sup>In Uriagereka’s (1995) view, the FP layer also hosts *Wh*-phrases and emphasised elements.

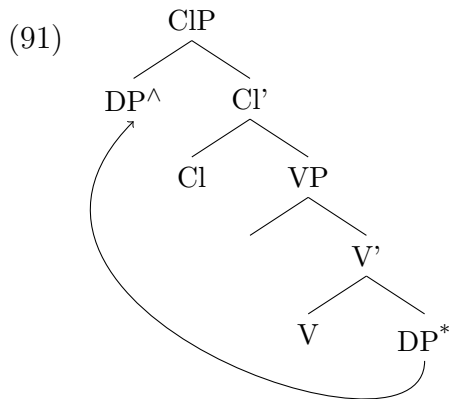


(Both trees adapted from Uriagereka 1995: 97)

Thus, this analysis takes the clitic to be a D-head projecting a DP merged with V, and clitic placement results as movement of the D-head to a functional projection, along Kayne's (1991) proposal.

### 3.6.5 Sportiche (1996, 1999)

Sportiche (1996, 1999) has also attempted to reconcile base-generation and movement in combining the two approaches. He proposes that the clitic generates in a pre-existing position and heads its own functional projection that he calls *Clitic Voice* (CIP). Its specifier must be filled by an XP[+F] at LF. In order to check [+F], the internal argument of the verb moves to Spec,CIP (91). Unlike other analyses, he proposes that it is the object that moves and not the clitic.



By establishing a spec/head relationship between the moved argument and the functional projection, Sportiche (1996, 1999) accounts for the agreement between the clitic and the DP it doubles in such constructions, previously noted by Jaeggli (1982). In this analysis, the DP moving to Spec,CIP may be realised as *pro*. The clitic-head subsequently incorporates into the verb. Therefore, clitic doubling depends on whether DP\* is overt or covert.

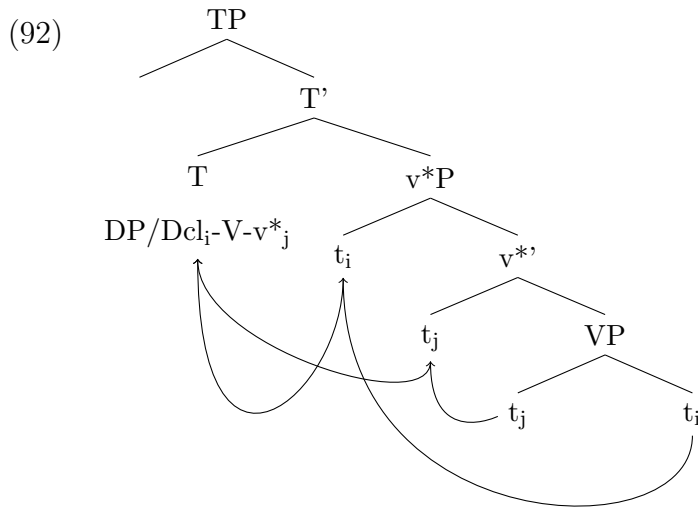
### 3.6.6 Mavrogiorgos (2010)

Looking at Greek clitics, Mavrogiorgos (2010) uses phase theory (Chomsky and Kenstowicz, 1999; Chomsky, 2001*b,a*, 2007, 2008) and claims that the clitic can be a DP/D<sup>0</sup> and must move to the left edge of v\*, which he analyses as a minimal phase.<sup>17</sup> In other words, he views cliticisation as morphosyntactic incorporation of the clitic into its host.

Following Kayne (1975), he argues that the clitic merges in its argument position. Nonetheless, he adds that the clitic contains a subset of the  $\varphi$ -features of v\*, which allows him to account for the necessity of cliticisation. More precisely, the left edge

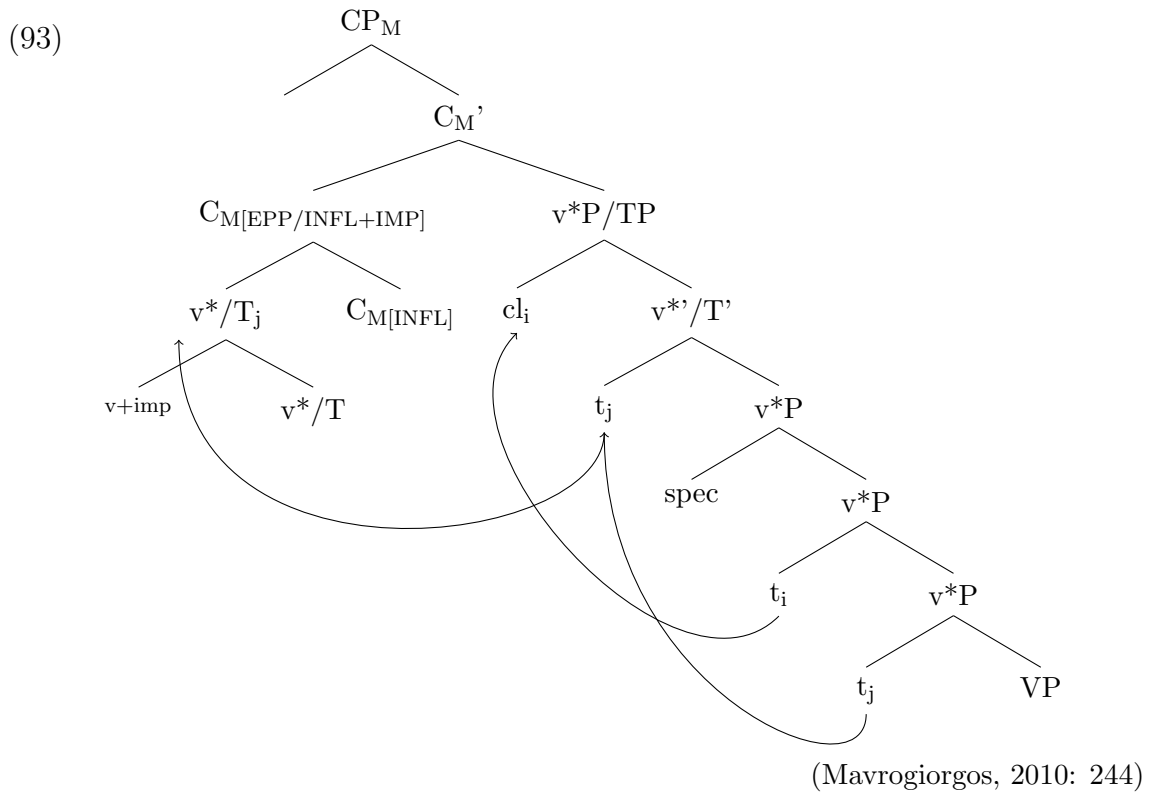
<sup>17</sup>Mavrogiorgos (2010) claims that clitics can move as XPs and as X<sup>0</sup>s. Following Bare Phrase Structure Theory (Chomsky, 1994), he assumes that clitics are minimal and maximal at the same time. Furthermore, he suggests that the clitic moves as a XP until it incorporates (with v\*), and then moves as a X<sup>0</sup>.

of  $v^*$  is transparent until all features are checked. In this analysis, the clitic moves to  $\text{Spec},v^*P$  and incorporates into the edge of the phase; the complex  $[\text{clitic}+v^*]$  then moves to T. The structure is given in (94) and shows proclisis.



(Mavrogiorgos, 2010: 129)

Turning to enclisis, Mavrogiorgos (2010) assumes that the clitic targets the same position as with proclisis, yet the verb moves to a higher position (as in the analysis proposed by Kayne, 1991, see example (85) with Italian infinitives). In this proposal, non-finite forms (imperatives and gerunds) move to a CM(odal)-head, which is part of the INFL domain. The inflectional CM-head is included in the phase, therefore the edge of that phase is transferred higher. Although the clitic moves to  $v^*$ , it does not incorporate there as the phase edge is now higher; instead, the clitic merges with CM and yields enclisis. The structure is given in (93) for imperatives.



Mavrogiorgos (2010) also tackles clitic doubling in Greek. Similarly to Uriagereka (1995), he adopts the DP-shell hypothesis, the highest head of which moves to transitive  $v^*$ . In other words, the higher DP is headed by the clitic.

(94)  $[_{v^*P} \text{ton } v^* [_{VP} V [_{DP_1} \text{ton} [ \dots [_{DP_2} D_2 ] ] ] ] ] ]$  (Mavrogiorgos, 2010: 143)

In his terms,  $D_1$  (the clitic) encodes familiarity/prominence/topicality, and  $D_2$  encodes definiteness. When clitic doubling is present,  $D_1$  moves to  $v^*$  and incorporates, whereas  $D_2$  remains in situ. In this analysis, both the clitic and the full DP merge in the complement of  $V$  (94). Thus, Mavrogiorgos (2010) introduces an important update on cliticisation in minimalist terms.

### 3.6.7 Roberts (2010)

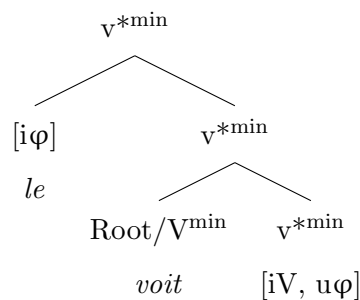
Roberts (2010) also uses the theory of phases to account for cliticisation. Following

Kayne (1975), he argues that the clitic first merges in the complement of the verb and then incorporates into a higher position. In this proposal, the notion of deficiency of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) is adopted, yet he uses Dechaine and Wiltschko's (2002) interpretation, that is clitics are not DPs and lack lexical representation. Instead, he considers them as  $\varphi$ -bundles.

Roberts (2010) proposes that the features of  $\varphi$  are a subset of those of  $v^*$ . In this analysis, V moves to  $v^*$  first and then  $\varphi$  values its features with  $v^*$ , leading to incorporation. In turn, the lowest copy of  $\varphi$  is deleted.

- (95) a. *Hercules le voit.* [French]  
 Hercules him see.PRS-3SG  
 'Hercules sees him.'

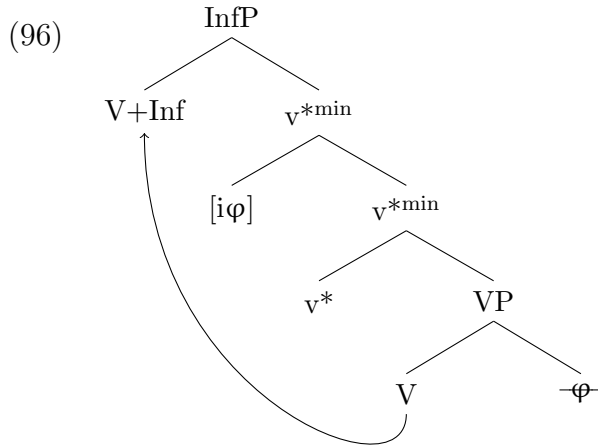
b.



(Roberts 2010: 57)

Once the features of  $v^{*min}$  are valued,  $[Cl+v^*]$  forms a morphological unit, i.e. a minimal head.<sup>18</sup> In order to yield the correct ordering (proclisis), V-to- $v^*$  must occur first. Roberts (2010) argues that this analysis can be adapted for infinitival enclisis, where the Italian infinitive in (84) moves higher than  $v^*$  (96) (as proposed by Kayne, 1991).

<sup>18</sup>The fact that the clitic and the verb form a unit is clear in French: as Roberts (2010) shows,  $[Cl+v^*]$  move together before the subject in yes/no questions. Also, when the clitic cliticises on an infinitive, they can either precede or follow certain adverbs like *souvent* 'often'.



(Roberts, 2010: 85)

This proposal also addresses the issue of clitic doubling. Adapting the analysis of Uriagereka (1988, 1995), Roberts (2010) assumes that the clitic projects a  $\varphi$ P, the specifier of which bears an EPP-feature that attracts the nP. This is represented in (97b), where the nP *niña* moves to  $\text{Spec},\varphi\text{P}$ , which is headed by the  $\varphi$ -head *la* (that will subsequently incorporate with  $v^*$ ). The  $\varphi$ P is in the complement of the D-head *la*, which is different from the  $\varphi$ -head.

- (97) a. *La oían a la niña.* [Rioplatense Spanish]  
 her listen.PST.3PL A the girl  
 ‘They listened to the girl.’ (Roberts, 2010: 130)

- b.  $[\text{KP } a \text{ } [\text{DP } [\text{D } la] \text{ } [\varphi\text{P } [\text{nP } niña] \text{ } [\varphi \text{ } la] \text{ } (\text{nP}) ] ] ]$  (Roberts, 2010: 134)

Once the nP has moved to  $\text{Spec},\varphi\text{P}$ , the preposition *a* values its case-feature and is valued by the  $\varphi$ - and D-features of the determiner  $la_{\text{D}}$ . In turn, Roberts (2010) takes  $la_{\varphi}$  to incorporate into  $v^*$ , as in (95b). In this analysis, the presence of a preposition is crucial to account for doubling.<sup>19</sup>

To sum up, Roberts (2010) analyses cliticisation as a narrow-syntactic movement of the clitic-head,  $\varphi$ , to the left edge of  $v^*$ . In essence, the cliticisation mechanism

<sup>19</sup>In Greek (88), clitic doubling exists with no preposition. Roberts (2010: 137) assumes that (97b) is still relevant, yet in Greek it involves a D-to-K incorporation.



he describes is similar to the one posited by Mavrogiorgos (2010): the clitic leaves its complement position and targets the minimal phase head  $v^*$  to value its features.

### 3.6.8 Tortora (2010, 2014b)

In a relatively recent proposal, Tortora (2014*a,b*) also adapts Kayne's (1991) analysis, this time to a series of Piedmontese dialects, and she extends it further to make generalisations about Romance. Piedmontese dialects display a remarkable difference in clitic placement: as said earlier, the 'standard' ordering with a finite verb is proclisis, this is true in French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Greek (98), (99).

- (98) *Lo hanno mangiato.* [Standard Italian]  
 it have.PST.3PL eat.PST.PRT  
 'They have eaten it.' (Tortora, 2014*b*: 3)

- (99) *Elles l'ont mangé.* [French]  
 They it-have.PST.3PL eat.PST.PRT  
 'They have eaten it.'

Piedmontese dialects do not follow this 'standard' trend. Borgomanerese, for instance, has 'generalised enclisis': the clitic never precedes the verb (Tortora, 2014*b*: 7). Indeed, the object remains after the verb and is enclitic on the past participle (100).

- (100) *I an rangiò-la.* [Piedmontese]  
 SCL have.PST.3PL fix.PST.PRT-it  
 'They fixed it.' (From Parry 2005, in Tortora 2014*b*: 3)

Tortora (2010, 2014*b*) takes the clitic to be a  $X^0$  and assumes that it moves from its canonical position and adjoins to a higher functional head, as in most of the proposals discussed here. Moreover, she assumes that in languages that have enclisis, the clitic remains low in the structure, more precisely within the VP, whereas proclisis is



Standard Italian and French, the clitic must continue its movement and adjoin to a higher functional head in the matrix clause that Tortora (2014*b*) does not define.

This review of selected generative analyses shows that each proposal aims to address a slightly different empirical picture based on the language they focus on. Nevertheless, we see that the analysis introduced by Kayne (1991) had a significant impact on the theories of cliticisation and clitic placement that followed.

### 3.7 Concluding remarks

There are two major questions in relation to clitics:

1. What is their structure/nature?
2. Why do they position where they do?

Clitics are deficient on several levels (in the syntax, semantics, morphology, and prosody) compared to strong pronouns. There is evidence that Romance 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics derive from the Latin referential demonstrative, which has led linguists to assume that clitics should be analysed as D-elements, possibly reanalysed as  $\varphi$ s (Uriagereka, 1988, 1995; Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999; Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002). The notion of deficiency goes with a syntactically derived word order, whereby the clitic object does not occupy the canonical object position. Instead, it necessarily adjoins to a higher head (presumably in the functional domain of the clause, as proposed by Kayne, 1991).

The answer to the second question is challenging. We have seen that there are two ways of accounting for clitic placement: either by movement (Kayne, 1975, 1991; Uriagereka, 1995; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010; Tortora, 2014*b*) or base-generation (Rivas, 1977; Borer, 1984; Jaeggli, 1982, 1986) (or perhaps a combination of both, see Sportiche, 1996, 1999). The movement hypothesis suggests that the clitic

first-merges in the complement of the VP and adjoins to a higher (functional) head to value its features. Whether the order is proclitic or enclitic depends on the landing site of the verb, not of the clitic (Kayne, 1991; Uriagereka, 1995; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010). This analysis has been seen as problematic for languages that have clitic doubling, which in turn was an important motivation for the base-generation hypothesis. The authors who support the movement hypothesis have investigated different ways to account for doubling constructions whilst maintaining movement of the clitic: although their analyses differ to some extent, Uriagereka (1995), Mavrogiorgos (2010) and Roberts (2010) propose that both the clitic and the doubled object merge below VP, and then cliticisation obtains on a position higher than V.

The examples discussed in this Chapter show a lot of crosslinguistic variation in clitic placement in Romance. Nonetheless, we have seen that (i) clitics descend from the same root (Latin *ille* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person and Latin weak pronouns for the others) and (ii) clitics share the same properties crosslinguistically (that is, they necessarily adjoin to a higher head with verb material on which they cliticise, and other morphosyntactic properties such as being deficient). It is interesting to note that there is such variation in Romance despite (i) and (ii): we may speculate that there was a homogeneous system in Proto-Romance and that clitic placement was alike in all dialects. In turn, the modern situation would be the result of other language-specific changes, whereby the evolution of each language ‘shaped’ clitic placement accordingly. At this stage, we may only hypothesise this since diachronic studies of clitic placement are yet to reveal the situation in all contexts, for all languages and during all periods. The present study seeks to contribute to our understanding of clitic placement in Romance by investigating under-documented contexts and periods in the diachrony of French. To identify those gaps in the literature, the following Chapter discusses the diachrony of clitic placement in French.

# Chapter 4

## Clitic placement in Medieval French

### 4.1 Introduction

French is undoubtedly one of the better-studied Romance languages, yet gaps remain in our understanding of its diachrony, and more particularly clitics. The aim of this Chapter is to define those gaps to then identify specific research questions in relation to clitic placement.

Section 4.2 briefly presents clitic placement in all contexts in ModF before moving on to a historical review (as a reminder, the OF period stretches from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the MidF period from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and I will use the term Medieval French to talk about the two periods together, with the proviso given in footnote 1 on page 41). Section 4.3 discusses the pronominal paradigm of OF. Section 4.4 introduces the reorganisation of the PCC. I then discuss the evolution of clitic placement in finite contexts in section 4.5, which appears to be in close connection with a change in prosody, which I discuss in section 4.6. In section 4.7, I

examine clitic climbing and the different analyses that have been posited to account for it. Section 4.8 reviews clitic placement with OF infinitives. Section 4.9 introduces infinitival clauses in which a strong pronoun is found instead of a clitic, a construction that does not exist in ModF. A summary of the main changes is given in section 4.10 before concluding and defining research questions in section 4.11.

## 4.2 Modern French

Clitic placement in ModF is rather unique, since it differs from that of other Romance languages. It has been widely observed in the literature that proclisis tends to go with finite verbs, whereas enclisis with infinitives, imperatives and gerunds across Romance and Greek (Mavrogiorgos, 2010). However, further investigation on languages both in synchrony and in diachrony has shown that this is not systematic.<sup>1</sup> For instance, ModF does not follow this pattern, instead it has what I will informally call *quasi-generalised proclisis*. In the examples (102) to (106), we can see that proclisis is found with finite verbs, infinitives<sup>2</sup>, present participles, yes/no questions<sup>3</sup> and negative imperatives. The clitic is in bold and its host is underlined.

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<sup>1</sup>There are languages that do not follow the pattern: see Borgomanerese (49) for enclisis on finite verbs (Tortora, 2014*b*) and Languedocien (52) for proclisis on infinitives (Alibert, 1976). See also Cypriot Greek where clitics are always enclitic (Terzi, 1999). The case of imperatives is also complex: Italian and French negated imperatives can have proclisis or enclisis.

<sup>2</sup>French consistently places clitics before the infinitive of which they are complements: this is true whether the infinitive is embedded, introduced by a preposition, a conjunction or when it is the subject of the clause.

<sup>3</sup>Subject-verb inversions like (105) have nonetheless become less common. In vernacular French from France, speakers mostly retain the declarative S-CI-V order and inflect the tone to ask a question. See De Cat (2005) for a discussion on inversion in other Francophone countries.

- (102) *Cannelle le sait bien.* [Finite verb]  
 Cannelle it know.PRS.3SG well  
 ‘Cannelle knows it well.’
- (103) *Claude veut l’embrasser.* [Infinitive]  
 Claude want.PRS.3SG her-kiss.INF  
 ‘Claude wants to kiss her.’
- (104) *Renée arriva en se demandant que faire.* [Present participle]  
 Renée arrive.PST.3SG in REFL ask.PRS.PRT what do.INF  
 ‘Renée arrived wondering (asking herself) what to do.’
- (105) *Le vois-tu ?* [Yes/No question]  
 it see.PRS.2SG-YOU  
 ‘Can you see it?’
- (106) *(Ne) le dis pas à Laurent !* [Negative imperative]  
 NEG it tell.IMP.2SG not to Laurent  
 ‘Don’t tell it to Laurent!’

However, enclisis is not absent from the language. Imperatives take enclisis: optionally when negative (106), (107) and systematically when positive (108).<sup>4</sup>

- (107) *(\*Ne) dis-le pas à Laurent !* [Negative imperative]  
 NEG tell.IMP.2SG-it not to Laurent  
 ‘Don’t tell it to Laurent!’
- (108) *Dis-le à Laurent !* [Positive imperative]  
 tell.IMP.2SG-it to Laurent  
 ‘Tell it to Laurent!’

The *quasi-generalised proclisis* of French is particularly interesting when considering non-finite forms, since we know that this is a context where other canonical Romance languages have enclisis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Negative imperatives will systematically take proclisis when the pre-verbal negation *ne* is present. When it is absent, both orderings are possible.

<sup>5</sup>Proclisis on infinitives is not unique to French, as it is found in Brazilian Portuguese (Davies, 1996), most varieties of Occitan (Alibèrt, 1976), Francoprovençal (Horváth, 2008) and Sardinian (Jones, 1997).

### 4.3 Pronominal paradigm in Old French

The pronominal paradigm has not changed much since the first records of French. Table 4.1 reports the morphology of each form as they are found in texts dating back to the beginning of the second millenium.<sup>6</sup>

	Person	Proclitic	Enclitic	Strong pronoun
<b>Singular</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	me	moi	moi
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	te	toi	toi
	3 <sup>rd</sup> ACC MASC.	le	le	lui
	3 <sup>rd</sup> ACC FEM.	la	la	li
	3 <sup>rd</sup> DAT	li	li	lui MASC. / li FEM.
<b>Plural</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	nos	nos	nos
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	vos	vos	vos
	3 <sup>rd</sup> ACC	les	les	eus MASC. / elles FEM.
	3 <sup>rd</sup> DAT	lor	lor	eus MASC. / elles FEM.
<b>Reflexive</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	se	soi	soi
<b>Genitive</b>		en	en	-
<b>Locative</b>		y	y	-

Table 4.1: Old French pronominal paradigm

Besides some evident morphological differences for the plural forms, one point deserves to be addressed. The clitic (and article) *li* disappeared from the language as *lui* replaced its pronominal use during the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century (de Kok, 1985: 23-24), so that the only strong pronoun that remains for oblique forms is *lui*. In other words, *lui* has acquired the status of clitic later than other ModF clitics.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Adapted from Einhorn (1974: 63) and Pearce (1990: 240).

<sup>7</sup>The evolution of *lui* is a good example of how clitics are formed: strong pronouns weaken to



Third person proclitic and enclitic pronouns keep the same morphology, whereas first and second person singular and the reflexive oppose *me*, *te* and *se* to *moi*, *toi* and *soi*.<sup>8</sup> These enclitic pronouns are morphologically identical to their strong counterparts, although they show a different distribution (see section 4.9).<sup>9</sup> Moignet (1976) reports that enclitic pronouns are mainly found when the verb is clause-initial, after an imperative and after an infinitive. First and second person plural *nos* and *vos* show syncretism. In his grammar, Moignet (1976: 131) points out that the proclitic and enclitic forms are used *quand il n'existe aucune raison de donner à la personne objet une certaine autonomie par rapport au verbe*, 'when there exists no reason to grant autonomy to the object-person in relation to the verb'.

## 4.4 Clitic clusters

When the internal objects of a ditransitive verb are realised as clitics, they form a cluster in which the order is either ACC(usative)-DAT(ive) or DAT-ACC. Salvesen  


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 weak pronouns and eventually to clitics (Vincent, 1997).

<sup>8</sup>These pronouns are often spelt *mei*, *tei* and *sei* in OF and *moy*, *toy* and *soy* in MidF.

<sup>9</sup>It is interesting that enclitic pronouns keep their strong morphology. Alibert (1976: 289) makes a similar remark for Occitan: *Quand los pronomes precedisson lo vèrb son proclitics e atòns, mentre que quand lo sequisson son enclitics e tonics*, 'When pronouns precede the verb, they are proclitic and atone, whereas when they follow it, they are enclitic and tonic' (my translation). My interpretation of his remark is that 'tonic' is synonymous to morphologically 'heavier' (from a descriptive point of view), rather than stressed. The same observation holds for enclisis with imperatives in ModF. It is clear that these pronouns are clitics: for instance in clitic clusters, some speakers accept *Donne-moi-le* 'Give it to me', where the dative precedes the accusative (in Standard French, the order is ACC-DAT). Here, *le* is clearly a clitic and cannot be separated from the verb. It follows that *moi le* forms a clitic cluster. Also, *moi* does not have the properties of a strong pronoun here: it cannot be preceded by a dative marker *\*Donne à moi-le* 'Give it to me', nor can it be modified *\*Donne seulement moi-le* 'Give it to only me', nor stressed *\*Donne-MOI-le* 'Give it to ME'.

(2013) provides a study on such clusters in OF and does not find any violation of the PCC, nor does she attest its weak version. She nonetheless finds that the ordering within the cluster has changed.<sup>10</sup> In ModF, the cluster is sensitive to the person: the order is ACC-DAT with two 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics (109a) and DAT-ACC when the dative is a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic (109b).<sup>11</sup>

- (109) a. *Il la lui donne.* [Modern French]  
 He her.ACC him.DAT gives  
 ‘He gives her to him.’
- b. *Il me la donne.* [Modern French]  
 He me.DAT her.ACC gives  
 ‘He gives her to me.’ (Adapted from Salvesen 2013: 284)

In OF, the order is systematically ACC-DAT (110), (111), (112).

- (110) *et il la me dona.* [Old French]  
 and he her.ACC me.DAT gave  
 ‘And he gave her to me.’ (Graul 6677, Salvesen 2013: 284)
- (111) *Damedex le nous dont.* [Old French]  
 Lord-God it.ACC us.DAT gives  
 ‘The Good Lord give it to us.’ (Aspremont 5366, Salvesen 2013: 289)
- (112) *Et cil le li diet.* [Old French]  
 and these it.ACC him.DAT say  
 ‘And they tell it to him.’ (Yvain 5021, Salvesen 2013: 289)

The system was regular in OF and became irregular in ModF. This change is not a novel observation, it has been well studied yet Salvesen (2013) provides updates

<sup>10</sup>In her corpus, Salvesen (2013) does not find occurrences of two 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> clitics occurring together, which would evidence the weak version of the PCC. However, she writes that such examples have been discussed in the literature, without giving further reference. I have not been able to locate such discussions.

<sup>11</sup>As indicated in footnote 9 page 105, there is some variation with imperatives. In this context, the standard ordering is ACC-DAT, yet some speakers also accept DAT-ACC: *Donne-la-moi vs. ?Donne-moi-la* ‘Give it to me’.

and expands on the issue. According to her data, the order ACC-DAT is steady until the 15<sup>th</sup> century and its frequency abruptly decreases from the 16<sup>th</sup> century on, when it appears to be in minority.

Salvesen (2013) observes another phenomenon in her corpus, which is the rise of the use of reflexive *se*. She notes that the use of the reflexive increases between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries and spreads to new verbs. At the same time, a cluster containing the reflexive *se* and the locative *en* became increasingly more frequent with transitive verbs. Building on previous claims in the literature, she proposes that it is the reflexive that induced a change in [*se* + *en*] clusters. Her rationale is as follows: (i) the innovative use of *se* increased, (ii) the sequence [nominal pronoun + *se*] lexicalised, (iii) *se* must systematically be initial in clitic clusters. Furthermore, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics being syncretic, they followed due to new ambiguity brought up by the former reanalysis.

## 4.5 Tobler-Mussafia law

### 4.5.1 Constraint

Clitic placement in Medieval Romance is sensitive to the Tobler-Mussafia law (henceforth, TM) (Tobler, 1875; Mussafia, 1886), a constraint that bans clitics from appearing clause-initially. In her panchronic study of clitic placement in French, de Kok (1985) shows that until ca. 1300, clitics are proclitic on finite verbs, yet the TM law forces enclisis in V1 clauses. This constraint is only found in main clauses (Skårup, 1988: 132; and see Martineau, 1990 for a similar discussion with infinitives).

- (113) a. \* # clitic-V<sub>FIN</sub> ...  
       b. # V<sub>FIN</sub>-clitic ...

TM orderings are found in OF (Hirschbühler and Labelle, 2000; Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005; Ingham, 2014), as well as in Old Occitan (Donaldson, 2016, 2020), Old Spanish (Wanner, 1991; Fontana, 1993), Old Catalan (Fischer, 2002, 2003), Old Italian (Mussafia, 1886; Benincà, 1995) and in Old Rumanian (Nicolae and Niculescu, 2015). Ledgeway (2017) uses the TM law to account for pronoun placement in Latin: the omnipresence of the constraint in Medieval Romance suggests indeed that it must take its roots during the late Latin period, as there is evidence pointing towards the fact that weak pronouns have gotten closer to the verb (Salvi, 1991, 2004, 2005; Adams, 1996; Clackson and Horrocks, 2007).

For OF, Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) observe proclisis on the verb in all main clauses (114), unless the verb is clause-initial (115). This is however not the case across all Medieval Romance languages, where [XP V-Clitic] orders are relatively common (Benincà, 2004: 274).

- (114) *Toutes ces choses te presta Nostre Sires.*  
 all these things you.DAT lent Our Lord  
 ‘Our Lord lent you all those things.’

(*Queste*:68, 28, Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 166)

- (115) *Vait s'en li pople.*  
 goes REFL-GEN the people  
 ‘The people goes away.’ (Alexis, cxxi.1, Labelle and Hirschbühler 2005: 62)

In example (114), *toutes ces choses* ‘all those things’ occupies the first position of the clause and ensures that the clitic is proclitic without being initial. Contrarily, the V1 ordering of (115) forces enclisis to avoid placing the clitic in first position. The TM law seemed to be a very strong requirement that could also affect the position of clitics in relation to their verbal host.

### 4.5.2 Evolution

Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) provide a diachrony of the TM law and establish its gradual erosion. They observe that it is effective until the 13<sup>th</sup> century, although towards the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, proclisis is found when a clause is introduced by the coordination *et* ‘and’ (116) or an adverbial clause (117). They interpret this novel construction as a weakening of the TM law.

- (116) *Levés sus et me prestés trois pains.*  
 get up and me.DAT lend three bread  
 ‘Get up and give me three loaves of bread.’

(*Sully*:131, 28, Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 173)

- (117) [*ainz que il pëussent estre armé*], *en ocistrent assez.*  
 before that they could be armed of-them killed many  
 ‘Before they could be armed, the killed many.’

(*Vill.*:II,142, Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 173)

This weakening subsequently spread to other contexts in the language. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, clitics are found in absolute initial position, except in volitive clauses<sup>12</sup>, where the TM law remained in operation: see an imperative in (118) and a hortative in (119).

- (118) [*Tost de mon royaume*] *vous departez.*  
 soon from my kingdom REFL leave.IMP.2PL  
 ‘Leave my kingdom soon.’ (*Nowv.*15:4, Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 177)

- (119) [*Or*] *te suffise a tant.*  
 Adv. you suffice.SUBJ.2SG from now on  
 ‘Be content with that from now on.’

(*Palsgrave*:836, Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 177)

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<sup>12</sup>Imperatives, hortative clauses and subjunctives.

The constraint weakened further as proclisis is found in every context during the 16<sup>th</sup> century apart from V1 imperatives, which are still subject to the TM law at this point in time. Interestingly, and unlike in ModF (see section 4.2), positive imperatives allowed proclisis when the verb was introduced by a conjunction. Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) introduce a fairly recent example from Molière (18<sup>th</sup> century) (120).

- (120) *Nicole, apportez-moi mes pantoufles et me donnez mon bonnet de nuit.*  
 Nicole bring-me.DAT my slippers and me.DAT give my nightcap  
 ‘Nicole, bring me my slippers and give me my nightcap.’

(*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, II:4, Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 179)

Eventually, constructions like (120) vanished from the language and only negative imperatives ban proclisis. A summary is given in Table 4.2.

<b>Stage 1</b>	until the 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	The TM law applies to all clauses
<b>Stage 2</b>	end of the 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Clauses introduced by a conjunction (116) or an adverbial clause (117) allow proclisis
<b>Stage 3</b>	during the 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Declaratives and yes/no questions allow proclisis
<b>Stage 4</b>	during the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Hortative clauses (119) allow proclisis
<b>Stage 5</b>	Present day	Only positive imperatives have enclisis

Table 4.2: Evolution of the TM law according to Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000)

As we can see in Table 4.2, the TM law is very strong during the first stage. Stage 2 is a transition from stage 1 to stage 3, i.e. clitics are allowed in initial position in

minimal clauses if there is an element preceding them, e.g. [*et Cl-V...*]. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, proclisis is attested in V1 declaratives. This is confirmed by the data from Simonenko and Hirschbühler's (2012) quantitative study, according to which enclisis is not found with V1 after 1190 anymore and [*et V-Cl...*] disappears definitely in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> During stages 3 and 4, the TM law only applies to volitives and imperatives respectively. Finally, to account for the ungrammaticality of (120) in ModF, Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) propose that the constraint applies once again to minimal clauses in present day French, yielding enclisis with positive imperatives.<sup>14</sup>

### 4.5.3 Analysis

Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) produce an extensive review of enclisis as an effect of the TM law in the diachrony of French. Following Vance (1997), they consider OF to be an asymmetric V2 language whose verb moves to C in main clauses. Within the framework of Optimality Theory, they propose that the clitic is subject to the following constraints:

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<sup>13</sup>Interestingly, Simonenko and Hirschbühler (2012) also report that V1 declarative clauses are less common from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on. They argue that the change of clitic placement is not due to a change in the syntax of clitics, but rather in the syntax of the language (i.e. the loss of V-movement to the left periphery). Following Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005), they argue that two grammars are in competition at this stage and that the grammar that wins over the first one forces V to remain in Fin, as exemplified in (123) page 113.

<sup>14</sup>For further analysis of clitic placement with imperatives between stage 4 and 5, see Hirschbühler and Labelle (2006).

- (121) a. {Cl, [+T]} : clitics adjoin to a terminal element with the feature [+T(ense)].  
 When the verb is under C, [+T] is under C.
- b. [NONINITIAL, CPmin] : clitics are non initial in the minimal clause.
- c. [+LEFTMOST] : clitics want to be leftmost.
- (122) Ranking (>: ‘dominates’)
- {Cl, [+T]} > [NONINITIAL, CPmin] > [+LEFTMOST]

(Hirschbühler and Labelle 2000: 170)

In their terms, (121a) defines the clitic as a satellite of the verb, i.e. it systematically adjoins to it (or to a functional head). (121b) reveals that clitics are not intrinsically enclitic. Lastly, (121c) forces the clitic to appear towards the left of the clause unless it goes against (121b) and results in the ungrammatical (113a), that is [#Cl-V].

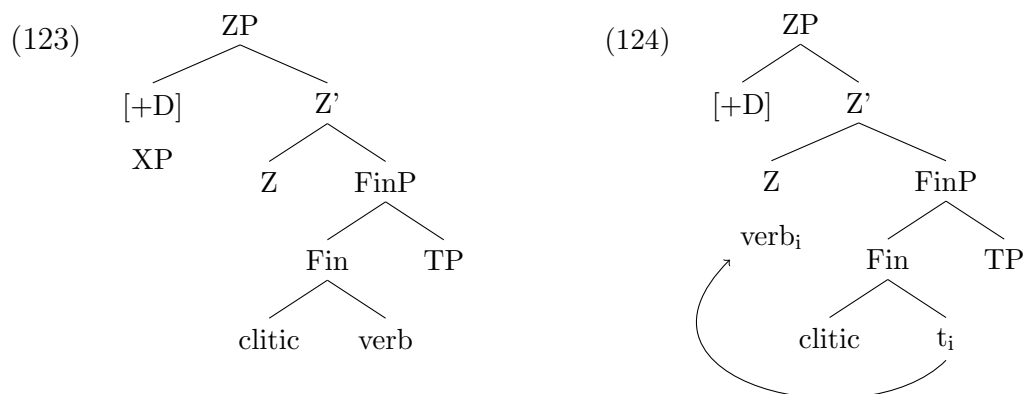
In order to account for the evolution of clitic placement as described above, Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) propose that constraints on clitic placement evolved as in Table 4.3. More precisely, they claim that the evolution of (121b) affected the position of the clitic within the clause.



<b>Stage 1</b>	until the 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	[NONINITIAL, CP <sub>min</sub> ]
<b>Stage 2</b>	end of the 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	[NONINITIAL, CP <sub>max</sub> ]
<b>Stage 3</b>	during the 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	[NONINITIAL, CP <sub>max</sub> [+Volitive]]
<b>Stage 4</b>	during the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	[NONINITIAL, CP <sub>max</sub> [+Imp]]
<b>Stage 5</b>	Present day	[NONINITIAL, CP <sub>min</sub> [+Imp]]

Table 4.3: Analysis of the erosion of the TM law according to Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000)

In subsequent work, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005) adopt a split-CP *à la* Rizzi (1997) to account for the structure of TM-constructions. They assume that the CP-layer contains two functional projections, namely a ZP selecting a FinP (see structure (31) in section 2.6.2). In their analysis, the former carries a [+D(iscourse)] feature and the latter a [ $\pm$  tense] feature. They adopt the view that OF is a V2 language in which clauses start with a topic or focus element in ZP, which in turn requires the verb to move to Fin (123) unless Z bears a [+D] feature that attracts the verb, yielding enclisis (124).



(Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005: 64)

Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005) argue that clauses need not start with a topic/focus element in ZP anymore from stage 3 on. According to them, since proclisis is found in declarative V1 sentences, the structure does not necessarily project a ZP anymore. In V2 clauses however, they maintain that a fronted element lies in ZP, which requires the verb to adjoin to Fin, yielding proclisis. V2 orderings disappear from the language around stage 4. According to Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005), verbs in declarative clauses do not target a position above T anymore from then on: they argue that in ModF, the verb occupies T in topicless declaratives and Fin in yes/no questions (which accounts for proclisis). They claim that positive imperatives move to the ZP-layer since they precede the clitic.

## 4.6 Note on prosody

So far, I have been mentioning the prosodic deficiency of clitics without illustrating it. Although I have mainly looked at the syntax of clitics, their proclitic/enclitic nature can also be accounted for in prosody. Recall from section 3.2 that some authors analyse Latin pronouns as being *phonologically* enclitic (Ledgeway, 2017; see also section 8.5.2 for a discussion on phonological *v.s.* syntactic clitics). Other authors (Adams, 1987; Jacobs, 1993) have also focused on the prosodic level to account for (the evolution of) clitic placement in OF and I will introduce their key remarks here.

Jacobs (1993) claims that until at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century, pronominal clitics that syntactically depend on the verb can phonologically depend on the word that precedes them (a pronominal subject, a conjunction or a particle). The data reported in (125) illustrate that whilst the syntactic host of the clitic is the following verb (yielding syntactic proclisis), the phonological host of the clitic can be the preceding element

(yielding phonological enclisis).<sup>15</sup>

(125)	<i>ja le</i> → <i>jal</i>	<i>ne le</i> → <i>nel</i>	<i>que le</i> → <i>quel</i>
	<i>ja me</i> → <i>jam</i>	<i>ne les</i> → <i>nes</i>	<i>que se</i> → <i>ques</i>
	<i>je le</i> → <i>jel</i>	<i>ne me</i> → <i>nem</i>	<i>si le</i> → <i>sil</i>
	<i>je les</i> → <i>jes</i>	<i>ne te</i> → <i>net</i>	<i>si les</i> → <i>sis</i>
	<i>je me</i> → <i>jem</i>	<i>ne se</i> → <i>nes</i>	<i>si me</i> → <i>sim</i>
	<i>jo te</i> → <i>jot</i>	<i>qui le</i> → <i>quil</i>	<i>si se</i> → <i>sis</i>
	<i>jo le</i> → <i>jol</i>	<i>qui les</i> → <i>quis</i>	<i>si en</i> → <i>sin</i>
	<i>jo les</i> → <i>jos</i>	<i>qui me</i> → <i>quim</i>	<i>se le</i> → <i>sel</i>
	<i>tu le</i> → <i>tul</i>	<i>qui se</i> → <i>quis</i>	<i>se les</i> → <i>ses</i>
	<i>tu me</i> → <i>tum</i>	<i>qui en</i> → <i>quin</i>	

(Jacobs, 1993: 150)

In her diachronic documentation, de Kok (1985) does not find this type of phonological enclisis from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on anymore. This seems to indicate that the constructions in (125) do not survive in MidF. Following Adams (1987), Jacobs (1993) proposes that the loss of enclisis took place when the prosody of the language changed, i.e. when the rhythm readjusted from descending to ascending. In other terms, since word final syllables had become stressed, an unstressed pronoun could not adjoin to the end of its host. Incidentally, this remark fits with the observations of Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) and Simonenko and Hirschbühler (2012) who situate the loss of enclisis on verbs during the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Similarly, Culbertson (2009) analyses clitic placement in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and argues that at this stage, clitics should be treated independently from the verb. After observing constraints from the TM law and phonological enclisis such as (125), she

<sup>15</sup>*ja* = ‘already’; *je/jo* = ‘I’; *tu* = ‘you’; *ne* = ‘not’; *qui* = ‘who’; *que* = ‘that’; *si/se* = ‘if/thus’.

claims that clitics are second position elements positioned at PF and compete with V2. Considering clitics as second elements stems from the Wackernagel law (1892): Martineau (1990: 84) proposes that early OF clitics obey the Wackernagel law, i.e. they must occupy the second position of the sentence, a position she claims is re-analysed as adjoining to INFL in MidF. Culbertson (2009) argues that both the verb and the clitic are subject to constraints forcing them to appear linearly as far left as possible without being placed as initial element in the clause, and the ranking of the clitic restrictions goes over the ones of the verb.

The analysis of clitics as second position elements has not been widely adopted in the literature on OF. Taking in consideration that Latin weak pronouns tend to be post-verbal (Ledgeway, 2017) and ModF clitics pre-verbal, the second position seems to have been transitional (126).

(126) **Latin** - The weak pronoun is post-verbal:  $\underline{V}$ -**WP**. ‘Et ait **nobis** sanctus episcopus’ (Ledgeway, 2017: 190).

**Old French** - Cliticness is acquired and clitics tend to be pre-verbal (the language is V2):  $XP$ -**Cl**- $\underline{V}$ . ‘[<sub>XP</sub>Toutes ces choses] **te** presta Nostre Sires’ (Hirschbühler and Labelle, 2000: 166). The TM law is operative, therefore in V1 contexts the clitic must follow the verb:  $\underline{V}$ -**Cl**. ‘Vait **s’en** li pople’ (Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005: 62). In each case, the clitic follows the first element.

**Later French** - The TM law is not operative and clitics are systematically proclitic: **Cl**- $\underline{V}$ . ‘Elle **te** parle’.

This development interestingly mirrors the diachrony of clitic placement in Bulgarian (Pancheva, 2005) and in Greek (Taylor, 1990). In those languages, clitics were enclitic and subsequently reanalysed as second position clitics, and eventually became proclitic. In the diachrony of French, clitics are nonetheless not necessarily bound to the periphery of the verb they are an argument of: constructions in which the clitic vacates its verb are discussed below.

## 4.7 Clitic climbing

### 4.7.1 Construction

Clitic climbing (henceforth, CC) refers to a construction where the internal argument of an embedded infinitive cliticises on the main verb (the clitic ‘climbs’ from the embedded infinitive to the verb in the higher clause).

(127) [ Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> [ V<sub>INF</sub> e<sub>i</sub> ] ]

In (128), the clitic *lo* is the direct object of the infinitive *mangiare* ‘eat’, yet it cliticises on the modal *volere* ‘want’.

(128) *Gianni lo vuole mangiare.* [Standard Italian]  
 Gianni it want.PRES-3SG eat-INF  
 ‘Gianni wants to eat it.’ (Roberts, 2010: 79)

CC is found in Standard Italian (Rizzi, 1982), Spanish (Aissen and Perlmutter, 1976), Catalan (Hernanz and Rigau, 1984), European Portuguese (Davies, 1996), Occitan (Alibèrt, 1976) and Sardinian (Jones, 1997) amongst many other Romance languages and dialects. It is not available in ModF, yet it is found in Medieval French, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century (de Kok, 1985; Martineau, 1990).<sup>16,17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>To the best of my knowledge, ModF and some varieties of Brazilian Portuguese (Davies, 1996) are the only Romance languages that do not have clitic climbing. As pointed out by Davies (1996), they also both lack pro-drop; we will come back to this connection in section 4.7.4.

<sup>17</sup>One can probably find occasional examples of CC in ModF in high registers and in the literary language. Such examples are rare and reflect an archaic language, certainly influenced by prominent publications produced in the past centuries. Although this construction clearly belongs to earlier stages of the language, Grévisse and Goosse (2008: 885–886) still find some isolated examples during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They also note that CC is more common with *en* and *y* in literary texts: see CC in *Elle n'en voulait rien savoir* instead of proclisis in standard spoken ModF in *Elle ne voulait rien en savoir*.

The construction is illustrated below in OF (129) and MidF (130), (131). The clitics *les*, *le* and *en* are the complements of *rostir* ‘roast’, *faire* ‘make’ and *rire* ‘laugh’ respectively. The infinitive of which the clitic is complement is underlined.

- (129) *et les mettons rostir au feu.*  
 and them put.PRS.1PL roast.INF at-the fire  
 ‘and we put them to roast on the fire.’ (Sully:143, 62, de Kok 1985: 217)

- (130) *Il le sait bien faire.*  
 he it know.PRS.3SG well do.INF  
 ‘He knows how to do it well.’ (CNNV: 36/3, Martineau 1990: 62)

- (131) *Je ne m’en puis tenir de rire.*  
 I not me-of.it could hold.INF to laugh.INF  
 ‘I could not prevent myself from laughing about it.’  
 (CNNV: 93/53, Martineau 1990: 143)

Foulet (1919: 112) describes CC as *un usage constant* ‘a constant usage’ in OF and Roberts (1997: 448) claims that it is obligatory when available (I will return to the notion of ‘availability’ below). This construction was first analysed as a result of *clause union* by Aissen and Perlmutter (1976), which was later redefined by Rizzi (1982) as *restructuring*. In the next section, we will discuss restructuring in the syntax of Romance languages and connect it to other constructions.

## 4.7.2 Restructuring

Rizzi (1982) analyses restructuring as the optional transformation of a bi-clausal sentence into a mono-clausal one, i.e. the two clauses ‘restructure’ and the two verbs form a ‘verbal complex’. This early analysis suggests that the clauses undergo simplification and that the two verbs are reanalysed as one. Evidence is given as the infinitive cannot be negated in restructuring contexts (and the co-occurrence of some adverbs is prohibited, we will return to this in section 4.7.3). In Rizzi’s view,

restructuring triggers CC (132), impersonal *si*-passive sentences (133) and auxiliary switch with compound tenses (from *have* to *be*) (134)<sup>18</sup>, illustrated here in Standard Italian. These constructions are relevant to the present study since they are also attested in OF (Pearce, 1990; Roberts, 1997).<sup>19</sup>

- (132) *Lo<sub>i</sub> volevo vedere e<sub>i</sub> subito.*  
 him want.PST.1SG see.INF immediately  
 ‘I wanted to see him immediately.’ (Cinque, 2004: 132)
- (133) *Finalmente [le nuove case popolari]<sub>i</sub> si cominceranno a costruire e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 Finally the new houses council *si* begin.PST.3PL to build.INF  
 ‘Finally *si* will get permission to build the new council houses.’ (Rizzi, 1982: 1)
- (134) *Sono voluto partire.*  
 be.PRS.1SG want.PST.PRT GO.INF  
 ‘I (am) wanted to leave.’ (Roberts, 2010: 80)

The mono-clausal hypothesis solves the issue of CC. In Rizzi’s (1982) terms, the clitic must attach to the verbal complex when restructuring is triggered (135b). It is widely known however that restructuring effects such as (132), (133) and (134) are not necessary, that is the clitic may not climb and remain enclitic (135a) (at least in canonical Romance languages). In other words, restructuring is an optional process and, when not triggered, the clitic cliticises on the infinitive (135a) and the auxiliary remains *avere* (136) depending on what the infinitive naturally selects (Cinque, 2004).

<sup>18</sup>Italian verbs select either *essere* ‘be’ or *avere* ‘have’ to construct perfect tenses. In restructuring contexts, the chosen auxiliary switches to *essere* even where the infinitive would otherwise select *avere*. This switch is only triggered with main verbs that select *essere*; main verbs that select *avere* do not switch. This is evidence of monoclausality (or clause union).

<sup>19</sup>Examples of CC and *si*-passive equivalents in OF are common in the literature. Auxiliary switch remains understudied. Pearce (1990: 20) cites examples from Gougenheim (1929) who claims that the construction is abundant in MidF, yet she fails to introduce examples from the OF period. According to her, this is due to the absence of use of compound tenses. The only study of auxiliary switch in the diachrony of French that I know of is from Champagne (1989), yet I cannot access the manuscript.

- (135) a. *Gianni deve [s presentar**la** a Francesco].* [Enclisis, no restructuring]  
 Gianni must introduce.INF-her to Francesco  
 ‘Gianni must introduce her to Francesco.’
- b. *Gianni **la** [v deve presentare] a Francesco.* [Climbing, restructuring]  
 Gianni her must introduce.INF to Francesco  
 ‘Gianni must introduce her to Francesco.’ (Rizzi, 1982: 6)
- (136) *Ho voluto partire.*  
 have.PRS.1SG want.PST.PRT GO.INF  
 ‘I (have) wanted to leave.’

The main observation we can draw from (127) to (135) is that the clitic may move across clausal domains. These constructions are found with a closed class of verbs (henceforth, restructuring verbs). Rizzi (1982) reports that, modulo dialectal variation, restructuring verbs are modals, aspectuals, and motion verbs.<sup>20</sup> In her study of MidF, Martineau (1990) analyses two texts<sup>21</sup> and reports that CC is attested with aspectuals, modals, motion, opinion and impersonal verbs (Martineau, 1990: 59-60), as well as with some verbs followed by the subordinators *à* or *de* (Martineau, 1990: 147), as we saw earlier with *tenir de* ‘hold to’ (131). Cinque (2004: 154) argues that dialectal and crosslinguistic variation occurs with verbs that are not ‘the prototypical, or basic, exponent of the class’ (see also Haegeman, 2006 and Paradís, 2018 for variation in verbs that allow CC in Italian and Catalan). For instance, verbs like *desire*, *love*, *intend* or *prefer* are all connected to the notion of volition, similarly to *want*, a verb that uniformly allows CC in Spanish, Catalan and Italian. According to Cinque (2004), the oscillating nature of those verbs (dis)allows climbing for sets of speakers. In other words, there is a core class of verbs that systematically trigger

<sup>20</sup>Examples of such verbs in Italian are *dovere* ‘must’, *potere* ‘can’ (modals), *continuare a* ‘to continue’, *cominciare a* ‘to begin’ (aspectuals), *andare a*, ‘to go to’ *venire a* ‘to come to’ (motion verbs).

<sup>21</sup>*Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles*, ca. 1462, author unknown, and *Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 1505-1515, Vigneulles.



restructuring effects in the languages that have restructuring (for instance, modals), and some verbs show crosslinguistic or cross-dialectal variation.<sup>22</sup>

### 4.7.3 Restructuring verbs as functional heads

Although the analyses produced in the literature commonly agree on the mono-clausal *aspect* triggered by restructuring verbs, the analysis of those verbs has proven to be challenging (in section 4.7.4, we will see that some authors claim restructuring to have a bi-clausal structure). Unlike Rizzi (1982), Cinque (2004) proposes that infinitives still form a constituent with their complement and argues that restructuring verbs should be analysed as functional verbs (137).

(137) [CP ... [FP V<sub>restr</sub> ... [FP ... [VP V ... ] ] ] ] (Cinque, 2004: 133)

Within a cartographic framework, Cinque (1999) argues that restructuring verbs are functional heads the projection of which obeys a rigid ordering, given in (138).

(138) MoodP<sub>speech act</sub> > MoodP<sub>evaluative</sub> > MoodP<sub>evidential</sub> > ModP<sub>epistemic</sub> > TP(Past)  
 > TP(Future) > MoodP<sub>irrealis</sub> > ModP<sub>alethic</sub> > AspP<sub>habitual</sub> > AspP<sub>repetitive(I)</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> > ModP<sub>volitional</sub> > AspP<sub>celerative(I)</sub> > TP(Anterior) > AspP<sub>terminative</sub>  
 > AspP<sub>continuative</sub> > AspP<sub>retrospective</sub> > AspP<sub>proximative</sub> > AspP<sub>durative</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>generic/progressive</sub> > AspP<sub>prospective</sub> > ModP<sub>obligation</sub> > ModP<sub>permission/ability</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>Completive</sub> > VoiceP > AspP<sub>celerative(II)</sub> > AspP<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> > AspP<sub>frequentative(II)</sub>  
 (Cinque, 2004: 132)

His claim is based upon the observations that (i) the co-occurrence of restructuring verbs obeys hierarchical ordering constraints and (ii) certain adverbs may only appear once when restructuring is triggered (i.e. when the clitic climbs) (139b). According to

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<sup>22</sup>For instance, de Andrade and Bok-Bennema (2017: Appendix A) report that ‘to dare’ allows CC in Italian (*osare a*) but not in Spanish.

Cinque (2004), the impossibility for the adverbs to co-occur in (139b) gives evidence that the clause has a mono-clausal structure.

- (139) a. *Maria vorrebbe già averlo già lasciato.*  
 Maria would already have.INF-him already left  
 Mary would already want to have already left him
- b. \* *Maria lo vorrebbe già aver già lasciato.*

(Cinque, 2004: 138)

Being functional, restructuring verbs do not assign thematic roles. I have briefly mentioned that the verb *want* above is a restructuring verb in different languages. Although there are cases where it genuinely seems to take an object (140), Cinque (2004) follows the hypothesis that an abstract verbal complement intervenes between the two. Under this view, the apparent object of *want* is the true object of the abstract verb here in (141).

- (140) *Gianni vuole una bicicletta.*  
 Gianni want.PRES.3SG a bicycle  
 ‘Gianni wants a bicycle.’

(Cinque, 2004: 155)

- (141) *Gianni vuole* [XP HAVE [DP *una bicicletta* ] ]

(Cinque, 2004: 156)

The main claim put forward by Cinque (2004) is that restructuring verbs are functional heads. In other words, restructuring is necessarily triggered in those contexts (although CC remains optional). Wurmbrand (2004) also analyses restructuring verbs as functional heads, however she disagrees with Cinque’s (2004) analysis that all restructuring verbs are functional. Rather, she argues for two types of restructuring, namely *functional* and *lexical*.<sup>23</sup> Her account focuses on restructuring effects in German, which lacks clitics.

<sup>23</sup>Wurmbrand (2004) proposes that with functional restructuring, the infinitive is analysed as the main verb of the clauses whereas the restructuring verb is understood to be a functional head/auxiliary. With lexical restructuring, it is the lexical/restructuring verb that is analysed as the main verb. Here, the infinitive is assumed to be a small complement of the restructuring verb.

Within a minimalist framework (Chomsky, 1995), Roberts (2010) adopts Cinque's (2004) view that restructuring verbs should be analysed as functional heads. He proposes that the functional head to which the clitic climbs bears the features [Asp, v], which attract the aspectual main verb. To trigger CC, that same functional head has unvalued  $\varphi$ -features [u $\varphi$ ]. Since ModF lacks CC altogether, Roberts (2010) claims that French restructuring verbs do not have  $\varphi$ -features to value.

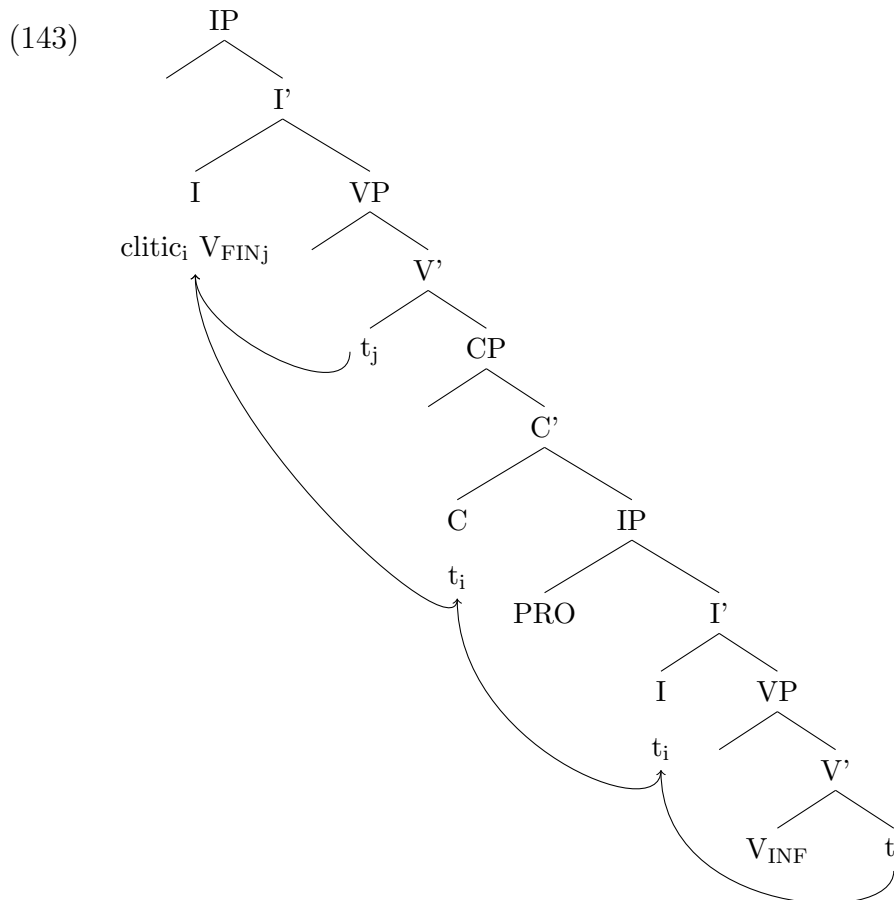
$$(142) \quad \dots [{}_{\text{AspP}} \text{Asp}_{\text{habitual}} \dots [{}_{\text{ASP}_x, v, u\varphi} \dots [{}_{\text{InfP}} V_i + \text{Inf} [{}_{\text{vP}} \varphi_j + v^* [{}_{\text{VP}} e_i e_j ] ] ] ] ] ]$$

(Roberts, 2010: 84)

In this section, I have shown that CC is understood as a result of restructuring under some accounts, yet we will see below that the mono-clausal approach of restructuring has not systematically been adopted.

#### 4.7.4 Role of inflection

Kayne (1989, 1991) observes that languages like Spanish and Standard Italian have infinitival enclisis, CC and null subjects, whilst languages like ModF (and Brazilian Portuguese, cf. Davies 1996) have none of the above. He seeks to unify the three phenomena under the same parameter: according to him, I(nfl) is strong in Standard Italian and weak in ModF, which accounts for null subjects in the former. Kayne (1989) assumes that a strong I L-marks the embedded VP (in the sense of Chomsky, 1986), which in turn neutralises its barrier status, allowing the clitic to leave the VP. A strong I, then, extracts the clitic that adjoins to the main verb through I and C (this is CC). His proposal is given in (143).



In sum, Kayne (1989) analyses CC as I-to-I movement.<sup>24</sup> Structure (143) is adopted by Martineau (1990) for MidF.<sup>25</sup> Unlike the analyses presented above (Rizzi, 1982; Cinque, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2004; Roberts, 2010), this approach assumes that an embedded CP is present. Indeed, there is evidence of a CP: consider example (144), where the clitic climbs and the *Wh*-phrase *ou* ‘where’ intervenes.

<sup>24</sup>In this analysis, the clitic and the embedded I-head move together to the higher clause. Kayne (1989) argues that clitic placement depends on verb placement (i.e. V-movement). If this correlation is true, we expect clitic placement to relate to null subjects.

<sup>25</sup>In Kayne’s (1989) analysis, the infinitive adjoins to I’, whilst Martineau (1990) proposes that it stays in V. Moreover, she adopts Pollock’s (1989) distinction of AGR and I. She assumes that the clitic moves in the embedded clause through AGR, then I then C, and then in the main clause through AGR to I.

- (144) *l'on ne me saroit ou trouver.* [Middle French]  
 one not me know.COND.PRS.3SG where find.INF  
 ‘One wouldn’t know where to find me.’ (Martineau, 1990: 110)

Kayne (1989) assumes that the *Wh*-phrase sits in Spec,CP, and he notes that the presence of a complementiser in C blocks CC. Therefore, he claims that the clitic must climb through C to reach the main verb, otherwise it is forced to cliticise on the infinitive. When an element is present in C the clitic does not move higher than the embedded I whilst the infinitive adjoins to I’ (this is enclisis, see also Kayne, 1991 discussed in section 3.6.2). In ModF, I is weak and does not L-mark the VP, which prevents the clitic and the infinitive from being extracted and forces cliticisation on the infinitive.<sup>26</sup> In other words, Standard Italian clitics cliticise on I and ModF clitics on V. We will address these questions in Chapters 8 and 9.

Martineau (1990) argues that CC is obligatory in OF and MidF and that clause-initial clitics were banned in main and embedded clauses. She assumes that CC is a mechanism that prevents the clitic from being the first element of the infinitival clause. This allows her to account for infinitival proclisis: the presence of an element in C blocks climbing and ensures the clitic is in second position (yet before the infinitive).

Kayne’s (1989; 1991) analysis unifies pro-drop, CC and enclisis, but it is problematic since it has been shown that French lost the null subject parameter before it lost CC, and infinitival proclisis was already present when CC was still an option (see Balon and Larrivé, 2016 and Hirschbühler, 1995 for the loss of pro-drop; and Martineau, 1990, Iglesias, 2015, Amatuszi et al., 2020 and Bekowies and McLaughlin, 2020 for the loss of CC). The null subject parameter is lost at the latest during the 1500s and CC during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As regards to enclisis,

<sup>26</sup>According to Kayne (1989), clitics left-adjoins heads. Therefore in Italian, the clitic left-adjoins I, yet the infinitive is higher, yielding enclisis, whereas in French the infinitive stays low and the clitic adjoins directly to the left of V, yielding proclisis.

de Kok (1985) does not find any instances of it from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on. Therefore, the diachrony of (i) the loss of pro-drop, (ii) the loss of CC and (iii) the loss of enclisis in French shows that the three losses took place at different times, which is problematic if we follow Kayne (1989, 1991) and assume that these constructions are connected on the synchronic level.

#### 4.7.5 Loss of clitic climbing

Martineau (1990) identifies a window where CC decreases, namely between the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup> Further research has shown that the loss of CC took place during the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century: Iglesias (2015: 96) observes a gradual decrease during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whilst Ayres-Bennett (2004: 215-218) and AmatuZZi et al. (2020) pinpoint the 1660s as a turning point. Bekowies and McLaughlin (2020) investigate the loss of CC in a corpus with texts from 1662 and 1689 and make interesting observations: they note that CC is less frequent in the north (Paris) than it is in the south (Toulouse). For Paris, they find that CC oscillates between 30% and 34.88%, whilst for Toulouse between 64.67% and 72%. This is not necessarily surprising, since we know that Occitan has kept CC (Alibèrt, 1976). Linguistic contact between French and Occitan may have slowed down the loss of CC in the south. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, CC had become a stylistic choice in French.

The loss of CC is dated, but only a couple of theoretical analyses give an account for it. Martineau (1990) argues that the rise of non-climbing constructions during the

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<sup>27</sup>CC remains with the causative verb *faire* ‘make’, and pronominal subjects of an embedded infinitive cliticise on the main verb with perception verbs like *voir* ‘see’ or causative *laisser* ‘let’. Traditionally, the term ‘clitic climbing’ is used for restructuring verbs only. In the present work, I exclude clitic placement with causatives and perception verbs, the diachony of which has been discussed extensively by Pearce (1990). We will return to causatives and perception verbs in section 5.8.

17<sup>th</sup> century coincides with a reanalysis of [+pronominal]Agr to [-pronominal]Agr: whilst the former allows pro-drop, the latter does not.<sup>28</sup> She follows Kayne (1989) and assumes that there is a connection between pro-drop and CC. According to her, this reanalysis prevents the clitic from leaving the embedded clause as AgrP behaves like a barrier. This forces the clitic to remain ‘local’ and to attach to the infinitive (to its left, following Kayne’s, 1975 clitic placement rule). In a similar fashion, Roberts (1997) attributes this change to the weakening of the V-feature of infinitival Agr<sub>S</sub>. According to his analysis, this change correlates with the loss of pro-drop as well. There is nonetheless an important gap between the loss of pro-drop and that of CC (Martineau, 1990; Balon and Larrivé, 2016). Additionally, these pioneering studies were published before major work on restructuring and CC was conducted (Cinque, 2001, 2004; Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2004, 2014, 2015; Roberts, 2010). In light of the presence research, I will pose an update on our understanding of (the loss of) CC in the diachrony of French and the lack of apparent connection to pro-drop, based on recent theoretical analyses (see Chapter 9). In the following section, the focus remains on clitic objects of infinitives, yet in absence of CC.

## 4.8 Non-finite non-restructuring contexts

### 4.8.1 Issue

We have seen that the placement of clitic complements of an infinitive in Romance languages takes two forms (145):<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Martineau (1990) also assumes that [+pronominal]AGR gives a language the possibility to substantivise an infinitive, which I will discuss in section 4.8.3.

<sup>29</sup>For the sake of the discussion, I am limiting the comparison to canonical Romance languages, although we have seen that other possibilities exist, see for instance examples (51) and (52) and footnote 5 on page 103.

- (145) a. FORM 1: the clitic complement of  $V_{\text{INF}}$  can (i) (optionally) climb with a subset of  $V_{\text{FIN}}$  (and be proclitic on  $V_{\text{FIN}}$ ) **or** (ii) be enclitic on  $V_{\text{INF}}$ .  
*e.g. Spanish, Standard Italian, Catalan*
- b. FORM 2: the clitic complement of  $V_{\text{INF}}$  is systematically proclitic on  $V_{\text{INF}}$ .  
*e.g. Modern French, Brazilian Portuguese*

Since CC is present in French until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we expect that OF and MidF show the first form. In order to confirm this assumption, we must look at clitic placement when the clitic does not climb.<sup>30</sup>

There is evidence that Medieval French does not exactly behave like Italian and Spanish with regards to clitic placement with objects of infinitives. First, the clitic may optionally climb to a restructuring verb in Italian and Spanish, whereas CC is systematically found in OF and MidF (Foulet, 1919; Martineau, 1990; Roberts, 1997). Second, infinitival proclisis is found in non-restructuring contexts in MidF, whereas it is not attested in the other two languages (de Kok, 1985; Martineau, 1990).

The situation of OF has been documented to a lesser extent than that of MidF. According to Roberts (1997), when CC is not possible, neither proclisis nor enclisis are found and instead, the pronoun remains strong and pre-infinitival. This would suggest that a clitic cannot cliticise on an infinitive and must appear as a less deficient form, i.e. a pronoun (Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999). I return to strong pronouns in section 4.9. This view is not accurate, as I will show in Chapter 6 and Chapter 8 that clitics could cliticise on the infinitive from at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In the following sections I review cases of enclisis first and then cases of proclisis as discussed in the

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<sup>30</sup>There are two main contexts where CC is not found: (i) either because there is no main verb or (ii) the main verb does not, or cannot, act as the host. Main verbs that cannot host the clitic object of the infinitive do not categorise as restructuring verbs, for instance the Italian verb *decidere* ‘decide’ does not allow CC. Additionally, a restructuring verb cannot act as a host when the infinitive is negated (Rizzi, 1982).



literature.

### 4.8.2 Enclisis

Foulet (1919: 112, footnote 1) reports that instances where the clitic does not climb are rare, yet he notes one example of enclisis (146) in *Béroul* (12<sup>th</sup> century). He claims that this construction might be archaic.<sup>31</sup>

- (146) *Il veut                repenre            la tant bonement.*  
 he want.PRS.3SG take.back.INF her much really  
 ‘He really wants to take her back.’ (*Béroul* 2260-1, Foulet 1919: 112, footnote 1)

Moignet (1976: 132) reports that clitics may follow infinitives, in which case the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons singular *me* and *te* as well as the reflexive *se* switch to *moi*, *toi* and *soi*, in other words they take the morphology of strong pronouns (see Table 4.1 in section 4.3).<sup>32</sup> Moignet (1970) counts a few occurrences of enclisis in texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

De Kok (1985) is the first author to provide an impressive list of examples and to show that enclisis with infinitives was actually relatively frequent. According to her, if CC is not available, then enclisis is obligatory with the oblique genitive *en* and locative *i*, as well as with clitic clusters (whereas proclisis is found with other clitics). All the examples she presents show infinitives introduced by a preposition, see *pur* (147), *a* (148) and *de* (149).

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<sup>31</sup>This is an interesting example: we could expect *la* to precede *veut* in (146), since *want* is a verb that patterns with climbing.

<sup>32</sup>Moignet (1976) warns that, although morphologically similar, they must not be mistaken for strong pronouns. This view is consistent in the literature, see for instance de Kok (1985).

<sup>33</sup>Moignet (1970) counts 2 instances of enclisis in *Le Roman de Thèbes* and 26 in *La mort le roi Arthu*.

- (147) *E cum li angeles nostre Seigneur estendit sa main sur Jerusalem pur  
and like the angel our Lord extend.PST.3SG his hand on Jerusalem to  
destruire la...*  
destroy.INF it  
'And like the angel, our Lord extended his hand over Jerusalem to destroy it...'  
(*QLR*: 108,16, de Kok 1985: 115)
- (148) *mes li autres mouvra orendroit a aler i.*  
but the other move.FUT.3SG then to go.INF there  
'but the other will go there later.'  
(*Arthu*: 8,27, de Kok 1985: 116)
- (149) *... que ja mes n'avrai talent de combatre moi a lui.*  
that never not-have.FUT.1SG ability to fight.INF me to him  
'... that I'll never be able to fight against him.'  
(*Queste*: 79,4, de Kok 1985: 116)

Interestingly, this construction seems to be systematic: de Kok (1985) finds examples where the preposition appears to block CC [ $V_{FIN}$  Prep  $V_{INF}$  Cl] whereas she does not find examples with enclisis when no preposition intervenes  $*[V_{FIN} V_{INF} Cl]$ .<sup>34</sup> This suggests that the clitic climbs unless there is a preposition, which could act as a barrier and in turn the clitic remains enclitic on the infinitive. The notion of barrier is dubious, since de Kok (1985) finds counterexamples - also, we have seen earlier that Martineau (1990) reports that the preposition does not necessarily prevent CC [ $Cl_i$   $V_{FIN}$  Prep  $V_{INF}$   $e_i$ ] (see section 4.7.2). It is not exactly clear why the clitic would fail to climb in some sentences where the infinitive is introduced by a preposition but not in others. De Kok (1985: 224) points out that the availability of CC depends on the preposition: *a* allows CC whereas *de* does not. Martineau (1990) shows that it is a striking trend indeed: she finds 53.27% cases of CC with *a* and 1.77% with *de*.<sup>35</sup> This

<sup>34</sup>The idea that an element can 'block' CC is frequent in the literature. Rizzi (1982) claims that a preposition introducing the infinitive indicates a bi-clausal sentence, therefore restructuring is not available. Kayne (1989) assumes that the preposition is in C, preventing the clitic from moving to the higher clause. Here, I use the term 'blocking' in a descriptive manner.

<sup>35</sup>She counts 57 instances of CC contra 50 without CC with *a*, and she counts 9 instances of CC contra 500 without CC with *de*.

is confirmed by Pearce (1990), who observes that all prepositions prevent CC, yet *a* may allow it and she counts one instance of CC despite *de*. Ultimately, what interests us here is what happens in cases where the presence of a preposition seemingly forces the clitic to stay within the infinitival clause (Olivier, 2018). To sum up, enclisis was present in OF, but its distribution remains under-studied. It is not exactly clear when and why enclisis is found or in which frequency, although the unavailability of CC seems to play a part: we will answer these questions in our investigation.

### 4.8.3 Proclisis

Infinitival proclisis is unusual in Romance: as said earlier, it is found in Modern Gallo-Romance, Occitan, Sardinian and Brazilian Portuguese only. Moignet (1970: 16) reports few examples of proclisis for OF and writes that this ordering, almost unknown during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, is rare during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, Foulet (1924: 79) and Martineau (1990: 197) show that proclisis is found in the MidF period, although the former notes that it existed sporadically during the OF period as well.

The investigation of proclisis in OF is a challenging enterprise, since infinitives could be substantivised and preceded by the definite article *le*, which is homophonous to the clitic (Foulet, 1924; de Kok, 1985; Martineau, 1990). Note that (150a) is very productive in OF.<sup>36</sup>

- (150) a. *le*<sub>ARTICLE</sub> *V*<sub>SUBST</sub> → e.g. *le manger* ‘the dinner’  
 b. *le*<sub>CLITIC</sub> *V*<sub>INF</sub> → e.g. *le manger* ‘to eat it’

The morphophonological similarities between (150a) and (150b) sometimes render the distinction impossible: in (151), there are two possible glosses. *Por le rescore* can be interpreted as ‘to rescue him’ or ‘for the rescue’.

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<sup>36</sup>The substantivisation of infinitives is not common in ModF, although it remains productive in Occitan (Alibèrt, 1976: 275).

- (151) *Lors passe avant por le rescore.*  
 thus go.PST.3SG before to [HIM/THE] [RESCUE.INF/RESCUE.SUBST]  
 ‘Thus, he goes first [to rescue him]/[for the rescue].’

(*Renart* 377-80, Foulet 1924: 79)

In (151), Foulet (1924) shows that two interpretations are possible. This certainly challenges the analysis of proclisis, and it might have led speakers to reanalyse (150a) as (150b). Under this hypothesis, other clitics followed the proclitic pattern.

Although two interpretations are possible in (151), it is not systematically the case: there are examples where the infinitive is clearly substantivised, as in (152). Here, *le* is not a clitic. If it were, it would refer to the Queen and we would find the feminine *la* instead.

- (152) *car ma dame la royne a bien gent pour le deffendre.*  
 for my lady the queen have.PRS.3SG many people for the defend.SUBST  
 ‘For my lady the Queen has many people for the defence.’

(*Joinville* 182, de Kok 1985: 128)

Nevertheless, there exist genuine cases of proclisis.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, both Foulet (1924) and de Kok (1985: 127) observe that third person pronouns are the first ones to be found in the proclitic pattern.<sup>38</sup> Examples (153) to (155) are anterior to 1300.

- (153) ... *que je ne soy les nombrer.*  
 that I not know.PRS.1SG them count.INF  
 ‘... that I don’t know how to count them.’ (Joinville:43, de Kok 1985: 127)

- (154) ... *pour les veoir.*  
 to them see.INF  
 ‘... to see them.’ (Thèbes:4209, Moignet 1970: 16)

<sup>37</sup>To distinguish between cases of determiners and genuine cases of proclisis, we look at cases where there is no homophony available or when one interpretation is not allowed.

<sup>38</sup>This is followed after 1300 by first and second person clitics and eventually reflexive clitics (de Kok, 1985: 326).

- (155) ... *et que il avoit au matin retenu por li fere compaignie.*  
 and that he have.PST.3SG at-the morning keep.PST.PRT to him do.INF company  
 ‘... and that he had kept since morning to keep him some company.’

(*Arthu*:45,67, de Kok 1985: 127)

The diachrony of proclisis is unclear: it seems to have been rather infrequent in OF and to have bloomed in MidF (Foulet, 1924; de Kok, 1985; Martineau, 1990). To the best of my knowledge, no study has looked into the reason why the clitic does not climb in sentences like (153). Additionally, it is not clear what analysis should be given to account for instances of enclisis in (147), (148) and (149) on the one hand and proclisis (155) and (154) on the other. The hypothesis that OF and MidF ever belonged to form 1 (i.e. like Italian it shows both CC and enclisis but no proclisis) does not seem conclusive. In this work, we will investigate and quantify the contexts in which enclisis and proclisis are found and we will argue that the presence of one or the other is independent from that of CC. Here, we have seen that clitics can cliticise on infinitives in OF, *pace* Roberts (1997). In the following section I review cases where strong pronouns are used instead of clitics.

## 4.9 Pre-infinitival strong pronouns

### 4.9.1 Construction

French seems to be the only Romance language to have ever placed strong pronouns before an infinitive (Moignet, 1965, 1970, 1976; Pearce, 1990; de Kok, 1993; Roberts, 1997).<sup>39</sup> So far, we have seen that CC is the main ordering until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and I have contrasted it with enclisis and proclisis in non-restructuring contexts. I

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<sup>39</sup>This construction is not found with finite verbs and it is found in the language after the shift from OV to VO is completed.

have reviewed studies that show that the latter two might have co-existed in non-restructuring clauses during the OF period (although there is a lack of documentation), and that only proclisis is found after 1300. In fact, the sporadic occurrences of clitics in the immediate periphery of the infinitive are usually attributed to a preference for the use of pre-infinitival strong pronouns when CC is not possible (Moignet, 1970; Roberts, 1997). The use of strong pronouns in this configuration may have been an innovation of late OF (see Martineau, 1990: 96 citing Lemieux, 1988).

The pronominal paradigm of OF shows syncretism between enclisis and strong pronouns with the following forms: *moi*, *toi* and *soi* (see section 4.3). The literature systematically defines pre-infinitival *-oi* pronouns as strong pronouns [*-oi* *SP* + *V<sub>INF</sub>*] and post-infinitival *-oi* pronouns as clitics [*V<sub>INF</sub>* + *-oi* *CL*] (Moignet 1976: 132; de Kok 1985). In this section, I will focus on the former; before I do, note that [*V* + *-oi* *CL*] is observable with positive imperatives in ModF: whether it is with infinitives in late OF/MidF or imperatives in ModF, when 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are enclitic, they take the *-oi* morphology.

- (156) a. *Parle-moi.* [Modern French]  
           speak.IMP.2SG-me  
           ‘Talk to me.’
- b. \**Parle-me.*  
           speak.IMP.2SG-me  
           ‘Talk to me.’
- (157) a. *Retourne-toi.* [Modern French]  
           turn.IMP.2SG-you  
           ‘Turn (yourself) around.’
- b. \**Retourne-te.*  
           turn.IMP.2SG-you  
           ‘Turn (yourself) around.’

According to Moignet (1970), who analyses texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, pre-infinitival strong pronouns are widely attested. From a diachronic perspective, de Kok

(1993) notes that they exist from the earliest texts until the 14<sup>th</sup> century. She reports that when the infinitive is introduced by a preposition, the strong pronoun is inserted between the two.

(158) *vez ci mon gage por moi deffendre*  
 see.IMP.2PL here my pledge to me defend.INF  
 ‘Here is my pledge, to defend myself.’ (Artu:192, l.23 de Kok 1993: 249)

(159) *Si soiez apareillé de lui recevoir si con vos devez.*  
 thus be.IMP.2PL equipped of him receive.INF and how you.2PL must.PRS.2PL  
 ‘And be ready to welcome him as you must.’ (Artu:56, l.23 de Kok 1993: 249)

Further examination from de Kok (1993) shows that there are two ways to account for this construction in the literature. The requirement to have a strong pronoun is either determined by the left context (the preposition) or the right one (the infinitive). It is not clear why the preposition should be responsible for the choice of a strong pronoun, nevertheless, it is shown in examples below that the two seem to form a prosodic unit. Prepositions lacking stress, the presence of a strong pronoun would avoid having two unstressed elements one after the other.

At first sight, there seems to be a strong relationship with the preposition, rather than with the following infinitive, since various phrases may appear between the pronoun and the infinitive. Consider an intervening PP in (160) and an intervening adverb in (161).

(160) *La mere avoit mis grant paine a lui en droiture endoctriner*  
 the mother have.PST.3SG put.PP big sorrow at him in rectitude indoctrinate  
 ‘The mother had struggled a lot to educate him with rectitude.’

(Cassidorus 540-541, de Kok 1993: 251)

(161) *pour lui miez honnir et confondre.*  
 to him better despise.INF and baffle.INF  
 ‘to better despise and baffle him.’ (Helcanus 255, de Kok 1993: 251)

In examples (160) and (161), the pronoun seems to be independent from the infinitive, which is not possible in ModF unless one resorts to the order  $[V_{\text{INF}} \text{ Prep SP}]$ . We will see that this ordering, which is characteristic to earlier French, is not straightforward to account for.

### 4.9.2 Analysis

Crucially, these strong pronouns are less free than full DPs. In examples (158) to (161), the pronouns occupy the position of the full DP object: at the medieval stage, the language is arguably of the OV-type (Scrivner, 2015); nevertheless, there is evidence of VO orderings. Furthermore, although a full DP object may appear before or after the infinitive (162), a strong pronoun may never directly follow an infinitive (163) (de Kok, 1993: 261).

- (162) a. *por la pes porchacier.* [O<sub>Full DP</sub> V]  
to the peace get.<sub>INF</sub>  
‘to get some peace.’ (*Artu* 190, l.65, de Kok 1993: 261)
- b. *por reprendre s’alainne.* [V O<sub>Full DP</sub>]  
to catch.<sub>INF</sub> his-breath  
‘To catch his breath.’ (*Artu* 196, l.51, de Kok 1993: 261)
- (163) a.  $[P_{\text{rep}} \mathbf{S_{tr}P_{ron}} (XP) V_{\text{INF}}]$   
b. \*  $[P_{\text{rep}} (XP) V_{\text{INF}} \mathbf{S_{tr}P_{ron}}]$

Thus, there seems to be an asymmetry in the way strong pronouns and full DPs are distributed, which de Kok (1993: 261) seeks to account for. According to her, a pronoun is first inserted in a pre-verbal position, which satisfies the OV order of OF (Zaring, 2010, 2011), which may stem from a VO-grammar as pointed out by Poletto (2014) for Old Italian. She supposes that the pronoun is independent yet unstressed and obeys the Wackernagel law (1892), i.e. it is enclitic onto the preceding preposition to get lexical stress. Since the preposition also lacks stress, the



pronoun must become morphophonologically strong. In any case, these pronouns are problematic, since Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) state that strong pronouns should not pattern differently from full DPs (or else, these data challenge Cardinaletti and Starke's hypothesis that the two should pattern together).

Let's remember that a preposition does not necessarily prevent CC. Martineau (1990) and Pearce (1990) introduce examples with CC despite the presence of *a* and *de*:

- (164) *Danz Alexis la prist ad apeler.*  
 Lord Alexis her take.PST.1SG to call.INF  
 'Lord Alexis began to call her.' (Alexis 62-62, Pearce 1990: 228)

- (165) *Envers le roi vos pense d'empirier.*  
 towards the king you.2PL think.PRS.1SG to-denigrate.INF  
 'Towards the king (in the king's opinion), he thinks to denigrate you.'  
 (*Charroi de Nîmes* 708, Pearce 1990: 229)

Pearce (1990) reports that *de* behaves like an island constraint and generally prevents CC: its increasing use may have contributed to the preference for keeping the pronoun closer to the infinitive and then extended to *a*. Although this provides an account for pronoun placement, it does not tackle questions around why it requires strong morphology.

Moignet (1965) refutes that the preposition be responsible for the use of strong pronouns. According to him, it is the verb (finite or non finite) that imposes a strong or deficient form. He further highlights that the lack of predicativity with infinitives calls on the use of strong pronouns. Similarly to infinitives, Moignet (1965: 64) observes that the pronominal object of a present participle is strong (166). Since present participles cannot be introduced by a preposition, he accounts for the presence of a strong pronoun by the nature of the verb.

- (166) *Et quant il soi levanz par matin ce racontoit az freres...*  
 and when he REFL raise.PRS.P by morning this tell.PST.3SG to-the brother  
 ‘And, when getting up in the morning, he told this to the brothers...’

(*Dial. Greg.* 268, 23, Moignet 1965: 64)

There are a few examples of this construction reported by de Kok (1985: 128) as well, yet she notes that they are quite rare. The relevance of finiteness is not convincing as we have seen examples of clitics with infinitives above (although this construction is not found with finite verbs).

The analyses presented here (Moignet, 1965; de Kok, 1993) suggest that pronouns exhibited a prosodic and syntactic relationship with their left-side in OF, a relationship that transferred to their right-side in MidF. A series of questions remain unanswered: adopting Cardinaletti and Starke’s (1999) view that the most deficient form should be chosen, why do these examples show strong forms? This is even more puzzling as clitics are found in the very same context. Additionally, these strong pronouns pattern differently from full DPs, although a characteristic of strong pronouns is that they position similarly to full DPs (Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999). From a diachronic perspective, we may also question why and when pre-infinitival strong pronouns were lost.

## 4.10 Summary

In finite contexts in OF and early MidF (i.e. until the 16<sup>th</sup> century), enclisis is found in V1 clauses (particularly in OF) and proclisis in all other clauses. This repartition is traditionally accounted for as a consequence of the TM law, which was gradually lost and may have played a part in the reanalysis of clitic placement in terms of prosody (Jacobs, 1993). According to Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000), the erosion of the TM law took place between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and from then on proclisis

is systematic. The situation with finite verbs has been extensively studied, more so than non-finite contexts, where questions remain.

In non-finite contexts, the main constructions and changes that we have reviewed are as follows: (i) enclisis is found on infinitives in OF, (ii) proclisis is also reported (de Kok, 1985), (iii) strong pronouns are found in pre-infinitival position and do not pattern like full DPs (de Kok, 1993), (iv) CC is productive, (v) it is lost during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and proclisis increases (Iglesias, 2015). What is interesting to our study is that only proclisis remains in ModF, which we have seen is an unusual order in Romance.

## 4.11 Concluding remarks

Finite contexts have been investigated more carefully than non-finite ones. From now on, we will focus on the latter. The constructions found in the diachrony of French can be contrasted with that of other Modern Romance languages: Standard Italian, Catalan and Spanish have enclisis whereas ModF has proclisis (see section 8.2 for a discussion including more Romance varieties at different stages of their evolution). ModF lacks CC: Standard Italian, Catalan, Spanish, European Portuguese, Occitan, Catalan all have CC (see sections 8.2 and 9.3). Nonetheless, we have seen that both enclisis and CC are found at some point in Medieval French, which is interesting both on the synchronic level (in comparison to other Romance varieties) and on the diachronic one.

The lack of documentation for OF is palpable: in grammars, we find sporadic instances of enclisis as well as instances of proclisis. To this day, there is no information available on the frequency of the constructions identified above for each period. To update our understanding of the diachrony of clitic placement in French, we must document and analyse clitic placement with infinitives throughout the evolution of

the language: to do this, we will investigate each century from the earliest periods and report on the contexts and frequencies of each ordering (enclisis, proclisis, CC and pre-infinitival strong pronouns). The aim is to provide a complete and detailed picture to (i) identify the point(s) in time where the directionality of change in French diverged from that of other Romance languages and (ii) connect these changes to other changes in the language.

Some authors have argued that pro-drop and CC result from the same parameter and connect to the inflectional properties of the language (Kayne, 1989; Martineau, 1990), yet the literature largely disagrees on the diachrony of the loss of pro-drop in French (Adams, 1989; Balon and Larrivé, 2016). Furthermore, the theoretical view on CC in Medieval French has not been adapted since, despite the publication of major analyses of restructuring (Cinque, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2004). Additionally, important analyses of CC have been published recently for other Romance languages (Fischer, 2000; Martins, 2000; Solà, 2002; Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004; de Andrade, 2010*b*; Roberts, 2010; Cardinaletti, 2014*a*; de Andrade and Namiuti-Temponi, 2016; Gallego, 2016; de Andrade and Bok-Bennema, 2017; Paradís, 2018; Masullo, 2019; Pescarini, 2021) and we will use them to contextualise the changes identified in the diachrony of French. In the next Chapter, we will discuss the methodology adopted for the research and we will account for the choice of a legal register.

## Part II

# Clitic placement with infinitives in the diachrony of French



# Chapter 5

## Methodology

### 5.1 Introduction

Considerable attention has been brought to the syntax of Medieval French in the generative literature in the last decades, starting from Adams' (1987) influential study on pro-drop and V2. As we have seen in the last Chapter, questions remain on the syntax of clitics (and more generally, object pronouns) in infinitival contexts, which we address in the present work.<sup>1</sup>

Although there is an impressive amount of manuscripts available along the centuries, I approached the study of this issue by creating a consistent corpus both in terms of time and register. This Chapter is organised as follows: section 5.2 returns to the issue of the periods of the language (OF, MidF and ModF). In section 5.3, the methodologies and results of previous studies focusing on clitic placement in OF and MidF are briefly discussed and serve as a basis to support the main research questions and methodology of the present work, that are given in section 5.4. The register chosen to answer those questions is discussed in section 5.5, before presenting

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<sup>1</sup>Substantial parts of this Chapter have been published in Olivier (2021).

the corpus in section 5.6. I will introduce the research design in section 5.7. In section 5.8, I assess clitic placement with causative and perception verbs and I exclude these two contexts from the research. I present the findings in section 5.9 and section 5.10 concludes.

## 5.2 French

### 5.2.1 Geography

The language descends from Latin and takes its roots in Northern France, in a territory stretching from the border of Brittany in the West to the beginning of the Alsace region in the East, and the southern and northern borders are traditionally delimited by the north of the Aquitaine together with the Massif Central, and the Belgian territory respectively. In the Middle Ages, French is a cluster of mutually intelligible dialects commonly labelled *Langues d’Oil*.<sup>2</sup> It is opposed to Occitan and its dialects in the south, the *Langues d’Oc* (see Figure 5.1<sup>3</sup>). We also see a dialectal area towards the eastern side of the country, *Francoprovençal*. According to Lodge (1993: 77-8), defining Francoprovençal as a language or a dialect proves to be problematic for it shares a great number of its dialectal features with both *Oil* and *Oc*. Nonetheless, it seems to be increasingly analysed as a separate linguistic entity that is neither fully considered as belonging to *Oil* nor to *Oc*, but forming its own subfamily instead.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>See Lodge (1993: 98) for an illustration of the degree of mutual intelligibility in Medieval France.

<sup>3</sup>I thank Mathieu Avanzi for sharing this map with me, which he put together. His personal communication stresses that the dialectal fragmentations during the Middle Ages are not known with precision, yet they should not be too different from the large linguistic areas identified in his work.

<sup>4</sup>We can cite Kasstan and Nagy (2018: 1): ‘[Francoprenvençal] can be described as a highly fragmented grouping of Romance varieties spoken in parts of France, Switzerland, and Italy by less than 1% of the total regional population.’



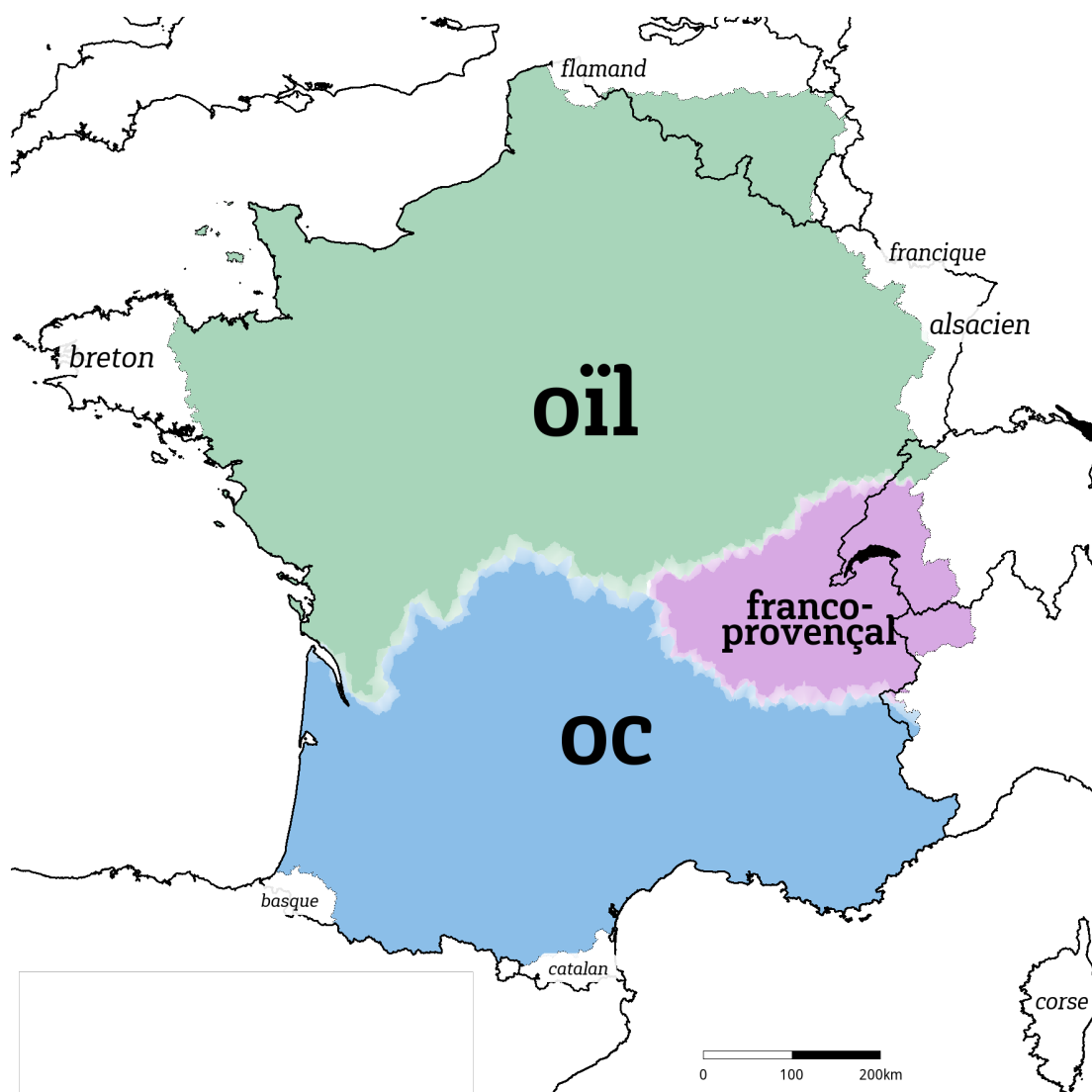


Figure 5.1: French languages and dialects (main Gallo-Romance areas)

The studies reviewed in the present work focus neither on geography nor on dialectal variation. The *Oïl* language seems to have presented the type of variation we see in English in the United Kingdom and Ireland nowadays, where three speakers from Cork, Glasgow and Bristol respectively would understand each other despite a certain degree of phonological and lexical variation. According to the history of the

language published by Lodge (1993), approximately four distinct yet mutually intelligible varieties were attested within the *Langues d’Oil*, the accents of which were emblematic of the regions.<sup>5</sup> Lodge (1993: 98) reports that ‘[b]etween speakers of the different oil dialects there clearly existed a degree of xenophobia, but the level of mutual intelligibility must have been high’.

Throughout the subsequent centuries, Parisian French, sometimes referred to as *Francien* in the traditional literature of the language, spread as the norm in places where it was not spoken yet by means of a process of linguistic unification. The following section reviews and discusses the chronology and the development of the French language.

### 5.2.2 Chronology

As we briefly saw in section 2.1, French is traditionally divided into three main periods:

1. OLD FRENCH: 842 - 14<sup>th</sup> century
2. MIDDLE FRENCH: 14<sup>th</sup> century - 17<sup>th</sup> century
3. MODERN FRENCH: 18<sup>th</sup> century - present

The year 842 is symbolic; it corresponds to the text *Les Serments de Strasbourg*<sup>6</sup>, which is the oldest work written in what would later become French - at this stage, it is commonly referred to as Early Old French or Proto-French. The earliest version of French attested in the history of the language is given below:

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<sup>5</sup>Lodge (1993: 100) cites Roger Bacon: ‘in Francia apud Picardos, et Normannos et puros Gallicos, et Burgundos, et alios’, ‘In France, [there exists several dialects] among the Picards, the Normans, the pure French, the Burgunds and others’.

<sup>6</sup><https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9692023c/f22.image.texteImage>

*Pro Deo amur & pro christian poblo & nostro commun salvament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir & podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo & in adiudha & in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dift, in o quid il mi altresí faz& et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit. [...] Si Lodhwiigs sacrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meus sendra de sua part non lo s tanit, si io returnar non lint pois, ne io ne neuls, cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla aiudha contra Lodhwiuig nun li iv er.*

Translation (Hall, 1953: 318):

*For the love of God and for the Christian people and our common well-being, from this day on, insofar as God grants me to know how and to be able, I will help this brother of mine Charles, both in aid and in every matter, as a man should help his brother, insofar as he does likewise by me, and with Lothair I will make no agreement which by my will might be harmful to this brother of mine Charles. [...] If Louis keeps the oath which he swore to his brother Charles, and Charles my lord for his part does not keep it, if I cannot deter him therefrom, neither I nor anyone whom I can deter therefrom will be of any help to him in this matter against Louis.*

An earlier source, cited by Martineau (1990: 46) and Lodge (1993: 89) amongst many others, is the *Concile de Tours* which reunites the Church in 813. The latter decides that sermons are now to be uttered in *rusticam romanam linguam aut theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quæ dicuntur*<sup>7</sup>, ‘in either the rustic Roman language or the Tudesque<sup>8</sup> one, so that everybody can understand those sermons’

<sup>7</sup><https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6150004g/f11.image>

<sup>8</sup>A Germanic language spoken in Northern France at the time.

(my translation). This is a piece of evidence that Classical Latin has evolved into a different *idiōma* that is identified here in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, the speakers are aware that they do not speak Latin anymore. As there is no textual evidence of the language before and the purpose of this study is not to scrutinise Vulgar Latin, I will not elaborate on the continuum from Classical Latin to OF. Early records available across Europe show that between 500 and the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Classical Latin slowly evolved and transitioned into Romance.<sup>9</sup>

Although somewhat artificially constructed and rather abstract, the three main periods listed above are convenient to identify chunks of time before or after which the grammar shifted.

### 5.2.3 Old French

What I will call OF here is the first attested form of the Romance language that will subsequently become ModF (namely, *Oïl*). Grammarians, linguists and philologists have looked into this early language for decades (see Thurneysen, 1892; Adams, 1987; Vance, 1997; Labelle, 2007 and references below), yet the understanding of its syntax has yet to be completely unveiled.

OF is a pro-drop language (Adams, 1987) with overt morphological case. One of its main characteristics is the prevalence of OV ordering (Marchello-Nizia, 1995; Zaring, 2010, 2011; Scrivner, 2015) together with a robust V2 structure (Thurneysen, 1892; Adams, 1987, 1989; Roberts, 1993; Vance, 1997; Labelle, 2007; Ledgeway, 2007; Marchello-Nizia, 2008; Sitaridou, 2012; Salvesen and Bech, 2014; Wolfe, 2016*a,b*,

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<sup>9</sup>See also the oldest text in Italian, dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, cited in Vincent (1997: 160): *sao ko kelle terre, per kelle fini que ki contene trenta anni le possette parte Sancti Benedicti* ‘I know that those lands, within those bounds which contain them, for thirty years were owned by the monastery of Saint Benedict’.

2019*b*, 2018, 2020; de Andrade, 2018; Klævik-Pettersen, 2018, 2019).<sup>10</sup> There is a general observation that the language displays orderings and phenomena that are attested in Germanic languages and lost early on, such as Quirky Subjects, Object Shift, Stylistic Fronting and other fronting mechanisms (Mathieu, 2009; Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2014).

Regarding clitics, it is observed that at this stage they are proclitic on the finite verb, yet they may appear post-verbally as a result of the Tobler-Mussafia effect (see Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005), and when they are the object of the infinitive they are proclitic on the main verb (via CC) - although clitics sporadically appear to be enclitic or proclitic on the infinitive (Moignet, 1970; de Kok, 1985; Martineau, 1990).

#### 5.2.4 Middle French

The MidF period is assumed to begin between 1300 (Marchello-Nizia, 1974) and 1350 (Rickard, 1974), which corresponds to a period where a series of changes discussed below took place. Nevertheless, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005: 66) claim that their data indicate ‘the emergence of a new grammar’ as early as 1170. In summary, determining the end of the OF period and the start of the MidF one proves to be challenging.

Effectively, Marchello-Nizia (1974), Martineau (1990) and Pearce (1990), amongst others, observe changes in the grammar between OF and MidF, such as the loss of morphological case, the loss of pro-drop and the OV-VO transition (see Scriver 2015 for the latter). Ongoing phonological changes are also used to situate the transition from OF to MidF at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (see Rickard, 1974: 3; Marchello-Nizia, 1974: 56-93).

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<sup>10</sup>We have seen that the V2 character of OF is debated, as instances of V1 and V3 are relatively common.

Transparency effects (such as CC and auxiliary switch) remain present during the MidF period, therefore clitics continue to climb to the main verb as they did in OF. In finite contexts, Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000: 8-9) identify the 12<sup>th</sup> century as a transition period for clitic placement with finite verbs and imperatives, which leads to a steadier system from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on. They show that the ban on initial position decreases and clitics are increasingly proclitic in all finite contexts, as well as with imperatives introduced by a conjunction. Non-finite contexts have been less studied, yet de Kok (1985) reports that infinitival enclisis is not found after 1300.

### 5.2.5 Modern French

MidF transitions into ModF after a period that comprises the loss of V2, the loss of simple inversion (i.e. verb-subject ordering) and the loss of transparency effects, preventing CC (and according to Roberts, 1993, the loss of pro-drop). Martineau (1990) identifies the loss of CC as a process starting in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century with final completion in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The loss of V2 is usually situated between the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see Adams, 1989; Roberts, 1993; Hirschbühler and Labelle, 2000). The nebulosity of the delimitations of the MidF period is illustrated here to be caused by a vast set of changes that either occur together at the same time or generate new changes.

Lodge (1993) labels the 17<sup>th</sup> century ‘Renaissance French’: this century counts authors like Madame de la Fayette, Jean de la Fontaine or Molière. ModF speakers would certainly perceive their style as archaic, as the written norm of the 17<sup>th</sup> century literature may retain traditional turns of phrase that date back from before those authors were born. With the *Siècle des Lumières* ‘the Enlightenment’ transition during the 18<sup>th</sup> century comes the foundations of ModF, illustrated with authors like Diderot, Voltaire or Rousseau: the language used by these authors is considered as

ModF, for there has not been any particularly strong grammatical evolution since. In other terms, the language used by the revolutionaries in 1789 is not substantially different from the 21<sup>st</sup> century vernacular.

### 5.2.6 A note on issues in chronology

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the main changes summarised in the previous section on periods. It shows that MidF shares some characteristics with OF (transparency effects such as auxiliary switch or *se*-passive, or CC, and V2) whilst some others have been lost (pro-drop, morphological case) or have evolved (OV-VO transition).

	Old French	Middle French	Modern French
<b>Transparency effects</b>		✓	×
<b>Clitic climbing</b>		✓	×
<b>V2</b>		✓	×
<b>Pro-drop</b>	✓	<i>weakening</i>	×
<b>Tobler-Mussafia effects</b>	✓	<i>weakening</i>	×
<b>Morphological case</b>	✓		×
<b>OV</b>	✓		×
<b>VO</b>	×		✓
<b>Infinitival enclisis</b>	✓		×
<b>Infinitival proclisis</b>	✓		✓

Table 5.1: Diachrony of the main features in French

The last section referred to a particular issue that might have a great impact on the work of historical linguists: the fact that the written norm in the literature may have an archaic flavour. The different findings situating the loss of pro-drop in either the 12<sup>th</sup> or the 15<sup>th</sup> century probably come from the material under study: whilst Adams

(1987) analyses literary texts, Balon and Larrivéé (2016) scrutinise legal material. In section 5.5 I will address the importance of material selection in historical work, but first we will take a look at methods used in previous contributions on clitic studies in the diachrony of French to introduce the research questions in section 5.4.

### 5.3 Previous contributions and methodologies

There has been extensive work on clitics in Romance, yet for Medieval French there is no data available for the frequency of infinitival enclisis and proclisis on the one hand, and CC on the other. This section explores the traditional way clitics studies investigating earlier periods of French have been produced. This brief review will justify the methodological choices of the present study.

#### 5.3.1 Moignet (1970)

Moignet (1970) draws up a synchronic study of clitic placement with infinitives in *Le Roman de Thèbes*, a literary manuscript written between 1230 and 1270. In his work, a total of 42 occurrences are noted, combining proclisis, enclisis and pre-infinitival strong pronouns that he contrasts with four other texts from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. This study shows that proclisis and enclisis are present in low frequencies in narrative French during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. In his study, Moignet (1970) does not discuss CC.

#### 5.3.2 De Kok (1985)

Fifteen years later, de Kok (1985) publishes a comprehensive documentation of the diachrony of clitic placement in French, illustrated with data from 1170 to 1971. Unlike Moignet's (1970) earlier work, de Kok (1985) examines the language over the



span of eight centuries and discusses each construction in detail; whilst providing a thorough examination of clitic placement, she does not introduce frequencies. Nevertheless, this is the most-detailed report on clitic placement in the diachrony of French available to date.

### 5.3.3 Martineau (1990)

Five years later, Martineau (1990) establishes a synchronic study of CC in MidF and by extension, clitic placement with infinitives. She scrutinises two literary texts, *Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles* (anonymous) and *Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Vigneulles), written in ca. 1462 and 1505-1515 respectively. Her study provides a rich insight into CC in MidF, as she shows that the construction is obligatory; yet, although she counts occurrences of each construction she attests, her analysis is mostly qualitative and focuses on two texts close in time. Her contribution focuses mainly on CC and introduces no information about frequency.

### 5.3.4 Pearce (1990)

Within the Government and Binding framework (Chomsky, 1981), Pearce (1990) examines OF infinitival complements in clauses with causative and non-causative main verbs. Her database comprises texts mainly from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries: for the 12<sup>th</sup> century, she faces a limited amount of data which leads her to select and investigate all available material. Her corpus draws texts from different dialects and mixes verse and prose. Her contribution is particularly relevant to the present study, as she focuses on clauses with embedded infinitives and she uses clitic placement as a tool to diagnose changes in INFL. Although mixing genres and dialects may have significant repercussions on the findings, Pearce's (1990) study remains a prominent piece of work in the syntax of OF infinitives.

### 5.3.5 Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000), Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005)

More recently, Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005) produce theoretical analyses of the diachrony of clitic placement in French. Their studies target different stages that correspond to periods of change in clitic placement. To do so, they analyse a series of texts (mainly novels and chronicles) to which they add examples from de Kok (1985). In a sense, their studies are comparable to de Kok's (1985): although extensively detailed and important on the theoretical level, they do not provide any quantitative information.<sup>11</sup> They do not discuss clitic placement in infinitival contexts.

### 5.3.6 Bekowies and McLaughlin (2020)

Bekowies and McLaughlin (2020) aim to identify the switch from CC language to non-CC language, and therefore focus on a period stretching from the late 1650s to the late 1680s. Their study provides an impressive amount of constructions for the period, and they certainly capture an important decrease of CC. Moreover, they note a diatopic evolution: CC seems to have been retained longer in the south, where the language was in contact with Occitan. Although they find a decrease in the frequency of CC, they do not introduce any information regarding its definite loss. Their study is nonetheless an interesting expansion of Martineau's (1990).

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<sup>11</sup>I acknowledge Paul Hirschbühler for bringing to my attention that the recent rise of quantitative studies in historical linguistics is also dependent on earlier qualitative studies. Before looking at frequencies of phenomena, it was necessary to define them grammatically. Furthermore, the preponderant use of literary documents in diachronic studies allowed scholars and literature teachers to read them. We can consider that studies such as the ones reviewed here prepared the ground for quantitative studies.

## 5.4 New direction and research questions

Building on the studies presented above, the aim of the present work is to understand the diachrony of the position of clitics that are the complement of an infinitive in French. We have seen that, despite 50 years of intensive research, this is a context that has never been studied in its entirety: until now, authors have selected short periods to analyse, often with the aim of documenting one phenomenon at the exclusion of others. Nevertheless, there is diachronic and crosslinguistic evidence that significant changes took place. In order to investigate them, the present study proposes a qualitative discussion within a quantitative framework. The main goals are to:

1. Study the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives in French.
2. Produce a quantitative analysis based on unexplored texts.
3. Provide a theoretical analysis for each construction.
4. Discuss the reason behind each diachronic development and link it to other changes in the language.

The core questions that will drive the investigation are:

1. In which context(s) do we find clitic climbing? When and why was it lost?
2. There are examples of proclisis and enclisis in the literature: Were the two orderings in competition from the beginning? How did they interact with clitic climbing? When did proclisis become the primary ordering?
3. The above questions lead to the following: Why is proclisis the only option with ModF infinitives, given that earlier periods give evidence of a different grammar?

## 5.5 Language resources for historical purposes

### 5.5.1 Background

Inherently, the present scrutiny can resort to neither recordings nor interviews of native speakers. The only type of material that can be dissected in historical linguistics is of a textual nature, which leads to two main issues: first, it has been widely observed that the choice of a certain register over another shapes the results of the investigation (I will discuss examples in section 5.5.2). For instance, the syntax of a poem will offer different perspectives on the language than the syntax of a recipe. Secondly, the written language often retains archaisms that are not found in the oral tongue. Consequently, I argue that building a corpus with non-literary material may lead to findings that reflect spoken registers more.

Although literary documents are found in quantity, recent diachronic studies challenge their selection for linguistic purposes. In opposition, the use of non-literary texts is considered to countervail issues that emerge from using literary pieces. Based on other studies, I argue below that legal and epistolary documents are well-suited for diachronic work, and I will pursue our argumentation with a brief historical review of medieval French legal documents. Eventually, I will fall in line with previous studies that identify legal material as a novel and relevant register for the study of OF and MidF in particular.

### 5.5.2 Issues with literary texts

Medieval France has produced a sizeable array of texts that allows researchers to carry out studies of the language history. The productivity of medieval scribes can

be illustrated with the online corpus FRANTEXT<sup>12</sup>, in which 29 texts of considerable lengths are available for the sole period of 1100-1199. Unlike other languages that do not enjoy a long tradition of writing, the tangible linguistic heritage French has at its disposal is significant enough to study the diachrony of clitic placement. There is no particular obstacle to accessing texts from the OF period.

Selecting literary material however might not accurately represent a language: effects of register have been shown conclusively in a number of studies. In her discussion on the loss of V2 and pro-drop in Medieval French, Adams (1987) points out the limits of her study, since literary writers from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries intertwine the *old system*, i.e. the norm from the previous centuries, with their contemporary one, which produces occurrences of archaic forms.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the literary language is dependent on a series of factors that creates a significant distortion not suitable for the study of the evolution of the language.

Koch and Oesterreicher (1985) oppose the notions of *Mündlichkeit* ‘the oral form’ and *Schriftlichkeit* ‘the written form’. In early studies of languages, little attention was brought to those notions; the emphasis was on identifying the main parameters of the system. It is once the key features of a language are established that one can narrow down the research by adjusting the methods of investigation.

In the last two decades, a new trend has strengthened in historical linguistics with the creation of non-literary corpora. As pointed out by Kytö (2019: 137), who

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<sup>12</sup><https://www.frantext.fr>

<sup>13</sup>Adams (1987: 27) writes ‘We do not know exactly how long it took for demographic uniformity to be attained because of the conservative lag between the written and the spoken language and because of the selectivity of historical data. Null subjects and V2 effects coexist in the written language with the new system for a time, but become increasingly restricted to formal, frozen, and archaic contexts. Fourteenth and 15th century writers were close enough to the old system and to the new to manipulate them both in their writing, hence the coexistence at this time of both the OF order, XV(S), and the new, (X)SV.’

discusses the creation of corpora in empirical studies, data primarily represent the register and genre of a text. She points out that literary genres have a significant impact on the results of a corpus study (e.g. verse texts do not use the same language as prose). In order to satisfy consistent results in her study of Old Russian, Le Feuvre (2008) uses data extracted from birch bark manuscripts found in Novgorod, Russia. The documents she uses are non-literary, which allows her to separate literary constructions from non-literary ones and to contrast her findings with those from earlier research based on chronicles. The purpose of using non-literary texts can also be illustrated in the study of Diez Del Corral Areta (2011) who, in order to counter the influence of stylisation in Medieval Spanish, uses a corpus of witness declarations and letters, with the aim of studying the *inmediatez comunicativa* ‘the immediacy of communication’. The benefit of this selection is that the language studied is closer to what the vernacular was at the time (and presumably, literary texts will show changes later, I return to this point below). Along the same lines, Stolk (2015) uses non-literary papyri to study case variation in post-Classical Greek, on the grounds that they do not undergo linguistic normalisation and modernisation as literature does. The idea that literature is somewhat constructed is also highlighted in Balon and Larrivéé’s (2016) study, in which they argue that, unlike the vernacular which is the first linguistic form acquired, the *pratique normée* ‘standardised practice’ consists of constructions that do not necessarily exist in the spoken language (e.g. the double negation *ne ... pas* is a construction that remains valid in written French whereas *pas* alone suffices in spoken French). They apply this idea to historical linguistics and suppose that the gap between colloquial French and the written norm was already present in the Middle Ages.

In the present study, I will adopt the methodology of Balon and Larrivéé (2016). Their study suggests that the loss of pro-drop is anterior in legal documents: whilst in literary documents, pro-drop becomes optional in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and sporadic in the

15<sup>th</sup> century, their findings show that, in legal documents, pro-drop is in minority in the 12<sup>th</sup> century already and disappears during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Their investigation exposes a three-hundred-year difference in the diachrony of the language, suggesting that pro-drop was not part of the grammar anymore when it was still regarded as the written norm. Such findings, amongst others, emphasise the necessity to reassess the use of literary documents for historical work. The present research follows the material choice introduced above in order to shed a new light on the study of clitics in OF and to contrast the findings of the studies discussed in section 5.3.

### 5.5.3 Legal documents in Medieval France

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the legal framework shifted from being predominantly written in Latin, a language not spoken anymore, to French, in order to be understood by all and particularly by people lacking literacy. Nevertheless, we will see in this section that some regions had already started using French from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The *Serments de Strasbourg* in 842 are a good example of the necessity to use the vernacular language over Latin - the latter remains the written standard even after it is not effectively spoken anymore. This document is part of a larger book written by Nithard, one of Charlemagne's grandsons, who narrates the oaths taken by his two cousins, also grandsons of Charlemagne. The book, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, is written in Latin, and Nithard relates the political history of his grandfather, uncle and cousins. He exposes the day Louis II the German and Charles II the Bald promised each other to form an alliance against their brother Lothair I. Nithard ensures that, despite his Latin narration, the oath taken by Louis II the German is directly transcribed from the oral *romana lingua* 'roman tongue'. The contrast between Latin and *romana lingua* illustrates that, as early as 842, the population of Northern France does not speak Latin anymore. Thus, the first French text identified

is a legal document. A few centuries more will nonetheless be necessary for the legislation to abandon Latin completely.

Gradually from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century on, the French language is implemented in legal documents: sporadically at first, until it becomes the official language in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, when in 1539 François I enacts the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*, an order that gives French its status of official language for public documents in the Kingdom of France.<sup>14</sup>

Although it is not before the 16<sup>th</sup> century that French becomes the official language, Normandy in the Middle Ages is a dynamic region and proves to be precursory with its first legal text written in French dating back from 1150. There is however, and to the best of my knowledge, a gap between the *Serments de Strasbourg* in 842 and the *Leis Willelme* in 1150: during the three centuries that separate the two texts, there is no legal material available in French.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of the lack of material for periods anterior to 1150, legal texts are a valuable source for studying the history of a language. The following section illustrates

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<sup>14</sup>This order foretells the linguistic unification of the country that takes place in the centuries that follow. From the French Revolution of 1789 on, France has put a lot of efforts into the eradication of *patois*. This began notably with the *Rapport Grégoire* (Grégoire, 1794), a report presented to the newly established French Government with the aim of getting rid of the different languages of France (which were not considered as ‘languages’, as they were thought too incoherent), and the process was strengthened through the free and compulsory education system established in 1881.

<sup>15</sup>According to Lodge (1993: 106), learning to write during the Middle Ages ultimately meant learning to write Latin. There are a few texts written in OF between 842 and 1150 that I do not mention here, for they are literary pieces (the earliest one is the *Canticle of Saint Eulalia*, a poem written in ca. 880.). ‘French’ entered the writing system through literature and poems and reached the law around the 13<sup>th</sup> century, whereas Occitan in the south had been used for legal matters for two centuries already. Lodge (1993: 108) makes an interesting point in stating that using Latin may have served as a political means to keep distinct groups apart in a secular society (the literate aristocracy *contra* the illiterate people).



why using French over Latin became necessary, and it highlights the motivations for choosing the legal register for the purposes of our investigation.

#### 5.5.4 Document purpose

As Latin had become unintelligible, the laws established by the duchy needed some update. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century on, the vernacular began to infiltrate official documents. The use of *françoys* ‘French’ is explicitly justified in the Norman text *Le Grant Coustumier du pays et duché de Normendie*<sup>16</sup> written in 1534 by Guillaume Le Rouillé, a legal scholar. The monograph starts with the following:

*Le grant Coustumier du pays et duche de Normendie trefutile et profittable a tous practiciens. Lequel est le texte diceluy en francoys proportiōne a lequipolent de la glofe ordinaire et familiale.*

My translation:

*The great Customs of the country and duchy of Normandy are very useful and profitable to all professionals. The aforementioned text is in French, proportional to the equivalence of the ordinary and familiar language.*

The objectives of the document are clear: the language must be intelligible and understood by all, therefore the ‘ordinary’ and ‘familiar’ language shall be used. The latter is explicitly referred to as *françoys*; unsurprisingly, this is only five years before François I enacts the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*. The relevance of using this

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<sup>16</sup><https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9107313w/f6.item>

type of material is evidenced in this extract, and there is no apparent reason to believe that it does not apply to other texts of the same register.

### 5.5.5 Linguistic interest

The choice of investigating deeds over literature is motivated by the fact that the former is stylised to a much lesser degree than the latter, on the grounds that its objectives are to be efficient and straightforward. Also, timing is an important consideration: it is more likely that legal texts reflect more promptly the language of the time rather than literature (see Balon and Larrivée, 2016 who find that the loss of pro-drop takes place earlier in legal texts than in literature). Evidently, there is room to object as for the veracity of legal French as the everyday language of the street: there must be a degree of stylisation in this register too, as there were no native speakers of legal Medieval French.

In the last ten years, the subfield of Laws & Corpus Linguistics has gained in popularity for the reasons outlined above, i.e. they are more representative than literary texts. Examples for the English language include LAWCORPUS<sup>17</sup>, a set of both synchronic and diachronic corpora developed by Brigham Young University; and an example of epistolary set of data, the CORPUS OF EARLY ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE<sup>18</sup>, compiled by the University of Helsinki. For French, the undergoing creation of a legal corpus is led by the Laboratoire CRISCO at the Université de Caen, with the PROJET CONDÉ<sup>19</sup>. The latter gathers legal documents from Normandy. The region of Poitou also has a corpus of legal texts, the ACTES ROYAUX DU POITOU<sup>20</sup>, which is assembled by the École Nationale des Chartes with the support of the Con-

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<sup>17</sup><https://lawcorpus.byu.edu>

<sup>18</sup><http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/CEEC/index.html>

<sup>19</sup><https://conde.hypotheses.org>

<sup>20</sup><http://corpus.enc.sorbonne.fr/actesroyauxdupoitou/>

sortium Sources Médiévales (COSME). The development of this subfield and all these corpora are evidence that the choice made here is relevant.

One could add other corpora to the list: the nascent interest for this type of material is motivated by the taking in consideration of the importance of *intra* and *extra* linguistic features of a text. According to Kytö (2019: 137), '[m]ost researchers are aware that in empirical studies the generalizability of their results largely depends on the register(s) or genres their data represent'. She points out that historical linguists can either collect a group of texts from several registers or limit their corpus to one register. The former method expects to represent the entire language, and it undoubtedly evidences general trends of development (although there is a consensus that literary material should be avoided). On the other hand, the single-register method offers a more consistent glimpse of the language, as it takes into consideration factors specific to the register which may impact the results. The present work opts for the single-register method. Historical linguistic studies anterior to the 1990s principally follow the example-based approach, which illustrates grammatical constructions that can be found during specific periods of the chronology of a language. This process has been objected to describe a fairly hazardous approach, and there has since been a will to represent linguistic evolution more accurately: in the last three decades or so, diachronic studies in corpus linguistics count grammatical constructions in order to establish and account for evolutive and regressive patterns (de Andrade, 2010*b*; Scrivner, 2015; Balon and Larrivée, 2016; Haeberli and Ihsane, 2016).

## 5.6 Corpus linguistics

### 5.6.1 A probabilistic approach

This research aims to present a probabilistic and data-driven model of the language in relation to clitic placement, whence the constitution of a corpus. The development of IT tools in the 1960s has increased the popularity of corpus studies (Jenset and McGillivray, 2017). Their use is motivated by the aim to provide a study of recurring constructions in the language in exploring their use in natural texts. In order to do so, a corpus must contain texts with a high number of words: indeed, small amounts of data have proven to be problematic as they can lead to insignificant results (Rasinger, 2013). We can define a ‘small amount of data’ as a sample that has too few tokens to expose the full variation (Jenset and McGillivray, 2017: 87). In other words, the larger the corpus is, the more chances we have to reveal the patterns of the language.

Biber et al. (1998: 4) propose four essential characteristics offered by a corpus analysis:

1. The analysis is empirical as it focuses on patterns in natural texts;
2. The corpus provides a large pool of information;
3. It uses IT tools in combining automatic and interactive techniques;
4. It depends on mixed methods, i.e. it brings together a quantitative framework and a qualitative analysis.

Regarding that last point, Biber et al. (1998) insist that quantifying a pattern is central to the understanding of a particular structure in a language; and according to Jenset and McGillivray (2017: 154), the benefits of a quantitative framework in corpus linguistics are:

- Data transparency;
- Data quality, efficiency and information about frequency;
- Information about context.

Transparency will be ensured here since each step of the research project is presented so as to be reproducible. Information about frequency and context will be given to understand how many times the clitic is in a certain position and how this number interacts with a certain context.

### 5.6.2 A mixed-methods study

Using corpus linguistics as a methodology does not mean that the study should be only quantitative (Biber et al., 1998): the inspection of the findings through a qualitative lens completes the analysis. Also, and as the discussion on register choices showed, a corpus conveys extra-linguistic information that cannot be taken into account with quantitative tools (Jenset and McGillivray, 2017).

I followed the guidance introduced by Biber et al. (1998: 6), who differentiate linguistic associations (i.e. lexical and grammatical associations) from non-linguistic ones (i.e. registers, dialects and time periods). The present study acknowledges the two: it scrutinises clitic placements and discusses them within the context of the register. The procedure used here is presented and discussed in detail in sections 5.7.4 and 5.7.5 - yet before reviewing further methodological choices, the following section introduces the corpus.

### 5.6.3 Corpus description

The standardisation of French started during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is thus expected that data from the OF period show some variation. This research aims to use a consistent

set of texts in order to focus on chronological evolution rather than geographical variation. In order to countervail dialectal variation, the corpus constituted here mostly brings together texts from Normandy.<sup>21</sup> The latter was a vibrant region during the Middle Ages and has the longest tradition of writing for legal purposes in the *Oïl* area. As one of the main aims of the study is to collect a large number of occurrences, a few texts from neighbouring regions have been added in order to augment the number of clitics in infinitival contexts. Table 5.2 presents the texts of the corpus, most of which have never been explored.<sup>22,23</sup> Apart from *Le roman de Brut*, and to the best of my knowledge, none have been explored with regards to clitic placement. Thus, this corpus ensures a fresh look at clitics.

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<sup>21</sup>The dialect used in Normandy is not considered as *standard Old French*, and it would be rather challenging to claim what the standard language was. We can nonetheless cite Lodge (1993: 98), who states that the language that was perceived with the highest prestige from the 12<sup>th</sup> onwards was the one spoken by the King's court, i.e. Parisian French.

<sup>22</sup>The Table is divided in three, from top to bottom: OF, MidF and early ModF.

<sup>23</sup>The corpus is mainly composed of texts from Normandy. There are exceptions: the *Actes de Ferri III* are from the Lorraine region in the North East, the CORPUS PHILIPPICUM brings together texts from northern regions and the *Actes Royaux du Poitou* from the Poitou region, at the south of the Loire. Significant variation in the findings will be indicated.

Text / Corpus	Period	Register	Words	Clitics
Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant	1150	Laws	3,205	18
Le roman de Brut	1155	Verse	15,637	55
SCRIPTA 1	1154-1189	Legal & epistolary	2,580	8
SCRIPTA 2	1208-1265	Legal & epistolary	2,669	7
Établissements et Coutumes	1207-1270	Acts	23,718	101
Actes de Ferri III	1251-1303	Acts	166,807	349
Corpus Philippicum	1272-1299	Legal reports	29,026	53
SCRIPTA 3	1277-1294	Legal & epistolary	15,228	24
Grand Coutumier	1300	Customs	60,507	427
Actes Royaux du Poitou	1302-1341	Legal letters	31,530	108
Mortemer	1320-1321	Treaty	11,530	15
Actes Normands (P. de Valois)	1328-1350	Acts	5,464	17
Lettres de rémission	1357-1360	Letters	19,901	80
Actes de la Chancellerie d'H. VI	1422-1435	Acts	63,978	269
Rouillé	1539	Customs	54,599	289
Terrien	1578	Customs	57,067	270
Bérault	1614	Customs	62,245	363
Basnage	1678	Customs	58,990	350
Merville	1731	Custom decisions	48,671	282
Pesnelle	1771	Customs	63,602	350
Pannier	1856	Custom comments	16,878	114
<b>Total</b>	<b>700 years</b>		<b>813,832</b>	<b>3,549</b>

Table 5.2: Corpus

This corpus is composed of legal material under the form of oaths, acts, customs,

letters and reports (see Appendix A for full references). An exception has been made: *Le Roman de Brut*. This verse text was written in 1155 by Wace. The choice to add a text in verse was motivated by the lack of data for the 12<sup>th</sup> century: the *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant* are short and contain a low number of clitics; in order to have a corpus as homogeneous as possible in terms of quantity, *Le Roman de Brut* was added here since it covers the period of the *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant* and was also written in Norman. The expectations were that clitic placement in the verse text would confirm the frequency attested in the laws, at least to a certain degree.

All the texts have been digitally transcribed prior scrutiny: whilst the Université de Caen is currently building up the CONDÉ corpus, the team shared texts with me after transcribing them digitally.<sup>24</sup> The online corpus SCRIPTA<sup>25,26</sup>, also handled by the Université de Caen, offers approximately 10,000 charters from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Although it covers early periods, the oldest text written in French in this database was composed in 1154, since all anterior material was written in Latin. From SCRIPTA, only the earliest material available in French until 1294 has been selected. The CORPUS PHILIPPICUM<sup>27</sup> and the text *Actes de Ferri III*<sup>28</sup> provided the study with enough sentences to analyse for the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. CORPUS PHILIPPICUM is a corpus composed of reports from different regions of Northern France. Although it is not Normandy specific, this corpus has the benefit of being

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<sup>24</sup>I would like to thank the team of the Projet ConDÉ, particularly Pierre Larrivée and Mathieu Goux, for sharing the following texts with me: *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant*, *Établissements et Coutumes*, *Grand Coutumier*, *Mortemer*, *Actes Normands sous Philippe de Valois*, *Lettres de rémission*, *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, *Rouillé*, *Terrien*, *Bérault*, *Basnage*, *Merville*, *Pesnelle*, and *Pannier*.

<sup>25</sup><https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/>

<sup>26</sup>The material from SCRIPTA has been divided into three groups in order to allocate the periods appropriately.

<sup>27</sup><http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/collections/show/1>

<sup>28</sup><http://www2.atilf.fr/dmf/ActesFerriIII>



large and augmenting the chances to raise occurrences of clitics in infinitival contexts. Similarly, the text *Actes de Ferri III* and the corpus ACTES ROYAUX DU POITOU are not from Normandy, yet they replenish the corpus by adding a large number of words and once again, ensuring that clitics would be found. Substantial difference in these two texts are discussed with regards to their origin.<sup>29</sup> To summarise, the approach adopted to creating a corpus was mixed: it is primarily genre-specific, as legal texts tend to be more representative, but when there are not enough data for a period the corpus was enhanced with other register (i.e. the 12<sup>th</sup> century).

## 5.7 Research design

### 5.7.1 Pronouns under study

Table 5.3 presents the OF pronominal paradigm. OF pronouns are usually presented as clitics *vs.* strong pronouns, and clitics are traditionally divided into two groups: proclitic *vs.* enclitic.<sup>30</sup> When enclitic, the first and second singular persons as well as the third person reflexive show syncretism with their strong counterparts: the *-oi* forms (*moi, toi, soi*) (Einhorn, 1974; de Kok, 1985; Pearce, 1990). Before investigating the corpus, the forms that display syncretism must be addressed. The data collection is based on this Table and occurrences of the *-oi* forms were raised when they corresponded to the enclitic pattern.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>I have not been able to locate studies that compare OF varieties and the literature available on the matter seems to account only for a phonological disparity. Unless the texts and corpora analysed here exhibited significantly different patterns, the analysis did not include regional variation.

<sup>30</sup>Some studies opt for *atone* and *tonic* instead, whereas the francophone literature traditionally labels them *conjoint* ‘conjoined’ and *disjoint* ‘disjoined’.

<sup>31</sup>Preliminary analysis shows that some pronouns display a strong morphology yet occupy a position usually occupied by a clitic. They have also been included in the data collection. Occurrences of genuine strong forms complement of an infinitive were otherwise not counted.

As discussed in section 4.3, there are interesting cases of syncretism across the paradigm: all forms ending in *-oi* are identical for enclitic and strong pronouns, whereas the third person does not change whether it is proclitic or enclitic (and it differs from strong pronouns). *Nos*, *vos*, *en* and *y* always keep the same form (although spelling varies from one text to the other).

	Person	Proclitic	Enclitic	Strong pronoun
<b>Singular</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	me	moi	moi
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	te	toi	toi
	3 <sup>rd</sup> ACC MASC.	le	le	lui
	3 <sup>rd</sup> ACC FEM.	la	la	li
	3 <sup>rd</sup> DAT	li	li	lui MASC. / li FEM.
<b>Plural</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	nos	nos	nos
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	vos	vos	vos
	3 <sup>rd</sup> ACC	les	les	eus MASC. / elles FEM.
	3 <sup>rd</sup> DAT	lor	lor	eus MASC. / elles FEM.
<b>Reflexive</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	se	soi	soi
<b>Genitive</b>		en	en	-
<b>Locative</b>		y	y	-

Table 5.3: Old French pronominal paradigm

### 5.7.2 Spelling variation and exceptions

Unlike ModF, the medieval language did not always follow a well-defined orthography and spelling varied a lot. This has been taken into account and additional manual searches have been conducted with the following forms in order not to avoid any pronominal argument:

- ME/M'
- TE/T'
- LE/LO(U)/L'
- LUI/LUY
- NO(U)S
- VO(U)S
- MOI/MOY/MEI
- TOI/TOY/TEI
- SOI/SOY/SEI
- EUS/EUX/ELS
- EN/ENT/AN
- Y/I

Although ambiguous, *lui* has been included as it became a clitic during the MidF period (de Kok, 1985). Additionally, constructions where the pronoun phonologically cliticises on the negation *ne* have been included:

- NEL (NE+LE)
- NES (NE+LES)
- NEN, NAN (NE+EN;AN)
- NI, NY (NE+I;Y)

### 5.7.3 Targeted constructions

The first step in this data collection was to locate clitics that are complement of an infinitive. This did not necessarily mean clitics that cliticise on the infinitive since, for instance, CC allows the complement of an infinitive to cliticise on the main verb.

Three main orderings were originally targeted - exemplified below with French (167), Italian (168) and Catalan (169):

- **Proclisis** [CLITIC V<sub>INF</sub>]

- (167) *Je veux le voir.* [Modern French]  
 I want.PRS.1SG him see.INF  
 ‘I want to see him.’

- **Enclisis** [V<sub>INF</sub> CLITIC]

- (168) *Voglio vederlo.* [Standard Italian]  
 want.PRS.1SG see.INF-him  
 ‘I want to see him.’

- **Clitic climbing** [CLITIC V<sub>FIN</sub> V<sub>INF</sub>]

- (169) *El vull veure.* [Catalan]  
 him want.PRS.1SG see.INF  
 ‘I want to see him.’

Preliminary analysis indicated that the situation was in reality more complex and other constructions existed that also needed to be analysed. We will come back to this in sections 6.2.11 and 7.2.1.5 (where the infinitive precedes the clitic and the main verb, in this order) and section 7.4 (where intervening elements appear between the clitic and the verb, in this order). A second, broader, data collection focused on clitic complements of infinitives that found a host in either of the following domains:

- **General domain of the infinitive**, i.e. the semantic complement of the infinitive cliticises in the domain of the infinitive.
- **General domain of the main verb**, i.e. the semantic complement of the infinitive cliticises in the domain of the main verb.

This choice permitted the research to include every possible construction for subsequent analysis. Unfortunately, the texts investigated here are not integrated in searchable corpora designed for linguistics purposes. Therefore, an automatic and searchable corpus had to be set up specifically for the intent of the study, which I expose below.

#### 5.7.4 Data extraction

The present study seeks to provide strong evidence with references to quantity and frequency, which meant to determinate a time effective and accessible way to gather and annotate a sufficient amount of data and satisfy our objectives. Some texts are considerably long and could not be searched in their entirety within the timeframe of the project: the first 200 pages or so were thus selected. Each time, this provided the study with a decent amount of constructions to analyse.<sup>32</sup>

Whilst annotating data is discussed in the upcoming section, gathering data was conducted with the corpus analysis toolkit AntConc (Anthony, 2019). This software was chosen for its straightforwardness and its capacity to analyse objects at a large scale. With AntConc, I identified every sentence in which an item corresponding to the orthographies presented in Table 5.3 was present (and other known orthographies,

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<sup>32</sup>The texts for which I investigated the first 200 pages allowed the data collection to gather a minimum of 269 cliticisation phenomena and a maximum of 363 per text. This amount of constructions was deemed sufficient to produce a quantitative analysis. These numbers are higher than what is found in other texts.

see lists in section 5.7.2). This ensured the extraction of every sentence that contained a clitic. Once clitic complements of an infinitive were filtered, the output produced by AntConc was transferred into another digital tool for further annotating and labelling - which consequently led to more frequency outputs.

### 5.7.5 Corpus annotation

Once taken out, the raw data were virtually heavy and unmanageable. In other words, they needed to be refined before being handled any further. The large amount of clauses containing cliticisation were thus entered into NVivo (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2020) and manually labelled between March 2020 and September 2020. NVivo might not be designed for linguistics research *per se*, nonetheless it offers the possibility to import raw data for advanced qualitative analysis. It does not only offer qualitative annotating, but it also provides the frequency for each construction. This does not mean, however, that this mixed-methods tool could have been sufficient on its own: since the annotation must be manual and done sentence by sentence, the additional use of AntConc was necessary in the first place to obliterate all sentences that did not contain any clitic.

Inherently, the manual review of the extracted data led to the elimination of clauses that contained clitics yet did not enter the scope of the study. This naturally concerned finite contexts, yet some infinitival contexts were also excluded. I discuss this below.

## 5.8 Exclusions

### 5.8.1 Causatives

#### 5.8.1.1 Construction

Causative constructions show a lot of crosslinguistic variation: Dixon (2000: 30) defines them as ‘[a construction that] involves the specification of an additional argument, a causer, onto a basic clause’.<sup>33</sup> For Romance, the pioneering study of Kayne (1975) has focused on causative verbs *faire* ‘make’ and *laisser* ‘let’, which allow CC in ModF (170), unlike other verbs. The subject of the embedded infinitive in a French/Italian causative construction is post-verbal if lexical (170a) and climbs if pronominal (170b). At first sight, this construction is similar to CC with restructuring predicates.

- (170) a. *Marie fait boire Jean.* [Modern French]  
 Marie make.PRS.3SG drink.INF Jean  
 ‘Marie makes Jean drink.’
- b. *Marie le fait boire.*  
 Marie him.ACC make.PRS.3SG drink.INF  
 ‘Marie makes him drink.’

The study of causatives, and more particularly *faire-infinitive* constructions, has led to further analysis of the diachrony of French (Pearce, 1990), but also synchronic analyses of Romance languages (Burzio, 1986; Guasti, 1993, 1996; Cinque, 2003, 2004, 2006; Harley and Folli, 2007; Schifano and Sheehan, 2018) and studies on clitic placement in such contexts (Kayne, 1975; Roberts, 2010). The *faire-infinitive* is called so since, unlike other main verbs, *faire* (and its Italian equivalent *fare*) can only select

<sup>33</sup>In Romance, causative constructions involve a series of two verbs: *make X do Y*, or *cause X to do Y*. Other languages (e.g. Javanese, Lithuanian, Georgian...) resort to morphophonological mechanisms, such as affixation, reduplication or vowel change (Dixon, 2000: 34).

an infinitival complement (it cannot select a subjunctive, or clauses introduced by a complementiser). The aim of this section is to define causative constructions and to show why they do not enter the focus of our study.

The morphology of the clitic in (170b) indicates that the subject is marked with accusative. When the infinitive selects an object, the situation changes: the semantic subject (in bold) of the embedded infinitive is introduced by the dative marker *à* (171), and the position it occupied in (170a) is now occupied by the direct object (underlined) of the infinitive.

- (171) *Elle fera manger ce gâteau à Jean.* [Modern French]  
 she make.FUT.3SG eat.INF this cake to Jean  
 ‘She will make Jean eat this cake.’ (Kayne 1975: 269)

When one of the arguments of the infinitive is replaced by a clitic, it must climb to the main verb: see (172a) for the object (accusative) and (172b) for the subject (dative). When the two arguments are clitics, they climb to the main verb together (172c).

- (172) a. *Elle le fera manger à Jean.* [Modern French]  
 she it.ACC make.FUT.3SG eat.INF to Jean  
 ‘She will make Jean eat it.’
- b. *Elle lui fera manger ce gâteau.*  
 she him.DAT make.FUT.3SG eat.INF this cake  
 ‘She will make him eat this cake.’
- c. *Elle le lui fera manger.*  
 she it.ACC him.DAT make.FUT.3SG eat.INF  
 ‘She will make him eat it.’ (Kayne 1975: 269)

In causative contexts, none of the arguments of the infinitive can stay within its domain when they cliticise.



5.8.1.2 Causatives *vs.* restructuring predicates

Leaving clitic placement aside for the time being, there is evidence that causative constructions and restructuring predicates differ. In causative constructions, the embedded subject is not bound by the subject of the main clause and it is necessarily overt.

- (173) *Marie fait courir Jean.* [French]  
 Marie make.PRS.3SG run.INF Jean  
 ‘Marie makes Jean run.’

In restructuring constructions, the embedded subject is necessarily PRO and it is bound by the subject of the main clause.

- (174) *Maria<sub>i</sub> vuole PRO<sub>i</sub> vedere Gianni.* [Italian]  
 Maria want.PRS.3SG see.INF Gianni  
 ‘Maria wants to see Gianni.’

Although climbing of the clitic object in (172a) is similar to what we observe in restructuring contexts, the two contexts show different constraints. For instance, Cinque (2004, 2006) notes that causative verbs can be passivised but cannot embed a passive (see also Rizzi, 1982). This leads him to claim that they position below Voice<sup>0</sup> in a cartographic hierarchy (175).

- (175) ... Voice<sup>0</sup> > Perception<sup>0</sup> > Causative<sup>0</sup> > Asp<sub>inceptive(II)</sub> / (Asp<sub>continuative(II)</sub> > Andative<sup>0</sup> > Asp<sub>completive(II)</sub>) (Cinque, 2006: 76)

Cinque (2003, 2004, 2006) captures that restructuring verbs (i.e. modals) cannot be embedded under a causative verb because they are not licensed by Voice<sup>0</sup>. This is illustrated in (176), where the modal *volere* ‘want’ is embedded under the causative *fare*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup>See Schifano and Sheehan (2018) for constructions where *volere* can be embedded under *fare*.

- (176) \* *La feci voler leggere a tutti.* [Italian]  
 it make.PST.1SG want.INF read.INF to everybody  
 ‘I made everybody want to read it.’ (Cinque, 2006: 72)

In the hierarchy (175), continuative and andative verbs are lower than causatives. Evidence is given that, unlike modals, they can be embedded under *fare* (177).

- (177) *Gliela fecero iniziare/cominciare a costruire.* [Italian]  
 him.DAT-it.ACC make.PST.3SG initiate.INF/begin.INF to build.INF  
 ‘They had him begin to build it.’ (Cinque, 2006: 74)

Moreover, restructuring verbs allow auxiliary switch from *avere* ‘have’ to *essere* ‘be’ in Italian, whereas causatives do not (Rizzi, 1982). The main differences between the two constructions are summarised in Table 5.4.

	Causatives	Restructuring
<b>CC of the object</b>	✓	✓
<b>Can embed a finite clause</b>	×	✓
<b>Auxiliary switch</b>	×	✓
<b>ECM subjects</b>	✓	×
<b>CC of the subject</b>	✓	×
<b>Can be passivised</b>	✓	×

Table 5.4: Causatives *vs.* restructuring predicates

There is evidence that the two constructions pattern differently. Interestingly however, they share CC of objects: obligatorily in causative constructions, but optionally with restructuring (in Italian).

Our focus is on the evolution of the placement of clitics that are the semantic object of an infinitive. Thus, I exclude sentences where the clitic that climbs is the subject. We have seen that object clitics in causative constructions climb to the main verb in ModF: this construction has not changed. Since the diachrony of causative

constructions shows no particular development with regards to clitic placement, and since the *faire-infinitive* construction is not analysed in terms of restructuring, they were not included in the study.

### 5.8.2 Perception verbs

French perception verbs like *apercevoir* ‘notice’, *écouter* ‘listen’, *entendre* ‘hear’, *regarder* ‘watch’, *sentir* ‘feel, smell’ and *voir* ‘see’ share an interesting similarity with causatives: the semantic subject of the embedded infinitive cliticises on the main verb (178b), (179b). The subject of the embedded predicate is in bold.

- (178) a. *Jean voit **Marie** manger le gâteau.* [Modern French]  
 Jean see.PRS.3SG Marie eat.INF the cake  
 ‘Jean sees Marie eat the cake.’
- b. *Jean **la** voit manger le gâteau.*  
 Jean her.ACC see.PRS.3SG eat.INF the cake  
 ‘Jean sees her eat the cake.’ (Rowlett 2007: 116)

The object of the infinitive however must remain in the embedded clause (179a), even when the subject climbs (179b). The object of the embedded infinitive is underlined.

- (179) a. *Jean voit **Marie** le manger.* [Modern French]  
 Jean see.PRS.3SG Marie it.ACC eat.INF  
 ‘Jean sees Marie eat it.’
- b. *Jean **la** voit le manger.*  
 Jean her.ACC see.PRS.3SG it.ACC eat.INF  
 ‘Jean sees her eat it.’ (Rowlett 2007: 116)

Unlike with causative constructions, the object of the infinitive cannot climb to the finite verb. I have thus excluded instances of (178b), which show CC of the semantic subject. Instances of the construction in (179), on the other hand, have been included since a clitic object of the infinitive cliticises on the infinitive.

This concludes the presentation of the methodology and I will now briefly present the findings before discussing them in detail in Chapters 6 (OF) and 7 (MidF and early ModF).

## 5.9 Findings

3 541 cases of cliticisation have been extracted and three main orderings have been identified: proclisis, enclisis and clitic climbing. Figure 5.2 shows the findings for each century, and Table 5.5 gives the breakdown for each text and each ordering without regards to periods of the French language ( $n = \text{absolute number}$ ).



Figure 5.2: Clitic placement in all infinitival clauses (percentage per century)

Text/corpus		Date	Proclisis <i>n</i>	Enclisis <i>n</i>	Climbing <i>n</i>	Total <i>n</i>
#1	Lois de Guillaume	1150	0	2	16	18
#2	Roman de Brut	1155	0	3	52	55
#3	SCRIPTA 1	1154-1189	6	0	2	8
#4	SCRIPTA 2	1208-1265	1	2	4	7
#5	Ét. et Coutumes	1207-1270	0	30	71	101
#6	Actes de Ferri III	1251-1303	6	0	343	349
#7	Corpus Philippicum	1272-1299	8	10	35	53
#8	SCRIPTA 3	1277-1294	0	8	16	24
#9	Grand Coutumier	1300	3	127	297	427
#10	Actes Royaux du P.	1302-1341	46	2	60	108
#11	Mortemer	1320-1321	1	4	10	15
#12	Actes Normands	1328-1350	4	2	11	17
#13	Lettres de Rémission	1357-1360	31	0	49	80
#14	Actes de la C. d’H.VI	1422-1435	137	0	132	269
#15	Rouillé	1539	71	0	218	289
#16	Terrien	1578	172	0	98	270
#17	Bérault	1614	195	0	168	363
#18	Basnage	1678	294	0	56	350
#19	Merville	1731	238	0	44	282
#20	Pesnelle	1771	235	0	115	350
#21	Pannier	1856	114	0	0	114

Table 5.5: Dataset

Enclisis is present in the earliest sources only. It is not the commonest order-

ing, yet some texts have it frequently: it is the case in *Établissement et Coutumes*, *Corpus Philippicum*, *SCRIPTA 3* and *Grand Coutumier*. By 1350, it has completely disappeared. Contrarily, proclisis is not common before 1300: the *Actes Royaux du Poitou* in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century is the first text to show a frequent use of this ordering, which becomes increasingly common from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century on. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, proclisis is the only ordering that remains. We can draw attention to the fact that the loss of enclisis and the rise of proclisis seem to take place at the same time, i.e. during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, CC is present in every text but the last one, *Pannier*. A brief descriptive analysis shows that it is the most common ordering until the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, and from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century on it decreases sharply (although this is not exactly the case in *Pesnelle*, in which CC seems to undergo a revival). It is not found anymore by the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

We have seen earlier that there is a traditional period divisions of the language as follows: Old French (842-1300), Middle French (from 1300 to the 17<sup>th</sup> century) and Modern French (from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to present days) (Lodge, 1993; Marchello-Nizia, 1995). This periodification matches with our data: enclisis is found until the early 14<sup>th</sup> century and CC decreases from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century on.

Text	Period	Proclisis		Enclisis		Climbing		Total
		<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
#1 to #9	Old French	20	<b>1.95</b>	182	<b>17.77</b>	836	<b>81.64</b>	<b>1 024</b>
#10 to #17	Middle French	657	<b>46.56</b>	8	<b>0.57</b>	746	<b>52.87</b>	<b>1 411</b>
#18 to #21	Early Modern French	881	<b>79.66</b>	0	<b>0</b>	215	<b>19.44</b>	<b>1 106</b>

Table 5.6: Findings by periods

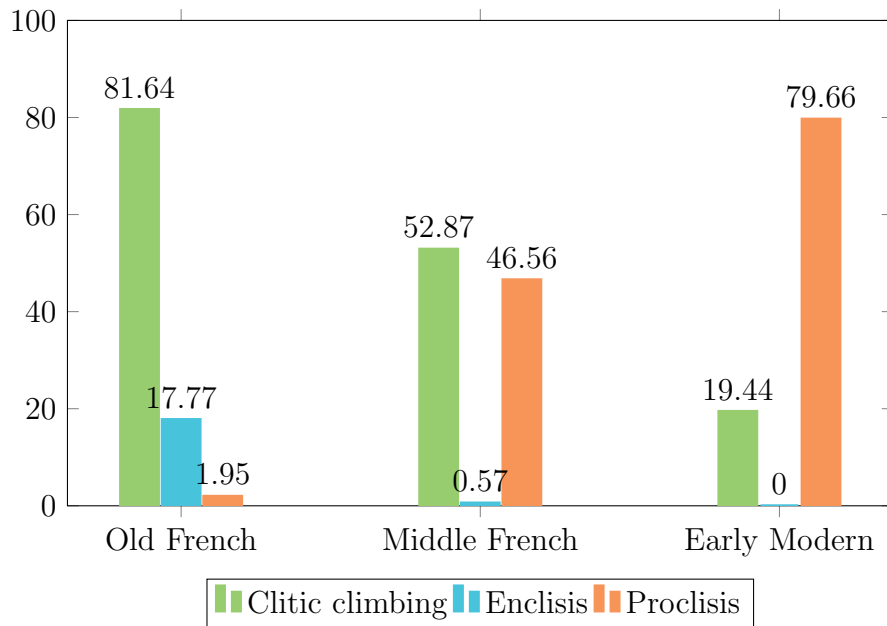


Figure 5.3: Overview of the findings

The main findings are: (i) OF is characterised by the presence of enclisis: a few occurrences remain in MidF, but we may already claim that they have become archaic. The 8 instances of enclisis in MidF are found in the three earliest texts. (ii) MidF marks the rise of proclisis. (iii) CC is common in OF and MidF, and it decreases in early ModF. From now on, I will call the last period ‘early’ ModF (henceforth, EModF), for the frequency of CC is too high to consider the language to be in its present state. Based on the data in Table 5.2, the only text that truly patterns like ModF is *Pannier*. The term ‘EModF’ will allow us to consider this period as a transition from MidF to ModF in which CC remains present though more occasionally than earlier and gradually disappears.

## 5.10 Concluding remarks

Until now, no quantitative analysis of this scale has ever been produced with focus on the complements of infinitives throughout such a period of time. Both the subject of the study and the methodology employed here are original and innovative. Following Jensen and McGillivray's (2017) essential characteristics for a successful corpus study in historical linguistics, a corpus of natural texts has been put together to access unexplored data. This corpus was designed with the objective to provide a large pool of information with regards to clitic placement in infinitival contexts and it was subsequently analysed digitally to satisfy the production of a qualitative analysis within a quantitative framework.

In order to satisfy Kytö's (2019) comments on the importance of registers, all texts are issued from the legal system, for the latter aimed to use an accessible language.<sup>35</sup> This choice is twofold: the written language under scrutiny is stylised to a lesser extent and the texts in the corpus have never been analysed for such purposes. To ensure a clear view of the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives, the corpus covers seven centuries: the earliest text dates back to 1150, whilst the latest was written in 1856.

Causatives and perception verbs have been excluded from the study on the grounds that they cannot be analysed in terms of restructuring, and the present research focuses on clitic objects.

The general trends for OF (enclisis and CC), MidF (proclisis and CC) and EModF (proclisis and less CC) have been uncovered, and we now need to go into the findings and scrutinise the data. I will start with OF in Chapter 6 and I will then discuss the findings for MidF and EModF in Chapter 7.

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<sup>35</sup>With the exception of *Le Roman de Brut*, accounted for in section 5.6.3.



# Chapter 6

## Old French

### 6.1 Introduction

This Chapter offers a thorough documentation and descriptive analysis of clitic placement with infinitives during the OF period, that is until the year 1300. In the corpus, I counted 836 occurrences of CC, 182 occurrences of enclisis and 20 occurrences of proclisis.

	<b>Clitic climbing</b>	<b>Enclisis</b>	<b>Proclisis</b>
<b>Percentage (n)</b>	80.54% (836)	17.53% (182)	1.93% (20)

Table 6.1: Clitic placement in Old French

The data given in this Chapter are descriptive and quantitative and will be characterised in atheoretical terms. Here, we will look at the patterns in detail before offering an analysis in Chapter 8 (for non-restructuring contexts) and Chapter 9 (for restructuring contexts).

Each ordering is found in specific environments: section 6.2 discusses the different contexts where CC is found, whilst section 6.3 and section 6.4 do the same for enclisis

and proclisis respectively. Section 6.5 introduces a brief summary of the general environments in which each ordering is found. Section 6.6 reports on the use of pre-infinitival strong pronouns. Section 6.7 concludes.

## 6.2 Clitic climbing

### 6.2.1 Data

CC is the main attested ordering for the period: it represents 80.54% of all constructions taken from the corpus (836/1038). In typical restructuring clauses (i.e. where the main verb is a modal or an aspectual verb), it amounts to 98.79% (818/828). Nevertheless, there are 23 instances of CC with other finite verbs (the list of which is given below), which sometimes introduce the infinitive with a subordinator. In the following subsections, the different environments in which CC is attested in our corpus are discussed.

### 6.2.2 ... $Cl_i V_{FIN} V_{INF} t_i$

As we pointed out, CC with a modal verb is attested in 818 constructions for the period: this finding is similar to Martineau's (1990) findings for MidF. This is found in other Romance languages as well: Catalan, Spanish and Standard Italian also have CC with modals (Rizzi, 1982; Hernanz and Rigau, 1984). For OF, the list of modal verbs with which CC is found in the corpus is given in (180).<sup>1</sup> The construction is

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<sup>1</sup>It is indisputably agreed that the first three are modals. We may have to justify why *saveir* 'know', *estovoir* 'be necessary' and *soloir* 'be in the habit of' are also included. For *saveir*, I follow the Italian literature (cf. Rizzi 1982 and others). Treating it as a modal is usually based on the observation that modal verbs trigger restructuring (i.e. an apparent deletion of certain phrases introducing the embedded clause). Since the Italian equivalent of *saveir* triggers restructuring effects,

exemplified from (181) to (185). The first four modals are the most frequent in the corpus: there are only 3 instances of CC with *soloir* ‘be in the habit of’, and 2 with *estouvoir* ‘be necessary’.

- (180)
- *deveir* ‘must’, e.g. (181)
  - *poeir* ‘can’, e.g. (182)
  - *voleir* ‘want’, e.g. (183)
  - *saveir* ‘to know how to’, e.g. (184)
  - *soloir* ‘to be in the habit of’, e.g. (185)
  - *estouvoir* ‘to be necessary’

- (181) *et li justice an doivent faire lou droit dou leu.*  
 and the.NOM.PL justice of-it must.PRS.3PL do.INF the right of-the place  
 ‘and the different Justices must rule according to the place they are in.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD54.B.919\_no.2 1273/03/00 1)

- (182) *et ou il le pouet faire.*  
 and where he it can.PST.3SG do.INF  
 ‘and where he could do it.’ (Corpus Philippicum, J 1034, n54)

- (183) *Bertrans ne le volt rendre.*  
 Bertran.NOM not it want.PRS.3SG render.INF  
 ‘Bertran does not want to give it back.’ (*Établissements et Coutumes*, p.43)

I take it to be a modal in French as well. Additionally, Martineau (1990: 109) exposes that in such constructions, it has the aspectual meaning of ‘be able to’, which is similar to ‘can’. Secondly, the impersonal verb *estouvoir* is included as a modal here as its meaning is very close to *deveir* ‘must’. I follow Moignet (1976: 244) who treats it as a modal. Finally, I add *soloir* in this category as well, since its meaning is purely aspectual. Like *estouvoir*, it does not exist in ModF anymore and I follow Gougenheim (1929: 270) who defines it as a modal auxiliary. A crosslinguistic comparison may be helpful as well: Cinque (2004: 139) analyses the Italian verb *solere* as a restructuring verb (see with CC *Lo soleva dire anche mio padre* ‘it my father too used to say’) and Masullo (2019) analyses the Spanish verb *soler* similarly to other modals.

- (184) *que ledit Symon se seit bien porter.*  
 that the-said Symon REFL know.PRS.3SG well behave.INF  
 ‘that the aforementioned Symon knows how to behave accordingly.’  
 (*Corpus Philippicum*, J 1034, n50)
- (185) *a ce se seolent plusors acorder*  
 to this REFL be-in-the-habit-of.PRS.3PL several agree.INF  
 ‘Several of them usually agree on this.’ (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 147)

In the corpus, CC with a main verb that is not a modal is admittedly rare: it represents a mere total of 23 constructions and 16 occurrences of which do not introduce the infinitive with a subordinator. Examples of CC with verbs from (189) are given in sentences (186) to (188).

- (186) *et que le cours le vaurra oïr.*  
 and that the tribunal.NOM it be-worth.FUT.3SG listen.INF  
 ‘and that the tribunal will accord the value of listening to it.’  
 (*Corpus Philippicum*, J 1034, n54)
- (187) *S’il en poeit vif eschaper, A Rome s’en quidot vanter.*  
 if-he of-it can.PST.3SG alive escape to Rome REFL-of-it think.PST.3SG boast.INF  
 ‘Should he survive this, he thought about going to Rome to boast about it.’  
 (*Le Roman de Brut*, 12850)
- (188) *ou se il les convient apeler a la deresne.*  
 or if it them be-suited.PRS.3SG call.INF to the justification  
 ‘or if it is suitable to call them to justify their rights.’ (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 167)

- (189)
- *convenir* ‘to be suited’: 7.
  - *valoir* ‘to be worth’: 4.
  - *aler* ‘to go’: 2.
  - *oser* ‘to dare’: 2.
  - *cuidier* ‘to think, to believe’: 1.

I compared the lists established in (180) and (189) with lists of verbs provided by Foulet (1919: 113) and Moignet (1976: 297). They do not mention *convenir* and *valoir*. I have thus turned to Martineau's (1990) study, although she analyses later texts.<sup>2</sup> The comparison remains relevant: the only verb that is present in (180) and (189) and not in her list is *estouvoir* 'be necessary', yet we might be able to explain why.<sup>3</sup> According to Mathieu (2006a: footnote 8), this verb has been replaced by *falloir* 'be needed' from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, therefore it is naturally absent from the texts studied by Martineau (1990).<sup>4</sup> Thus, all the verbs in (180) and (189) have been found with CC elsewhere in the literature. From the list, only *aler*, *oser*, *convenir* and *valoir* remain in ModF and none of them triggers CC anymore.

### 6.2.3 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> a V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

Whilst not common in our corpus, CC is also found when the infinitive is introduced by the subordinator *a*. List (190) reports on the verbs that introduce an infinitive with *a* where CC is found.<sup>5</sup> The subordinator is underlined.

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<sup>2</sup>Martineau (1990) analyses two texts written in ca. 1462 and 1505-1515 respectively.

<sup>3</sup>Martineau (1990) also finds CC with verbs that are not in (180) or (189).

<sup>4</sup>Herslund (2003) discusses the diachrony of *faillir* 'fail', and *falloir*. He claims that the two verbs share a common history and that the latter acquires a *lecture modale* 'a modal reading' during the MidF period.

<sup>5</sup>In example (193), the preposition *a* incorporates with the verb. It is not the only example in the corpus, *a*=V<sub>INF</sub> (where '=' means 'incorporates into') is actually rather frequent. It is not the case that we have to deal with *arendre* as one verb, we should analyse it as *a=rendre*. Furthermore, there is an example in the Godefroy dictionary (1880, Vol. 3 p.116) that clearly illustrates *enconvenancier a rendre*, where *a* is a genuine subordinator. See also Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) for subordinators with affixal properties and section 9.4.3 in the present work.

- (190) • *tenir a* ‘to hold, to have to’: 3.  
 • *enconvenancier a* ‘to promise’: 2.  
 • *trover a* ‘to find’: 1.  
 • *obliger a* ‘to force’: 1.
- (191) *nos li somes tenu a aidier.*  
 we him be.PRS.1PL hold.PP to help.INF  
 ‘We have to help him out.’ (Ferri III, p. AD54\_B.872\_no.8 1258/08/00 1)
- (192) *et s’il ne la trueve a vendre a Denuovre ...*  
 and if-he not it find.PRS.3SG to sell.INF in Denuovre  
 ‘And if he doesn’t find anyone to sell it (the house) to in Denuovre...’  
 (Ferri III, p. AD88\_G.61\_no.4 1301/12/00 1)
- (193) *que tu me dois por ce que tu les receus & les enconvenanchas*  
 that you me owe for this that you them receive.PST.2SG and them promise.PST.2SG  
*arendre.*  
 to-render.INF  
 ‘that you owe me, because you received them and you promised to return them.’  
 (Grand Coutumier, Seq 180)

In each case, the infinitive is introduced by *a*: this finding echoes a remark made by de Kok (1985: 224), who notes that CC is possible when the subordinator is *a* but not *de*. For the OF period, I did not find any example of CC with *de*. Nonetheless, Martineau (1990: 143) and Pearce (1990: 229) both find some counterexamples where the infinitive is introduced by *de* yet the clitic climbs. They agree that this construction is rare and Martineau’s (1990) data for MidF supports the claim: she counts 57 cases of climbing with *a* (for 107 infinitives introduced by the subordinator *a*) and 9 with *de* (for 509 infinitives introduced by the subordinator *de*). Consider example (194) from the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

- (194) *Envers le roi vos pense d'empirier.*  
 towards the king you think.PRS.3SG to-denigrate.INF  
 'In the king's opinion, he thinks to denigrate you.'

(*Le Charroi de Nîmes* 708, Pearce 1990: 229)

Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) provide quantitative evidence that a shift took place around the 16<sup>th</sup> century: verbs that selected the subordinator *a* in OF started selecting *de*. In other words, *de* does not seem to be a common subordinator in OF, which therefore reduces the chances to attest CC with it.

#### 6.2.4 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> Adv V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

There are examples of CC in the corpus with elements intervening between the main verb and the infinitive. Firstly, we find adverbs (195), (196) (the intervening adverb is underlined).

- (195) *Li cleric le poënt bien saveir*  
 the.NOM cleric.NOM.PL it can.PRS.3PL well know.INF  
 'The clerics can know this well.' (Le Roman de Brut, 13790)

- (196) *len se doit tous iors tenir as costumes*  
 one REFL must.PRS.3SG all day hold.INF to-the.PL custom.PL  
 'One should always go by the customs.' (Grand Coutumier, Seq 94)

In (195) and (196), *bien* 'well' and *tous iors* 'always' precede the infinitive and the clitic climbs to the main verb. *Tous iors* 'always' is a DP that lexicalised as an adverb. Similar instances of adjunct DPs are given in (197) and (198) with *une (autre) fois* 'once, another time'. These DPs behave like adverbs.

- (197) *il ne les porra pas autre fois noier en cort.*  
 he not them can.FUT.3SG not other time deny.INF in court  
 'He will not be able to deny them another time in court.'

(*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 289)

- (198) *ele li doit une fois estre rendue en assise.*  
 it him must.PRS.3SG one time be.INF given-back in court.  
 ‘It must be given back to him once again in court.’ (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 251)

Examples (195) to (198) show that adverbs can appear between the two verbs when the clitic climbs. This is interesting, since other Romance languages do not seem to allow it: see the Catalan example (199), in which the adverb *fàcilment* ‘easily’ is not grammatical with CC.

- (199) \* *En Pere els vol fàcilment acabar.*  
 the Peter them want.PRS.3SG easily finish.INF  
 ‘Peter wants to easily finish them.’ (de Andrade and Bok-Bennema, 2017: 8)

However in European Portuguese, the adverb *sempre* ‘always’ can intervene with CC (200). This is similar to example (196) for OF.

- (200) *Os vendedores de automóveis querem-me sempre convencer disso.*  
 the sellers of cars want.PRS.3PL-me always persuade.INF of.this  
 ‘Car sellers always want to persuade me of that.’

(de Andrade and Bok-Bennema, 2017: 8)

### 6.2.5 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> PP V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

Adverbs are not the only elements that are found to intervene in clauses with CC. There are some examples of CC with a PP located in the embedded clause (for OV and Scrambling in OF, see Zaring, 1998, 2010, 2011).

- (201) *et il le convient à cel jor meisme plédier.*  
 and it it be-suited.PRS.3SG to this day itself plead.INF  
 ‘and it is suited to plead it on that very day.’ (*Établissements et Coutumes*, p.32)

- (202) *Ne se poeit d’Arthur defendre.*  
 not REFL can.PST.3SG from-Arthur defend.INF  
 ‘He cannot defend himself from Arthur.’ (*Le Roman de Brut*, 13200)



- (203) *Larchevesque ou levesquez ne se porra suz ce excuser.*  
 the-archbishop or the-bishop not REFL can.FUT.3SG on this excuse.INF  
 ‘The archbishop or the bishop will not be able to apologise for this.’

(*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 226)

In (201), the PP is an adjunct to the verb, whereas in (202) and (203) the PPs are indirect objects of the infinitive.

### 6.2.6 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> Quantifier V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

There is one sentence where the quantifier *tut* ‘everything’, intervenes (204).

- (204) *E Modred li volt tut tolir*  
 and Modred him want.PST.3SG all seize.INF  
 ‘And Modred wanted to seize everything from him.’ (*Le Roman de Brut*, 13020)

Cinque (2002) shows that quantifiers can climb to the main verb in ModF; in the corpus, there are no sentences where both a clitic and a quantifier climb.

### 6.2.7 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> Neg V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

Another intervening element is the negation on the main verb: post-verbal negative reinforcers are already present in OF (Hansen, 2013) with a variety of particles of which only a few remain in ModF.<sup>6</sup> Both [*ne* V] and [*ne* V *mie/pas/point*] are found at this stage (although see discussion in section 8.6.1 for the claim that they are not genuine negators just yet).<sup>7</sup> With the second construction, CC is attested freely: see examples with *mie* (205), *pas* (206) and *point* (207).

<sup>6</sup>The negation is never on the infinitive in our examples. It is well-known that CC and a negated infinitive are not compatible crosslinguistically (Kayne, 1989) and this is also the case in OF.

<sup>7</sup>The post-verbal marker is always a noun denoting something small, which then grammaticalised (towards the end of the OF period, according to Hansen, 2013, see also Hirschbühler and Labelle, 1994). In the corpus, I found *mie* ‘breadcrumb’, *pas* ‘footstep’ and *point* ‘point’.

- (205) *je ne mes commandemens ne les en doie mie ocquoisener.*  
 I nor my command.PL not them of-it must.PRS.1SG not accuse.INF  
 ‘I, nor my commands, should blame them for it.’

(*Ferri III*, p. Paris\_Archives\_Nationales\_J\_983\_no\_5 1273/03/00 1)

- (206) *et il ne nous peust pas paier bonnement.*  
 and he not us can.PRS.3SG not pay.INF correctly  
 ‘and he cannot pay us correctly.’ (*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CCLXXVII)

- (207) *il n'em porra point mestre hors.*  
 he not-of-it can.FUT.3SG not put.INF off  
 ‘he will not be allowed to get rid of it.’ (*Établissements et Coutumes*, p.106)

There are examples of CC over other negative items, for instance the adverb *jamaiz* ‘never’ (208).

- (208) *elez n'an pueent jamaiz riens demandeir signour Eude.*  
 they.PL not-of-it can.PRS.3PL never thing ask.INF Lord Eude  
 ‘They can never ask a thing to Lord Eude about it.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD54.H.2427\_1\_ 1294/06/00 1)

### 6.2.8 ... *en*<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> [DP *t*<sub>i</sub>] V<sub>INF</sub>

There is another intervening element in (208): the direct object *riens* ‘a thing, anything’. Although it has acquired the meaning of ‘nothing’ in ModF and became a quantifier, at this stage it still retains the meaning of ‘a thing’. There are other examples with *riens* intervening (209).

- (209) *que il en puissent riens savoir.*  
 that they of-it can.SBJV.3PL thing know.INF  
 ‘that they can know a thing of it.’ (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 146)

We see in (208) that more than one element can intervene at the same time. For instance in example (210), three elements intervene between the two verbs: a

conditional phrase introduced by *ne* ‘nor’, the adverb *jamais* ‘never’, and the object *riens* ‘a thing’. The partitive clitic *en* climbs to the main verb from the infinitive *demander* ‘ask’.

- (210) *je ne mi hoir n'an peons, ne ne devons jamais riens demander*  
 I nor my heir not-of-it can.PRS.1PL nor not must.PRS.1PL never thing ask.INF  
*a signours.*  
 to lord.PL  
 ‘Neither I nor my heirs can, nor should, ever ask anything to our Lords about it.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD54\_B.700\_no.4 1271/03/02 1)

Examples (208) to (210) show CC of the partitive *en* with the intervening noun *riens*. *En* is an adnominal complement (211), analysed as pro-PP by Kayne (1975).

- (211) a. que il **en** puissent [riens en] savoir  
 b. that they can know [a thing about it]

If we assume that *en* originates within the DP-object of the infinitive, then it does not climb over the DP: it is extracted from the DP-object and climbs to the main verb. The corpus offers numerous examples of *en* climbing with the intervening *riens*. A similar operation is found with *neant* ‘nothing’.<sup>8</sup>

- (212) ... *ne ne lour an puis jamais neant demander.*  
 nor not them of-it can.PRS.3SG never nothing ask.INF  
 ‘... nor can him ever ask them nothing about it.’

(*Ferri III*, p. Paris\_BnF\_Coll.\_de\_Lorr.\_251\_no\_120 1264/07/08 1)

### 6.2.9 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> DP V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

In (213) and (214), the intervening DPs are subjects of the main verb: post-verbal subjects are a good indicator of V2 (Adams, 1987). This is a productive ordering that we see here with pronouns (215) and full DPs (216).

<sup>8</sup>This context might explain why *rien* grammaticalised as a negative intensifier.

- (213) *Nes pot Gurmund par force prendre.*  
 not-them can.PRS.3SG Gurmund by force take.INF  
 ‘Gurmund cannot take them by force.’ (Le Roman de Brut, 13555)
- (214) *... ou par autre condition le poet il avoir.*  
 or by other condition it can.PRS.3SG he have.INF  
 ‘... or he can have it on another condition.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 72)
- (215) *Et puis li doit len demander par quel partie il sen voudra*  
 and then him must.PRS.3SG one ask.INF by which part he REFL-from-it want.FUT.3SG  
*iessir de normendie.*  
 leave.INF from Normandy  
 ‘And then one must ask him from which location he will want to leave Normandy.’  
 (Grand Coutumier, Seq 54)
- (216) *En cest cas ni doit li évesques nului recevoir.*  
 in this case not-there must.PRS.3SG the.NOM bishop.NOM noone receive.INF  
 ‘In that case, the bishop must not receive anyone there.’  
 (Établissements et Coutumes, p.80)

In examples (213) to (216), the clitic climbs and the subject of the main clause appears between the two verbs.<sup>9</sup> In these sentences, an initial constituent admittedly occupies Spec,CP and the verb moves to C, to the left of the subject (Vance, 1997; Mathieu, 2013; Holmberg, 2015). In (215), the first position is satisfied by the adverb *puis* ‘then’, and in (216) by the PP *en cest cas* ‘in this case’. It is widely noted that the clitic does not ‘count’ (Adams 1987; see Cardinaletti and Starke 1999 for pronouns that can satisfy V2), therefore it can be pre-verbal in V2 clauses.

What those examples show is that, assuming that the verb moves to the CP-domain (Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005; Zaring, 2018), the clitic still climbs to the verb - it either cliticises on the verb before the verb moves to C, or it climbs over the DP and moves to C directly to cliticise on the verb. European Portuguese shows a similar ordering with subject-verb inversion (217).

<sup>9</sup>In example (216), the locative clitic *i* ‘there’ incorporates to the preceding negation *ne* ‘not’.

- (217) *O que **lhe** quis o João oferecer?*  
 what him want.PST.3SG the João offer.INF  
 ‘What did João want to offer him?’ (de Andrade and Bok-Bennema, 2017: 8)

In (217), the clitic *lhe* climbs and attaches to the main verb *quis* ‘want’, which moves to C, resulting in a construction with a post-verbal subject *o João*.

The corpus also offers three examples of CC with an intervening DP object. In (218), the dative clitic *li* refers to the indirect object and climbs over the direct object *sun dreit* ‘his rights’.

- (218) *Ne **li** volt pas sun dreit guerpir.*  
 not him want.PST.3SG not his right hand-over.INF  
 ‘He did not want to hand over his rights to him.’ (*Le Roman de Brut*, 13070)

Similarly in (219), the locative *i* climbs to the main verb, which has moved before the subject *hum* ‘a man’. Here as well, the embedded clause is OV - the object is *sun oil* ‘his eye’.

- (219) *N’**i** poeit hum sun oil ovrir.*  
 not-there can.PST.3SG man his eye open.INF  
 ‘A man couldn’t open his eye there.’ (*Le Roman de Brut*, 12545)

To sum up, we have seen in the last two sections that a multitude of DPs can intervene between the two verbs in sentences where CC is found.

### 6.2.10 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> Wh V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

One example of an intervening *Wh*-phrase has been found. Consider (220) where the clitic climbs over *a cui* ‘to whom’.

- (220) *je ne **le** sauroie a cui rendre.*  
 I not it know.COND.1SG to whom return.INF  
 ‘I wouldn’t know whom to return it to.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD54\_H\_338\_\_12\_ 1297/00/00 1)

Similar examples have been discussed in the literature for MidF (221) and Italian (222).

- (221) *l'on ne **me** saroit                      ou    trouver.*  
 one not me know.COND.PRS.3SG where find.INF  
 ‘One wouldn’t know where to find me.’ (Martineau, 1990: 110)

- (222) *Non **ti** saprei                      che dire.*  
 not you know.COND.PRS.1SG what say.INF  
 ‘I wouldn’t know what to tell you.’ (Kayne, 1989: 243)

This construction has been studied across Romance languages and it motivates a bi-clausal analysis of restructuring as the presence of a *Wh*-phrase must indicate the existence of an embedded CP (for more discussion see Rizzi, 1982; Kayne, 1989; Martineau, 1990; Wurmbrand, 2001; Cinque, 2004; Cardinaletti, 2014*b* and Paradís, 2018, and section 9.4.2 of the present work).

### 6.2.11 ... V<sub>INFj</sub> Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

In all the constructions presented above, CC is found when the two verbs are in the following linear order: [clitic V<sub>FIN</sub> (XP) V<sub>INF</sub>]. Nonetheless, the corpus offers 47 instances of CC in the reversed order, that is the infinitive is fronted to the left of the main verb [V<sub>INF</sub> ... clitic V<sub>FIN</sub>]. This construction is illustrated here from example (223) to (225). The fronted infinitive is underlined.

- (223) ... *auroient    païei la soume d'argent desus dite se païer    **la** voloient.*  
 have.PST.3PL paid the sum of-money above said if pay.INF it want.PST.3PL  
 ‘My heirs and I would have paid the aforementioned sum had we wanted to pay it.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD54\_H.338\_12\_1297/00/00 1)

- (224) ... *ie ou autre pour moi qui fere le puisse & doie.*  
 I or other for me who do.INF it can.SBJV.3SG and should.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘... I, or somebody else who could and should do it for me.’  
 (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 154)
- (225) *E que demurer li estuet ...*  
 and that postpone.INF it be-necessary.PST.3SG  
 ‘And that he must postpone it (= the attack)...’ (*Le Roman de Brut*, 13560)

In examples (223) to (225), the infinitive and the clitic precede the modal.<sup>10</sup> There is evidence that those are clear cases of CC, rather than enclisis on the infinitive: when the finite verb is negated, the negation precedes the clitic yet follows the infinitive, as exemplified below from (226) to (227).

- (226) *S'il aleier ne se pot.*  
 if-he go.INF not REFL can.PRS.3SG  
 ‘If he cannot go.’ (*Lois de Guillaume*, 39:1)
- (227) *E si il aver nes pot...*  
 and if he have.INF not-them can.PRS.3SG  
 ‘and if he cannot have them...’ (*Lois de Guillaume*, 14)
- (228) *E que ateindre nel poeit.*  
 and that reach.INF not-it can.PST.3SG  
 ‘and that he could not reach it.’ (*Le Roman de Brut*, 14440)

Claiming that these examples show CC relies on two observations: (i) this ordering is only found with finite verbs that allow climbing (46 of them are modals and 1 is *oser* ‘to dare’), and (ii) the presence of the negation shows that the clitic is not leaning on the infinitive, but it is proclitic on the finite verb. This is what CC is: the cliticisation of the object of the infinitive on a main verb which belongs to a certain subset (modal, aspectual, motion verbs).

<sup>10</sup>This construction remains in ModF idioms like *autant que faire se peut* ‘as much as possible’.

This construction is mostly found after a subordinating conjunction, principally after *que/qui* ‘that/who’ or *si/se* ‘if’, and after parenthetical material ended by a comma (Table 6.2). There are a few examples introduced by a coordinating conjunction and one after the adverb *puis* ‘then’, which functions as a conjunction as well.

	<b>Que/Qui</b> ‘that/who’	21
<b>Subordinator</b>	<b>Quand</b> ‘when’	1
	<b>Si/Se</b> ‘if’	11
	<b>Cum</b> ‘like’	2
<b>Coordinator</b>	<b>Et</b> ‘and’	1
	<b>Ou</b> ‘where’	1
	<b>Ne</b> ‘nor’	1
<b>Adverb</b>	<b>Puis</b> ‘then’	1
<b>Parenth. material</b>		6
<b>Null</b>	<b>Ø</b>	2

Table 6.2: Left context of fronted infinitives and clitic climbing in Old French

This construction is interesting for two reasons: (i) there is CC, (ii) there is infinitive fronting (we will return to this in section 9.7). Those two operations are not possible in ModF anymore.

To conclude, CC is available freely in a variety of environments with modal verbs. Cases of CC over a subordinator are not frequent, but intervening DP arguments are widely accepted. In the following section, I discuss enclisis.



## 6.3 Enclisis

### 6.3.1 Data

Enclisis is the second most common construction in our corpus for the OF period. It is the ordering whereby the object of the infinitive cliticises post-verbally on the infinitive. Only a handful of studies analyse this construction in OF (Moignet, 1970; de Kok, 1985; Pearce, 1990). In the corpus, I have counted 182 occurrences of enclisis, which represents 17.53% of all constructions from the OF period. Apart from text 3 (SCRIPTA1) and text 6 (*Actes de Ferri III*), all sources display the use of enclisis. In other terms, this ordering is not frequent but it is not an exception either. We will see in this section that it is found in specific contexts, which are reported in Table 6.3.

		Total	%
<b>Verb</b>		8	4.4
<b>Verb + subordinator</b>	<b>a</b> 'to'	31	31.87
	<b>de</b> 'to'	17	
<b>Preposition</b>	<b>a</b> 'at/to'	47	53.3
	<b>de</b> 'to/of'	23	
	<b>por</b> 'to/for'	22	
	<b>sanz</b> 'without'	5	
<b>Conjunction</b>	<b>et</b> 'and'	20	13.74
	<b>ou</b> 'or'	4	
	<b>ne</b> 'nor'	1	
<b>Adverb</b>	<b>point</b> 'not'	1	0.55
<b>Other</b>		3	1.65
<b>Total</b>		<b>182</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6.3: Pre-infinitival context with enclisis in Old French

In most cases, enclisis is found when the infinitive is introduced by a preposition (53.3%), a subordinator (31.87%) or a conjunction (13.74%). With prepositions and conjunctions, we will see below that the clitic must cliticise on the infinitive. When the main verb introduces the infinitive with a subordinator, CC is generally omitted and we find enclisis instead. Each construction is discussed in detailed below.

### 6.3.2 ... V<sub>FIN</sub> V<sub>INF</sub> Cl

In Standard Italian, Spanish and Catalan, both CC and enclisis on the infinitive are available when the main verb is a restructuring verb: in Italian for instance, both CC (229a) and enclisis (229b) are grammatical. From now on, the host of the clitic is underlined.

- (229) a. **La** voglio *cantare.*  
 it want.PRS.1SG sing.FIN  
 ‘I want to sing it’.
- b. *Voglio* cantar**la.**  
 want.PRS.1SG sing.FIN-it  
 ‘I want to sing it’.

Foulet (1919: 112), Martineau (1990) and Roberts (1997: 448) claim that CC was obligatory in Medieval French. Nonetheless, there are some examples where CC is expected but enclisis is found: in examples (230) to (232), the main verb is a modal (which is an environment where we typically find CC).

- (230) ... *comme nos deismes* *devant que len doit* voier **le.**  
 ... as we say.PST.1PL before that one must.PRS.3SG see.INF him  
 ‘... as we said earlier that one must see him.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 287)

- (231) *Neporquant il porra* deresnier **soi** *que il ne fu* *pas plege...*  
 nevertheless he can.FUT.3SG prove.INF REFL that he not be.PST.3SG not guarantor  
 ‘Nevertheless, he will have the possibility to prove that he was not the guarantor...’  
 (Grand Coutumier, Seq 127)

- (232) *il ne puet* avoir **la.**  
 he not can.PRS.3SG have.INF her  
 ‘He cannot have her.’ (Établissements et Coutumes, p.18)

CC is frequent in this context: we can compare (232) with (182), repeated here in (233). The two sentences are similar: the modal *pouvoir* ‘can’ introduces an embedded infinitive with a clitic.

- (233) *et ou il* le puet *faire.*  
 and where he it can.PRS.3SG do.INF  
 ‘and where he can do it.’ (Corpus Philippicum, J 1034, n54)

There is no particular obstacle in (232), nor in (230) or (231), that would prevent the clitic from climbing as it does in (233). As said above, we know from Modern

Romance that CC can be optional and pattern with enclisis. In the corpus, this optionality is not evident for CC is far more frequent than enclisis in this context. This issue is discussed and contrasted further with frequencies from CC in Spanish and Portuguese in section 9.2.2. The following section introduces cases of enclisis when the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator.

### 6.3.3 ... V<sub>FIN</sub> a V<sub>INF</sub> Cl

We have seen in section 6.2.3 that CC is found with the subordinator *a* introducing the infinitive. In this context however, enclisis is far more common:

- (234) *se lautre offre a defendre soi.*  
 if the-other offer.PRS.3SG to defend.INF REFL  
 ‘if the other offers to defend himself.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 148)

- (235) *tu mobilges a fere le.*  
 you me-force.PRS.2SG to do.INF it  
 ‘you force me to do it.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 283)

- (236) *par quoi il sunt tenus adonner li conseil & aide...*  
 by what they be.PRS.3PL hold.PP to-give.INF him counsel and help  
 ‘whereby they have to advise and help him.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 35)

We can contrast (236) with (191), repeated here in (237). In these two sentences, the main verb is *tenir a* ‘to hold’.

- (237) *nos li somes tenu a aidier.*  
 we him be.PRS.1PL hold.PP to help.INF  
 ‘We have to help him out.’ (Ferri III, p. AD54.B-872\_no-8 1258/08/00 1)

Enclisis is preferred in this context: out of 38 occurrences of clauses with the subordinator *a*, only 7 are found with CC.

### 6.3.4 ... V<sub>FIN</sub> *de* V<sub>INF</sub> Cl

Enclisis is also found when the infinitive is introduced by the subordinator *de* (see de Kok, 1985 for similar findings). I have counted 17 instances of this construction.

- (238) *Chascun pensot de guarir sei.*  
 each think.PST.3SG to protect.INF REFL  
 ‘Each of them was thinking to protect himself.’ (Le Roman de Brut, 13130)

- (239) *et à ce jor est-il tenuz de venir i.*  
 and at this day be.PRS.3SG-it hold.PP to come.INF there  
 ‘and to this day it is mandatory to come here.’ (Établissements et Coutumes, p.68)

- (240) *cil qui demande est prest de prover le par lui ou par tesmoing.*  
 the-one who ask.PRS.3SG be.PRS.3SG beg.PP to prove.INF it by him or by witness  
 ‘the one who asks is begged to prove it himself or by somebody else.’

(Établissements et Coutumes, p.74)

In sentences (238), (239) and (240), the main verbs are *penser de* ‘to think of’, *tenir de* ‘to hold to’ and the predicate *être prest de* ‘to be asked/begged to’. The subordinator *de* is not found with CC in the corpus for the OF period.

### 6.3.5 Prep V<sub>INF</sub> Cl

Infinitives contained in adjunct prepositional phrases do not allow CC, and as we have seen in Table 6.4, this is the main context in which enclisis is found. Examples are given below with *por* ‘to/for’ (241) and *sanz* ‘without’ (242).

- (241) ... *quant ledit Symon ala une foiz chiés ledit Roger por justisier*  
 when the-said Symon go.PST.3SG one time at the-said Roger to give.INF  
*le de l’argent.*  
 him of the-money  
 ‘... when the aforementioned Symon thus went to the aforementioned Roger’s place,  
 in order to give him the money.’ (Corpus Philippicum, J 1034, n50)

- (242) *Et se les freres les poent marier sanz desparagier soi ce*  
 and if the brother.PL them can.PRS.3PL marry.INF without disparage.INF REFL this  
*lor doit soufire.*  
 them must.PRS.3SG suffice.INF  
 ‘and if the brothers can marry them without disparaging themselves this should  
 suit them.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 67)

Since the infinitival phrase is introduced by a preposition, the clitic is ‘trapped’ within the PP and must cliticise on the infinitive. We can observe this clearly in example (242): the main verb is *poent* ‘can’ and it introduces the infinitive *marier* ‘marry’. The object of *marier* is the clitic *les* and it climbs to *poent*, whereas the object of *desparagier* ‘disparage’ does not. Instead, it remains within the PP [*sanz desparagier (soi)*] ‘without disparaging (oneself)’. In other words, CC is possible when the infinitive is in an embedded clause; it is not found when the infinitive is part of an adjunct.

### 6.3.6 Conj V<sub>INF</sub> Cl

In the corpus, 13.74% of enclisis are found when the infinitive is introduced by a conjunction, either *et* ‘and’ (243), *ou* ‘or’ (244), and one case with *ne* ‘nor’ (245).

- (243) ... *et deffendre contre touz, et garder les en de touz damages.*  
 and defend.INF against all and guard.INF them of-it of all damage.PL  
 ‘... and defend against all, and keep them away from any harm.’

(SCRIPTA 2, Acte 1301)

- (244) *Se celui qui est querele est requis en cort il doit*  
 if the-one who be.PRS.3SG disputed be.PRS.3SG require.PP in court he must.PRS.3SG  
*connoistre le lignage ou noier le.*  
 know.INF the lineage or deny.INF it.  
 ‘If the one who is disputing the matter is required to show up to the court, he must  
 either acknowledge the lineage or deny it.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 261-262)

- (245) *Len doit savoir que nul ne poet donner point de son fieu  
 one must.PRS.3SG know.INF that none not can.PRS.3SG give.INF none of his fiefdom  
 a son fix bastart en heritage ne vendre li.  
 to his son bastard in heritage nor sell.INF to-him  
 ‘One must know that no man can ever give none his fiefdom to his illegitimate son  
 as heritage, nor sell it to him.’ (Grand Coutumier, Seq 96)*

CC is not an option in examples (243) to (245). In (244), the clitic *le* refers to *le lignage* ‘the lineage’, the object of the first infinitive *connoistre* ‘know’. In other words, *connoistre* and *noier* ‘deny’ are coordinated and share the same object, which is replaced by a clitic with the coordinated infinitive to avoid repetition. As pointed out by Martineau (1990: 90), climbing out of a coordinated infinitival clause is impossible (see also Italian (246) below). Note that the same constraint is found in (245): the two ditransitive infinitives (the predicate *donner en heritage* ‘give as heritage’ and *vendre* ‘sell’) share the same objects (the direct object *point de son fieu* ‘none of his fiefdom’ and the indirect object *a son fix bastart* ‘to his illegitimate son’). The coordinated infinitive avoids repetition of the indirect object in using a clitic, that in turn does not climb to the modal *poet* ‘can’.<sup>11</sup> This is not unique to OF: climbing out of a coordinated infinitive that shares an object is impossible crosslinguistically<sup>12</sup>, see Italian (246).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup>The direct object is not repeated with the second infinitive *vendre* ‘sell’. This is an example of the *écrasement* phenomenon ‘crushing’: when two third-person object clitics are present in a sequence, the direct object is omitted (Donaldson, 2013: 68-69).

<sup>12</sup>When the object of the first infinitive is covert or a clitic, then CC is possible. Crucially, when the first infinitive takes a full DP-complement, and that complement is shared by the second infinitive which replaces it by a clitic, then CC is impossible.

<sup>13</sup>Sentences from Giovanni Roversi (p.c.).

- (246) a. *Voglio pelare la mela e mangiarla.*  
 want.PRS.1SG peel.INF the apple and eat.INF-it  
 ‘I want to peel the apple and eat it.’
- b. \**La<sub>i</sub> voglio pelare la mela e mangiare t<sub>i</sub>.*  
 it want.PRS.1SG peel.INF the apple and eat.INF  
 ‘I want to peel the apple and eat it.’

In (246), the two infinitives share the same object, *la mela* ‘the apple’, which is replaced by a clitic with the second infinitive. This is the same construction as in (245): the main verb is a modal (here the modal is *volere* ‘want’) but the clitic cannot climb. Turning back to OF, when the coordinated infinitives share the same object, and that the object is a clitic for both, then climbing is possible (247).

- (247) *il les doient randre et paier as dis Jennat.*  
 they them must.PRS.3PL return.INF and pay.INF to-the said Jennat  
 ‘they must return them and pay them to the aforesaid Jennat.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD54.1.J.1579.no.2 1291/12/01 1)

In the literature, there have been numerous observations that clitics cannot leave a coordinated verb (finite or non-finite): Monachesi (1993: 437) claims that ‘Italian clitics cannot have wide scope over coordination of verbs’. Furthermore, Iglesias (2018) shows that in Spanish, if the clitic is the object of one infinitive only, CC is prohibited.<sup>14</sup> In the corpus, CC is only found when none of the coordinated infinitives has a full-DP object. To conclude this section, enclisis is frequent enough, and it is found when CC is not available, essentially appearing as the ‘elsewhere’ case.

<sup>14</sup>Iglesias (2018) convincingly shows that in [<sub>FIN</sub> [<sub>INF1</sub> *coordination* <sub>INF2</sub>]] contexts, if only one infinitive has a clitic, then CC violates the  $\Theta$ -criterion, as the clitic would receive one  $\Theta$ -role from each infinitive. An argument cannot receive more than one  $\Theta$ -role (Chomsky, 1981).



## 6.4 Proclisis

### 6.4.1 Data

There are 20 occurrences of proclisis for the period, which is considerably less than enclisis (182 occurrences) and CC (836 occurrences). Table 6.4 reports the distribution of proclisis and the elements that precede the infinitive: there are 7 occurrences of proclisis preceded by a preposition, 3 preceded by a coordinating conjunction and 3 cases of proclisis when the infinitive is negated. Furthermore, there are 3 cases where a main verb introduces a bare infinitive, and 3 others with a main verb introduces the infinitive with the subordinator *de*.

		<b>Total</b>
<b>Preposition</b>	<b>de</b> ‘to/of’	1
	<b>sanz</b> ‘without’	4
	<b>por</b> ‘to/for’	2
<b>Conjunction</b>	<b>et</b> ‘and’	2
	<b>ne</b> ‘nor’	1
<b>Negation</b>	<b>ne</b> ‘not’	3
<b>Verb</b>		3
<b>Subordinator</b>	<b>de</b>	3
<b>Other</b>		1
<b>Total</b>		<b>20</b>

Table 6.4: Pre-infinitival context with proclisis in Old French

### 6.4.2 ... V<sub>FIN</sub> Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

In three sentences, a bare infinitive introduced by a finite verb allows proclisis. In (248) and (249), the main verb *desvoient* ‘must’, is a modal that is frequently found with CC (section 6.2.2). We have seen in section 6.2.10 that the presence of *point* ‘point’ does not influence CC.

- (248) ... *que les iugeors desvoient en fere iugement ou par ignorance ou par malice.*  
 that the judges must.PST.3PL of-it make.INF judgment or by ignorance or by mischief  
 ‘... that the judges had to make a judgment out of it, either by ignorance or mischief.’  
 (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 32)

- (249) *que li auditeur ne doivent point li contraindre a che tesmougnage*  
 that the listeners not must.PRS.3PL not him constrain.INF to this testimony  
 ‘... that the audience should not force him to give this testimony.’

(*Corpus Philippicum*, J 1034, n54)

In one sentence, the main verb is not a modal (250). The reflexive verb *se discorder* ‘disagree’ is not attested with CC in the corpus.

- (250) *Se il se discordent en fere le iugement*  
 if they REFL disagree.PRS.3PL of-it do.INF the judgment  
 ‘If they cannot agree on the judgment.’  
 (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 31)

The rarity of those examples in the corpus shows that, unlike in ModF, proclisis is dispreferred with bare infinitives.

### 6.4.3 ... V<sub>FIN</sub> de Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

There are three instances of infinitives introduced by the subordinator *de*. In (251), the clitic does not climb to the predicate *être bon de* ‘be good to’; in (252) the predicate is *avoir accoustumé de* ‘be used to’; and in (253) the situation seems more

complex, as the two finite verbs already share the clitic *vous* ‘you’, whereas the three embedded infinitives share the object *le*. The subordinator is underlined.

(251) *qu’il estoit bon de les exprimer par leurs propres noms*  
 that-it be.PST.3SG good to them call.INF by their own names  
 ‘that it was good to call them by their own names. (SCRIPTA 1, Acte 5070)

(252) *qu’elle avoit accoustumé de les percevoir du vivant dudit*  
 that-it have.PST.3SG accustomed to them receive.INF from-the living of-the-said  
*roy mon aieul*  
 king my grandfather  
 ‘that it (= the people in the abbey) was used to receiving them when the king, my  
 grandfather, was alive.’ (SCRIPTA 1, Acte 7025)

(253) *C’est pourquoy je vous commandes et ordonnes de le maintenir,*  
 this-be.PRS.3SG why I you command.PRS.1SG and order.PRS.1SG to him maintain.INF  
*garder et proteger.*  
 guard.INF and protect.INF  
 ‘Hence why I command and order you to maintain, guard and protect him.’

(SCRIPTA 1, Acte 7390)

In the corpus, the presence of *de* correlates with the absence of CC (see also Martineau, 1990 and Pearce, 1990). Instead, we find instances of enclisis and rare instances of proclisis.

#### 6.4.4 Prep Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

There are instances of proclisis after a preposition that does not act as a subordinator, but introduces an adjunct clause. This includes constructions with *sanz* ‘without’ (254), (255) and *pour* ‘for’ (256).

(254) *et tenir sanz li meffaire.*  
 and hold.INF without him do-bad.INF  
 ‘and to hold without doing anything bad to him.’ (SCRIPTA 2, Acte 4137)

- (255) *que li auditeur ne poueent faire enqueste sans li oïr.*  
 that the listeners not can.PRS.3PL do.INF inquiry without him listen.INF  
 ‘... that the audience cannot conduct an investigation without hearing him first.’

(*Corpus Philippicum*, J 1034, n54)

- (256) *... toutes ses dixmes, terres et appartenances, pour en jouir de moy*  
 all his tithes estates and belongings to of-them enjoy.INF of me  
*comme de ma propre aumosne.*  
 like of my own alm  
 ‘... all his tithes, estates and belongings, to enjoy them as if they were mine.’

(*SCRIPTA 1*, Acte 7090)

When the infinitive is part of a PP, I found 145 instances of enclisis and 7 of proclisis (see section 6.3.5 for enclisis). Again, we see that clitics cannot escape from PP-adjuncts and must cliticise on the infinitive. At this stage, proclisis is occasional in this context.

#### 6.4.5 Conj Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

Three instances of proclisis introduced by a conjunction are attested in the corpus, given here with *et* ‘and’ (257) and *ne* ‘nor’ (258).

- (257) *et en deffandre les dis abbey et convant davant dis.*  
 and of-it defend.INF the said abbey and promise of-before said  
 ‘and to defend the abbey from it, as I promised earlier.’

(*Ferri III*, p. AD88\_XVII\_H\_6\_no-3 1282/01/00 1)

- (258) *si ne doit ele mouvoir le court contre li ne li nuire...*  
 thus not must.PRS.3SG she move.INF the court against him nor him harm.INF  
 ‘Thus she must not set the court against him nor do him any harm.’

(*Corpus Philippicum*, J 1034, n54)

Hirschbühler and Labelle (2000) (who do not look at infinitival contexts) report that clitics start being proclitic after a coordinating conjunction like *et* towards the

end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. I have cited Martineau (1990) who claims that a clitic cannot be initial within the infinitival IP in OF, but can in MidF. Examples (257) and (258) date from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. after the clause-initial ban in finite contexts was raised but before clitics were accepted in first position of infinitival clauses. Proclisis is rare in each context described above, where enclisis is more frequent. The main observation we can make for the time being is that, based on the data and on the literature, a new grammar allowing proclisis in conjunctive infinitival clauses is slowly emerging from the end of the OF period (Kroch, 2001). To account for the exceptionality of such orderings, we can assume that acquirers already face the grammar of later French, that is the one with proclisis. We will see in Chapter 7 that enclisis is not found anymore from 1350 on.

#### 6.4.6 *Ne* Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

There are three examples of proclisis preceded by the negation *ne*. Of the three occurrences, only one is given here (259) because the three sentences are identical.

- (259) *et pluseurs autres dont il ne li remembre.*  
 and several other.PL of-which he not REFL remind.INF  
 ‘and several others, of which he does not have any memory.’

(*Corpus Philippicum*, J 1028, n5)

For the period, it is the only sentence where a negated infinitive has a clitic object, therefore we cannot draw any comparison with enclisis. CC is not found when the infinitive is negated in other canonical Romance languages (Rizzi, 1982). Additionally, Pearce (1990) reports that negated infinitives are rare in OF. Regarding the negator itself, Ingham (2014) states that *ne* was already a clitic at this stage: we have seen examples of clitics incorporating with the pre-verbal negation (see also Jacobs, 1993). In (259), the choice of proclisis may be triggered by the presence of the pre-verbal

clitic *ne* attracting the object clitic *li*. Furthermore, if these are the first ever cases of negated infinitives with a clitic, this could indicate that the infinitive is becoming a more independent domain.

### 6.4.7 Exclusions

A handful of apparent proclisis have not been included: as we know, infinitives can be substantivised in OF (Foulet, 1924), and articles and clitics are syncretic (Vincent, 1997). In (260), there is a clear instance of CC with *lou*<sup>15</sup> that we can contrast with a *lou* article that precedes a substantivised infinitive (261). The clitic is in bold and the article is underlined.

(260) *on **lou** pourroit mostrer ...*  
 one it can.PST.3SG show.INF  
 ‘One could show it ...’ (*Actes de Ferri III* p. AD54\_H.338\_12\_1297/00/00 1)

(261) *... que li autre aient adez lou paier d’escever et*  
 that the others have.SBJV.3PL now the.MASC.SG pay.SUBS to-achieve.INF and  
*d’acomplir ces choses...*  
 to-accomplish.INF these things  
 ‘... that the others already have the payment ready to achieve or accomplish these things.’ (*Actes de Ferri III* p. AD54\_H.338\_12\_1297/00/00 1)

In sentence (262) the infinitive *tenir* ‘hold’ is substantivised: if *lou* were to be interpreted as a clitic, it would be the feminine *la*, referring to the noun *la contei* ‘the region’.

(262) *ou dounei a moi la contei pour lou tenir.*  
 or given to me the region for the.MASC.SG hold.SUBS  
 ‘or have the region given to me, for the management (of it).’

(*Ferri III*, p. Paris\_BnF\_Coll.\_de\_Lorr.\_211bis\_no\_47 1271/02/05 1)

<sup>15</sup>*Lou* is an alternative spelling of *le* (both clitic and determiner) found in *Actes de Ferri III*.

Similarly, sentence (263) shows a substantive with the verb *aprismier* ‘approach’, interpreted as ‘the approach’, and in (264) the article fuses with the preposition *de*.

- (263) *Mult veïssiez, a l'aprismier...*  
 A-lot see.SBJV-IMP-2PL at the-approach.SUBS  
 ‘That they could see a lot, at the approach.’ (Le Roman de Brut, 12540)
- (264) *Li reis n'ert mie del poeir.*  
 the.NOM king.NOM not-be.PST-3SG not of-the power.SUBS  
 ‘The king did not have such a power.’ (Le Roman de Brut, 13485)

Such constructions have been excluded from the study because our focus is on clitic objects. In the analysis, only genuine cases of proclisis are considered.

## 6.5 Summary

In this section, I have discussed in detail the data going over various but possible orderings in OF. CC is by far the main ordering: it is principally found with modals, although a handful of lexical and impersonal verbs have also been found with it. We know that CC is optional in, for instance, Spanish and Italian, and it does not seem to have been optional in the same way in OF. Indeed, there is numerical evidence that if the clitic can climb, it will (i.e. when a main verb introduces a bare infinitive, and in certain cases in presence of a subordinator). In the corpus, CC is found with the subordinator *a* but not with *de*. This is not surprising, as de Kok (1985) reports that CC is never found with the latter and Pearce (1990) only finds rare examples. Adverbs and post-verbal negative markers (like *pas*) may intervene between the two verbs, and fronting of the main verb with the clitic in V2-clauses allows the subject to intervene as well. Furthermore, the infinitive may be fronted once CC has taken place.

When the infinitive is introduced by a conjunction, or when it is part of a PP-adjunct, CC is not available and we find enclisis instead. This is also tends to be the

case when the infinitive is introduced by the subordinator *a*, although as we mentioned above, CC is not impossible in this context. At this stage, proclisis remains occasional and it is found in the same contexts as enclisis. There are only a few cases where a main verb introduces a bare infinitive and the clitic does not climb, which indicates that, although CC is widely preferred, it is not obligatory.

## 6.6 Pre-infinitival strong pronouns

It is often noted that in OF and MidF, the pronoun remains strong and pre-infinitival when CC is not allowed, a construction that does not seem to exist elsewhere in Romance (de Kok, 1993; Roberts, 1997). In other words, those pronouns appear where a clitic would be expected: it appears that the real challenger of CC could be strong pronouns, rather than enclisis (or proclisis). In the corpus, they are attested for the first time during the 12<sup>th</sup> century and are present until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with a total of 70 instances.<sup>16</sup>

(265) *je leur doinz            pooir de moy escommenier.*  
 I them give.PRS.1SG power to me excommunicate.INF  
 ‘I give them the power to excommunicate me.’ (SCRIPTA 2, Acte 4137)

<sup>16</sup>The examples are mainly with the reflexive pronoun, although there are instances of other pronouns as well. The nature of legal texts accounts for the fact that the third person is more common: this material rarely addresses a person directly (which rules out the second person) or states personal matters (hence few occurrences of the first person). Furthermore, and to the best of my knowledge, it is impossible to define whether the first and second person plural *nos* and *vos* are proclitic or strong in this context. De Kok (1985) considers some of them as strong pronouns, yet she does not explain on what basis. In any case, this should not affect the findings in a significant manner, for *nos* and *vos* are not common in the corpus. The case of *lui* is also challenging: it replaces *li* between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (de Kok, 1985: 23-24). I counted *lui* as a clitic in texts where it climbs, and as a strong pronoun in all other texts. This matches de Kok’s (1985) description of the evolution.



- (266) ... *et auquel nul ne puet fouvoir ne soi escuser.*  
 and to-which noone not can.PRS.3SG escape nor REFL excuse-INF  
 ‘... and from which noone can escape, nor give excuses.’

(*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CLXXXVIII)

- (267) *Vous auriez tort de moy faire desplaisir.*  
 you have.COND.2PL wrong to me do-INF displeasure  
 ‘You would be wrong to make me unhappy.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 172, p. 336, fol. 174 recto.)

- (268) *Laultre maniere est de soy mettre en faict de preuve.*  
 the-other manner be.PRS.3SG to REFL put-INF in fact of proof  
 ‘The other way would be to put oneself in a position with proof.’ (*Rouillé*, 16r)

Several studies show that when the infinitive is introduced by a preposition or a subordinator, the pronoun does not always cliticise (de Kok, 1985; Moignet, 1970; Martineau, 1990; Pearce, 1990). Nevertheless, our data show that clitics are more frequent in these contexts. Indeed, the presence of a pre-infinitival strong pronoun is infrequent in our corpus: from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there are 70 cases of pre-infinitival strong pronouns *vs.* 2,090 cases of clitics (CC: 1,414; enclisis: 190; proclisis: 486). Additionally, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) claim that the most deficient form is chosen when possible: nevertheless, our data appears to challenge this claim in 70 sentences.

The presence of an element introducing the infinitive is not necessary for the pronoun to appear in its strong form. Consider examples (269) and (270) where the main verb is a modal.

- (269) *ne doivent ne ne pevent soy accroitre ne acquerre heritage.*  
 not must.PRS.3PL nor not can.PRS.3PL REFL increase-INF nor acquire-INF heritage  
 ‘... (they) must not nor can not get more from it nor have it as heritage.’

(*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CCLXII)

- (270) *et pour cuider qu'il deust soy appaisier*  
 and to believe.INF that-he must.PST.3SG REFL appease.INF  
 'and to believe that he had to appease himself.'

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 155, fol. 79 verso.)

In (269), we may expect CC to be dispreferred because there are two main verbs in coordination. If the pronoun cliticised and the clitic climbed, would it climb to one or both verbs? Keeping it in the domain of the infinitive may be necessary for the intelligibility of the sentence. In (270) however, this is not the case, this pronoun may have been emphatic. The data presented so far show that in contexts where there is a main modal verb, CC is very frequent, enclisis/proclisis is rare yet possible (the first in OF and the second in MidF), and a pre-infinitival strong pronoun may also appear, although this option is scarce. We can tentatively take those strong pronouns to be weak in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for two reasons. First, we have seen in section 4.9 that pre-infinitival strong pronouns pattern differently from full DPs. The latter can freely precede or follow the infinitive in OF whereas strong pronouns cannot. Secondly, these pronouns are found in a derived position long after OV is not available in the language anymore. Therefore, I take these pronouns to be deficient and to fit between clitics and strong pronouns in Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) tripartition (clitic < weak < strong). These pronouns, thus 'weak' but not as weak/deficient as clitics, may have contributed to the spread of proclisis in the language. Assuming that these pronouns are an innovation of OF (Lemieux, 1988), a more deficient form (i.e. a clitic) may have been used increasingly to such an extent that proclisis generalised and weak pronouns disappeared before ever becoming a main option.

## 6.7 Concluding remarks

CC and enclisis are the two main orderings found in OF. The present study offers the first quantitative documentation of enclisis in OF, a construction that remained poorly documented until now. We find enclisis in the following contexts: (i) when the infinitive is introduced by the subordinator *de* (and sometimes *a*), (ii) when the infinitive is within a PP, and (iii) when the infinitive is introduced by a coordinating conjunction. Martineau (1990) finds that CC is frequent (and perhaps obligatory) in her MidF data: we have shown here that this was also the case during the OF period (see section 9.2 for a discussion of the frequency of CC in Romance).

Proclisis is very rare but emerging, giving evidence for two grammars in competition during the end of the period (see section 8.7), and I have linked the emergence of proclisis to the availability of pre-infinitival weak pronouns. The latter are much less common than clitics, and *contra* Roberts (1997), I show that *in* was not used in cases where CC was not allowed, but their use was perhaps emphatic.



# Chapter 7

## Middle and early Modern French

### 7.1 Introduction

This Chapter covers a greater span of time than the previous Chapter. Here, I introduce clitic placement from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century to 1856. The Chapter is divided in two parts: MidF and EModF. MidF is a real junction period: it contains high frequencies of CC like in OF, yet proclisis is found in other clauses like in ModF. Although present in the OF period, proclisis is the main innovation of MidF. It replaces enclisis, which has completely disappeared by 1350.

	<b>Clitic climbing</b>	<b>Enclisis</b>	<b>Proclisis</b>
<b>MidF</b>	52.87% (746)	0.57% (8)	46.56% (657)
<b>EModF</b>	19.62% (215)	0	80.38% (881)

Table 7.1: Clitic placement in Middle and early Modern French

From a purely statistical perspective, CC decreases towards the end of the MidF period and subsists in relatively high frequencies in EModF, that is until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This Chapter is organised as follows: section 7.2 reports on clitic

placement with infinitives in MidF and compares with the findings introduced for OF. The section analyses CC and discusses the few occurrences of enclisis, before moving on to the birth of proclisis as main ordering in non-restructuring clauses. Section 7.3 reports on the findings for EModF and establishes a sharp decrease of CC and the spread of proclisis in restructuring clauses. Occurrences of interpolation are presented in section 7.4. Lastly, section 7.5 provides a summary of the main findings and section 7.6 concludes.

## 7.2 Middle French (1300-1614)

### 7.2.1 Clitic climbing

#### 7.2.1.1 Data

As in OF, CC is the most frequent ordering in MidF and represents 52.87% of all constructions (746/1411). I will not discuss each construction in depth as most of them are identical to those found in OF - instead I will refer to the appropriate section for further information previously introduced. Here, I provide examples and succinctly draw attention to undergoing changes. Nonetheless, I will discuss constructions that have not been found for the preceding period.

#### 7.2.1.2 ... $Cl_i V_{\text{FIN}} V_{\text{INF}} t_i$

CC is mainly found with modals, the list of which is given in (271)<sup>1</sup> and examples are given from (272) to (274). The verb on which the clitic cliticises is underlined.

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<sup>1</sup>The list is similar to the one provided for OF: the only notable difference is that *estouvoir* has been replaced by *falloir*, a diachronic change I have already addressed. The two verbs have the exact same meaning.

- (271)
- *devoir* ‘must’.
  - *savoir* ‘know’.
  - *pouvoir* ‘can’.
  - *vouloir* ‘want’.
  - *falloir* ‘to be necessary’.
  - *souloir* ‘to be in the habit of’.
- (272) *Car il la doit payer ou querir qui la payera.*  
 for he it must.PRS.3SG pay.INF or seek.INF who it pay.FUT.3SG  
 ‘For he must pay it, or find someone who will pay it.’ (Rouillé, 7v)
- (273) *et qu’il ne les sauroit fere pareilles come lui.*  
 and that-he not them know.COND.3SG do.INF similarly like him  
 ‘and he would not know how to do them similarly, as he does.’  
 (Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI, JJ 173, n. 82, fol. 42 recto.)
- (274) *il fe faut contenter d’imiter les peintres.*  
 it REFL be-necessary.PRS.3SG content.INF to-imitate.INF the painters  
 ‘It is necessary to content oneself with imitating painters.’ (Bérault, p.5)

In sum, the situation has not changed in this context. The list of verbs in (271) is the same as the one given for OF. Interestingly however, there are more verbs in list (275) than in the one for non-modals in OF. The list of non-modal verbs that are found with CC in OF was given in (189): only *convenir*, *aller*, *oser* and *cuidier* are in the two lists. The number of occurrences is indicated.

- (275)
- *cuidier* ‘to think, to believe’: 17.
  - *aller* ‘to go’: 13.
  - *convenir* ‘to be suited’: 10.
  - *oser* ‘to dare’: 9.
  - *venir* ‘to come’: 6.

- *décerner* ‘to declare’: 1.
- *esconvenir* ‘to be suited’: 1.
- *tenir* ‘to hold’, 1.
- *retourner* ‘to go back’: 1.
- *penser* ‘to think’: 1.

In the following examples, CC is illustrated with *oser* ‘dare’ (276), *penser* ‘think’ (277) and *aller* ‘go’ (278).

(276) *et pour ce qu’il ne se osa comparoir...*  
 and for that that-he not REFL dare.PST.3SG compare.INF  
 ‘and since he didn’t dare to compare himself...’ (*Lettres de Rémission*, fol. 206r)

(277) *disant qu’il ne le pensoit pas avoir frappé que sur le bras.*  
 say.PP that-he not him think.PST.3SG not have.INF hit.PP only on the arm  
 ‘saying that he didn’t think he hit him on the arm only.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 174, fol. 89 verso.)

(278) *il les yroit veoir...*  
 he them go.COND.3SG see.INF  
 ‘He would go see them...’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 172, n. 438, fol. 244 recto.)

For the period, CC is found 681 times with a modal and 60 times with a verb from list (275).<sup>2</sup> I compared this list with the one established by Martineau (1990: 59-60): she finds CC with *cuidier* ‘to believe’, *aller* ‘to go’, *convenir* ‘to be suited’, *oser* ‘to dare’, and *venir* ‘to come’; and in the texts she analyses, *penser* ‘to think’ is not found with CC.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, our lists are mostly similar.

<sup>2</sup>In OF, CC is found 818 times with a modal and 25 times with a lexical verb.

<sup>3</sup>Her study does not mention *décerner* ‘to declare’, *esconvenir* ‘to be suited’, *tenir* ‘to hold’ nor *retourner* ‘to go back’.



7.2.1.3 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> a/de V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

Only a handful of instances of CC has been found when the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator: this is similar to the preceding period. In OF, there were 7 of them, in MidF there are only 5. Interestingly, 3 of them are instances of CC with *de*, a construction that I did not find in OF. Examples are given from (280) to (283) and the subordinators are underlined.

- (279)
- *menacer de* ‘to threaten to’: 2.
  - *tenir de* ‘to hold to’: 1.
  - *promettre à* ‘to promise to’: 1.
  - *convenir à* ‘to be suitable to’: 1.

With *de*:

- (280) *avec lesdis Anglois, qui le menacerent de grever, prendre ou dommager  
with the-said English who him threaten.PST.3PL to harm.INF take.INF or damage.INF  
en corps ou en biens.  
in body or in good  
‘with the aforementioned Englishmen, who threatened to kill him, take him or  
damage his body or goods.’*

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 125, fol. 62 verso.)

- (281) *il se tiedra de marier...*  
he REFL hold.FUT.3SG to marry.INF  
‘he will be held to marry someone...’ (Terrien, p.20)

With *à*:

- (282) *qu’il li convient à tenir à la deffense du païs.*  
that-it him suit.PRS.3SG to hold.INF at the defence of-the country  
‘that it suits to hold to it for the defence of the country.’

(*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CCLXXII)

- (283) *nous le promettons à parfaire le plus convenablement.*  
 we it promise.PRS.1PL to perfect.INF the most appropriately  
 ‘We promise to perfect it in the most appropriate manner.’

(*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CCXVIII)

We know that the subordinator *de* appears more frequently in MidF than it did in OF (Martineau, 2000; Martineau and Motapanyane, 2000).

#### 7.2.1.4 ... Cl<sub>i</sub> V<sub>FIN</sub> X (Y) V<sub>INF</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

I have produced an extensive documentation of intervening elements for the OF period, therefore here I only report on constructions attested in MidF. There are numerous examples of CC with an intervening adverb (284).

- (284) *tellement que chacun y puisse aisement voir & lire.*  
 so that each there can.SBJV.3SG easily see.INF and read.INF  
 ‘in such a way that everybody can see it and read it.’ (Terrien, p.74)

V2 orderings are still very productive and there are many examples similar to those I have discussed for OF, such as CC and subsequent movement of [Cl+V] to C, resulting in a sentence with a post-verbal subject. The subject can be pronominal (285) or a full DP (286).

- (285) *Bie les peuvent-ils donner.*  
 well them can.PRS.3PL-they give.INF  
 ‘They can give them well.’ (Terrien, p.41)

- (286) *mais se doit le vassal pourvoir en la Chancellerie.*  
 but REFL must.PRS.3SG the vassal appeal.INF in the Chancellery  
 ‘but the vassal must take a case to the Chancellery.’ (Bérault, p.218)

When an adverb intervenes and the verb moves to second position, both the subject and the adverb intervene (287).

- (287) *Et mestier en pourroit il bien auoir en maint lieu.*  
 and occupation of-it can-COND.3SG he well have.INF in many place  
 ‘And he could find an occupation with this in a great many places.’

(Terrien, preamble)

It is possible for a PP to intervene (288).

- (288) *qu’aucuns pourueus aux offices de Vicontes ne se pourront à l’auenir  
 presenter pour estre receus...*  
 that-none purveyors to-the offices of Viscount not REFL can.FUT.3PL at the-future  
 present.INF to be.INF received.PL  
 ‘that no purveyors from the Viscount offices will be able to present themselves, in  
 the future, to be received...’

(Bérault, p.82)

There are instances of CC with an intervening DP: in (289), the partitive clitic *en* is extracted from the DP *aucune chose* ‘anything’.

- (289) *à toute personne qui li en voudroit aucune chose demander.*  
 to all person who him of-it want.COND.3SG any thing ask.INF  
 ‘to all the people who would like to ask him anything about it.’

(Actes Royaux du Poitou, CCXLV)

For this period as well, I found one occurrence of CC in the presence of a *Wh*-phrase.<sup>4</sup>

- (290) *et pour ce ne leur savoit on que baillier.*  
 and for this not them know.PST.3SG one what give.INF  
 ‘and for this, one did not know what to give them.’

(Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI, JJ 173, n. 44, fol. 22 verso.)

Our examples are with the verb *saveir/savoir* ‘to know’, and the examples given by Kayne (1989) and Martineau (1990) are also with *sapere*.

All the orderings reported here are found in both OF and MidF with no particular difference to note, the data show that the behaviour of CC is consistent between the two periods.

<sup>4</sup>This is a construction we have seen in OF already, see (220) in section 6.2.10.

7.2.1.5 ...  $V_{\text{INF}j}$   $Cl_i$   $V_{\text{FIN}}$   $t_j$   $t_i$ 

We have seen earlier that the infinitive may be fronted before the modal (section 6.2.11). This ordering is rarer in MidF: I counted 47 occurrences in OF and 14 in MidF (see section 9.7 for a detailed discussion and analysis). After the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is not found anymore. In the following examples, the fronted infinitive is underlined.

- (291) *se trouver **la** pouvoient.*  
 if find.INF it can.PST.3PL  
 ‘If they could find it.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 1 72, n. 594, fol. 327 verso.)

- (292) *et disoit que faire **le** devions.*  
 and say.PST.3SG that do.INF it must.PST.3PL  
 ‘and he said that we should do it.’ (Actes Royaux du Poitou, CCXLV)

- (293) *entant que le cas permettre l’a peu.*  
 if the case allow.INF it-have.PRS.3SG can.PP  
 ‘If the case could allow it.’ (Terrien, preamble)

Again, this construction is only attested when the main verb is a modal, and 12 occurrences follow a subordinating conjunction. As (293) shows, the full DP subject *le cas* ‘the case’ precedes the fronted infinitive, which suggests that the fronting operation does not target a position in the left periphery (Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2014).<sup>5</sup>

7.2.1.6 ...  $Cl_i$   $V_{\text{INF}}$   $V_{\text{INF}}$   $t_i$ 

There are examples of CC where the main verb is an infinitive as well. In sentences (294), (295) and (296), the clitic climbs to the higher infinitive.

<sup>5</sup>This construction is illustrated in detail in section 6.2.11 and its analysis is given in section 9.7.

- (294) *Et par negligence de les vouloir reconnoistre.*  
 and by negligence of them want.INF recognise.INF  
 ‘and by the negligence of willing to recognise them.’ (Bérault, p.1)
- (295) ... *a la charge de le venir afformer.*  
 have.PRS.3SG the responsibility of him come.INF inform.INF  
 ‘they have the responsibility to come and inform him.’ (Terrien, p.25)
- (296) *pour en cuider ferir icellui suppliant.*  
 to of-it want.INF hit.INF that-one supplicant  
 ‘in order to want hit the aforementioned supplicant with it.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 81, fol. 41 verso.)

In each case, the first infinitive is a verb that has already been observed with CC in our corpus. This construction is not common (there are 57 examples for the period) and it is only attested from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. There are no instances where the clitic is enclitic on the higher infinitive (a construction that is found in Spanish and Standard Italian). To conclude, as far as we could discern CC is not substantially different from what I have exposed with the OF data, aside from (i) CC with *de*, (ii) CC with more verbs, (iii) a decrease of CC with infinitive fronting.

### 7.2.2 Enclisis

Enclisis is the ordering when CC is not available in OF, and the data show that the situation changed abruptly at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. For the MidF period, I counted only 8 occurrences of enclisis, all of which precede the year 1350: the loss of enclisis begins after 1300 and is completed swiftly.

- (297) *nous avons eu en conseil d’enforcier les.*  
 we have.PRS.1PL have.PP in counsel to-enforce them  
 ‘We have been advised to enforce them.’ (*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CLXXXIII)
- (298) *pour fere ent ce qu’il l’en plera*  
 to make.INF of-it that that-he it-of-it please.FUT.3SG  
 ‘... to do with it whatever will please him.’ (Mortemer, 74)

There are two sentences with enclisis despite the presence of a main verb that has been found with CC elsewhere in the corpus: see for instance (299) with *convenir* ‘to be suitable’, where the reflexive *soi* is the object of the two infinitives.

- (299) *que il ne conviengne deffendre et garder soi.*  
 that he not suit.SBJV.3SG defend.INF and guard.INF REFL  
 ‘that it wouldn’t be suitable to defend oneself and guard oneself.’

(*Actes Royaux du Poitou*, CLXXXVIII)

The 6 other instances of enclisis are found when the infinitive is introduced by prepositions *a*, *de* ‘to’ (297), *pour* ‘for/to’ (298) and the coordinating conjunction *et* ‘and’. We can treat these 8 instances of enclisis as remnants from the preceding period, since proclisis is now the main ordering in these contexts. Essentially, enclisis is not part of the MidF grammar.

## 7.2.3 Proclisis

### 7.2.3.1 Data

MidF has characteristics from the ‘old system’, but it shows evidence of the rise of a ‘new system’ where the clitic does not climb. In other words, CC is present in OF and MidF, whereas enclisis disappears and proclisis rises.<sup>6</sup> The contexts and frequencies where proclisis has been found are reported in Table 7.2.

<sup>6</sup>We have seen that the latter is found in OF as well, albeit in a negligible amount (20 in total).

		Total	%
Verb + subordinator	de 'to'	44	10.2
	a 'to'	23	
Non-modal verb		31	4.72
Modal verb		23	3.5
Preposition	por 'to/for'	151	52.05
	de 'of'	106	
	a 'to'	50	
	sanz 'without'	34	
	par 'to/for'	1	
Conjunction	et 'and'	76	14
	ou 'or'	10	
	ni 'nor'	4	
	mais 'but'	2	
Negation	ne 'not'	14	2.13
Adverb		16	2.44
Object		11	1.67
Other		60	9.13
<b>Total</b>		<b>657</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 7.2: Pre-infinitival context with proclisis in Middle French

Proclisis is mainly found when the infinitive is introduced by a preposition (52.05%), a conjunction (14%) or a subordinator (10.2%), i.e. where CC is not allowed. We have seen earlier that in these contexts, the clitic and the infinitive are ‘trapped’ which in turn forces cliticisation to be local.

7.2.3.2 ... V<sub>MODAL</sub> Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

Nevertheless, a few cases of proclisis is found despite the availability of CC: in other words, there are instances of ‘V<sub>MODAL</sub> V<sub>INF</sub>’ sentences where CC is not found. Recall that there were some examples in OF where the clitic could have climbed yet it didn’t (section 6.3.2). The construction is given in examples (300) and (301).<sup>7</sup>

(300) *É autres psonnes qui pourroient y auoir interest.*  
 and other people who can.COND.3PL there have.INF interest  
 ‘and other people who could have an interest there.’ (Terrien, p.18)

(301) *on pourroit bien le faire appeller.*  
 one can.COND.3SG well him make.INF call.INF  
 ‘One could surely get him called.’ (Bérault, p.144)

In order to verify whether proclisis in examples (300) and (301) is a result of a decrease in CC constructions, I isolated sentences in which the main verb is a modal and compared the frequencies of clitic placement with the OF data (Table 7.3).

	<b>Climbing</b>	<b>Not climbing</b>
<b>Old French</b>	98.79% (818)	1.21% (10)
<b>Middle French</b>	96.76% (686)	3.24% (23)

Table 7.3: Clitic placement when the main verb is a modal

Interestingly, Wanner (1982) has shown that non-CC constructions account for 5% of all constructions in Medieval Spanish, which is similar to what is reported in Table 7.3 for Medieval French. The comparison seems unequivocal enough so we can dismiss the hypothesis that CC is on the decrease in MidF. Nonetheless, the 23 instances of

<sup>7</sup>It is worth noting that in (301) the clitic cliticises on the causative *faire* yet it is the object of *appeller* ‘to call’. I have excluded causatives from the study, but *faire* should not prevent the clitic from climbing to the modal verb.



proclisis in this context are found towards the end of the period: in *Rouillé* (1539), *Terrien* (1578) and *Bérault* (1614). Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, CC is systematic. We will see in section 7.3 that the data in these three texts foretell the loss of CC.

### 7.2.3.3 ... V<sub>NON-MODAL</sub> CI V<sub>INF</sub>

We have seen earlier that there are instances of CC when the main verb is not a modal (section 7.2.1.2). In this context, proclisis is also possible.

- (302) *ouquel ledit deffunct estoit venu le assaillir, prendre, pillier*  
 to-which the-said deceased be.PST.3SG come.PP it assail.INF take.INF plunder.INF  
*et rober.*  
 and rob.INF  
 ‘where the deceased came to assail it, take it, plunder it and rob it’ (*it*: the hotel)

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 172, n. 324, fol. 166 recto.)

- (303) *sans qu’aucun osast les enleuer.*  
 without that-none dare.PST.3SG them remove.INF  
 ‘and no one dared removing them.’ (Bérault, p.6)

- (304) *auquel nous enioignons y pouruoir, & faire entretenir les*  
 to-which we enjoin.PRS.1PL there provide.INF and make.INF maintain.INF the  
*fondations.*  
 foundations  
 ‘To which we order that they provide for it, and look after its foundations.’

(*Terrien*, p.34)

The verbs *venir* ‘to come’ (302) and *oser* ‘to dare’ (303) are also found with CC in the corpus (see lists (189) and (275)). Although there is statistical evidence that CC is strongly preferred, the presence of proclisis in such environments shows that it was not deemed ungrammatical. Nevertheless, these examples are rare before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which is a turning point with regards to CC and clitic placement more generally.

7.2.3.4 ... V<sub>FIN</sub> à/de/∅ Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

There is evidence that proclisis is more common (67 occurrences) than CC (5 occurrences) when the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator: see examples with the subordinators *à* (305), (306) and *de* (307), (308).

- (305) *fe il noffre                    a la soustenir.*  
 if he not-offer.PRS.3SG to it support.INF  
 ‘if he does not offer to support it.’ (Rouillé, 3v)

- (306) *mais nous attedros        a en parler    cy    apres.*  
 but we wait.FUT.1PL to of-it speak.INF there after  
 ‘But we’ll wait and write about it thereafter.’ (Terrien, p.16)

- (307) *qu’il leur promisist        de les leur apporter...*  
 that-he them promise.PST.3SG to these them bring.INF  
 ‘That he promised them to bring these to them.’

(Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI, JJ 172, n. 555, fol. 3o8 verso.)

- (308) *Et de rechief s’efforça                    de le ferir    d’icelle espée.*  
 and again REFL-endeavour.PST.3SG to him hit.INF of-this sword  
 ‘And once again, he tried his best to hit him with this sword.’

(Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI, JJ 172, n. 632, fol. 35o recto.)

Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) discuss infinitive subordinators in MidF and claim that *à* and *de* are in competition with a null subordinator, namely  $\emptyset$  (which does not exist in ModF). The literature presents little insight into this, yet the corpus shows evidence for constructions in which  $\emptyset$  is present: consider examples (309), (310) and (311).

- (309) *il semble        n’estre    raisonnable ∅ le permettre.*  
 it seem.PRS.3SG not-be.INF reasonable  $\emptyset$  it allow.INF  
 ‘It doesn’t seem reasonable to allow it.’ (Bérault, p.20)

- (310) *il sera        tenu    incontinent ∅ les remettre    au greffe.*  
 it be.FUT.3SG hold.PP incontinently  $\emptyset$  them hand-over.INF to.the court  
 ‘It will have to be handed over to the court incontinently.’ (Terrien, p.64)

- (311) *nous auons tres expressement enioint & commande eux Ø en desister*  
 we have.PRS.1PL very expressly enjoin.PP and order.PP them Ø of-it withdraw.INF  
*& departir...*  
 and leave.INF  
 ‘We have expressly asked and ordered them to withdraw from it and leave.’

(*Terrien*, p.81)

The competition is observable in the data: the main verbs in (309), (310) and (311) have also been found with overt subordinators elsewhere in the corpus. Regardless, proclisis is preferred with the three options (*à*, *de* and *Ø*).

### 7.2.3.5 Prep Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

A clitic cannot leave an adjunct prepositional phrase (where the preposition does not act as a subordinator). This has already been exposed for OF (sections 6.3.5 and 6.4.4), and it is valid in MidF as well.

- (312) *et resseellames le dit papier de nos iii seaulz pour le envoyer par*  
 and seal-again.PRS.1PL the said paper of our three stamps to it send.INF in  
*devers vous.*  
 presence you  
 ‘and we sealed the paper again with our three stamps in your presence in order to send it.’

(*Actes Normands*, p.111)

- (313) *et sans la batre...*  
 and without her beat.INF  
 ‘and without beating her...’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 63, fol. 33 verso.)

When both the infinitive and the clitic are in a PP, there is proclisis. The literature reports that strong pronouns are also found in this context (de Kok, 1985, 1993; Roberts, 1997), and I have discussed the evidence available in the corpus in section 6.6, however it is clear that clitics are more common.

7.2.3.6 Conj Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

A clitic cannot climb over a coordinating conjunction.

- (314) ... *menassié de le prendre de nuit en son hostel et le estrangler ou*  
 threaten.PP to him take.INF at night in his hotel and him strangle.INF or  
*noyer.*  
 drown.INF  
 ‘... who had threatened to abduct him at night in his hotel and to either strangle  
 him or drown him.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 104, fol. 52 recto.)

- (315) *Et pource que les Neustriens ne luy auoiet voulu obeyr, ne le*  
 and because the Neustrians not him have.PST.3PL want.PP obey.INF nor him  
*reconoisttre a roy & seigneur...*  
 recognise.INF as king and lord  
 ‘And because the Neutrians neither obeyed him nor recognised him as their King...’

(*Terrien*, p.43)

There is no major difference between the two periods, except for the fact that we find enclisis in OF and proclisis in MidF.

7.2.3.7 Ne Cl V<sub>INF</sub>

When the infinitive is negated, i.e. the clitic *ne* precedes the infinitive, proclisis is always found.

- (316) ... *de ne les recevoir en leur service.*  
 to not them receive.INF in their service  
 ‘... to not receive any favour from them.’

(*Terrien*, p.20)

- (317) *& iurer de n’y rentrer iamais.*  
 and swear.INF to not-there enter.INF ever  
 ‘and swear to never enter there.’

(*Bérault*, p.222)

There are no sentences where a negated infinitive is preceded by a modal, however we know that CC is disallowed in such a configuration in Italian and Spanish (Kayne, 1989).

#### 7.2.4 Summary

During the MidF period, clitic placement differs according to two contexts: (i) in contexts where a main verb introduces a bare infinitive, the main verb is usually a modal. In the literature, this corresponds to restructuring clauses. (ii) in all other constructions, that is when the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator, a preposition, a conjunction or a negation. I summarise clitic placement in these two contexts below.

In (i), CC is strongly preferred, although there are some instances of proclisis. The situation is clear with modals: CC is found 681 times and proclisis 23 times. Additionally, there are cases of CC when the main verb is an infinitive (and in that case, the clitic is proclitic on the main infinitive). There is no real change in this context, and we can say that the situation remains stable: in both OF and MidF, CC is found more than 96% of sentences where the main verb is a modal. I have briefly mentioned a subtle decrease of CC from the 16<sup>th</sup> on, though the data for EModF will introduce more information in this regard (in section 7.3 below).

The main difference between OF and MidF is the transition from enclisis to proclisis in contexts where CC is ruled out. In (ii), the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator, a preposition, a coordinating conjunction or a negation. This is where proclisis is found: systematically in the last three cases. A subordinator is sometimes found with CC, albeit rarely: there are a mere 5 instances of the construction. There are, however, 67 instances where the clitic is proclitic in the presence of a subordinator. We can note that *de* was not found with CC in OF, but it is in MidF.

## 7.3 Early Modern French (1678-1856)

### 7.3.1 Overview

The EModF period is a transition stage from MidF to ModF: CC decreases sharply during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and it is not found anymore by the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Text 18 is the first source that shows CC in a notably reduced amount: in this source, 84% of clitics are proclitic, whereas only 16% climb (see Table 7.4). Text 19 patterns similarly.

Text	Date	Proclisis		Climbing		Total <i>n</i>
		<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
#18	1676-1681	294	<b>84</b>	56	<b>16</b>	350
#19	1731	238	<b>84.4</b>	44	<b>15.6</b>	282
#20	1771	235	<b>67.14</b>	115	<b>32.86</b>	350
#21	1856	114	<b>100</b>	0	<b>0</b>	114
<b>Total</b>		<b>881</b>	<b>80.38</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>19.62</b>	<b>1 096</b>

Table 7.4: Clitic positioning in Early Modern French

There is, however, a disparity in text 20, where CC is quite frequent. This source was composed shortly before the 1789 French Revolution, during the *Siècle des Lumières* ‘the Enlightenment’. At that point in time, scholars promoted intellectual exchanges and as it has been observed in Chapter 5, the written language used by scholars favours the use of archaisms. The author of text 20 may have been influenced by the intellectual radiance of their century and they may have sought to embrace a more literary language with the will to be more truthful to the past. In turn, this would account for the frequency of CC in this particular text.

## 7.3.2 Clitic climbing

### 7.3.2.1 Data

CC represents 19.62% of clitic placement in EModF (215/1096), a clear decrease in frequency (recall that as we have noted, the frequency of the construction reaches 80.46% in OF and 52.87% in MidF). We observe that the grammar of the language has changed: unlike in other periods, a restricted range of elements are found to intervene between the two verbs. Moreover, CC is only found with modals and fronting of the infinitive is not attested anymore.

### 7.3.2.2 $Cl_i V_{MODAL} V_{INF} t_i$

All instances of CC in EModF are found with a modal verb (318).<sup>8</sup> Unlike other periods, CC is restricted to this subcategory of verbs.

- (318)
- *pouvoir* ‘can’.
  - *devoir* ‘must’.
  - *vouloir* ‘want’.
  - *falloir* ‘to be necessary’.

- (319) *Le vendeur ne le peut contraindre à suppléer le juste prix.*  
 the seller not him can.PRS-3SG force.INF to compensate.INF the right price  
 ‘The seller can’t force him to compensate with the right price.’ (*Basnage*, p.33)

- (320) *La mesure se doit faire suivant l’usage du lieu.*  
 the measure REFL must.PRS-3SG do.INF following the-custom of-the place  
 ‘The measure must be done according to the custom of the place.’ (*Merville*, p.50)

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<sup>8</sup>*Savoir* ‘to know’, is not found with CC in EModF. For all periods, this modal is less frequent in the corpus. This can be accounted for by the choice of register: legal texts mention what people can and can not do, what they must and must not do, and what their options are when they want to do something. They occasionally discuss what a person knows or does not know, yet this is not their primary focus. It is therefore expected that *savoir* be less present in this particular corpus.

- (321) ... *le Propriétaire ne la veut pas empêcher.*  
 the owner not it want.PRS.3SG not prevent.INF  
 ‘... the owner does not want to prevent it.’ (Pesnelle, p.93)

- (322) *Il les faut excuser.*  
 it them be-necessary.PRS.3SG excuse.INF  
 ‘It is necessary to excuse them.’ (Basnage, p.5)

Although identical examples have been presented for OF and MidF, the contrast of CC and proclisis with modals in section 7.3.3 will show that the former is on the decrease. Before we do so, let us report on elements that are found to intervene.

### 7.3.2.3 $Cl_i V_{\text{MODAL}} \text{ADV}_{\text{NEG}} V_{\text{INF}} t_i$

Earlier periods of the language are undeniably characterised by a freer word order. In sections 6.2 and 7.2.1, a wide range of elements have been observed to intervene between the two verbs when CC obtains. In EModF, the only elements that are found to intervene are adverbs of negation like *pas* ‘not’ (323), (324), *point* ‘not’ (325) and *plus* ‘anymore’ (326).

- (323) ... *que le Curé ne la doit pas recevoir directement.*  
 that the bishop not it should.PRS.3SG not receive.INF directly  
 ‘... that the bishop should not receive it directly.’ (Basnage, p.26)

- (324) *il semble qu'on n'y doit pas apporter tant de rigueur.*  
 it seem.PRS.3SG that-one not-to-it must.PRS.3SG not bring.INF such of rigour  
 ‘It seems that one should not bring that much rigour to it.’ (Pesnelle, p.71)

- (325) *sa précaution donc ne luy doit point être inutile.*  
 his precaution thus not him must.PRS.3SG not be.INF useless  
 ‘Thus, his precaution must not be useless to him.’ (Basnage, p.35)

- (326) *le Patron n'en peut plus présenter un autre.*  
 the boss not-of-it can.PRS.3SG anymore present.INF an other  
 ‘The boss cannot present any other of them.’ (Pesnelle, p.83)



There are a few instances of CC when the quantifier *rien* ‘nothing’ appears between the two verbs as well (327) (which is also a negator intensifier).

- (327) *sans que le Deffendeur y puisse rien trouver à rédire.*  
 without that the defendant there can.SBJV.3SG nothing find.INF to say-again.INF  
 ‘... without the defendant being able to find any fault with it. (Merville, p.65)

In any case, the class of elements that are found between the two verbs when the clitic climbs is much more restricted than that of OF and MidF.

In the corpus, CC fully disappears from French between the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (as seen in Table 7.4). During the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, instances remain in a limited frequency and in a reduced array of contexts. Proclisis, on the other hand, generalises to all infinitival clauses.

### 7.3.3 Proclisis

Proclisis establishes itself as the default ordering in all infinitival contexts during the EModF period. It is systematically found when the main verb is a non-modal verb, when the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator, a preposition or a conjunction. When the main verb is a modal, proclisis is now more common than CC. This is a major change, since the situation was stable between OF and MidF. The EModF period is a transition from a language that has CC (MidF) to a language that does not have CC (ModF).

Text	Modal <i>n</i>	Modal %
#18	75	60% (75/125)
#19	58	56.86% (58/102)
#20	55	33.74% (55/163)
#21	63	100% (63/63)
<b>Total</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>55.41% (251/453)</b>

Table 7.5: Proclisis with modals in Early Modern French

	Climbing	Not climbing	Constructions <i>n</i>
<b>Old French</b>	98.79% (818)	1.21% (10)	828
<b>Middle French</b>	96.76% (686)	3.24% (23)	709
<b>Early Modern French</b>	44.59% (453)	55.41% (251)	704

Table 7.6: Clitic placement when the main verb is a modal

This modern ordering is exemplified in sentences (328) to (330), where all main verbs are modals.

- (328) *Le défendeur pouvoit le refuser.*  
 the defendant can.PST.3SG it refuse.INF  
 'The defendant could refuse it.' (Basnage, p.6)
- (329) *Je n'ai point voulu me livrer à une analyse.*  
 I not-have.PRS.1SG not want.PP me turn-in.INF to an analysis  
 'I did not want to turn myself in to an analysis.' (Pesnelle, p.95)
- (330) *... à celui qui veut s'en servir.*  
 to the-one who want.PRS.3SG REFL-of-it use.INF  
 '... to the one who wants to use it.' (Merville, p.7)

Modals like *pouvoir* 'can' and *vouloir* 'want' are found systematically with CC in OF and MidF, yet this is not the case here. In EModF, the frequency of CC

decreases until it disappears and the frequency of proclisis rises until it is the only ordering possible.

### 7.3.4 Summary

Unlike in OF and MidF, CC is only found with modal verbs, and the only elements that may intervene are adverbs of negation like *pas* or *plus*, as well as the quantifier *rien* ‘nothing’ (which becomes part of the negative complex akin to *pas* and *plus*). The restriction on the range of elements that can intervene comes as a direct reflex of the loss of free word order (for instance, V2 orderings are not found anymore).

The decrease and loss of CC is the major change here: I have shown that clitics gradually stop climbing despite the presence of a modal verb from the 17<sup>th</sup> century on. The data indicate that CC was lost with non-modal verbs first and then extended to modal verbs. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, proclisis is the only ordering that remains.

## 7.4 Interpolation

There are some different cases of proclisis, which are called *interpolation* in the literature (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005), that are present in the corpus (13 in total). Interpolation is found in MidF and EModF (between the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>9</sup> In this construction, the clitic does not seem to cliticise on the infinitive (although it is part of the infinitival clause): consider examples (331) to (334) where an adverb intervenes between the clitic and the infinitive.

- (331) *et adventure de y miserablement finer leurs jours*  
 and adventure of there miserably end.INF their day.  
 ‘and the adventure to miserably end their days here.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 63, fol. 33 verso.)

<sup>9</sup>Interpolation remains in ModF idioms like *à n’en plus finir* ‘endlessly’.

- (332) *Pourquoi ne le pas anneler.*  
 why not it not put-a-ring-in.INF  
 ‘Why not put a ring in it?’ (in the animal’s nose) (Pesnelle, p.96)
- (333) *Et à le bien visiter avant de l’acheter.*  
 and to it well visit.INF before to it-buy.INF  
 ‘and to visit it correctly, before buying it.’ (Merville, p.60)
- (334) *pour s’en mieux éclaircir il se transporta au sepulchre*  
 to REFL-of-it better clear.INF he REFL transport.FUT.3SG to-the sepulchre  
 ‘and to clear himself up from it, he went to the sepulchre...’ (Basnage, p.23)

Examples (331) to (334) illustrate that interpolation is mostly found with monosyllabic adverbs (although this is not systematic as *miserablement* ‘miserably’ counts five syllables).<sup>10</sup> The corpus also shows instances of interpolation with DP quantifiers like *rien* ‘nothing’.

- (335) *Sans en rien obmettre*  
 without of-it nothing omit.INF  
 ‘Without omitting anything about it.’ (Rouillé, 6v)
- (336) *Elle ne pouvait lui rien donner.*  
 she not can.PST.3SG him nothing give.INF  
 ‘She could not give him anything.’ (Pannier, p.38)

De Kok (1985: 337), Martineau (1990: 79) and Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) introduce other examples where the negation *pas* or an adverb intervenes, and even instances with heavier elements like a full PP (337).

- (337) *et son pere, pour la de son duel gecter, ly parla.*  
 and her father to her from her duel deter.INF her speak.PST.3SG  
 ‘and her father, to deter her from her duel, spoke to her.’

(Saintré 5:1, de Kok 1985: 341)

<sup>10</sup>Miller and Monachesi (2003) write that the intervening element must be some sort of adverbial clitic, however the data introduced here show that this claim is untenable, as ‘heavy’ adverbs and full phrases may appear.

Cases of interpolation are reported in the literature for several Romance languages, both synchronically and diachronically (Pollock, 2002; Miller and Monachesi, 2003; Poletto and Pollock, 2005; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005).<sup>11</sup>

## 7.5 Summary of the findings

A summary of the main tendencies of the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives in French is reported in Table 7.7. Although I did not investigate the ModF period, it is added to the Table for clarity. The diachrony is presented according to two main contexts:

1. In the first context, the main verb introduces a bare infinitive. The main verb is generally a modal and adverbs may intervene. This context is traditionally referred to as *restructuring*.
2. In all other contexts (non-restructuring contexts): either a main verb introduces the infinitive with a subordinator like *a* or *de*, or the infinitive is directly preceded by the negation *ne*, a preposition or a conjunction.

	Restructuring contexts		Non-restructuring contexts	
	Climbing	Not climbing	Enclisis	Proclisis
<b>Old French</b>	✓		✓	
<b>Middle French</b>	✓			✓
<b>Early Modern French</b>	✓	→ ✓		✓
<b>Modern French</b>		✓		✓

Table 7.7: Summary of the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives

<sup>11</sup>Triestino, Calabrian, Portuguese, Rumanian, early Spanish and a handful of Italian dialects show or have shown this ordering at some point (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005: 78-79).

We can bring some nuance to this summary: in OF and MidF, there are some instances where the clitic does not climb in restructuring contexts, and there are some instances of CC when the infinitive is introduced by a subordinator. In any case, CC was strongly preferred (in restructuring contexts), and CC over a subordinator poses an interesting challenge to our study (or any study that seeks to keep the two contexts distinct). Moreover, proclisis is also present in OF, although in a small quantity (20 occurrences of proclisis *vs.* 182 of enclisis), which posits the question of competing grammars (Kroch, 1989, 2001) or true optionality (Biberauer and Richards, 2006). In the following chapter, I will argue for the latter in light of a parametric theory of language change (Roberts and Roussou, 2003).

## 7.6 Concluding remarks

The evolution took place in two steps. First, a change took place in non-restructuring contexts, where proclisis replaced enclisis (between OF and MidF). This was completed rapidly at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Second, a change took place in restructuring contexts: during the EModF period, CC weakened and the clitic remained within the embedded clause. The loss of CC occurred more gradually and took almost two centuries to complete. In other words, the erosion of CC began more than 300 years after the loss of enclisis, and it lasted for 200 years - so CC disappeared almost 500 years after enclisis. This is illustrated in Table 7.8: in restructuring contexts, the main verb is in second position in OF and the clitic climbs to it. During the MidF period, the V2 constraint weakens and clitics still climb, whereas they do not anymore in ModF. In non-restructuring contexts, the shift is clear between OF and MidF.

	Restructuring contexts	Non-restructuring contexts
<b>Old French</b>	XP <b>le</b> <i>vueil</i> <u><i>veoir</i></u>	... <u><i>veoir</i></u> <b>le</b>
<b>Middle French</b>	(je) <b>le</b> <i>veux</i> <u><i>voir</i></u>	... <b>le</b> <u><i>voir</i></u>
<b>Modern French</b>	je <i>veux</i> <b>le</b> <u><i>voir</i></u>	... <b>le</b> <u><i>voir</i></u>

Table 7.8: Evolution of ‘I want to see it’/‘to see it’

The findings reveal interesting patterns when the clitic climbs: (i) a variety of elements may intervene between the main verb and the infinitive, (ii) the main verb can be fronted to satisfy V2 and (iii) the infinitive can move higher than the main verb. Furthermore, there are instances of CC despite the presence of a *Wh*-phrase or a subordinator. This suggests the presence of a CP-layer, which in turn affects analyses whereby CC is triggered in a mono-clausal environment (Rizzi, 1982; Cinque, 2004). Additionally, I have found instances of interpolation, which shows that the clitic did not always cliticise on the verb, and its unavailability in ModF indicates that a change affecting cliticisation has taken place during the end of the EModF period. Lastly, the presence of pronouns in the strong form in clitic positions raises questions with regards to the pronominal paradigm of Medieval French and the typological properties of such pronouns (in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999), which I have claimed to be weak.

The generalised use of proclisis is fairly recent in the history of the language. There are two notable shifts that we need to account for: first, a shift from enclisis to proclisis ca. 1300, then a more gradual shift from CC to proclisis towards the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. I analyse these two shifts in the order they took place: Chapter 8 provides a discussion on the loss of enclisis and Chapter 9 posits an update on the loss of CC in French based on the data uncovered in the present Chapter.





## Part III

### Shifts in clitic placement



# Chapter 8

## From enclisis to proclisis

### 8.1 Introduction

The diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives in French shows three successive stages (Table 8.1).<sup>1</sup>

	<b>Restructuring contexts</b>	<b>Non-restructuring contexts</b>
<b>1150-1300</b>	Clitic climbing	Enclisis
<b>1300-1750</b>	Clitic climbing	Proclisis
<b>1750-Present</b>	Proclisis	Proclisis

Table 8.1: Summary of the diachrony of clitic placement with infinitives

Crucially, the data show that MidF should not be interpreted as a transition period from a system that has clitic climbing (CC) and enclisis (like Standard Italian, Catalan

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<sup>1</sup>Table 8.1 magnifies the findings. Although it is clear that the shift from enclisis to proclisis in non-restructuring contexts took place right after 1300, the shift from CC to proclisis in restructuring contexts took more time. Nevertheless, from 1750 on, the frequency of CC drops significantly. Also, the data is not entirely black and white in restructuring contexts in relation to CC *vs.* enclisis.

and Spanish) to a system with generalised proclisis for two reasons. First, there is a 400-year gap between the loss of enclisis and the loss of CC, which gives evidence that the loss of the latter cannot be a direct reflex of the loss of enclisis. Second, the MidF system resembles what is found in some Romance languages that have CC and proclisis, such as Occitan (see section 8.2). In this Chapter and the following one, I will argue that the presence or absence of CC in restructuring contexts is independent from the presence of enclisis in non-restructuring contexts, despite the fact that most Romance varieties that have CC also have enclisis (Standard Italian, Catalan and Spanish). Based on the diachrony of clitic placement in French and clitic placement in other Romance varieties, I will show that all combinations are possible (i.e. CC and enclisis; CC and proclisis; enclisis only; proclisis only).

This Chapter is devoted to the first change in the history of the language, that is the shift from enclisis to proclisis in non-restructuring contexts during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Chapter is organised as follows: in section 8.2, I discuss the distribution of proclisis, enclisis and CC in a series of Romance languages to show that the two shifts must be analysed somewhat independently. I expose the analysis of cliticisation I will use throughout the Chapter in section 8.3: to do so, I present a theory of enclisis in OF. In section 8.4, I provide the reader with some necessary background on the theory of verb movement in Romance, and I justify why this parameter is relevant to the alternation between enclisis and proclisis with infinitives in section 8.5. In section 8.6, I examine the loss of long movement with infinitives in Medieval French and provide a brief analysis with considerations to syntax, phonology and prosody. I lay down my analysis of proclisis in MidF and in ModF in sections 8.7 and 8.8 respectively, as I consider the two periods to differ minimally. I propose that the reorganisation of clitic placement stems from two changes: the loss of long verb-movement in late OF, and a shift from phonological to syntactic cliticisation in early ModF (based on the distinction made in Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005). Section 8.9 concludes.

## 8.2 Modern Romance and clitic orderings

Before looking at the pro-/enclisis alternation in the diachrony of French, we must look at the motivations to analyse it distinctly from CC. In this section, I consider other Romance languages and typology.

Standard Italian, Spanish and Catalan have CC in restructuring clauses and enclisis elsewhere. Unlike in OF however, CC is optional and the clitic can cliticise on the infinitive in absence of transparency effects (i.e. when restructuring is not triggered) in those three languages (Cinque, 2004). In our corpus, CC is found in 99.12% of all restructuring clauses (1124/1134) between 1150 and 1435.

Some languages have CC in restructuring clauses and proclisis elsewhere, for instance Sardinian<sup>2</sup> (Jones, 1997: 337), Francoprovençal (Horváth, 2008: 236, 240) and some Occitan dialects<sup>3</sup> (Hernanz and Rigau, 1984: 47; Alibèrt, 1976: 290; Bekowies and McLaughlin, 2020). Interestingly, Jones (1997: 337) writes that ‘Clitic-climbing is obligatory with modal and causative verbs which take a *bare* infinitive’ in Sardinian (emphasis not mine), which is also what we find in OF and MidF (my observation does not extend to causatives, that I do not investigate). (338a) illustrates CC and (338b) proclisis in Sardinian. In the following examples, clitics are in bold and infinitives are underlined.

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<sup>2</sup>A crucial difference however is that Sardinian infinitives can be inflected (Ledgeway, 1998). When introduced by a functional predicate however, they are uninflected (Ledgeway, 2016*a*: 1017). Using Old Neapolitan clitic data, Ledgeway (1998: 43) further claims that ‘clitic climbing only obtains when the embedded verb is specified negatively for finiteness’, therefore CC is not allowed when the infinitive is inflected.

<sup>3</sup>Occitan is a group of mutually intelligible dialects. Alibèrt (1976: 289) notes that in two of these dialects (Foissenc, in Foix, and Tolosan, in Toulouse), there is enclisis on infinitives. The others show proclisis.

- (338) a. *Lu keljo pikare.* [Sardinian]  
 it want.PRS.1SG take.INF  
 ‘I want to take it.’
- b. *Provo de lu fákere.*  
 try.PRS.1SG to it do.INF  
 ‘I try to do it.’ (Jones, 1997: 337)

In his grammar, Alibèrt (1976) claims that CC is optional in Occitan, and this is further illustrated in the study of Hernanz and Rigau (1984). Horváth (2008) does not specify the situation in Francoprovençal, which has yet to be investigated in depth. In fact, we see that what characterises Gallo-Romance is the proclitic placement on infinitives, which is otherwise uncommon in Romance (at the exception of Southern Italian Dialects). Example (339) shows that CC and proclisis are equally available in Occitan in restructuring contexts.

- (339) a. *Los anam ajudar.* [Occitan]  
 them go.PRS.1PL help.INF  
 ‘We are going to help them.’
- b. *Anam los ajudar.*  
 go.PRS.1PL them help.INF  
 ‘We are going to help them.’ (Bekowies and McLaughlin, 2020: 142)

Example (340), in Francoprovençal, shows that CC is found in restructuring contexts (340a) and proclisis is found elsewhere (340b).

- (340) a. *Le malæer ny’ a byon pu arevo.* [Francoprovençal]  
 the misfortune him have.PRS.3SG well can.PP arrive.INF  
 ‘Misfortune may as well have happened to him.’ (Horváth, 2008: 240)
- b. *j’è po bezouein de voz ou dzere.*  
 I-have.PRS.1SG NEG need to you it say.INF  
 ‘I don’t need to tell you this.’ (Horváth, 2008: 236)

The data provided here in Sardinian, Occitan and Francoprovençal give evidence that CC and enclisis are not obligatorily part of the same system, i.e. they do not

have to coexist in the same language or the same stage of a language. Therefore, they support the hypothesis that we should regard the two contexts in Table 7.7 as separate.

Moving on to languages that do not have CC at all, which do not seem to be very common in Romance, ModF is a well-known example and Davies (1996) introduces figures that show a decrease of CC in spoken Brazilian Portuguese, as well as an ‘avoidance’ of enclisis, resulting in an increasing use of proclisis.<sup>4</sup> Note the absence of CC despite the presence of a modal in (341a) and the presence of proclisis in non-restructuring contexts (341b).

- (341) a. *Tu pode me dizer as horas.* [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 you can.PRS.2SG me tell.INF the time  
 ‘Can you tell me what time it is?’
- b. *Com essa expectativa de me encontrar.*  
 with this expectation of me meet.INF  
 ‘With this expectation to meet me.’ (Davies, 1996: 103)

Lastly, there are some varieties that have generalised enclisis, as noted by Tortora (2000, 2002, 2014a,b,c). This is the case of Borgomanerese, in which enclisis is found in all finite (342a) and non-finite clauses even in presence of a modal verb (342b).

- (342) a. *I porta-la.* [Borgomanerese]  
 I bring.PRS.1SG-it  
 ‘I’m bringing it.’ (Tortora, 2002: 728)
- b. *I vori de-gu par nadal.*  
 I want.PRS.1SG give.INF-it for Christmast  
 ‘I want to give it to him for Christmas.’ (Tortora, 2014a: 137)

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<sup>4</sup>Davies (1996) shows that the situation in Brazilian Portuguese is still evolving. Unlike ModF, in which CC is extremely rare and practically inexistant, CC is still found in Brazilian Portuguese, with different frequencies depending on geography and register. Nevertheless, the important decrease of CC in Brazilian Portuguese mirrors the data for EModF, and we can predict the total loss of CC in the near future.

A summary of the orderings found across Romance in restructuring contexts and non-restructuring contexts is given in Table 8.2.

Diachrony	Similar systems	Rest. contexts	Non-Rest. contexts
<i>N/A</i>	<i>Borgomanerese</i>	Enclisis	Enclisis
<i>Old French</i>	<i>Spanish, Catalan, Standard Italian</i>	Climbing	Enclisis
<i>Middle French</i>	<i>Sardinian, Occitan, Francoprovençal</i>	Climbing	Proclisis
<i>Modern French</i>	<i>Brazilian Portuguese</i>	Proclisis	Proclisis

Table 8.2: Comparison of the diachrony of French with Romance

The diachronic and comparative evidence presented here show that MidF is not a mere transition from one system to another, but that the period had a defined system similar to that of Occitan. This crucial observation allows us to consider the two changes independently (the loss of CC in restructuring contexts and the loss of enclisis in non-restructuring contexts). In the remainder of this Chapter, I will limit the discussion to the change observed in non-restructuring contexts (clitic placement in restructuring contexts is discussed in Chapter 9). Although our focus is on the diachrony of French, I will refer to other Romance languages where relevant.

### 8.3 Enclisis in Old French

Let us briefly consider the facts again: in our data, 90.1% of clitic placement in non-restructuring contexts in OF is enclitic as in (343).

- (343) *et elle ofre à prover le en jugement.*  
 and she offer.PRS-3SG to prove.INF it by judgement  
 ‘and she offers to prove it during the trial.’ (*Établissements et Coutumes*, p.35)



To my knowledge, the only Romance language that alternates between proclisis and enclisis with infinitives is European Portuguese.<sup>5,6</sup> The 9.9% occurrences of proclisis in OF can be considered as the early signs of the innovative grammar: the parameter setting inducing enclisis became weak during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century and speakers acquired proclisis (this is discussed in more detail in section 8.7 below).<sup>7</sup> Our data show two grammars in competition (Kroch, 1989, see Olivier, 2022 for a discussion on the competition between enclisis and proclisis), with a possible stage of true optionality as described by Biberauer and Richards (2006). For a short time then, it appears that two configurations were available within a single grammar: one yielding to enclisis, and one to proclisis.

In the spirit of Kayne (1991) (see section 3.6.2), I assume that clitics target a constant functional position: whether they are proclitic or enclitic depends on the position the infinitive moves to. This approach captures the variation of clitic placement diachronically and synchronically, in finite and non-finite clauses (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005; Benincà, 2006; Roberts, 2010; Pescarini, 2021). My proposal takes the clitic to adjoin to a phonologically null *v* (to check unvalued  $\varphi$ -features, as proposed by Roberts, 2010), yet to phonologically cliticise on the infinitive at PF (enclitic, in the case of OF) following the proposal of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005).

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<sup>5</sup>In European Portuguese and in Galician, clitics are enclitic on infinitives when it is the direct complement of a finite verb, but they can be either proclitic or enclitic when the infinitive is introduced by a preposition, a conjunction, a *Wh*-word or a negation (Dubert and Galves, 2016: 433).

<sup>6</sup>I thank Olivier Iglesias (p.c.) who brings to my attention that proclisis and enclisis are found in infinitival contexts in Middle Spanish.

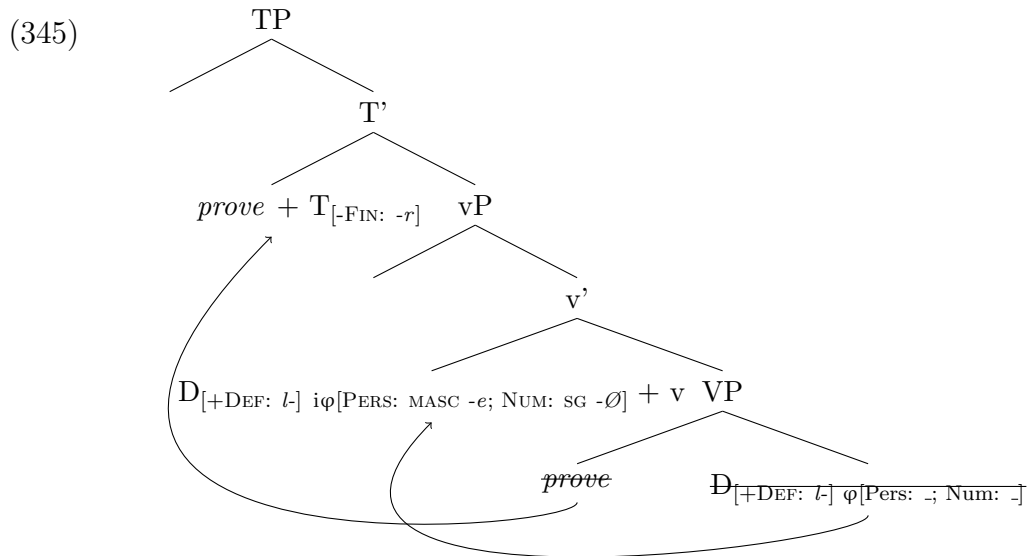
<sup>7</sup>There is no quantitative study of clitics in OF non-finite contexts with which we can compare the results. Nevertheless, de Kok (1985: 127) qualifies proclisis as ‘quite rare’ before 1300. Her observation confirms that we should treat enclisis as the main ordering of the period, and proclisis as the innovative one.

In the following lines, I present my analysis of clitic placement in non-restructuring contexts in OF: the remainder of the Chapter introduces supporting evidence.

I adopt Roberts' (2010) proposal and assume that clitics independently adjoin to *v* with which they Agree (see also Kayne, 1991, and Gallego, 2016 for developments), yet unlike him I take them to be D-heads with a [+definite] feature morphologically realised as *l-*, along the lines of Uriagereka (1995). In OF, infinitives move to a high functional head that I take to be T (see section 8.6 for independent evidence of verb movement). At this stage non-finite T bears features that attract V and which are realised at PF (under the form of an infinitival affix */-r/*, which is discussed in detail in sections 8.6.2 and 8.6.3), schematically represented in (344).

(344) [TP  $V_i$ +/-r/ [<sub>VP</sub> clitic<sub>j</sub>+v [<sub>VP</sub>  $V_i$  clitic<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ]

The structure of (343) is given in (345).<sup>8</sup>



Remember that Jacobs (1993) claims that OF clitics phonologically lean on previous elements whereas they syntactically adjoin to the following one (section 4.6). Jacobs (1993) originally referred to pronominal subjects, conjunctions and particles,

<sup>8</sup>In (345), Spec,TP is probably a Scrambling position (see Labelle, 2007 and Mathieu, 2009).

yet I extend his observation to infinitives. Furthermore, I adopt the proposal of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), who claim that whether clitics are clitics at the syntactic or at the phonological level is language-dependent (I return to this in greater detail in section 8.5.2). I will develop this hypothesis in this Chapter and claim that clitics need a phonological host (which needs not be the verb) in OF and MidF to cliticise at PF, whereas from the EModF period on they are not ‘blind’ anymore with regards to the host they attach to and must cliticise earlier in the derivation. This claim is based on the presence of interpolation in French until the 19<sup>th</sup> century (section 8.7.3).

## 8.4 Verb-movement

### 8.4.1 Split-INFL

Verb placement in finite and non-finite contexts differs greatly across Romance, something which in turn has been shown to directly influence clitic placement (Kayne, 1991; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005; Tortora, 2014*a*). This issue is relevant here since enclisis is generally found in languages where infinitives target a high position, whereas proclisis is found with low infinitives (Kayne, 1991). In what follows, I briefly review the main theories of verb placement in the generative literature.

Within the Government and Binding framework, linguists have dissected the syntax of the inflectional domain to analyse verb movement, leading to the ‘Split-INFL’ hypothesis (Pollock, 1989; Belletti, 1990; Kayne, 1991; Chomsky, 1992). Building on Emonds (1978), Pollock’s (1989) comparative study between French and English has shown that French finite verbs move to a higher position than English finite verbs. This claim is based on the assumption that adverbs appear in a functional position that does not vary crosslinguistically (see also Cinque, 1999 and the discussion that ensues).

(346) *I **often** go to school.*

(347) *Je vais **souvent** à l'école.*  
 I go often to the-school  
 'I often go to school.'

Pollock (1989) accounts for this asymmetry in proposing that English finite verbs remain low on the structure, whereas French finite verbs adjoin to a higher functional position.

(348) a. [TP I [T ] [VP *often* [V go] *to school* ] ] ]  
 b. [TP *Je* [T *vais<sub>i</sub>*] [VP *souvent* [V *t<sub>i</sub>*] *à l'école* ] ] ]

French infinitives do not move as high, as shown with the post-verbal negation: compare finite verbs (349) with infinitives (350) (note that *pas* is analysed as being in Spec,NegP whereas the negative clitic *ne* moves to a higher functional head).

(349) *Je ne vais **pas** à l'école.*  
 I NEG go NEG to the-school  
 'I do not go to school.'

(350) *... ne **pas** aller à l'école.*  
 NEG NEG go.INF to the-school  
 'To not go to school.'

*Pas* systematically follows finite verbs (349), whereas it systematically precedes infinitives (350) (with the exclusion of auxiliary infinitives, see section 8.8.1). Nevertheless, French infinitives can optionally move out of VP, albeit with a restricted class of adverbs: this is illustrated with the adverb *souvent* 'often' in (351).

(351) a. *... (ne pas) **souvent** aller à l'école.*  
 NEG often go.INF to the-school  
 'To (not) go to school often.'

b. *... (ne pas) aller **souvent** à l'école.*  
 NEG go.INF often to the-school  
 'To (not) go to school often.'

In (351), the infinitive can precede the adverb *souvent*: when it does so, it does not move as high as finite verbs since it still follows *pas*. In Pollock's (1989) proposal, French finite verbs move to Infl whilst infinitives move to Agr when they precede adverbs. (352a) is the structure of (347) for finite verb movement in French, and (352b) and (352c) represent the structures of (351a) and (351b) for infinitives respectively (I take the negative clitic *ne* to cliticise on Infl).

- (352) a. [InflP [Infl *ne vais*<sub>i</sub>] [NegP [Neg *pas*] [AgrP [Agr *t<sub>i</sub>*] [VP *souvent* [V *t<sub>i</sub>*] ] ] ] ]  
 b. [InflP [Infl *ne* ] [NegP [Neg *pas*] [AgrP [Agr] [VP *souvent* [V *aller*] ] ] ] ]  
 c. [InflP [Infl *ne* ] [NegP [Neg *pas*] [AgrP [Agr *aller*<sub>i</sub>] [VP *souvent* [V *t<sub>i</sub>*] ] ] ] ]

Turning back to other Romance languages, we observe that infinitives do not necessarily stay low: see a comparison between French and Italian, where *più* 'anymore' follows the verb in Italian (353a), yet *plus* precedes in French (353c).

- (353) a. *Gianni ha deciso di non tornare più.*  
 Gianni has decided to not come-back.<sub>INF</sub> anymore  
 'Gianni has decided to not come back anymore.'  
 b. \* *Gianni ha deciso di non più tornare.*  
 c. *Jean a décidé de ne plus revenir.*  
 Jean has decided to not anymore come-back.<sub>INF</sub>  
 'Jean has decided to not come back anymore.'  
 d. \* *Jean a décidé de ne revenir plus.*

(Pollock, 1997: 167)

Belletti (1990) claims that Italian infinitives move to the highest functional projection available, like French finite verbs (this corresponds to Agr in her proposal). Indeed, the contrast in (353) shows that Italian infinitives target a position higher than that of their French counterparts. Kayne (1991) comes to a similar conclusion in his study of clitic placement with infinitives: his proposal is that Italian infinitives move to Infl to take the *-r(e)* suffix and then adjoin to T', whilst clitics move to

T (354a). In French however, the verb and the clitic do not move higher than Infn (354b).

- (354) a. ... [TP *parlar*<sub>i</sub> [*gli*<sub>j</sub>+T] [InfnP [ *t*<sub>i</sub> ] [VP [ *t*<sub>i</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub> ] ] ] ]  
 b. ... [TP [ T ] [InfnP [*lui*<sub>j</sub>+*parler*<sub>i</sub>+Infn] [VP [ *t*<sub>i</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub> ] ] ] ]

Thus, the Split-INFL hypothesis is motivated by the need to distinguish at least two head positions in the IP domain. The three proposals reviewed here are given in (355).

- (355) a. Pollock (1989): [TP T (NegP) [AgrP Agr [VP ... ] ] ]  
 b. Belletti (1990): [AgrP Agr (NegP) [TP T [VP ... ] ] ]  
 c. Kayne (1991): [TP T (NegP) [InfnP Infn [VP ... ] ] ]

With the advent of the Minimalist Program, Chomsky (1995: Chapter 4) dismissed the projection of Agr on the grounds that it has no features interpretable at LF. Before returning to clitics and elaborating further on the placement of clitics à la Kayne, the next section reviews the recent proposals that have been put forward on the issue of verb movement, yet without resorting to Agr.

### 8.4.2 Functional Projections of the I-domain

Cinque's (1999) influential monograph on the structure of IP within a cartographic framework provides a detailed analysis of the rigid position of adverbs: he proposes that they appear in a hierarchical structure consisting of functional projections (see also Alexiadou, 1997 for the syntax of adverbs and a similar approach). Further investigation led by Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) has helped distinguish two 'levels' that I will adopt here: the Higher Adverb Space (HAS) and the Lower Adverb Space (LAS). This hierarchy has proven to be effective in diagnosing verb movement in

Romance (Cinque, 1999; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005; Schifano, 2018; Roberts, 2019).

## (356) a. HAS

[ *frankly* Mood<sub>speech act</sub> [ *unfortunately* Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> [ *apparently* Mood<sub>evidential</sub>  
 [ *probably* Mood<sub>epistemic</sub> [ *now* T<sub>past/future</sub> [ *perhaps* Mood<sub>irrealis</sub> [ *necessarily*  
 Mood<sub>necessity</sub> [ *usually* Asp<sub>habitual</sub> [ *again* Asp<sub>repetitive (event)</sub> [ *often* Asp<sub>frequentative</sub>  
 (event) [ *intentionally* Mood<sub>volitional</sub> [ *slowly* Asp<sub>celerative (event)</sub>

## b. LAS

[ *not* Neg<sub>1presuppositional</sub> [ *already* T<sub>anterior</sub> [ *anymore* Asp<sub>terminative</sub> [ *still* Asp<sub>continuative</sub>  
 [ *always* Asp<sub>perfect</sub> [ *hardly* Neg<sub>2</sub> [ *just* Asp<sub>retrospective</sub> [ *soon* Asp<sub>proximative</sub> [ *briefly* Asp<sub>durative</sub> [ *typically* Asp<sub>PlCompleteive</sub> [ *well* Voice [ *fast* Asp<sub>celerative (process)</sub>  
 [ *again* Asp<sub>repetitive (process)</sub> [ *often* Asp<sub>frequentative (process)</sub> [ *completely* Asp<sub>SgCompleteive</sub>  
 (process) [ *v*-VP ... (Schifano, 2018: 2)

Under this approach, verbs that precede adverbs in (356a) necessarily target a high functional position (e.g. French finite verbs), whereas verbs that follow adverbs in (356b) do not vacate the v/VP (e.g. French infinitives).<sup>9</sup>

Building on earlier observations (Pollock, 1989), Ledgeway (2012: 140-150) and

<sup>9</sup>Verb placement was initially analysed in terms of movement from V to T(ense) or Agr(eement) by Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990). This soon led to a series of observations that V-movement may target different positions (within the inflectional domain) crosslinguistically with theoretical repercussions on UG. For instance, Rivero (1994) focusses on languages from the Balkan and identifies Head-movement to M(odal), a head sandwiched between CP and TP. Based on the evolution of V-movement in the diachrony of English, Haeberli and Ihsane (2016) distinguish three projections in the inflectional domain, namely T, M(odal) and Asp(ect) (in this order). Amongst other possible targets for V-movement is Voice (Kratzer, 1996), later redefined as v by Chomsky (1995). In more recent work, Harley (2013) differentiates the two as separate projections. See also Harley and Folli (2007) and Harley (2017) for recent analyses of v. Pytkänen (2008) distinguishes seven possible projections.

Schifano (2018) apply Cinque's (1999) cartographic approach within a minimalist framework. They argue that French finite verbs move higher than their Italian counterparts: *probablement/probablement* 'probably' is quite high in the HAS (356a), and it precedes finite verbs in Italian (357a) but follows them in ModF (357b).

- (357) a. *Gianni (\*confonde) **probablement** confonde questa poesia con un' altra.*  
 Gianni confuses probably confuses this poem with an other
- b. *Antoine confond **probablement** (\*confond) ce poème avec un autre.*  
 Antoine confuses probably confuses this poem with an other  
 'G./A. probably confuses this poem with an other.' (Schifano, 2018: 8, 63)

Turning to ModF infinitives, Cinque (1999) and Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) claim that they cannot move higher than the LAS (356b). This is in accordance with Pollock's (1989) initial claim that French infinitives do not move as high as finite verbs. Additionally, Cinque (1999) shows that French infinitives can optionally move, though not high and always within the LAS.<sup>10</sup>

- (358) a. *II faut **complètement** le refaire.*  
 EXPL must completely it redo.INF
- b. *II faut le refaire **complètement**.*  
 EXPL must it redo.INF completely  
 'One must do it again completely.' (Cinque, 1999: 144)

In sum, Cinque (1999, 2004) formulates a richly articulated structure that is effective to locate the relative position of infinitives.<sup>11</sup> In what follows, I will utilise Cinque's hierarchy to assess infinitive placement in French as I will assume that it has a direct effect on patterns of pro-/enclisis.

<sup>10</sup>Cinque (1999: 226, fn.1) points out that French infinitives must obligatorily precede *tôt* 'early', suggesting that they always leave the vP. Nevertheless, Roberts (2010: 46) shows that *tôt* follows the whole VP, therefore the infinitive could not follow it in any case. *?\*Cueillir tôt les fleurs, c'est une erreur / Cueillir les fleurs tôt, c'est une erreur* 'To cut early the flowers/to cut the flowers early, is a mistake'.

<sup>11</sup>Within a minimalist framework, Haerberli and Ihsane (2016) also use adverbial hierarchy to diagnose the loss of verb movement in the diachrony of English.



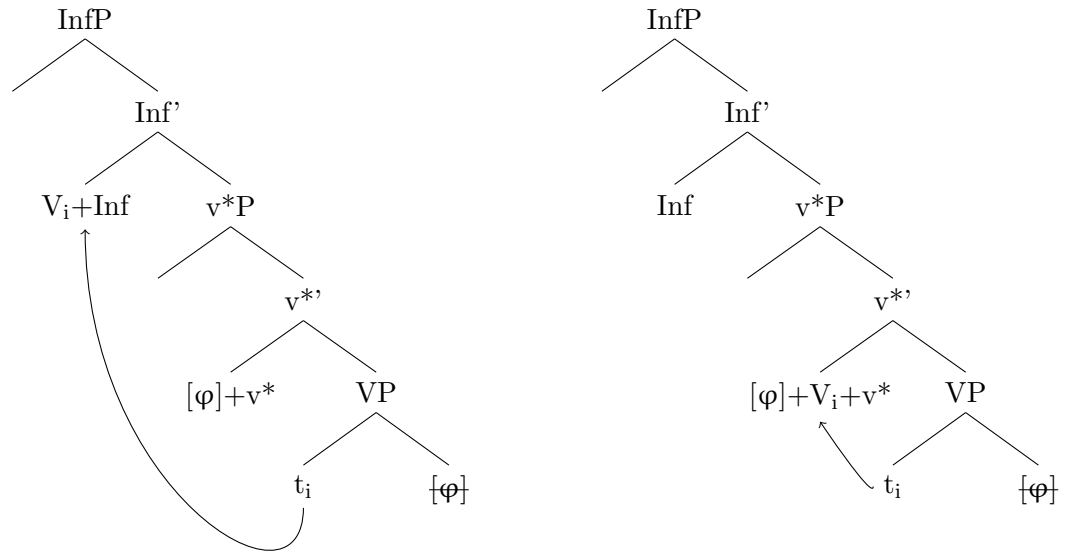
## 8.5 Consequences on clitic placement

As mentioned above, Kayne (1991) proposes that clitics and infinitives do not necessarily move as one unit. This hypothesis makes two predictions: (i) patterns of pro-/enclisis depend on how high verbs move, and (ii) other elements can potentially intervene. I consider each point below.

### 8.5.1 Enclisis *vs.* Proclisis

Consequence (i) interestingly correlates with numerous claims that Italian infinitives target a high position on the structure whereas ModF ones remain low (Belletti, 1990; Pollock, 1997; Cinque, 1999; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005; Roberts, 2010; Schifano, 2018). In turn, this accounts for enclisis in the former and proclisis in the latter. Roberts (2010: 84-86) adapts the Kaynean proposal in minimalist terms and adopts the view that enclisis is derived by long movement of the infinitive. Roberts (2010: 84) further claims that in Italian V-to-Inf movement takes place over  $v^*$ , where the clitic, a  $\varphi$ -head, attaches. He proposes that ‘infinitives can move higher than  $v^*$  as they represent a neutralized category, not true verbs’. In his proposal, Inf is ‘inert’ in French, therefore the infinitive cannot move higher than  $v^*$ .

- (359) [Standard Italian; long movement; enclisis]      (360) [Modern French; short movement; proclisis]



Although our focus is on non-finite contexts, it should be noted that the notion of verb placement affecting surface clitic positioning is also adopted to account for the pro-/enclisis alternation in Old Romance finite clauses. For instance, Benincà (2006) and Pescarini (2021) argue that V-to-C (resulting in V1 clauses) triggers enclisis, as the verb moves higher than the clitic (cf. Tobler-Mussafia effects).

### 8.5.2 Phonological *vs.* Syntactic clitics

Consequence (ii) accounts for cases of interpolation (Pollock, 2002; Miller and Monachesi, 2003; Poletto and Pollock, 2005; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005). Indeed, some languages allow adverbs (and sometimes DPs and PPs, see section 7.4) to intervene between the clitic and the verb: see in Triestino (361), in Calabrian (362) and in Portuguese (363).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Kayne (1991) claims that the construction is also possible in Occitan, yet he does not provide any example. Although absent from Modern Spanish, interpolation was available at earlier stages

- (361) *El me sempre disi.* [Triestino]  
 he to-me always say.PRS.3SG  
 ‘He always tells me.’ (Poletto and Pollock, 2005: 148)
- (362) *Un ti manco canusciu.* [Calabrian]  
 not you at-all know.PRS.1SG  
 ‘I do not know you at all.’ (Poletto and Pollock, 2005: 148)
- (363) *Ela prometeu que **he** não diria nada.* [Portuguese]  
 she promise.PST.3SG that him not say.COND.3SG nothing  
 ‘She promised that she wouldn’t tell him anything.’  
 (Miller and Monachesi, 2003: 64)

Although less present in the literature, interpolation with infinitives is also reported, as illustrated here in early Neapolitan (364).

- (364) *se sforzano de se plu forciare.* [Old Neapolitan]  
 REFL endeavour.PRS.3PL to REFL more arm.INF  
 ‘They endeavour to arm themselves further.’ (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005: 79)

The construction is also found in MidF (de Kok, 1985; Martineau, 1990; Hirschbühler and Labelle, 1994), which I will discuss in more detail in section 8.7.3. We can note that it is not available in ModF, as we have seen in section 7.4.<sup>13</sup>

Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) use cases of interpolation (or lack thereof) to distinguish between *phonological* and *syntactic* cliticisation. On the one hand, they propose that languages like Standard Italian (where no interpolation is ever possible) display syntactic cliticisation on finite verbs, i.e. the clitic must cliticise on the verb before Spell-Out.<sup>14</sup> On the other, they analyse languages like Cosentino (that show of the language (p.c. Olivier Iglesias, see Lluch, 1998).

<sup>13</sup>In terms of Cinque’s (1999) cartographic hierarchy, examples (361) to (364) suggest that the verb stays low in the LAS, whilst the clitic moves higher, allowing adverbs to intervene.

<sup>14</sup>In the analysis put forward by Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), once the clitic has syntactically cliticised on the main verb, the two move together to the HAS. In other terms, cliticisation takes place low on the structure, whilst the verb (with the clitic) moves high.

interpolation) as having phonological cliticisation, that is the clitic will cliticise on the finite verb only if no adverb intervenes: in this language, cliticisation takes place at PF.<sup>15</sup> In our analysis of the diachrony of clitic placement in French, we will see that clitics were reanalysed from phonological to syntactic.

Before we do so, let us consider the case of enclisis, which Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) do not analyse. Although their analysis shows important correlations between verb movement and interpolation, it is not clear whether they consider infinitives to move higher than the cliticisation site (see section 8.5.1), or if enclisis involves a different mechanism altogether. Tortora (2010: 137-139) proposes some answers to this issue, as she shows that interpolation with enclisis [V adverb clitic] exists in Borgomanerese (365).

- (365) *I vangumma già-nni da dü agni.* [Borgomanerese]  
 scl see.PRS.1PL already-us of two years  
 ‘We’ve already been seeing each other for two years.’ (Tortora, 2010: 138)

In (365), the clitic follows *già* ‘already’, which is located in the LAS (356b). Tortora (2010) suggests that in languages that have this type of construction, the clitic cannot leave the VP-domain (which ultimately contains adverbs from the LAS) and appears to cliticise on the adverb.<sup>16</sup> In turn, this shows that in this language clitics are low on the structure whereas verbs move higher, which I analyse as phonological cliticisation. Furthermore, we have seen in section 8.5.1 that cliticisation is necessarily a syntactic phenomenon of *procliticisation*: it left-adjoins to *v* (according to Roberts, 2010) or to *V* (according to Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005). Along these lines, I build

<sup>15</sup>Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) propose that when interpolation obtains, the clitic independently moves to a clause-medial functional projection situated between the HAS and the LAS. This implies that the verb cannot move higher than the LAS.

<sup>16</sup>Tortora (2010) further claims that in languages where the clitic targets a higher position (e.g. Standard Italian finite clauses), the clitic moves to the IP domain (which contains adverbs from the HAS).

on Ledgeway (2017) and propose that enclisis must necessarily be analysed in terms of phonological cliticisation (at PF), even when interpolation is not found.<sup>17</sup>

### 8.5.3 Summary

We have seen that infinitives target a high functional projection in languages that have enclisis, whereas they remain low in languages that have proclisis. Assuming that adverbs obey a structural hierarchy (Alexiadou, 1997; Cinque, 2004; Schifano, 2018), verbs that precede a certain set of adverbs move higher than those who follow adverbs. This observation supports the hypothesis that verbs and clitics are independent from each other (Kayne, 1991; Roberts, 2010): the clitic targets a constant functional projection, therefore patterns of pro-/enclisis depend on V-movement. Additionally, we must distinguish between two mechanisms of cliticisation: phonological and syntactic (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005). Whilst the former is a mere case of cliticisation at PF (and it is ‘blind’ to the element it cliticises on, hence interpolation), the second takes place in the syntactic derivation (and accounts for the necessary adjacency of the clitic and the verb). Lastly, I have claimed that although proclisis can be either phonological or syntactic (depending on the language and on finiteness), enclisis is phonological in essence.

These considerations will serve as our theoretical framework: in what follows, I show that OF infinitives underwent V-to-T movement, which accounts for enclisis. The loss of V-movement between OF and MidF thus led to the rise of proclisis:

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<sup>17</sup>The absence of interpolation in languages that have enclisis indicates that the verb targets a position directly above the clitic. Consequently, no element may intervene and cliticisation takes place at PF. Thus, the difference between Italian (enclisis, no interpolation) and Borgomanerese (enclisis, interpolation) does not lie in the properties of the clitic, but in the position the verb moves to, which must be higher in the latter language and allow for adverbs to intervene, yielding interpolation.

nevertheless, the cliticisation mechanism remained identical, i.e. phonological. This is evidenced by the presence of enclisis in OF and proclisis with interpolation in MidF. During the EModF period however, (pro-)cliticisation was reanalysed from phonological to syntactic and interpolation was lost.

## 8.6 Infinitives in Medieval French

### 8.6.1 Evidence of movement

There is evidence that infinitives could move higher in early French. For instance, infinitives preceded negative adverbs of the *pas*-type, which produced the order [*ne* V<sub>INF</sub> *pas*]. This construction was lost between the early 17<sup>th</sup> and the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (Hirschbühler and Labelle, 1994; Martineau, 1994; Pollock, 1997).<sup>18</sup>

(366) *car elle (...) commença à ne les chercher pas.*  
 for she begin.PST.3SG to NEG them look-INF NEG  
 ‘for she (...) began to not look for them.’ (Hept. [1549]: 65 de Kok, 1985: 335)

(367) *Le pauvre gentilz homme (...) les pria de ne les habandonner point.*  
 the poor gentle man them beg/PST.3SG to NEG them abandon-INF NEG  
 ‘The gentleman (...) begged them to not abandon them.’

(Hept. [1549]: 3 de Kok, 1985: 335)

In an earlier proposal, Roberts (1993: 49) analyses this construction as long movement of the infinitive. He adopts Belletti’s (1990) structure (355b) and claims that examples like (366) and (367) show movement of V to T, and then T to Agr (NegP being between T and Agr), similarly to Standard Italian. In light of our analysis of

<sup>18</sup>Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) show that the shift from [*ne* V<sub>INF</sub> *pas*] to [*ne pas* V<sub>INF</sub>] affected lexical verbs first, then modals and eventually auxiliaries. They find that [*ne* V<sub>INF</sub> *pas*] is still common with auxiliaries in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and we can add that it is still available in present-day French (I thank Paul Hirschbühler, p.c., for bringing this to my attention).

clitic placement, such a proposal is problematic because it takes the infinitive to move higher than the clitic. If that were the case, enclisis would obtain. To account for the coexistence of [*ne V<sub>INF</sub> pas*] and proclisis in MidF, we need to reassess this issue.

Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) claim that *pas/point* should not be analysed in a similar fashion in MidF as in ModF (see also Larrivée, 2011; Hansen, 2013; Schølser and Völker, 2014 for the history of the negation in French and Jespersen, 1917; Willis et al., 2013 on a comparative discussion of the diachronies of negation). They point out that they were VP-generated adverbs until at least the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century for three reasons: (i) *pas/point* could be fronted to satisfy V2, (ii) *ne* did not need any support to mark negation, and (iii) unlike in ModF, *pas/point* were not always negative elements (see also Martineau, 1994, who claims that *pas* is generated in VP in MidF). These observations suggest that *pas* had not grammaticalised as part of the negation complex then. Thus, Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) account for the switch from [*ne V<sub>INF</sub> pas*] to [*ne pas V<sub>INF</sub>*] with lexical verbs as a reanalysis of the generation of *pas* higher on the structure (closer to Neg).<sup>19</sup> They claim that infinitive movement (to Infn in their proposal) has not changed since the MidF period. This is coherent with the data presented in my study: in non-restructuring contexts, the infinitive is low enough to follow the clitic (proclisis) from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century on.

Nevertheless, enclisis is present until the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in our corpus. Since I take enclisis to result from long movement of infinitives, we should find instances of infinitives preceding a certain set of adverbs. To test this hypothesis, I have selected three adverbs from the top of the LAS (356b) that necessarily follow infinitives in Italian and precede them in ModF: *toujours* ‘always’, *plus* ‘anymore’ and *(dé)ja* ‘already’. Cinque (1999), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), Schifano (2018)

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<sup>19</sup>The post-verbal negator *pas* is also found in Catalan, yet unlike in ModF it is optional (Espinal, 1991; Arnaiz, 2010). With infinitives, we find the ordering [*no V<sub>INF</sub> (pas)*], which would suggest that Catalan *pas* is generated in VP, similarly to MidF, and is not grammaticalised yet.

and Roberts (2019: 348-359) make use of them to test how high verbs can move in Romance. I found only one construction (368a) in my database but to supplement my data I searched the FRANTEXT<sup>20</sup> and the BASE DE FRANÇAIS MÉDIÉVAL<sup>21</sup> databases and found more examples, see (369a), (370a) and (371a). The ModF translations are given in (368b), (369b), (370b) and (371b).<sup>22</sup> According to the adverb hierarchy presented in (356), *ja* marks the highest Functional Projection of the LAS.

- (368) a. *Li reis n'i volt attendre plus*  
 the king.NOM not-there want.PRS.3SG wait.INF anymore  
 'The king does not want to wait there anymore.'

(*Le Roman de Brut* p. 352, 1155)

- b. *Le roi ne veut plus attendre.*  
 the king.NOM not want.PRS.3SG anymore wait.INF

- (369) a. *et prandre toujours en confort ce que Notre Sire dist a ses*  
 and take.INF always into account what that Our Lord say.PRS.3SG to his  
*membres des membres au deable*  
 members of-the members at-the devil  
 'and always take into account what Our Lord says to his members about the  
 devil's members.'

(*La vie et les Epistres* p.43, 1290)

- b. *et toujours prendre en compte ce que Notre Sire dit à ses*  
 and always take.INF into account what that Our Lord say.PRS.3SG to his  
*membres...*  
 members

<sup>20</sup>ATILF-CNRS & Université de Lorraine (2019).

<sup>21</sup>Guillot-Barbance et al. (2017)

<sup>22</sup>I thank Olivier Iglesias (p.c.) for bringing to my attention that *toujours* can follow the infinitive in (369b), although it is not as frequent as [*toujours* V<sub>INF</sub>]. The same observation does not hold for (370b).



- (370) a. ... *et aviser **tousjours** icelle sentence de la pitié divine.*  
 and establish.INF always this sentence of the pity divine  
 ‘... and always establish this sentence with the divine pity.’  
 (*La vie et les Epistres* p.155, 1290)
- b. ... *et **toujours** établir cette sentence avec la pitié divine.*  
 and always establish.INF this sentence with the pity divine
- (371) a. *fontaine si est de tel maniere que l'en ne la puet epuisier **ja***  
 fountain thus be.PRS.3SG of such manner that one not it can drain.INF ever  
 ‘The source is such that one cannot ever drain it.’  
 (*Queste del Saint Graal* 197d, 1225)
- b. *La source est telle qu'on ne peut **jamaïs** l'épuiser.*  
 the source be.PRS.3SG such that-one not can ever it-drain..INF

These data support the hypothesis that OF, like Italian, has long V-movement and enclisis at the same time. In contrast, ModF does not have long V-movement and has proclisis. This distribution is further supported by data from Brazilian Portuguese, which patterns like ModF (see footnote 36 page 284).

### 8.6.2 Inflectional morphology and movement

The presence of enclisis in OF can be analysed on a par with enclisis in other Romance languages: that is, infinitives must vacate the vP/VP and undergo long movement to a high functional projection (Kayne, 1991; Roberts, 2010, 2019; Pescarini, 2021). This is further supported by the data on adverb placement, which shows that infinitives could move higher in OF than they do in ModF. Thus, I will treat the loss of enclisis at the dawn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century alongside the loss of long infinitive movement.

Within earlier generative assumptions, Belletti (1990) proposes that V-movement is triggered by (the affix in) Agr in Italian: that is, the verbal root *parl-* moves to Agr to amalgamate with the inflectional morphology *-are* and form the infinitive

*parlare* ‘to speak’. Initially, Pollock (1989) proposed that Agr needed to be morphologically rich enough for the verb to move. Consider also the diachrony of English finite verbs: up until the Elizabethan period, lexical verbs underwent long movement (Pollock, 1997; Haeberli and Ihsane, 2016). At that time, the language retained a rich morphological system.

(372) *It appears<sub>i</sub> **not** e<sub>i</sub> which of the dukes he values most.* (Pollock, 1997: 159)

(373) *Thinks<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> thou e<sub>i</sub> that duty shall have dread to speak.* (Pollock, 1997: 159)

Roberts (1993) claims that as long as Agr was ‘rich’, V-movement was available in English (see also Roberts, 1994, 1997 on the interaction of the richness of Agr and V-movement). Moreover, pro-drop is generally found in languages where Agr is rich (see section 2.3). In a more recent discussion, Biberauer and Roberts (2010) propose that V-to-T is available in languages where tense inflection is rich (as opposed to agreement inflection).<sup>23</sup> Consequently, if V-movement to T is driven by the richness of inflectional morphology (of tense), we expect OF infinitives to have lost their overt inflectional morphology. In the following section, I show that it is indeed the case.

### 8.6.3 *Amuïssement*

Grammarians have reported the loss of the final /-r/ in French, traditionally called *amuïssement de l’r* ‘/-r/ muting’ in the literature on the language. This loss began during the 13<sup>th</sup> century with infinitives ending in *-er*, *-ir* and *-oir*, that is to say the vast majority of verbs (Vising 1899: 586-589, Fouché 1966: 663-664, Marchello-Nizia et al. 2020: 850-851). Vising (1899: 581) writes that final /-r/ underwent two noticeable changes during the 14<sup>th</sup> century: shift to /-z/ and muting. Thus, infinitives

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<sup>23</sup>Biberauer and Roberts (2010) distinguish rich agreement inflection and rich tense inflection. They claim that the former is necessary to license pro-drop whereas the latter acts as trigger for V-to-T movement (with finite verbs).

ending in *-er*, *-ir* and *-oir* were first replaced by *-ez*, *-iz* and *-oiz*, and eventually the consonant was lost altogether:

- (374) a. to speak: *parle-r* > *parle-z* > *parle-ø*  
 b. to die: *mouri-r* > *mouri-z* > *mouri-ø*  
 c. to see: *voi-r* > *voi-z* > *voi-ø*

The absence of /-r/ is famously noted in the nursery rhyme *Compère Guilleri*, a song about a bandit composed during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century:

- (375) *Compère Guilleri (...)* *Te*      *lairas-tu*      ***mouri?***  
 Fellow    Guilleri      yourself let.FUT-you die.INF  
 ‘Fellow Guilleri, will you let yourself die?’

Fouché (1966) notes that final consonants dropped in *la langue vulgaire* ‘the vulgar language’ as early as the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and that they were completely lost in the centuries that followed. The phenomenon of *amuïssement* is not limited to /-r/ and infinitives, it is found on different categories and with a series of consonants: Fouché (1966: 663) reports that *-t*, *-k*, *-f*, *-s*, *-l*, *-r*, *-n* and *-m* all dropped at the end of words during the second half of the OF period. We can probably see a correlation with the loss of morphophonological case on nouns and adjectives: the suffix *-s/z* was lost by the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Foulet, 1930). Additionally, *amuïssement* on finite verbs has been tentatively linked to the loss of pro-drop as finite verbs lost their agreement marker: we have seen that according to Balon and Larrivé (2016), pro-drop disappears during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The latter observation is nonetheless debated: see Simonenko et al. (2019) for a discussion on the indirect mapping between *amuïssement* and loss of pro-drop, and Adams (1989) who identifies the loss of pro-drop during the MidF period.

Vising (1899) investigates the *Psautier de Lorraine*, a text from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and concludes that the copyist did not hear any consonant at the end of infini-

tives. During the entirety of the MidF period, /-r/ was not pronounced on infinitives (Marchello-Nizia et al., 2020). It was reintroduced during the second part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on *-ir* and *-oir* infinitives.<sup>24</sup> A similar loss is identified in the diachrony of Occitan, whose infinitives lost their final /-r/ around the same time (Anglade 1921: 194, Alibèrt 1976: 35). As we have seen earlier, Occitan has proclisis as well.

The switch from enclisis to proclisis took place when infinitives lost their affixal morphology, i.e. shortly after 1300. This suggests that infinitives could not move to Agr anymore (or whichever relevant functional head), yielding proclisis, which is in accordance with Roberts' (2010: 86) view that 'Inf is inert in [Modern] French' (where Inf roughly corresponds to Belletti's Agr).<sup>25</sup> In other words, Inf/Agr weakened to such an extent that the infinitive could not move to it anymore and stayed below the clitic, which resulted in proclisis. Furthermore, there is crosslinguistic evidence that the loss of infinitival morphology can lead to a reorganisation of the syntax and loss of movement: Haeberli (2002) proposes that the loss of *-n* on Middle English infinitives eventually led to the loss of V2 because of syncretism with the first person

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<sup>24</sup>Regarding *-oir* infinitives, we can probably align their phonological evolution with the reintroduction of /-r/: we know that words ending in /a/ were not subject to *amuïssement*, and although the diphthong present in *voir* 'see' was originally pronounced /wi/, it soon shifted to /we/ and eventually /wa/. Thus, as long as it aligned with /i/ and /e/ infinitives, they were subject to *amuïssement*, yet once they shifted to /wa/, the final consonant was reintroduced (see also Vising, 1899). Nevertheless, the crucial fact about the reintroduction of /-r/ is that it never occurred on *-er* infinitives, which account for the majority of verbs in French. I adopt the view that since only a subclass of verbs got back the /-r/, the observed change could not be reversed (see the Tolerance Principle of Yang, 2016 discussed in section 8.6.5: put informally, if the trigger for a rule is not sufficiently expressed in a language, the rule is not acquired).

<sup>25</sup>Roberts (2010: 233, footnote 46) touches upon the hypothesis that the absence of /-r/ on some ModF verbs, contrarily to Italian and Spanish ones, may be play a part in the asymmetry between these languages. I expand on this in section 8.7.

singular.<sup>26</sup> In Clark and Roberts' (1993) view, change happens when a parameter is not expressed in a sufficient frequency anymore (see also Yang, 2004; Lieven, 2010; Ambridge et al., 2015 on frequency and acquisition); it follows that the lack of /-r/ morphology on infinitives did not give enough evidence to the speakers to trigger infinitive movement (I develop this hypothesis in section 8.6.5 in relation to irregular infinitives and in section 8.7 with respect to clitic placement). Thus, I adopt the view that proclisis stems from the loss of V-to-T movement in early MidF (Kayne, 1991; Roberts, 2010; Benincà, 2006; Pescarini, 2021).

Therefore, the phenomenon of *amuïssement* that took place towards the end of the OF period can be linked to (i) the loss of morphological case, (ii) the loss of pro-drop and (iii) the loss of enclisis.

#### 8.6.4 Homophony with past participles

The loss of /-r/ had a major impact on the language since past participles and infinitives were not distinguished anymore (Togebly, 1968; Marchello-Nizia et al., 2020). The stem vowel was still pronounced: thus *parler* 'to speak' and *parlé* 'spoken' were completely homophonous (and still are in ModF). The same was true for infinitives in *-ir* and their past participle, see *partir* 'to go' and *parti* 'gone'. This homophony probably led to a certain degree of confusion that in turn had an effect on clitic placement. Schifano (2018: 85) shows that ModF past participles occupy a low position: if it was the case in OF as well, speakers may have reanalysed infinitive placement in a similar fashion to that of past participles, and acquisition drifted towards a simpler

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<sup>26</sup>Regarding the development of English, Haeberli (2002) proposes that the loss of infinitival morphology impoverished the agreement system of the language and led to the loss of empty expletives, a necessary condition for V2 in Middle English.

structure where all non-finite verbs remain low.<sup>27</sup> Participle placement does not necessarily pattern with infinitive placement in languages where they are morphologically differentiated: take Italian, in which past participles do not move out of VP (376), whereas finite verbs and infinitives do.<sup>28</sup>

- (376) a. *L'ho **sempre** saputo.*  
 it-have always known  
 'I have always known it'.
- b. \**L'ho saputo **sempre**.*  
 it-have known always

We do not find [V<sub>PP</sub> *tousjours*] 'always' in the corpus. It may have been the case that since the vast majority of infinitives were not differentiated from their past participles anymore, long movement was lost by analogy.<sup>29</sup> I propose that the loss of richness of T and syncretism with past participles led to the loss of infinitive movement in French.

### 8.6.5 Irregular infinitives

Irregular verbs such as *-re* infinitives (i.e. lacking a thematic vowel) maintained /-r/ throughout the MidF period and they are not homophonous with their past participle

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<sup>27</sup>See also Galet (1971), cited in Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994: 170), on the confusion between infinitives and past participles in 18<sup>th</sup> century French. Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) use her hypothesis and show that *Je le veux publier* 'I want to publish it' (the clitic is the object of the infinitive *publier* 'publish' and climbs to the finite verb *veux* 'want') and *Je le veux publié* 'I want it published' (the clitic is the object of the finite verb *veux* 'want' and cliticise on it - *publié* 'published' is the past participle) are pronounced the same way, therefore speakers may not have acquired CC anymore because of the homophony between infinitives and their past participle.

<sup>28</sup>Example from Giovanni Roversi (p.c.).

<sup>29</sup>Togebly (1968) suggests that the birth of this homophony correlates with the rise of subordinators introducing infinitives, which according to him served as a means to differentiate them from past participles.

(verbs such as *apparaître* ‘appear’, *apprendre* ‘learn’ and *mettre* ‘put’). In this section, I discuss these verbs and I show that they can be included in my analysis.

Let us address why irregular (*-re*) infinitives also lost T-to-V despite maintaining the suffix. According to Yang’s (2016) Tolerance Principle, a number of exceptions does not threaten the production of a rule as long as it does not overrun a certain threshold (which itself depends on the total number of items subject to the rule).<sup>30</sup> In practical terms, let us assume a rule *R* in OF that says ‘Move  $V_{\text{INF}}$  to T to get [-fin] realised as /-r/. *R* is evidenced in acquisition by the presence of morphophonological cues, i.e. infinitival suffix /-r/. With the advent of *amuïssement*, acquirers lacked evidence for  $V_{\text{INF}}$ -to-T. As a result, *R* was not acquired: in MidF, the number of  $V_{\text{INF}}$  that can take /-r/ represents a subset of the members of the set *R* applies to. Put simply, *R* was not acquired in MidF because the evidence for it was below the Tolerance Principle. The direct reflex of this is the loss of V-to-T movement for infinitives.

Let us now account for why /-r/ remained on this subset of verbs. Distributed Morphology addresses cases where a similar feature bundle is expressed by different morphemes (or exponents) (Halle and Marantz, 1993, 1994; Harley and Noyer, 1999). I apply this theory to MidF infinitives: the choice of /-Ø/ vs. /-r/ is dependent on the root it attaches to, or more precisely it attaches to roots that do not have a thematic vowel /i/ or /e/. Thus, I take {verbal root} to be a contextual specification of *-re* infinitives. For simplicity, I assume that thematic vowels are generated on the root.<sup>31,32</sup>

<sup>30</sup>The Tolerance Principle (Yang, 2016):  $e \leq \theta_N = \frac{N}{\ln N}$ . For a rule *R* to be productive, the number of exceptions *e* must not exceed  $\theta_N$ .

<sup>31</sup>This contextual specification is an innovation of MidF, as OF applied /-r/ to all infinitives indifferently. It ensures that further development in the morphophonology of French altered contextual specification. In standard ModF, /-Ø/ is only found with {verbal root + thematic vowel /-e/}.

<sup>32</sup>Bobaljik (1994) claims that vocabulary insertion must be adjacent to the element it merges with.

- (377) a. [-FIN] ↔ /-Ø/ / {verbal root + thematic vowel}\_  
 b. [-FIN] ↔ /-r/ / {verbal root}\_  
 -

In the last two sections, I have exposed some correlation between the loss of /-r/, the lack of distinction between infinitives and past participles and the loss of enclisis. The hypothesis that these changes are closely connected is strengthened by the claim that  $V_{\text{INF}}$ -movement could not be triggered anymore since non-finite tense agreement became morphologically weak: as discussed in sections 8.6.2 and 8.6.3 above, the absence of inflectional morphology patterns with the absence of V-movement crosslinguistically (Roberts, 1993, 1994, 1997; Pollock, 1997; Haeberli, 2002; Biberauer and Roberts, 2010; Haeberli and Ihsane, 2016). I have proposed that the phenomenon of *amuïssement* was a noticeable contribution to the loss of long  $V_{\text{INF}}$ -movement and the rise of proclisis. More generally, this phonological change had a significant impact on the syntax of the language.

### 8.6.6 Prosodic motivations

Glikman (2009) notes that getting a precise idea of what the prosody of the language was is an arduous task since we do not have access to recordings, yet the production of verse texts can certainly provide us with a sufficient range of elements. Adams (1987: 7) writes that ‘[t]he rhythm of OF was unlike that of ModF. Phrases and sentences had initial as well as final stress, and individual words had greater independence and could carry their own accent’. Additionally, Jacobs (1993: 149) accounts for the evolution of clitic placement in French by ‘the restructuring of phonological domains’, and he argues that the change from descending to ascending rhythm led to the restructuring of the Prosodic Word (which connects to the phenomenon of *amuïssement*, whereby

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Therefore, since [-fin] is in T, infinitives must move to a functional head F directly below T in MidF: see section 8.7.3 for further discussion on infinitive placement and clitic placement in MidF.



words lost their final syllable).

Richards (2016) shows that changes in the phonological domain can have direct impacts on syntax. He establishes a relationship between verb movement and prosody and claims that overt head movement is an operation that can be analysed in terms of prosodic parameters. Within a generative framework, he develops Contiguity Theory, according to which prosody interacts with morphology and syntactic derivations. Richards (2016: 318) claims that ‘T must Contiguity-adjoin to the subject’ in ModF finite clauses (which ultimately accounts for V-to-T movement). He further contrasts this to non-finite clauses, and he argues that since infinitives do not move as high as finite verbs, the presence of a subject in the specifier of TP drives T-to-V movement in this language.<sup>33</sup>

With regards to Italian, Richards (2016) argues that since the subject does not move to the specifier of TP (yet we find T-to-V movement in both contexts), this condition does not hold.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, V-to-T movement must be accounted for differently in Italian.

Similarly to Italian, OF has pro-drop, postverbal subjects, V-to-T with infinitives and enclisis: within Contiguity Theory, I argue that in this language V-to-T movement is not driven by the requirement that T be contiguous with the subject in the specifier of TP (unlike what we see in ModF). I argue that this constraint appeared when French pronominal subjects cliticised and pro-drop disappeared, therefore the specifier

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<sup>33</sup>In English, the prosodic properties of T never require T to be contiguous with the subject, resulting in systematic Prosodic Lowering.

*Prosodic Lowering:* An affix dominated by  $\omega$  is realized on the closest host c-commanded by  $\omega$  in the prosodic tree (Richards, 2016: 201).

<sup>34</sup>Richards (2016: 331) claims that Italian infinitives are not morphologically richer than ModF infinitives. In my analysis, I adopt the opposite view: as I have shown in this Chapter, there is little evidence that infinitival morphology exists in ModF, whereas Italian infinitives are clearly differentiated from the rest of the paradigm.

of TP was reanalysed as the default subject position. This ultimately led to a contrast between finite clauses (overt subject in the specifier of TP → V-to-T movement) and non-finite clauses (no overt subject in the specifier of TP → no V-to-T movement). Because of the absence of infinitival morphology in T (see discussion on movement triggers in section 8.7 below) and the prosodic requirement that T must be contiguous with the subject, there was no motivation for V-to-T with infinitives in French from 1300 on. This fits nicely with Balon and Larrivéé's (2016) diachronic work, as they claim that pro-drop was lost around the same time as when I identify the loss of enclisis in the present work.

Therefore, we have seen here that the reorganisation of the prosodic domain in the diachrony of French added to a comparison with the prosody of Italian further motivates the claim that OF had V-to-T movement with infinitives, which accounts for the presence of enclisis in the language. In other terms, clitics (being prosodically deficient, see Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999; Dechaine and Wiltschko, 2002) did not undergo major changes themselves but have been 'swayed' from one direction to the other within the prosodic phrase containing the infinitive, resulting in a shift from enclisis to proclisis.

## 8.7 Proclisis in Middle French

### 8.7.1 The rise of proclisis

I have established a correlation between (i) morphophonological changes on the infinitive, (ii) loss of V-movement, (iii) prosodic changes and (iv) the loss of enclisis. In other words, changes (i), (ii) and (iii) around 1300 were incompatible with the preservation of enclisis. From the early 14<sup>th</sup> century on, proclisis is found systematically.

I propose that the phenomenon of *amuïssement* played a part in the acquisition

of the MidF syntax and the rise of proclisis. I adopt Clark and Roberts's (1993) view on language change (see also Roberts, 2019 for a recent discussion): as long as the infinitival suffix was 'robustly expressed' (i.e. morphophonologically rich), learners had the necessary signal to acquire V-movement. The loss of /-r/ ultimately resulted in the loss of the *trigger*.<sup>35</sup>

- (378) Trigger: A substring of the input text of the PLD S is a trigger for parameter  $p_i$  if  
 S expresses  $p_i$  (Roberts, 2019: 65)

Roberts and Roussou (2003) claim that language change is a process of resetting the parametric values of a language. Around 1300, i.e. what we identify as the transition from OF to MidF, the inflectional morphology of the language impoverished greatly, particularly on infinitives (Marchello-Nizia et al., 2020). Without the realisation of the necessary feature at Spell-Out, V-to-T movement failed to be acquired. Our data show that the grammar of proclisis was already present in OF, albeit in a limited fashion (20 occurrences for the period, see section 6.4). The competition between the two grammars did not last long; put differently, the co-existence of two configurations within a single grammar (Biberauer and Richards, 2006), i.e. the optionality of  $V_{\text{INF}}$ -movement, was soon reduced to one, i.e. no movement. The formal theorisation of this process is that T had a strong [-fin] feature triggering V-movement in OF, which has become weak as non-finite morphology eroded. As long as the parametric values were in the process of being reset, V-movement remained optionally available. By the start of the MidF period however, this process was complete and V-movement could not be recovered. Ultimately, [-fin] must be 'checked' on the verb directly. In light of the present analysis, the clitic stayed in the same position.

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<sup>35</sup>See Roberts (2019: 95) for a more formal definition of the *trigger* using Formal Features.

### 8.7.2 Comparison with Romance

There is a clear tendency in Romance: languages that have overt infinitival morphology (i.e. that pronounce the final /-r/) also have enclisis. Let us consider first languages that have proclisis: French (both MidF and ModF), Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese. In those three languages, /-r/ is dropped at some point in time. For each language, I have chosen the infinitive form of the verb *love*.

- (379) a. aimer: /eme/ (French)  
 b. amar: /a'ma/ (Occitan)  
 c. amar: /e'ma(r)/ (Brazilian Portuguese)

/-r/ is disappearing in Portuguese. The situation seems to be rapidly evolving in Brazilian Portuguese, more so than in European Portuguese (Cardoso, 2013; Serra and Callou, 2013). This is particularly interesting, since Brazilian Portuguese has a tendency to use proclisis whilst enclisis is decreasing (see section 8.2). In other words, /-r/ and enclisis are both becoming less frequent in this language.<sup>36</sup> This situation is similar to the one we observe in MidF. Should *amuïssement* increase in European Portuguese, our analysis predicts the loss of enclisis.

In Romance languages that have enclisis, /-r/ is phonetically realised.<sup>37</sup>

- (380) a. amare: /a'mare/ (Standard Italian)  
 b. amar: /a'mar/ (Spanish)  
 c. amar: /e'mar/ (European Portuguese)

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<sup>36</sup>Additionally, Schifano (2018) shows that Brazilian Portuguese infinitives can only move within the LAS, i.e. quite low in the cartographic hierarchy. In our analysis, this is expected from languages that have proclisis.

<sup>37</sup>Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) and Roberts (2010) consider that final /e/ in Italian is not part of the infinitival suffix, for it is in complementary distribution with enclitics, and it is only present in lexical uses of verbs.

d. amar: /a'mar/ (Valencian Catalan)

The situation of Catalan is complex: the language has enclisis yet /-r/ is dropped in northern varieties.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, it is necessarily pronounced when the infinitive is followed by a clitic (381b), which indicates that infinitive morphology is retained in some cases.

(381) a. amar: /a'ma/ (Northern Catalan)

b. amar-ho: /a'maru/ 'to love it'

Furthermore, and unlike the situation of French, Catalan past participles and infinitives are not homophonous (*començar* 'to begin' vs. *començat* 'began', where *-t* is pronounced). I have proposed earlier in this Chapter that syncretism between MidF infinitives and past participles played a part in the shift from enclisis to proclisis. This does not hold in Northern Catalan, which patterns with the languages in (380), where non-finite tense morphology is richer. We can extend this to other Romance languages: Occitan has proclisis and its past participle is homophonous to infinitives when masculine (Alibèrt, 1976: 23), yet this does not hold to Brazilian Portuguese (Whitlam, 2011). Similarly, the languages in (380) differentiate the infinitive from the past participle. Therefore, homophony between the two contributes to the lack of V-movement but other factors (such as the presence of absence of features in T) are more relevant to this issue.

This crosslinguistic picture is an additional argument to the relationship between the absence of /-r/ and proclisis: most infinitives dropped /-r/ and proclisis spread in MidF, and a similar situation is found in Brazilian Portuguese and Occitan. Moreover, both French and Occitan past participles are homophonous with infinitives of regular verbs, which contributes to the fact that non-finite verbs must stay low in these

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<sup>38</sup>I thank Cira Aspero-Palli (p.c.) for her input on Catalan.

languages since they are not differentiated.<sup>39</sup> Sardinian does not seem to obey this distribution: its infinitival suffix is overt like in Italian yet it has proclisis like in ModF. I address this issue in light of my analysis of proclisis in ModF in section 8.8.

### 8.7.3 Analysis

I build on other synchronic studies on Romance languages (Kayne, 1991; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005; Roberts, 2010; Pescarini, 2021) and propose that proclisis in MidF results from the loss of long V-movement (382). Similarly to the previous period, the clitic adjoins to v: this is schematically represented in (382).<sup>40</sup>

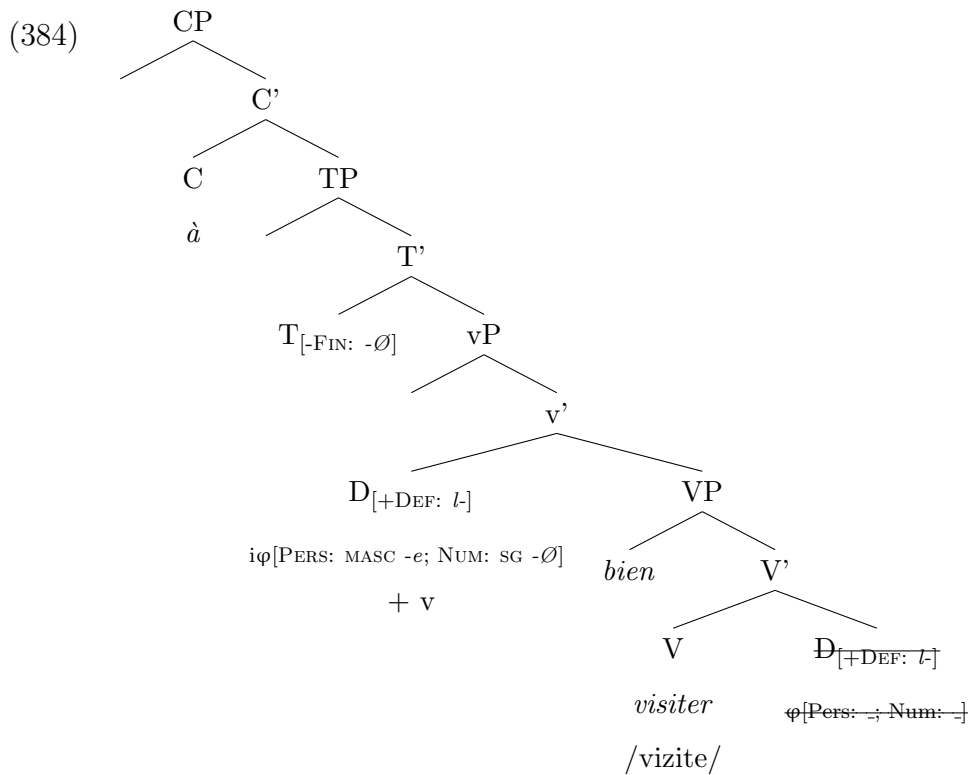
(382) [TP T [-fin]<sub>i</sub> [vP clitic<sub>j</sub>+v [VP V[-fin]<sub>i</sub> clitic<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ]

As (382) shows, this does not imply that cliticisation was necessarily syntactic then, as we find instances of interpolation in our data. I follow Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) who claim that in languages where interpolation is available, cliticisation is phonological (as discussed in section 8.5.2). There are instances of interpolation in MidF: consider example (383) and its structure in (384).

(383) *Et à le bien visiter avant de l'acheter.*  
 and to it correctly visit.INF before to it-buy.INF  
 'and to visit it correctly, before buying it.' (Merville, p.60)

<sup>39</sup>Alibèrt (1976: 23) indicates that there is variation amongst the different varieties of Occitan.

<sup>40</sup>For how this structure interacts with OV orders, Scrambling and cases of Stylistic Fronting, I refer the reader to Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017). They analyse the left periphery of Old French and propose the following structure: [ForceP [FrameP [TopP [FocP [FinP [SubjP [TP ... ]]]]]]]. In V2 clauses, the finite verb is in Fin, and the subject constantly targets the SubjP layer.



In Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, adverbs such as *bien* 'correctly' are positioned quite low in the LAS (356b).<sup>41</sup> This suggests that in (383), the infinitive remains in V (see also Roberts, 2010 footnote 47, for a similar remark). We have (crosslinguistic) evidence that clitics do not always cliticise on verbs, whence phonological cliticisation is on the adverb. Cases of interpolation are not frequent in the corpus, but we have evidence that they are present in the language from early on: de Kok (1985: 339) reports a few instances from as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

- (385) *et adventure de y miserablement finer leurs jours*  
 and adventure of there miserably end.INF their day.  
 'and the adventure to miserably end their days here.' (Actes de la C. d'H.VI)

<sup>41</sup>Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994: 158) note that cases of interpolation (in late MidF/EModF) are found only with a small set of adverbs, namely *bien* 'correctly, well', *mieux* 'better' or *trop* 'too much', as well as negative adverbs like *pas* 'not' or *jamais* 'never'.

- (386) *Elle ne pouvait lui rien donner.*  
 she not can.PST.3SG him nothing give.INF  
 ‘She could not give him anything.’ (Pannier, p.38)

- (387) *Pourquoi ne le pas anneler.*  
 why not it not put-a-ring-in.INF  
 ‘Why not put a ring in it?’ (in the animal’s nose) (Pesnelle, p.96)

My proposal fits with Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) and Martineau’s (1994) claim that adverbs of the *pas*-type are not genuine negators yet, but that they are generated in VP. Indeed, we find cases of interpolation with *pas* that we could not account for if *pas* was in NegP, i.e. above v and therefore above the clitic (388).

- (388) [CP *Pourquoi* [TP *ne*<sub>i</sub> [NegP ~~*ne*~~<sub>i</sub> [vP *le*<sub>j</sub> [VP *pas anneler t*<sub>j</sub> ] ] ] ] ]

Subsequent reanalysis of *pas* as main negator in NegP will create the order [*pas* clitic infinitive] towards the end of the MidF period (Jespersen, 1917; Larrivée, 2011; Hansen, 2013; Willis et al., 2013; Schølser and Völker, 2014).

Since interpolation is not available in ModF, clitics syntactically cliticise onto infinitives (I review the situation of ModF in more detail in section 8.8). The diachronic question that follows is: How, when and why did clitics start syntactically cliticising onto infinitives? Interpolation is present in our corpus until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, we have seen in (351) that infinitives can optionally leave the VP for v and precede adverbs like *souvent* ‘often’. Thus, four orderings were synchronically possible in MidF.

- (389) a. [TP T [vP clitic<sub>j</sub>+v [VP V clitic<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ] low V  
 b. [TP T [vP clitic<sub>j</sub>+V<sub>i</sub>+v [VP V<sub>i</sub> clitic<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ] V-to-v movement  
 c. [TP T [vP clitic<sub>j</sub>+v [VP **adverb** V clitic<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ] low V  
 d. [TP T [vP clitic<sub>j</sub>+V<sub>i</sub>+v [VP **adverb** V<sub>i</sub> clitic<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ] V-to-v movement



In (389a) V is low whilst it moves to v in (389b). The same structures are given in (389c) and (389d) with the addition of a low adverb. In each scenario, the clitic is realised on v. Three out of four possible combinations have the clitic adjacent to the infinitive at Spell-Out. Furthermore, the one combination allowing the clitic and the infinitive to be non-adjacent (389c) seems to have been possible with a restricted class of adverbs only. Speakers must not have been exposed to a sufficient amount of [clitic adverb infinitive] constructions to preserve this ordering. Instead, the high frequency of [clitic infinitive] clauses must have been a cue for speakers to reinterpret this as syntactic cliticisation. In other terms, I propose that a low frequency of interpolation led speakers to reanalyse phonological cliticisation as syntactic cliticisation, which led to the ultimate loss of interpolation in the language.

## 8.8 Proclisis in Modern French

### 8.8.1 Syntactic proclitics

Combinations (389c) and (389d) have been replaced by (390a) and (390b). Example (389c), repeated here in (390c), is normally not found in ModF.<sup>42</sup>

- (390) a. [TP T (NegP) [<sub>VP</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> **adverb** clitic<sub>j</sub>+V e<sub>litic</sub><sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ]  
 b. [TP T (NegP) [<sub>VP</sub> [clitic+V]<sub>i</sub>+v [<sub>VP</sub> **adverb** {e<sub>litic</sub><sub>j</sub>+V}<sub>i</sub> e<sub>litic</sub><sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ]  
 c. \* [TP T (NegP) [<sub>VP</sub> clitic<sub>j</sub>+v [<sub>VP</sub> **adverb** V e<sub>litic</sub><sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ]

I argue that the ungrammaticality of (390c) and the grammaticality of (390a) serve as a diagnosis of syntactic cliticisation in ModF. We have evidence that until the end of the MidF period, infinitives optionally moved to v: when a clitic and a

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<sup>42</sup>I ignore cases of interpolation in the literary language, which certainly have an archaic flavour and do not represent French at present.

low adverb were present, interpolation was available; in examples (383) to (387), the adverb attaches to the VP yet precedes the infinitive. Since in ModF, both the clitic and the infinitive are found below *bien* ‘well, correctly’, the clitic cliticises on the infinitive within the VP. Compare MidF (383), repeated below in (391a), with ModF (391b) and its structure in (391c).

- (391) a. *Ë à le bien visiter avant de l'acheter.* [MidF]  
 and to it well visit.INF before to it-buy.INF  
 ‘and to visit it correctly, before buying it.’
- b. *et à bien le visiter avant de l'acheter.* [ModF]
- c. [CP à [TP T [<sub>VP</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> bien *le<sub>j</sub>* visiter *te<sub>j</sub>* ... ] ] ] ]

Movement over *bien* is not available in ModF, yet we can illustrate our point with *souvent* ‘often’, which is situated lower than *bien* (Cinque, 1999: 46). The clitic and the infinitive stay in VP in (392a), whilst they move to v in (392b). The clitic cannot move independently (392c).

- (392) a. *Souvent lui parler, à Marie, ça la rassure.*  
 often her speak.INF to Mary it her reassure.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Talking often to her, Mary, reassures her.’
- b. *Lui parler souvent, à Marie, ça la rassure.*
- c. \* *Lui souvent parler, à Marie, ça la rassure.*

To summarise, clitics must cliticise on infinitives within the VP, which I take to be an innovation dating back from the EModF period (we will see in section 9.5 that this change is linked to the loss of CC in restructuring clauses). This change was caused by a reanalysis of clitics from phonological to syntactic.

### 8.8.2 Long V-movement and proclisis

This analysis extends to other Romance languages: consider Sardinian, which has proclisis yet unlike MidF, ModF, Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese it has not lost its

infinitival suffix.

- (393) *Juanne provat a lu fàcher.* [Sardinian]  
 Juanne try.PRS.3SG to it do.INF  
 ‘Juanne tries to do it.’ (Mensching and Remberger, 2016: 289)

Evidence in the literature indicates that Sardinian infinitives target a high position (Kayne, 1991; Schifano, 2018).<sup>43</sup> Interpolation does not seem to be allowed in this language, which in my analysis indicates that the clitic must syntactically cliticise on the infinitive before V-movement. Unlike ModF lexical infinitives however, Sardinian infinitives (and their clitics) move to a high position.<sup>44</sup> I argue that this is what we observe with French auxiliaries as well, which can optionally move above the negation with the clitic, i.e. they can move to T, presumably because they are morphologically richer than lexical infinitives (furthermore, this resembles what we observe in English: auxiliaries target T whereas lexical verbs remain low).

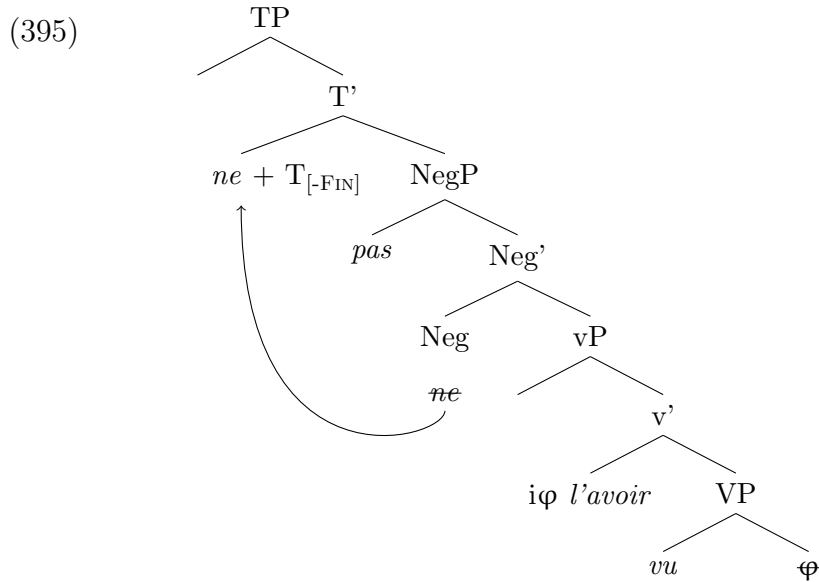
- (394) a. *Ne pas l'avoir vu.* [ModF]  
 NEG not it-have.INF seen  
 ‘Not to have seen it.’  
 b. *Ne l'avoir pas vu.*  
 NEG it-have.INF not seen  
 ‘Not to have seen it.’

Such a construction cannot be accounted for if we maintain that clitics and infinitives move independently in ModF. Both (394a) and (394b) are available (we have seen earlier that [*ne* V<sub>INF</sub> *pas*] is available with auxiliaries only). I take the clitic and the auxiliary to be within the vP domain in (394a), i.e. below NegP, whereas

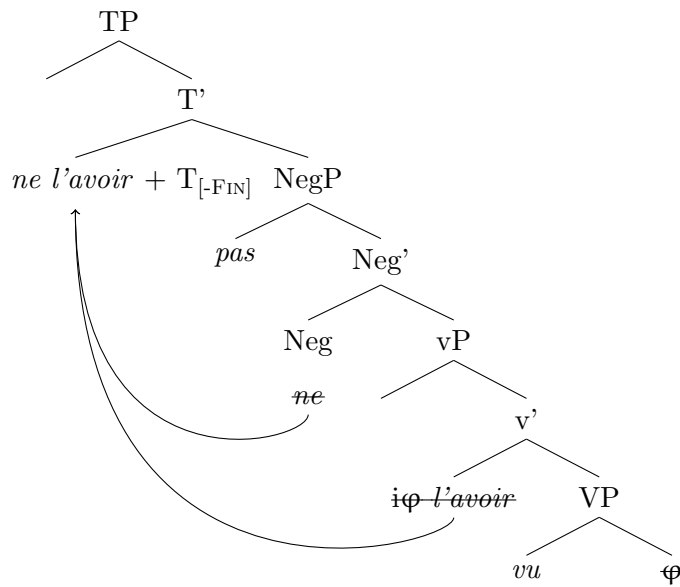
<sup>43</sup>Kayne (1991) notes that infinitives must precede adverbs (like *bien* ‘well’, or negative reinforcers like *rien* ‘nothing’) in Sardinian, which is unlike the situation of French and Occitan.

<sup>44</sup>My analysis follows that of Kayne (1991), who claims that Sardinian infinitives are closer to their Italian counterparts than to their French ones. The main difference between Sardinian and Italian then is that Italian clitics move independently from infinitives. In other words, Sardinian infinitives behave like Italian infinitives, whereas cliticisation is alike French cliticisation.

in (394b) they target a position higher than NegP. In my analysis, this corresponds to T. Unlike lexical infinitives which cannot move to T in ModF, auxiliaries are rich enough to optionally vacate the v/VP. The structures of (394a) and (394b) are given in (395) and (396) respectively.



(396)



The distinction between phonological cliticisation (at PF) and syntactic cliticisation (before Spell-Out) is crucial to account for clitic placement.

1. When we find enclisis, the clitic is realised on *v*, and T is rich enough to attract the infinitive: cliticisation takes place at PF after V-to-T movement (OF, Italian).
2. When we find proclisis in a language that allows interpolation, the clitic is realised on *v*, and the infinitive remains low as T is not rich enough: cliticisation takes place on the following element at PF, either an adverb or the infinitive (MidF).
3. When we find proclisis in a language that does not allow interpolation, cliticisation on the infinitive takes place before Spell-Out. If T is rich enough to trigger movement, the infinitive and its proclitic move to it (ModF auxiliaries, Sardinian). If not, the infinitive and its proclitic remain low (ModF lexical infinitives).

### 8.8.3 *Pas* and low infinitives

We have seen that final /-r/ has been reintroduced on *-ir* and *-oir* infinitives around the classical period, but V-to-T movement was not recovered. Note that the reintroduction of the suffix took place around the same time as the grammaticalisation of *pas* as main negator (Jespersen, 1917; Hirschbühler and Labelle, 1994; Willis et al., 2013; Donaldson, 2018).<sup>45</sup> I propose that the grammaticalisation of *pas* in Neg delimited the infinitival domain and did not allow for V-to-T movement to take place. This hypothesis is supported by Schifano's (2018) observation that some speakers marginally accept V-movement to a rather high Functional Projection within the LAS, but never above Negation (which is the topmost projection of the LAS). Tortora (2002) also observes that post-verbal negators of the *pas*-type block infinitive movement in Borgomanerese. In Catalan however, *pas* is optional, which suggests that it is not analysed as Neg (see footnote 19 page 271). In this language, infinitives move to a high position (Schifano, 2018). Thus, in languages where a post-verbal negator has grammaticalised, V-movement is restricted to a low position.

## 8.9 Concluding remarks

In this Chapter, I have provided an analysis of the placement of clitics with infinitives in non-restructuring contexts in the diachrony of French. I have adopted the view that enclisis results from (i)  $\varphi$ -Agreement on v, (ii) V-to-T movement and (iii) phonological cliticisation: consequently, I claim that clitics and infinitives are independent from each other in OF and cliticisation takes place at PF (Kayne, 1991; Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005; Benincà, 2006; Roberts, 2010; Tortora, 2014*a*; Pescarini, 2021).

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<sup>45</sup>We must treat the reintroduction of /-r/ on *-ir* and *-oir* infinitives as artificial, probably under pressure of grammarians and the *Lumières*.

To analyse the diachrony of French, I have compared our data to what has been described in other Romance languages. The independent movement hypothesis is observable in languages that have enclisis (e.g. Standard Italian) and in languages that have interpolation (e.g. Cosentino). In these languages, cliticisation is phonological. In languages that lack enclisis and interpolation with proclisis, I take cliticisation to take place earlier in the derivation (e.g. Sardinian). In concrete terms, this illustrates the evolution of French: OF has enclisis, MidF allows interpolation with proclisis whereas ModF has strictly adjacent proclisis.

Around 1300, infinitives lost their inflectional affix, which I claim led to the loss of V-to-T since there was no trigger for its acquisition anymore (Roberts and Roussou, 1999, 2003). From the loss of /-r/ on, infinitives remained low on the structure, at least not higher than clitics, which I assume Agree with *v* (Roberts, 2010). Interpolation must not have been frequent enough; a high frequency of clauses where clitics and infinitives are adjacent led learners to reanalyse this construction as syntactic cliticisation on the infinitive, as opposed to phonological cliticisation on the following element (I introduce additional supporting evidence for this hypothesis in section 9.5 in relation to the loss of CC). In the next Chapter, I analyse the second change observed in clitic placement, namely the shift from CC to proclisis, and I will refer to the theory of cliticisation introduced in the present Chapter.





# Chapter 9

## From clitic climbing to proclisis

### 9.1 Introduction

Clitic climbing (henceforth, CC) is the most frequent ordering in OF and early MidF in restructuring contexts (Rizzi, 1982; Cinque, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2004). Although most occurrences include modals, there are few instances of CC with lexical and impersonal verbs. CC is frequent during the first two periods of the language and decreases during the EModF period (1676-1856).

This Chapter is devoted to the diachrony of CC and its interaction with different constructions: in section 9.2 I present the data in a quantitative manner and contextualise them with data from other Romance languages. In section 9.3 I review the notion of optionality with regards to clitic placement and show that this notion is language dependent. In section 9.4 I discuss restructuring clauses and assess the situation in (the diachrony of) French. In section 9.5, I consider cliticisation on finite verbs in V2 contexts to account for the loss of CC. In section 9.6 I introduce a formal analysis of CC. In section 9.7, I evaluate the interaction of CC and infinitive-fronting and show that the two depend on restructuring. Section 9.8 concludes.

## 9.2 Clitic climbing frequency

### 9.2.1 Medieval French

As we have seen in sections 6.2 and 7.2.1, the frequency of CC is high in the early texts: between 1150 and 1435, it represents 99.12% of all constructions in which a finite verb introduces a bare infinitive. The rate of decrease in frequency is first noted during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, albeit subtly, and continues during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. CC is not attested during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 9.1).

	Climbing	Not climbing	Constructions $n$
<b>Old French</b>	98.79% (818)	1.21% (10)	828
<b>Middle French</b>	96.76% (686)	3.24% (23)	709
<b>Early Modern French</b>	44.59% (453)	55.41% (251)	704

Table 9.1: Clitic placement in restructuring clauses

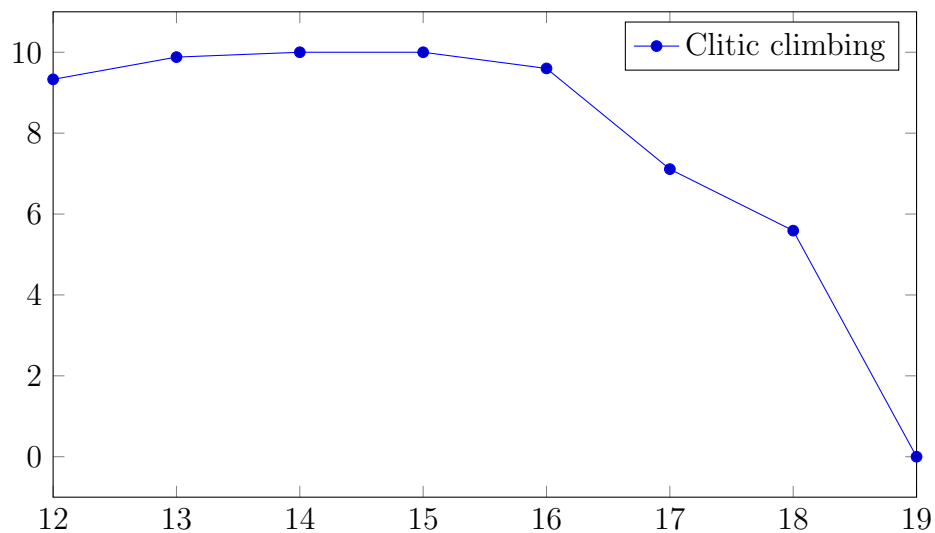


Figure 9.1: Evolution of clitic climbing (percentage per century)

Figure 9.1 is a good example of an S-curve minus the tail (Aitchison, 1981). Although the diffusion of change is slow during the first phase (16<sup>th</sup> century) and then increases (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries), Labov (1994) argues that the last phase of change should be slow (which would shape the *S* form). From the corpus, I report 55.9% of CC for the 18<sup>th</sup> century, whilst the construction is not found during the following century. In other terms, Figure 9.1 is missing the last slow phase. We can probably account for this issue by postulating that our corpus misrepresents that last phase: we have no data between *Pesnelle* (1771) and *Pannier* (1856), so we can only assume that the missing slow phase lies in the interval between these two sources.

We must assess our findings in relation to register: Davies (1995) and de Andrade (2010*b*) have shown that the frequency of CC depends on the source (written *vs.* spoken; formal *vs.* informal). In the following section, I review their findings and compare them with mine.

### 9.2.2 The role of register

Davies (1995: 373) finds that CC is nearly three times more frequent in spoken Spanish than in written Spanish (both European and Mexican), and de Andrade (2010*b*: 99) reports that CC is more common in informal registers in European Portuguese. In other words, they observe that CC is more common in informal environments. Their findings are given in Figure 9.2.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>European Portuguese: informal interviews (56.4%), formal interviews (36.2%), novels (32.1%); European Spanish: spoken (61%), written (28%); Mexican Spanish: spoken (66%), written (26%).

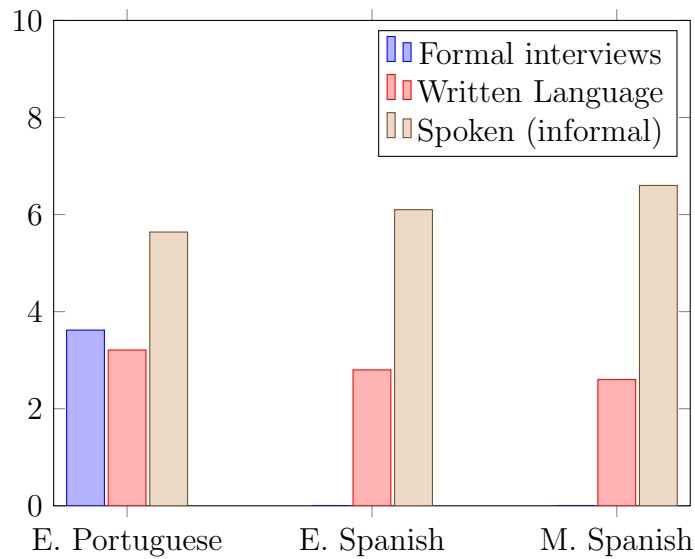


Figure 9.2: Frequency of clitic climbing in European Portuguese and Spanish

Davies (1995) and de Andrade (2010*b*) show that CC is less frequent in the written register, yet the situation is drastically different in our corpus. Evidently, we cannot fully compare their findings with ours, as we lack data for the oral register, but I will show that the apparent issue of a high percentage of CC in written texts can in fact be accounted for.

Firstly, our corpus was designed to avoid effects that would otherwise be found in the literary language. In other terms, I have shown that medieval legal documents tend to represent the oral language in a more truthful manner than literature would. On this account, it is not surprising to find a high frequency of CC in a register that tends to be closer to the spoken language (see the frequency of CC in Table 9.2 for the spoken register).

Secondly, Davies (1995) compares his findings with Old Spanish and notes an important decrease in the frequency of CC between Old and Modern Spanish. This point is particularly relevant to the present study, as it suggests that CC was more

present in Medieval Romance. This is also noted for the diachrony of other Romance languages: I address this observation in detail in the following section.

## 9.3 Clitic climbing and (non-)optionality

### 9.3.1 Old Romance

In the studies of Davies (1995) and de Andrade (2010*b*), CC is studied as an optional construction whose frequency depends on register. Nevertheless, this optionality is not found in Old Portuguese and Old Catalan (Pescarini, 2021: 249), Old Spanish (Wanner, 1982) and Old Occitan (Bekowies and McLaughlin, 2020). In the latter languages, CC was required: see Davies (1996), and de Andrade and Namiuti-Temponi (2016) for Old Portuguese<sup>2</sup>, Fischer (2000) for Old Catalan, and Wanner (1982) and Davies (1995) for Old Spanish. Similarly, Martineau (1990) considers CC to have been obligatory in MidF. This suggests that the gap reported by Davies (1995) and de Andrade (2010*b*) between the frequencies of CC in written and spoken Modern Romance was less present (if at all) in Old Romance, which allows us to rule out that the high frequency of CC in our data depends on our register choice.

Furthermore, CC was present during the medieval stage of all Romance languages, yet it became restricted in many languages: depending on the language, the decrease of CC began between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Bekowies and McLaughlin, 2020), a window in which our findings fit. As a more general observation, there has been a global erosion of CC in the diachrony of Romance.

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<sup>2</sup>Davies (1996) reports that in Portuguese, CC represents 86% of all constructions in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and 87% in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This number has kept on decreasing.

### 9.3.2 Modern Romance

To motivate our hypothesis that optionality is not a necessary property of CC, we can look at some Modern Romance varieties. In Sardinian (Jones, 1997; Mensching and Remberger, 2016), Southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway, 2016*b*), Rumanian (Maiden, 2016) and in Ribagorçan Catalan (Rigau, 2005: 794-795), CC obligatory.

In Sardinian, the clitic cannot stay low when the main verb selects a bare infinitive (397).

(397) a. *Juane lu cheret fàcher.*  
 Juane it want.PRS.3SG do-INF  
 ‘Juane wants to do it.’

b. \**Juane cheret lu fàcher.*  
 Juane want.PRS.3SG it do-INF

(Mensching and Remberger, 2016: 289)

A similar constraint is found in Rumanian with the modal *putea* ‘can’, with which CC is systematically found (398).

(398) a. *Ți le poate cumpăra.*  
 you them can.PRS.3SG buy-INF  
 ‘He can buy you them.’

b. \**Poate Ți le cumpăra.*  
 can.PRS.3SG you them buy-INF

(Maiden, 2016: 105)

The situation is identical in the dialects of Southern Italy, for which Ledgeway (2016*b*: 265) writes that ‘clitics invariably climb to the (highest) functional predicate’ as in example (399).

(399) *Ce l’amm’a scì ppeghié.*  
 there him-have.PRS.1PL go-INF fetch-INF  
 ‘We have to go there and fetch him.’

(Ledgeway, 2016*b*: 265)

Our comparison is relevant outside Romance as well: CC is necessarily found with *sotzo* ‘can’ and *spitseo* ‘finish’ in Grecia Salentina Greek (400), a variety of Greek spoken in southern Italy (also called Griko) (Chatzikyriakidis, 2010).

- (400) a. **To** *sotzume* *avorasi*.  
           it can.PRS.1PL buy.INF  
           ‘We can buy it.’
- b. \**Sotzume* *avorasi to*.  
           can.PRS.1PL buy.INF it
- c. \**Sotzume to* *avorasi*.  
           can.PRS.1PL it buy.INF

(Chatzikyriakidis, 2010: 281)

The construction was probably obligatory in the Medieval Romance languages mentioned above, and we observe three scenarios:

1. CC remained obligatory (e.g. Sardinian)
2. CC became optional (e.g. Spanish)
3. CC disappeared altogether (e.g. French)

In other words, the present hypothesis is that some Romance languages shifted from obligatory CC to optional CC. With this in mind, we can analyse the diachrony of CC in French with a refined strategy.

### 9.3.3 Diachrony of French

The loss of CC in French is traditionally situated shortly after 1650 (Iglesias, 2015; Amatuzzi et al., 2020; Bekowies and McLaughlin, 2020). The data of the present study show that from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century on, CC is less frequent than proclisis. Nevertheless, it remains present in relatively high frequencies until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Table 9.2; \* indicates that not all clitics are proclitic, some are enclitic).

Source	Date	Clitic climbing		Proclisis	
		<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
#1 to #14	1150-1435	1,124	99.12	10*	0.88
#15	1539	211	95.9	9	4.1
#16	1578	94	94	6	6
#17	1611	52	86.66	8	13.34
#18	1676-1681	50	40	75	60
#19	1731	44	43.13	58	56.87
#20	1771	108	66.25	55	33.75
#21	1856	0	0	63	100

Table 9.2: Decrease of clitic climbing with modals in French

The evolution of clitic placement in restructuring contexts is given in Figure 9.3 starting from the first attested decrease, that is source 15 in 1539. CC and proclisis are competing between the mid-17<sup>th</sup> and the late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (sources 18, 19 and 20).

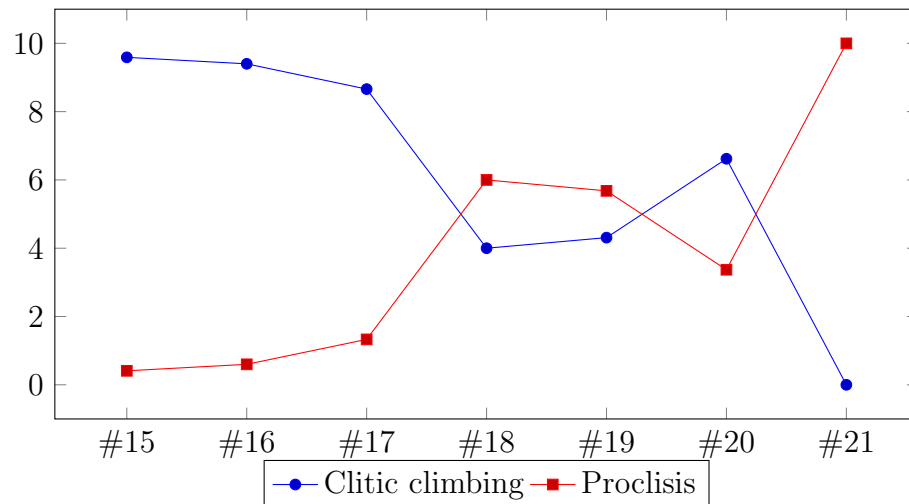


Figure 9.3: Evolution of clitic climbing and proclisis (percentage per source)



As we have seen, languages that have CC either have it obligatorily or optionally; moreover a shift has taken place in some languages (e.g. Spanish, European Portuguese, Catalan) which made CC optional. We can interpret the data in Table 9.2 through a different lens: the very high frequency of CC in OF and early MidF (99.12% together) supports the hypothesis that CC was somewhat obligatory at this stage, similarly to other Old Romance languages. This claim fits with Martineau's (1990) study: she investigates CC in two French texts written in 1462 and 1515, and she also concludes that CC was not optional.

From the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century on, we observe the early signs of the decrease in the frequency of CC. In fact, CC might not have gradually disappeared over the course of three centuries: instead, we can apply the idea that French patterned similarly to other Romance languages, that is it shifted from obligatory CC to optional CC. This hypothesis implies that, albeit for a short time, French behaved like Modern Catalan, Modern Spanish and Modern Italian (Table 9.3).

	<b>Clitic climbing</b>
<b>until 1600</b>	<i>obligatory</i>
<b>1600 - 1800</b>	<i>optional</i>
<b>since 1800</b>	<i>absent</i>

Table 9.3: Evolution of the constraint on clitic climbing

If this hypothesis is on the right track, then a question remains as to why Catalan, Spanish and Italian did not lose optionality when French got rid of it. We will answer this question in section 9.5, in showing that CC is available in languages that have phonological cliticisation with infinitives (which is not the case of ModF, as we have seen in section 8.8).

The diachrony of CC in French is parallel to that of Brazilian Portuguese. CC

was obligatory in Old Portuguese (de Andrade and Namiuti-Temponi, 2016), and during the 1600s a shift occurred and the frequency of CC decreased. It dropped again between 1700 and 1900, particularly in Brazilian Portuguese (Davies, 1996). As regards to CC in (modern) Brazilian Portuguese, there seems to be a lot of variation, but Comrie (1982) concludes that CC is rare in the spoken language of less educated speakers.

To sum up, I propose that we observe three stages in French:

1. Obligatory CC (until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century)
2. Optional CC (late 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>)
3. Absence of CC (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century)

## 9.4 Restructuring clauses

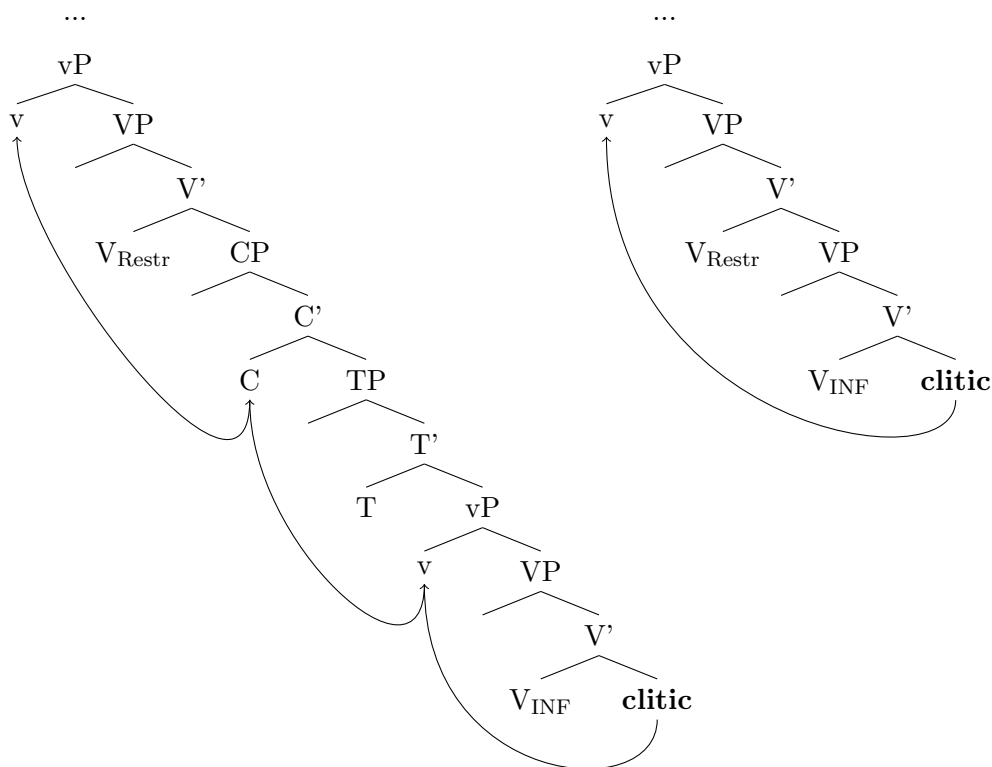
### 9.4.1 Background

Restructuring clauses have animated a variety of debates since the early 1980s (see section 4.7.2). On the one hand, some authors assume a bi-clausal structure and analyse CC as movement from the lower clause to the higher one (Kayne, 1989, 1991, 1994; Martineau, 1990; Roberts, 1991, 1997; Solà, 2002; Paradís, 2018). On the other, some authors adopt the hypothesis that CC is found in mono-clausal environments, i.e. the infinitive is not introduced by intermediate projections such as CP or TP (Cinque, 2001, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2001, 2004, 2016; Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004; Haegeman, 2006; Roberts, 2010; Gallego, 2016; Pescarini, 2021). The two hypotheses are illustrated in (401) and (402) (for the time being, I represent CC as head move-

ment targeting a v-head).<sup>3</sup>

(401) Clitic climbing with bi-clausal restructuring

(402) Clitic climbing with mono-clausal restructuring



In what follows, I adopt a mono-clausal hypothesis to account for CC in OF and MidF.

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<sup>3</sup>Modals, aspectual and motion verbs are core restructuring verbs across languages, yet some authors have noticed crosslinguistic variation, or even cross-dialectal: for instance, Haegeman (2006) reports that Italian *sembrare* ‘seem’ triggers CC for a set of speakers only, whilst Paradís (2018) notes that some lexical verbs in Catalan are found with CC, such as *aprendre* ‘learn’ and *decidir* ‘decide’.

### 9.4.2 Intervening *Wh*-phrases

Kayne (1989) adopts the bi-clausal approach based on evidence that CC is operative despite a CP-layer: see for instance cases where a *Wh*-phrase occupies Spec,CP (403).

- (403) *Non t<sub>i</sub> saprei                    che dire e<sub>i</sub>.* [Standard Italian]  
 not you know.COND.1SG what tell.INF  
 ‘I wouldn’t know what to tell you.’ (Kayne, 1989)

He further supports his hypothesis in showing that CC is impossible when C is occupied by an element: consider (404) where *se* ‘if’ sits in C.

- (404) a. *Non so                    se farli.* [Standard Italian]  
 not know.PRS.1SG if do.INF-them  
 ‘I don’t know whether to do them.’  
 b. \**Non l<sub>i</sub> so                    se fare e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 not them know.PRS.1SG if do.INF  
 (Kayne, 1989)

Our data show the same construction: in examples (405) and (406), a *Wh*-phrase is present with the restructuring verb *savoir* ‘know’ and the clitic climbs.

- (405) *je ne le<sub>i</sub> sauroie                    a cui rendre e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 I not it know.COND.1SG to whom return.INF  
 ‘I wouldn’t know whom to return it to.’  
 (Ferrì III, p. AD54.H.338\_12\_1297/00/00 1)

- (406) *et pour ce ne leur<sub>i</sub> savoit                    on que baillier e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 and for this not them know.PST.3SG one what give.INF  
 ‘and for this, one did not know what to give them.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 44, fol. 22 verso.)

Martineau (1990: 110-111) also provides examples of the construction with *où* ‘where’, *à quoi* ‘to what’, *de quoi* ‘about what’ and *comment* ‘how’ in MidF. Rizzi (1982) reports that CC with the [*ne savoir Wh*-phrase V<sub>INF</sub>] construction is not

available with *perché* ‘why’ and *quando* ‘when’ in Italian. Our corpus does not contain any instance of CC in such contexts in Medieval French either.

To maintain a mono-clausal analysis, one must take these *Wh*-phrases not to be in Spec,CP. Cinque (2004: 140-141) writes: ‘the verb embedding a wh-phrase is interpreted as a modal of mental ability [...]. The only auxiliary assumption that needs to be made is that the root modal head of mental ability can take a single wh-CP layer above its ordinary functional XP complement’. Such examples are indeed highly restricted: the construction is only available with the verb *sapere/savoir/saber* ‘know’ (generally in the conditional), which is necessarily negated (otherwise CC fails to obtain), and further restrictions apply to the choice of the *Wh*-phrase and of the infinitive that follows (Wurmbrand, 2001; Cardinaletti, 2014*a*).

Furthermore, Cardinaletti (2014*a*: 144) disputes Cinque’s (2004) proposal that these *Wh*-phrases project a CP in the IP domain for a series of reasons: (i) it is not clear why this CP would attract only a subset of *Wh*-phrases (i.e. not *perché* and *quando*); (ii) the main verb *sapere* must necessarily be negated for the sentence to be grammatical whereas genuine *Wh*-phrases in Spec,CP need not such condition (this holds crosslinguistically and our data coupled with Martineau’s, 1990 show that negation is present in MidF as well); (iii) the construction is only available with *savoir/sapere* ‘know’, Italian verbs with a similar meaning such as *chiedersi* and *domandarsi* ‘wonder’ do not yield grammatical results; (iv) the *Wh*-phrase must be adjacent to the infinitive. To account for these issues, Cardinaletti (2014*a*) proposes that these *Wh*-phrases are ‘indefinite elements’ (i.e. they do not have an interrogative meaning), and that they are polarity items that must be licensed by the negation *ne/non*. Her analysis takes *Wh*-indefinite elements to be weak in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), and to adjoin to a low position in the IP domain, since they follow all adverbs (Cinque, 1999). Finally, she accounts for the unavailability of *perché* ‘why’ and *quando* ‘when’ by analysing them as strong  $\bar{A}$ -elements.

I found only two instances of the construction in the corpus (shown in (405) and (406)), which is not enough for an in-depth discussion. Nevertheless, these examples and the ones introduced by Martineau (1990) match the description made by Cardinaletti (2014*a*) for Italian. Following her analysis (and that of Cinque, 2004), I therefore rule out the assumption that a CP is present in (405) and (406), which I will show in section 9.6 is relevant to my analysis of CC.

### 9.4.3 Infinitival subordinators

Subordinators of the *à/de* type introduce infinitives and are traditionally analysed as C-heads (Rizzi, 1997).<sup>4</sup> We find CC crosslinguistically in presence of subordinators, for instance in Catalan (407).

- (407) *Hi<sub>i</sub> mirava d' anar e<sub>i</sub> sempre que podia.* [Catalan]  
 there try.PST.3SG to go-INF always that could.3SG  
 'She tried to go there whenever she could.'  
 (Paradís, 2018: 291)

Paradís (2018) shows that the presence of the subordinator is an issue for any theory of CC that assumes that no CP intervenes. In our corpus, there is quantitative evidence that when an infinitive is introduced by a subordinator, the preference goes to pro-/enclisis (depending on the period), i.e. CC is avoided. Nonetheless, I have found instances of the construction with the two subordinators: consider (408) and (409) for *à*, and (410) for *de*.

- (408) *nos li somes tenu a aidier.*  
 we him be.PRS.1PL hold.PP to help-INF  
 'We have to help him out.'  
 (*Ferri III*, p. AD54\_B\_872\_no\_8 1258/08/00 1)

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<sup>4</sup>See also Kayne (1999) who proposes that *à/de* are merged in a VP-external position and attract the main verb and the infinitive in a series of movements. See Borsley (2001) for a discussion against this proposal.

- (409) *et s'il ne la trueve a vendre a Denuevre ...*  
 and if-he not it find.PRS.3SG to sell.INF in Denuevre  
 'And if he doesn't find anyone to sell it (the house) to in Denuevre...'

(*Ferri III*, p. AD88\_G\_61\_no.4 1301/12/00 1)

- (410) *avec lesdis Anglois, qui le menacerent de grever...*  
 with the-said English who him threaten.PST.3PL to harm.INF  
 'with the aforementioned Englishmen, who threatened to kill him...'

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, JJ 173, n. 125, fol. 62 verso.)

This construction is interesting for two reasons: (i) it strongly suggests that these sentences are bi-clausal, and (ii) if they are bi-clausal and the subordinator is in C, the clitic cannot move to the higher clause through C. Several hypotheses have been put forward: on the one hand, Paradís (2018) proposes that these subordinators are defective C-heads that allow clitics to adjoin to the higher clause. On the other hand, Martineau (1990) analyses them as I-heads, allowing movement of the clitic through C. These two authors adopt the bi-clausal hypothesis. Cinque (2004) adopts the mono-clausal hypothesis and proposes that they are prepositions introduced as projections of the lexical VP. In the discussion that follows, I will present evidence that these examples are mono-clausal and the subordinator is in a functional projection directly above the verb.

The syntax of such subordinators is yet to be investigated in depth, yet Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) note that there were two series of homophonous subordinators in OF and MidF: subordinators in C (which select a TP, henceforth C-subordinators), and subordinators not in C (that do not select a TP, henceforth non-C-subordinators). They argue that the latter are found in restructuring clauses such as (408) to (410), and that they were lost in the course of the evolution.<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>5</sup>Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) mostly focus on *à* and they consider *de* to always be a C-head. This is untenable considering that CC is found with both in our corpus (although not with *de* in OF). In my discussion, I include *de* that allows CC in non-C-subordinators.

our data and in theirs, non-C-subordinators and infinitives are strictly adjacent; with genuine C-subordinators however (that is, when an infinitive is introduced by a subordinator in a non-restructuring context), Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) show that adverbs, shifted objects and auxiliaries can intervene. To account for this adjacency, they suggest that non-C *à* is a ‘functional morpheme with affixal properties’.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, our data show that *à* is often written with the infinitive as one word, e.g. *arendre* instead of *a rendre*, *aattendre* instead of *a attendre*, *aavoir* instead of *a avoir*, *aesclairier* instead of *a éclairier* or *aamender* instead of *a amender*. This orthography could indicate a certain morphophonological proximity between the two elements.

- (411) *il est tenu aamender la.*  
 he be.PRS.3SG hold.PP to-amend.INF it  
 ‘He has to amend it.’ (*Grand Coutumier*, Seq 100)

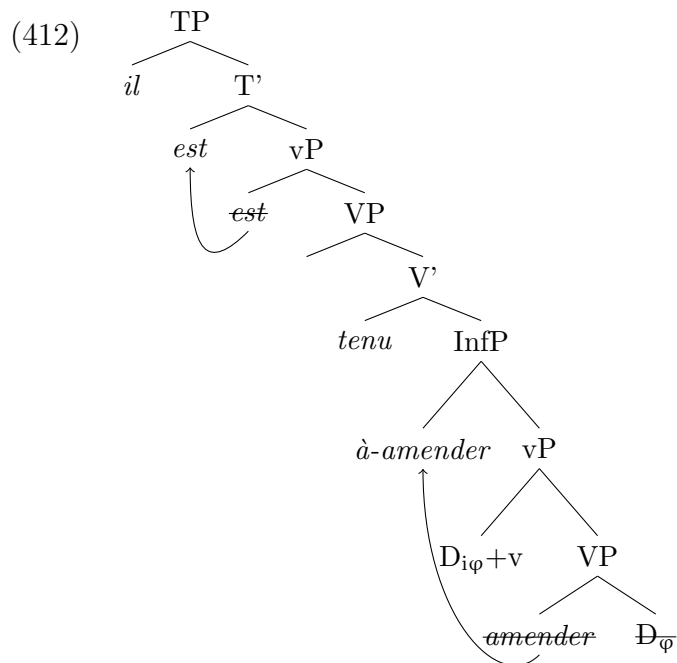
In what follows, I will show that non-C-subordinators have been reanalysed as C-subordinators in the diachrony of French, which accounts for the loss of CC in this context. Martineau and Motapanyane (2000) propose that non-C-subordinators project a functional phrase (FP) right above VP. Here, I claim that this FP is not vP: although in recent proposals Wurmbrand (2014, 2016) claims that embedded infinitives in restructuring sentences project a vP, I have adopted the view that v is a cliticisation site (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010). In (411), I take the FP in which *a+amender* are merged to be above vP, as the clitic *la* sits in v. I analyse this FP as InfP where Inf(initial) is a functional projection bearing infinitival features (in so doing I adapt Roberts’ 2010 structure). This hypothesis implies that non-C-subordinators are infinitival markers that carry

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<sup>6</sup>Los (1999) and Roberts and Roussou (2003) discuss the diachrony of *to-infinitives* in English and show that the same adjacency is found. They claim that *to* is a clitic in Old English (I return to this below).

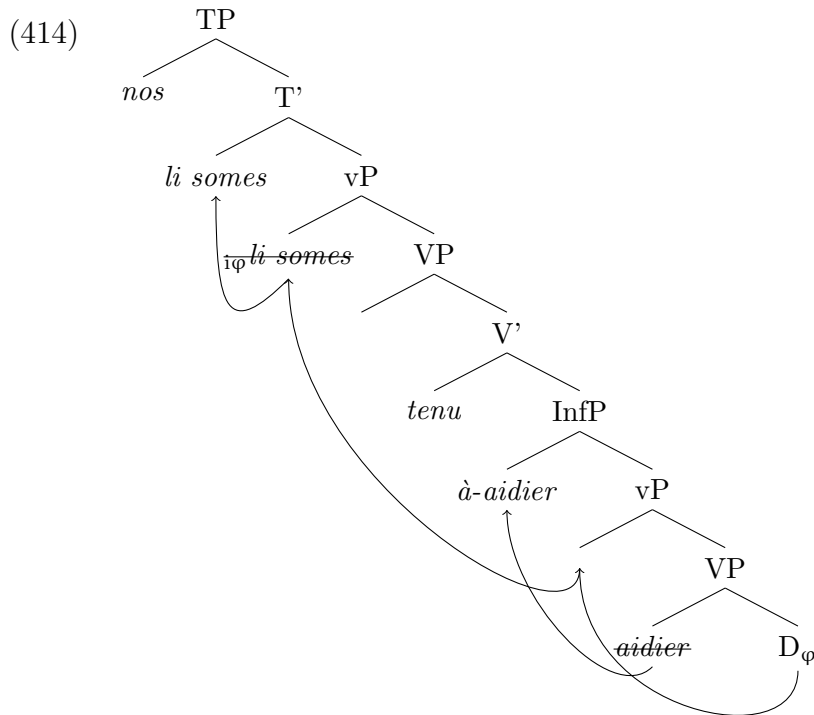


aspectual features selected by the main verb, and they behave like bound morphemes that trigger V-movement. The structure of (411) is given in (412).



The contrast between CC in (408), repeated here in (413), and enclisis in (411) depends on whether cliticisation yields on the lower v or on the higher one (i.e. whether the clitic climbs or not).

- (413) *nos li somes tenu a aidier.*  
 we him be.PRS.1PL hold.PP to help.INF  
 ‘We have to help him out.’



I adopt Martineau and Motapanyane's (2000) view that long V-movement is obligatory here, that is when restructuring applies and *à/de* is in Inf. This naturally accounts for the necessary adjacency between the subordinator and the infinitive, and it justifies its affixal properties. Under this view, (411) exhibits long V-movement as well: the verb moves to Inf, but in this example the clitic adjoins to the lower v, it does not climb (which I will show below is not possible anymore after the 14<sup>th</sup> century). Thus, (411) shows a restructuring structure, i.e. mono-clausal, yet without CC. This construction is nonetheless vanishingly rare in the corpus.

Non-C-subordinators (henceforth, Inf-subordinators) behave as bound morphemes, therefore no v-head intervenes between *à/de* and the infinitive. Hence why proclisis is not found in this context until these subordinators are reanalysed as C-subordinators, for this change led to (i) the loss of V-movement and (ii) the loss of mono-clausal restructuring with aspectual verbs. Recall that long V-movement was lost in non-

restructuring contexts already (see section 8.6). This hypothesis accounts for the fact that CC with aspectual verbs was lost earlier than with modals: the reanalysis I describe here (ultimately turning a restructuring clause into a non-restructuring one) took place before transparency effects were lost with modals (in which no change took place, they remained restructuring clauses).

In Chapter 8, I have argued that long V-movement in non-restructuring clauses is triggered by T and yields enclisis. Here, I claim that Inf-subordinators act as a V-movement trigger in restructuring clauses. Ultimately, even if enclisis was already lost from non-restructuring clauses, I maintain that V-movement remained in restructuring clauses with *à/de*. Something must be said about the absence of enclisis of the type seen in (411) after the 14<sup>th</sup> century: if V-to-Inf remained available, why do we not find enclisis in this context from 1300 on? We find rare examples of Inf-subordinators (therefore, V-to-Inf) until late: one example during the 15<sup>th</sup> century and one during the 16<sup>th</sup> century (415).

- (415) *il se tiedra de marier...*  
 he REFL hold.FUT.3SG to marry.INF  
 ‘he will be held to marry someone...’ (Terrien, p.20)

Building on Roberts (2010), I propose that the clitic must always target the higher *v* in MidF (which is the stage where CC is obligatory, as claimed in section 9.3.3), hence the absence of enclisis despite long V-movement. The data support this hypothesis: CC is found in 93.3% and 98.8% of all restructuring clauses during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively (at this stage, enclisis is found in the rare cases where the clitic does not climb). During the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, CC is found in 100% of all restructuring clauses. When CC became optional with modals during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, all subordinators had been reanalysed as C-subordinators, disallowing CC. To sum up this last argument, although Inf can still act as a trigger (and the infinitive moves above *v*), we do not find enclisis from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on anymore

since the clitic must adjoin to the higher  $v$  (see Table 9.4). I develop this hypothesis further in section 9.6.

		$\grave{a}/de$ is in Inf	$\grave{a}/de$ is in C
The clitic targets the higher $v$	pre-1300	CC	N/A
	14 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup>		(the clitic cannot target higher $v$ )
	post-16 <sup>th</sup>	N/A ( $\grave{a}/de$ is not in Inf anymore)	
The clitic targets the lower $v$	pre-1300	ENCLISIS	ENCLISIS
	14 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup>	N/A (the clitic cannot target lower $v$ )	PROCLISIS
	post-16 <sup>th</sup>	N/A ( $\grave{a}/de$ is not in Inf anymore)	

Table 9.4: Clitic placement with  $\grave{a}/de$

We can now establish the diachrony of  $\grave{a}/de$  from Latin to ModF: these elements are prepositions in Latin (Ledgeway, 2012) and by the OF period, they have grammaticalised as Inf-heads, which I analyse as a T-related category for infinitives.<sup>7</sup> The affixal properties of Inf trigger V-to-Inf movement (which we identify with enclisis in OF). During the OF period, a subset of  $\grave{a}/de$  is reanalysed as C: this reanalysis

<sup>7</sup>We find evidence that  $\grave{a}/de$  are not prepositions in OF since they can be introduced by other prepositions. In the following two examples, the preposition *po(u)r* ‘for’ introduces  $\grave{a}$ -V<sub>INF</sub>: *ou que il me doint la contei **pour a** amplir plainnement les convenances* ‘or that he gives me the county **for to** respect the proprieties fully’ (*Lancelot ou Le Chevalier à la Charrette*, p.48e); ***Por a** morir rien ne feïst* ‘**For to** (not) die, he doesn’t do anything’ (*Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, V 5689).

extends to all Inf-subordinators in MidF (Martineau and Motapanyane, 2000). My proposal goes along the lines of Roberts and Roussou's (2003) diachronic analysis of English *to*, which they claim also had affixal properties in Old English (they call it a clitic, see also Los, 1999). Both *à/de* and *to* lost their affixal properties when infinitives in the two languages lost their suffixes: *à/de* is in C in ModF (Rizzi, 1997), and *to* is in T in Modern English (Roberts and Roussou, 2003). Because of the reanalysis of *à/de* as C-subordinators, these clauses are not restructuring anymore, hence the unavailability of CC. With modal verbs however, CC remained longer since no reanalysis took place.

I have shown here that it is not necessary to assume that a CP is present in sentences with CC over *à/de*: if we take the subordinator to be an infinitival marker lower than C, then we can maintain a mono-clausal approach.

#### 9.4.4 Summary

In this section, I have argued that intervening *Wh*-phrases and the presence of infinitival subordinators are not sufficient evidence of a bi-clausal structure in restructuring contexts. First, these *Wh*-phrases appear in limited contexts: they are only found with one verb (*savoir*) and they do not behave like 'genuine' interrogative *Wh*-phrases. I have adopted Cardinaletti's (2014) analysis that such *Wh*-phrases are not in a CP. Second, the hypothesis that *à/de* are genuine C-subordinators in restructuring clauses is untenable as it immediately cancels the analysis of CC as head-to-head movement. On this, I have adopted and developed Martineau and Motapanyane's (2000) analysis which shows that there were two series of infinitival subordinators in earlier French: the affixal behaviour of Inf-subordinators (mainly *à*) shows that they were infinitival markers projecting InfP, and I have extended this hypothesis to *de*. In conclusion, I

take restructuring sentences to be mono-clausal in Medieval French.<sup>8</sup>

## 9.5 The loss of clitic climbing

Although our focus is on infinitives, let us consider (albeit briefly) cliticisation on finite verbs: I will show here that the mechanism of cliticisation already in place with finite verbs spread to infinitives and resulted in the loss of CC. Consider examples (416) to (418) in which the intervening subject is in small capitals. The order is [XP Clitic+V Subject V<sub>INF</sub>]; the clitic has climbed to the modal verb, indicating restructuring. The infinitive of which the clitic is complement is underlined.

- (416) *En cest cas ni doit LI ÉVESQUES nului recevoir.*  
 in this case not-there must.PRS.3SG the.NOM bishop.NOM noone receive.INF  
 ‘In that case, the bishop must not receive anyone there.’

(*Établissements et Coutumes*, p.80)

- (417) *et lors se puet ELLE marier à qui que elle voudra.*  
 and then REFL can.PRS.3SG she marry.INF to whom that she want.FUT.3SG  
 ‘and then she will marry whomever she wants to.’

(*Établissements et Coutumes*, p.65)

- (418) *Bie les peuvent-ILS donner.*  
 well them can.PRS.3PL-they give.INF  
 ‘They can give them well.’

(*Terrien*, p.41)

These are clear instances of V2: the first element is a phrase and the subject is post-verbal. In sentence (416) to (418), the fronted XPs are *en cest cas* ‘in this

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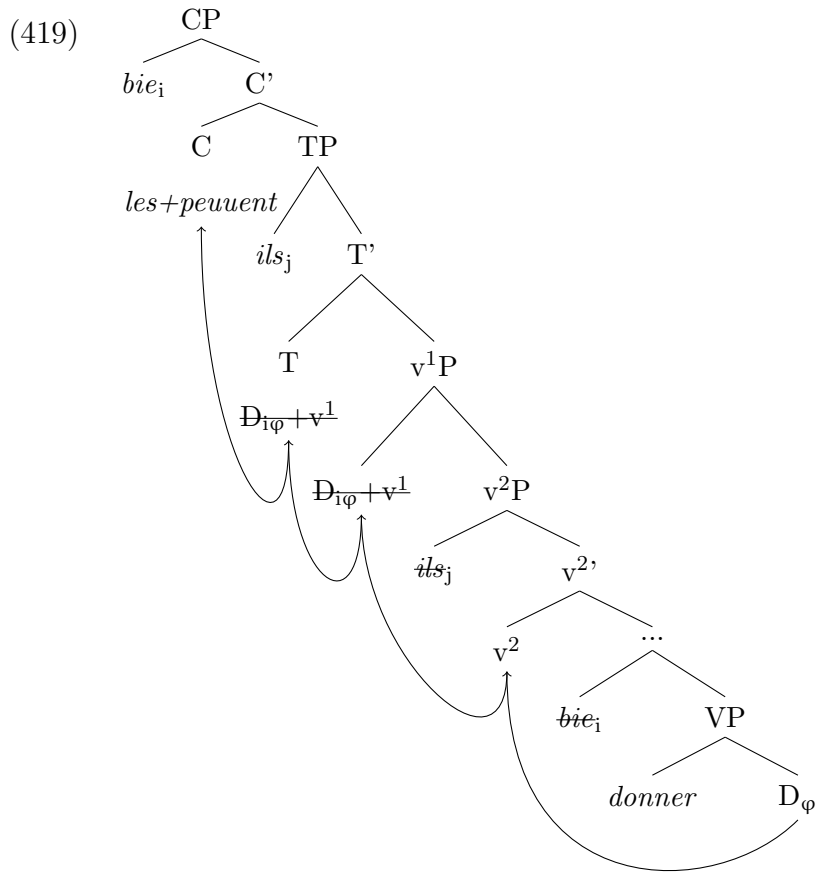
<sup>8</sup>For more evidence of the mono-clausal hypothesis, see Wurmbrand (2001, 2004); Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004); Cinque (2004); Haegeman (2006); Roberts (2010); Gallego (2016); Pescarini (2021). See also Wurmbrand (2014, 2016) for claims that restructuring can be operative on different levels.

case', *lors* 'then', *bie* 'well'. Following recent analyses, the modal is in C (or a C-related head, see Rizzi, 1997) and the fronted XP in Spec,CP (Adams, 1987; Vance, 1997; Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2005; Mathieu, 2013; Holmberg, 2015; Wolfe, 2019*a*). Despite the fact that the verb targets a position higher than v (which the clitic Agrees with), CC results in proclisis on the higher verb, rather than enclisis. Here, I show that (pro-)cliticisation on the verb is syntactic and takes place before the V-to-C movement.

In the derivation, the first operation to take place is Agree with v for the clitic to be realised in the upper domain and be proclitic on the modal. In light of the analysis that I develop in section 9.6.2, I take the subject to be generated in the specifier of the lower vP. Since restructuring verbs are functional, the higher vP does not select any external argument (Cinque, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2004).<sup>9</sup> The DP-subject thus moves to Spec,TP to check nominative case, as indicated by the morphology in (416). V2 ordering is satisfied when an XP moves to Spec,CP whilst [clitic+v] undergoes v-to-T and then T-to-C. Tree (419) represents the structure of (418).

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<sup>9</sup>See Cinque (2004) for an extensive discussion on the inability of restructuring verbs to assign thematic roles.



In so doing, I further support the hypothesis developed in section 8.8.2 that the clitic and the verb are either independent until cliticisation (at PF) obtains, or cliticisation (before Spell-Out) obtains first on the verb (and the complex [clitic+verb] may then move). Recall that clitics and infinitives are independent until the EModF period (which accounts for enclisis in OF and interpolation in MidF).

Earlier, I have shown that clitics and auxiliary infinitives can move to T together in ModF, that is after cliticisation obtains. Here, I adapt this proposal to main verbs in Medieval French with movement to C. In V2 contexts, the main verb and the clitic are not independent since they must move together (no cases of interpolation are found in this context). This, added to the low frequency of interpolation discussed in



section 8.7.3, may have motivated the reanalysis of proclisis on (all) infinitives from phonological to syntactic, mirroring what was already in place in finite contexts. Therefore, we see that the language opted for a system in which cliticisation must be proclitic and syntactic (with the notable exception of imperatives, see section 4.2).<sup>10</sup> In turn, clitics are not independent from the verb they are an argument of anymore and must cliticise on it, leading to the loss of CC. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that CC (in restructuring clauses) and interpolation (in non-restructuring clauses) are lost at the same time. Based on this claim and on the restructuring hypothesis developed in section 9.4, the next section characterises CC in formal terms.

## 9.6 Analysis of clitic climbing

### 9.6.1 Theoretical framework

As mentioned above, I take CC to have been obligatory in French from 1300 to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> This is also the position taken by Martineau (1990), and we have seen in section 9.3 that there is evidence that CC was more frequent in Medieval Romance (probably obligatory, see Pescarini, 2021), and that some Modern Romance and non-

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<sup>10</sup>Within the present hypothesis, whether cliticisation is phonological or syntactic depends on finiteness, rather than the clitic itself. In languages like Spanish, Italian and OF, cliticisation is syntactic with finite verbs and phonological with infinitives and imperatives. In ModF, the only context where phonological cliticisation remains is with imperatives, with which we find both proclisis or enclisis. Enclisis, I have claimed, is necessarily a result of cliticisation at PF. In the case of ModF imperatives, the clitic is realised on *v* and the imperative moves to C alone: since no intervening element is present, *encliticisation* yields at PF.

<sup>11</sup>We have seen in sections 6.3 and 9.4.3 that we find rare cases of enclisis in restructuring clauses before 1300.

Romance languages have obligatory CC as well (Sardinian, Rumanian, Southern Italian dialects, Ribagorçan Catalan, Griko). Thus, Medieval French behaved differently from today's canonical Romance languages that show total optionality in the use of CC (Spanish, Italian, Catalan, Occitan, European Portuguese).<sup>12</sup> In section 9.4, I have argued for a mono-clausal approach of restructuring. I adopt the view that main verbs of restructuring clauses (modals and aspectuals) are functional heads that lack argument structure (Cinque, 2001, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2004, 2014, 2016).

The structure of restructuring clauses that I developed in section 9.4.3 is given in (420). It is adapted from Roberts (2010: 84), in which the cartographic functional heads assumed by Cinque (2004) (Mod/Asp) are replaced by v-heads. I do not indicate clitics for the moment. As we have seen, they both allow for CC.

- (420) a. **Modal:** [TP [vP MODAL [InFP [vP [VP V<sub>INF</sub> ] ] ] ] ]  
 b. **Aspectual:** [TP [vP ASPECTUAL [InFP *à/de* V<sub>INFi</sub> [vP [VP V<sub>INFi</sub> ] ] ] ] ]

I take embedded infinitives to be introduced by a vP: Wurmbrand (2016) convincingly shows that German and some Austronesian languages project an embedded vP in restructuring clauses, and I found evidence of v-projections as well. Indeed, I identify V-to-v movement with the construction [V + low adverb] (Cinque, 1999; Schifano, 2018); in the sentences with CC, the low adverb *plus* 'anymore' can either precede (421) or follow (422) the infinitive. In (422), we observe V-to-v movement.

- (421) *qu'ilz n'en pourroient plus fere.*  
 that-they not-of-it could.<sub>3PL</sub> anymore do.<sub>INF</sub>  
 'that they will not be able to do any of that anymore.'

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, JJ 172, n. 621, fol. 345 recto.)

<sup>12</sup>See Gallego (2016) for a discussion on the (non-)necessity of CC in Spanish with regards to semantics.

- (422) *Li reis n'i volt attendre plus.*  
 the king.NOM not-there want.PRS.3SG wait.INF anymore  
 ‘The king does not want to wait there anymore.’

(*Le Roman de Brut* p. 352, 1155)

Furthermore, I have argued that the clitic targets the lower v-head in the restructuring clause given in (411), reproduced here in (423).

- (423) *il est tenu aamender la.*  
 he be.PRS.3SG hold.PP to-amend.INF it  
 ‘He has to amend it.’

I follow the analysis developed in Chapter 8 and take v to be a cliticisation site (Solà, 2002; Mavrogiorgos, 2010; Roberts, 2010; Gallego, 2016), i.e. the clitic either Moves to v (Mavrogiorgos, 2010) or Agrees with features in v (Roberts, 2010). We must now posit an analysis that forces the clitic to ‘ignore’ the lower v between 1300 and the 16<sup>th</sup> century but adjoin to the higher one instead.

### 9.6.2 $\varphi$ -defective v

The mechanism of cliticisation I adopt is one of Agreement and defective goal (Roberts, 2010; Dikken and Dékány, 2021).<sup>13</sup> Let us first briefly review how this theory was implemented for clitics: following Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002), Roberts (2010) takes clitics to be  $\varphi$ -bundles; crucially, he assumes that v bears uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features  $\{u\varphi\}$  where the  $\varphi$ -features of the clitic are a proper subset of v (424).

- (424) v[PERSON:\_, NUMBER:\_]  $\varphi$ [PERSON:A, NUMBER:B]

In this proposal, v enters into an Agree relation with  $\varphi$ : the clitic is morphologically realised on v since ‘copying the features of the defective goal exhausts the

<sup>13</sup>See Matushansky (2011) and Manzini (2012) for counterarguments: the former maintains that cliticisation should be analysed in terms of movement rather than Agree.

content of the goal' (Roberts, 2010: 60). This ensures that the clitic is pronounced on *v* at PF (425).

$$(425) \quad v_{[\text{PERSON:A}, \text{NUMBER:B}]} \varphi_{[\text{PERSON:A}, \text{NUMBER:B}]}$$

This mechanism has been reinterpreted by Dikken and Dékány (2021), who analyse clitics as D-elements (Uriagereka, 1995; Rizzi, 2000). In the preceding Chapter, I have taken clitics to be D-heads realised as *l-* with a  $\{\varphi\}$  that needs to be licensed on it: *l*- $\{\text{u}\varphi\}$  (for more cliticisation as feature-checking analyses, see Rizzi, 2000; Solà, 2002; Gallego, 2016).

The analysis goes as follows: taking  $\{\text{u}\varphi\}$  to be a potential property of *v*, the embedded *v* was systematically deficient in Medieval French restructuring clauses. In turn, the clitic could only be licensed by the upper *v*: (426) is the structure of CC in French until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

(426) *Obligatory CC*

- a. [TP [<sub>VP</sub> *v*{**u**ϕ} [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>INF</sub> **clitic**{ϕ} ] ] ] ] *Before cliticisation*
- b. [TP [<sub>VP</sub> **clitic**<sub>i</sub>+*v*{**i**ϕ} [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>INF</sub> ~~**clitic**~~{ϕ<sub>i</sub>} ] ] ] ] *Clitic climbing*

By the 16<sup>th</sup> century,  $\{\text{u}\varphi\}$  was available on either *v*-heads, yielding optional CC similar to modern day Spanish or Italian. In other words, the clitic is independent from the infinitive and can be realised in either domains.

(427) *Optional CC* (parentheses indicate optionality)

- a. [TP [<sub>VP</sub> *v*(**{u**ϕ)} [<sub>VP</sub> *v*(**{u**ϕ)} [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>INF</sub> **clitic**{ϕ} ] ] ] ] *Before cliticisation*
- b. [TP [<sub>VP</sub> **clitic**<sub>i</sub>+*v*{**i**ϕ} [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>INF</sub> ~~**clitic**~~{ϕ<sub>i</sub>} ] ] ] ] *Clitic climbing*
- c. [TP [<sub>VP</sub> *v* [<sub>VP</sub> **clitic**<sub>i</sub>+*v*{**i**ϕ} [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>INF</sub> ~~**clitic**~~{ϕ<sub>i</sub>} ] ] ] ] *Proclisis*

From ca. 1800 on, the lower *v*-head always interprets  $\varphi$ -features (which are spelled out on the clitic). Similarly to what we find in non-restructuring clauses at the same

time, cliticisation become syntactic on infinitives and the clitic is not free to cliticise elsewhere (i.e. in climbing or by interpolation).

(428) *Obligatory proclisis*

- a. [TP [vP v [vP v{uφ} [VP V<sub>INF</sub> clitic{φ} ] ] ] ] *Before cliticisation*
- b. [TP [vP v [vP clitic<sub>i</sub>+v{iφ} [VP V<sub>INF</sub> clitic{φ}<sub>i</sub> ] ] ] ] *Proclisis*

Put differently, I analyse the loss of CC in French as a result of (i) the loss of v{uφ} in the upper domain, and (ii) the loss of the optional φ-defective nature of v in the embedded domain (Gallego, 2016). In essence, I do not take the structure of the clause to have changed, nor the mechanism of cliticisation, but the content of the two v-heads.

### 9.6.3 Restructuring in Modern French

The claim that the structure of the clause allowing CC has not changed has implications on the availability of restructuring in ModF. Since the structure (420a), repeated below in (429) did not change, then it follows that restructuring remains ‘operative’; in other words, I propose that restructuring was never lost, but (most) transparency effects were.

(429) [TP [vP v<sub>Restr</sub> [vP [VP V<sub>INF</sub> ] ] ] ]

Although restructuring clauses are a necessary environment for transparency effects to be found, the presence/absence/optionality of these effects is language-dependent. Furthermore, transparency effects do not necessarily obtain in restructuring clauses: Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004: 540-542) and Haegeman (2006: 487) show that CC is not obligatory in sentences that have auxiliary switch (although such sentences indisputably show restructuring). Consider (430) where the auxiliary has switched

to *sarei* ‘would be’ yet the clitic can be in three different positions (illustrating that CC is not obligatory).

- (430) a. *Sarei voluto andare a trovarlo.* [Italian]  
 be.COND.1SG want.PP go.INF to visit.INF-him  
 ‘I would have wanted to go and visit him.’  
 b. *Sarei voluto andarlo a trovare.*  
 c. *Lo sarei voluto andare a trovare.* (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004: 540)

Besides, Hobæk Haff and Lødrup (2016) convincingly argue that some transparency effects are still available in ModF. They show that Long Object Movement is present in the language: consider sentences (431) and (432).

- (431) [...] *il<sub>i</sub> est fini d’être tissé e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 it be.PRS.3SG finish.PP to-be.INF weave.PP  
 ‘[...] it is done being woven.’ (Hobæk Haff and Lødrup, 2016: 160)

- (432) *Une photo<sub>i</sub> est souhaitée d’être postée e<sub>i</sub> sur l’événement.*  
 a picture be.PRS.3SG wish.PP to-be.INF post.PP on the-event  
 ‘It is wished that a picture will be posted on the event.’

(Hobæk Haff and Lødrup, 2016: 161)

Long Object Movement is analysed as a transparency effect in restructuring clauses (Cinque, 2004; Wurmbrand, 2016). This supports the hypothesis that ModF lacks most transparency effects, but not all. Further evidence is introduced by Cinque (2002), who shows that quantifiers can climb with restructuring verbs in ModF (433).

- (433) *Elle n’aurait rien<sub>i</sub> osé dire e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 she not-have.COND.3SG nothing dare.PP say.INF  
 ‘She would have dared to say nothing.’ (Cinque, 2002: 618)

I have shown in this section that the change that took place at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is not the loss of restructuring. Rather, the presence of Long Object Movement and Quantifier Climbing gives evidence that ModF still has restructuring.

In fact, it is possible that restructuring is universal in such contexts, yet transparency effects are language-dependent (see also Wurmbrand, 2016).

#### 9.6.4 Clitic climbing and *pro*-drop

The motivations for the loss of CC are not clear and have been subject to intensive research. The most influential proposal that has been put forward in the literature encompasses the loss of CC with the loss of *pro*-drop (Kayne, 1989; Roberts, 1994; Solà, 2002). Kayne (1989) originally claimed that in *pro*-drop languages, infinitival I(nfl) was strong enough to licence Spec,TP and to L-mark the lower VP, allowing for the infinitive to move higher up (long movement) and for the clitic to move to the main verb (CC) - this is the analysis I have adopted here.<sup>14</sup> Roberts (1994) has adopted and developed this hypothesis: he proposes that in languages like Spanish and Italian, the upper AGR can licence empty categories, unlike in French. As I have mentioned earlier, such a proposal is both attractive and problematic, as it suggests that languages fall in two classes: (i) those that have CC, *pro*-drop and long V-movement, (ii) those that do not have any of them. There is a clear distribution of Romance languages that show (i), i.e. Standard Italian, Spanish, Catalan, and those that show (ii); i.e. ModF, Brazilian Portuguese, Northern Italian Dialects. Nonetheless, diachronic work on French as shown that the *pro*-drop parameter was lost early on (Balon and Larrivé, 2016), at least several centuries before CC was lost as well. This situation resembles the one of Kru languages, which exhibit CC but are not *pro*-drop (Haverkort, 1990; Cinque, 2004).

Moreover, the study of long V-movement in the diachrony of French necessitates further research: I have shown in the preceding Chapter that infinitives could move as high as T until (at least) the end of the OF period, yet the limitations of the present

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<sup>14</sup>For Kayne's (1989) analysis, see section 3.6.2, and for L-marking see footnote 14 page 87.

work do not allow us to explore this issue further. Based on [ $V_{\text{INF}}$  *pas/point*] orderings, Roberts (1993, 1994) takes long-movement to have been available in French until the MidF period. This is questionable if we take long-movement to yield enclisis (Kayne, 1991; Roberts, 2010), which is not found in MidF. On this, I follow Hirschbühler and Labelle (1994) and Martineau (1994) who treat *pas/point* as VP-internal adverbs until the Classical Period.

In sum, analysing the loss of pro-drop and the loss of CC under one parametric change captures the differences observed in Romance, but the connection between the two parameters is not clear and further research on the matter is needed to fully understand how these phenomena depend on each other, and what explains the delay in losing the two in French.

## 9.7 Clitic climbing and infinitive-fronting

We now move on to cases where the infinitive is fronted in a restructuring clause. Consider sentences (434) to (436): the clitic object of the infinitive cliticises onto the main verb, a modal. The fronted infinitive is underlined.

- (434) *E que demurer li estuet*  
 and that postpone.<sub>INF</sub> it be-necessary.<sub>PST.3SG</sub>  
 ‘And that he must postpone it (= the attack)...’ (Le Roman de Brut, 13560)

- (435) *se trouver la pouvoient.*  
 if find.<sub>INF</sub> it can.<sub>PST.3PL</sub>  
 ‘If they could find it.’

(Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI, JJ 1 72, n. 594, fol. 327 verso.)

- (436) *E que ateindre nel poeit.*  
 and that reach.<sub>INF</sub> not-it can.<sub>PST.3SG</sub>  
 ‘and that he could not reach it.’ (Le Roman de Brut, 14440)



This construction was originally described in terms of Stylistic Fronting (henceforth, SF) (Cardinaletti and Roberts, 2002; Mathieu, 2006*b*, 2013; Labelle, 2007; Salvesen, 2011), a phenomenon first analysed in Icelandic (Maling, 1990; Holmberg, 2000). SF is the movement of an adverb, adjective, negation, PP, NP, verbal particle, past participles or infinitive to the left of the main verb when Spec,TP is empty: more precisely, Maling (1990), Fischer (2004) and Mathieu (2006*b*) show that SF is a clause-bounded operation. In what follows, I will only consider SF with infinitives (and CC) and I will show that the construction is only found in (mono-clausal) restructuring clauses.

As evidenced by the pre-verbal negation *ne* in (436) (and examples (440) and (441) below), it is not the case that the infinitive moves with enclisis. The same observation is made by Franco (2009) for Old Italian: in (437), the infinitive *ammonire* ‘blame’ is fronted and its clitic object *ti* cliticises onto the modal *voglio* ‘I want’. The presence of the negation *non* shows that the clitic is not enclitic.

- (437) *Per più parole ammonire non ti voglio.* [Old Italian]  
 for more words blame.INF not you want.PRS-1SG  
 ‘I don’t want to blame you with more words.’ (Franco, 2009: 74)

Shortly after Mathieu (2006*b*) established a connection between Icelandic SF and infinitive-fronting in Medieval French, Labelle (2007) argued against the claim that (early) OF had SF. Instead, she claims that most of the examples introduced by Mathieu (2006*b*) must be analysed as V2. More recently, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017) convincingly showed that infinitive-fronting in Medieval French differs from Icelandic SF: they identify three constructions that they regroup under the atheoretical label Leftward Stylistic Displacement (henceforth, LSD) and for which the subject gap necessity does not hold (see also Fischer, 2010).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Similarly to SF, LSD operates with a series of elements. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017) mostly discuss past participles and infinitives; I do not address past participles as the present work

- (438) a. V<sub>INF</sub> V SUBJECT  
 b. SUBJECT V<sub>INF</sub> V  
 c. V<sub>INF</sub> SUBJECT V

Our corpus does not contain any example of (438a) and (438c) with CC. (438a) is a mere case of V2 ordering, as indicated by the post-verbal subject. In our sentences with CC, I found examples of (438b): consider (439) to (441) where an overt subject precedes the infinitive. This is the construction that Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) dub ‘LSD<sub>Right</sub>’ (i.e. the left-dislocated element is to the right of the subject). The subject is in small capitals.

- (439) *entant que* LE CAS permettre *l’a* *peu.*  
 if the case allow.INF it-have.PRS.3SG can.PP  
 ‘If the case could allow it.’ (Terrien, preamble)

- (440) *E si* IL aver *nes* *pot...*  
 and if he have.INF not-them can.PRS.3SG  
 ‘and if he cannot have them...’ (Lois de Guillaume, 14)

- (441) *Et si* NOSTRE HOMME tenir *ne le voiloent*  
 and if our men hold.INF not it want.PRS.3PL  
 ‘And if our men don’t want to hold it’

(Ferri III, p. AD54.B-527\_no-6 1251/04/10 1)

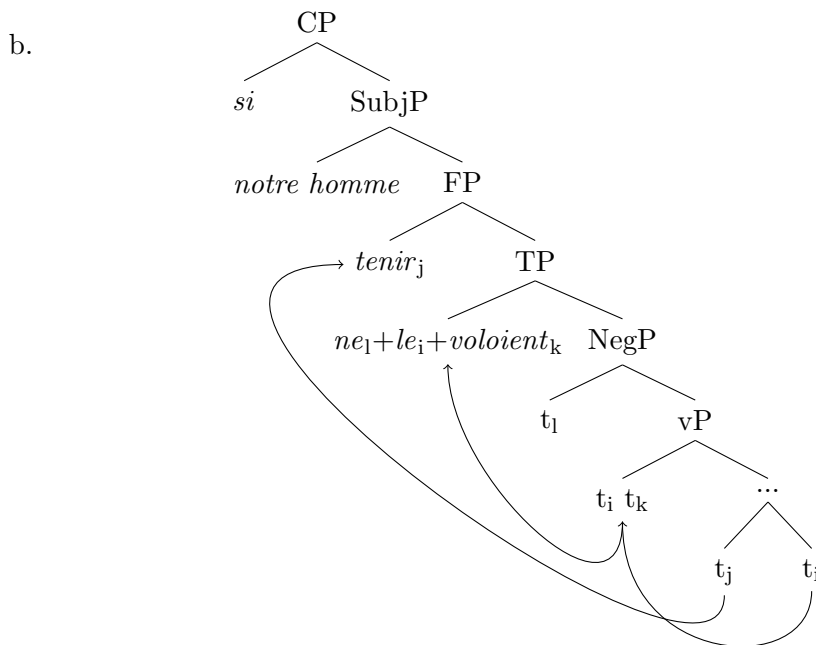
Assuming that the negation clitic *ne* is in T, the infinitive and the subject must occupy a higher position. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017: 162-163) argue that ‘this LSD position is internal to TP, rather than being within the left periphery, and that this is the unmarked position even when no subject is present’, therefore sentences (434), (435) and (436) (where no subject is present) show the same construction.

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focuses on clitic placement with infinitives. See Labelle (2016) for the fronting of past participles in Medieval French. See Franco (2009) for SF in Old Italian, with fronting of infinitives, past participles, nominal predicates and adjectives.

Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017) take the LSD element (in our case, an infinitive) to be sandwiched between SubjP (in the sense of Rizzi, 2006; Rizzi and Shlonsky, 2007) and the rest of the TP as in (442b). In light of the analysis given above, I take the clitic to cliticise on the higher v independently from infinitive-movement. The negation clitic adjoins to [clitic+v] in T.

- (442) a. *Et si NOSTRE HOMME tenir ne le voilent*  
 and if our men hold.INF not it want.PRS.3PL  
 ‘And if our men don’t want to hold it’



Crucially, the CC operation does not differ from other contexts. Once the clitic is realised on the appropriate v, the two move together to T (and in V2-clauses, they undergo further movement to C). What (442b) shows is that the infinitive is not restricted to a low position in restructuring clauses, but it retains its independence

and can move to a higher functional head.

Salvesen (2011) provides evidence that SF is found with modal verbs in OF. Based on more examples in the literature, the phenomenon seems to be restricted to modal verbs (see examples in Mathieu, 2006*b*, 2013; Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2014, 2017). Additionally, Franco (2017) claims that SF of infinitives in Old Italian involves restructuring predicates. Our investigation shows that this is a significant issue and that there is a clear interaction between the two phenomena. We can draw the following generalisation: sentences that allow infinitive-fronting also allow CC; in fact, CC does not seem optional in this configuration since the clitic never cliticises on the infinitive.

I have argued for a mono-clausal approach to restructuring in section 9.4, also we have seen above that SF is a clause-bounded phenomenon (Maling, 1990; Fischer, 2004; Mathieu, 2006*b*).<sup>16</sup> It is tempting to try and connect these phenomena. In recent work on SF in Icelandic, Ingason and Wood (2017) observe that SF is barred in presence of the complementiser *að* and they claim that the main verb and the embedded verb function as one predicate, i.e. the embedded verb is a bare VP. As they rightly point out, this is restructuring (Wurmbrand, 2001, 2004). In our data, I regard LSD<sub>Right</sub> (of infinitives) as a by-product of restructuring environments.

To the best of my knowledge, Modern Romance languages do not have SF/LSD. On the other hand, Medieval Romance languages show a wide array of transparency effects in restructuring environments (CC, auxiliary switch, *si*-passive, long object movement), and they also have SF/LSD (see Fischer, 2004 for Old Catalan, Franco, 2009, 2017 for Old Italian and Fischer, 2014 for Old Spanish). It is therefore possible

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<sup>16</sup>Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) do not specify whether they consider LSD to be clause-bounded as well. Since they analyse Mathieu's (2006*b*) cases of SF as cases of LSD, I assume that clause-boundedness still holds. Furthermore, the sentences they present show CC, which we know is a good candidate for mono-clausal structures.

that infinitive-fronting is not included in ‘traditional’ transparency effects simply because it is not present in Modern Romance, which would have left it unnoticed. I have argued in section 9.6.3 that the availability of each transparency effect is language-dependent; French for instance allows long object movement in some contexts (Hobæk Haff and Lødrup, 2016) but it does not have CC; in Italian auxiliary switch and CC are not necessarily found obligatorily together (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, 2004). We can thus consider SF/LSD as a transparency effect that was lost in Romance (perhaps as a by-product of a more fixed word order): some other transparency effects remained in some languages (CC in Italian), or disappeared (CC in French). In concrete terms, let us assume a  $[\pm\text{INF}]$  feature on F that optionally attracts the infinitive. When it does so, there is SF/LSD. Ingason and Wood (2017) propose that the infinitive cannot move beyond its own  $v$  projection; to maintain the analysis of restructuring given above I take the lower  $v$  to be deficient and not to behave as a phase (on top of being  $\varphi$ -deficient). It follows that the infinitive can move to F in restructuring contexts only, i.e. when the structure lacks clause-boundedness (Wurmbrand, 2004). For reasons that would take us too far afield, I speculate that the  $[\pm\text{INF}]$  feature was lost, forcing the infinitive to remain low.<sup>17</sup> In our data, the last occurrence of the construction is attested in the second part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

## 9.8 Concluding remarks

This Chapter offers a discussion of the diachrony of CC in French over the span of seven centuries. The high frequency of CC until the 16<sup>th</sup> century and a comparison with other Old Romance languages (Davies, 1995; de Andrade, 2010*b*) indicates that

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<sup>17</sup>This is parallel to my analyses of the loss of T-to-V with infinitives, and the loss of CC: the appropriate feature on the higher functional head was not available anymore, therefore the infinitive/clitic remained low.

the construction was systematic, contrarily to most Modern Romance languages where the clitic can also cliticise on the infinitive. The claim that CC was in fact obligatory is hard to prove, but the data is consistent with this hypothesis. Additionally, the existence of modern languages with obligatory CC tends to confirm this assumption (e.g. Sardinian, Griko).

I have adopted the view that CC is found in mono-clausal environments, as per the analysis of Cinque (2004) amongst others. Following Roberts (2010), I take the lower  $v$  to be  $\varphi$ -defective in languages where CC is obligatory. I have shown that this situation changes in most Romance languages, since CC becomes optional: this is so because the lower  $v$  is reanalysed as a cliticisation site. This is what we observe in late MidF, as the two  $v$ -heads were able to carry  $\{u\varphi\}$ , hence optional cliticisation. In turn, speakers accepted the two constructions: CC on the main verb or proclisis on the infinitive. In languages that do not have CC at all, cliticisation must take place on the lower  $v$ , which is the situation of ModF. The three periods illustrate the different language typologies found in Romance:

1. Only the higher  $v$  can bear  $\{u\varphi\}$ : systematic CC (e.g. OF, early MidF, Old Spanish, Sardinian).
2. Both the higher and the lower  $v$  can bear  $\{u\varphi\}$ : optional CC (e.g. late MidF, Spanish, Italian).
3. Only the lower  $v$  can bear  $\{u\varphi\}$ : absence of CC (e.g. ModF, Brazilian Portuguese).

There is no evidence that the loss of CC results from a change in the structure of the clause. In fact, the (limited) presence of some transparency effects in ModF confirms this assumption (Hobæk Haff and Lødrup, 2016): I propose that mono-clausal restructuring is still present in ModF, although it does not manifest itself as

it did at early stages. Overall, this investigation shows that there is potential for more work on the absence of transparency effects in restructuring clauses.

We have seen that CC shifted from obligatory to optional, and in section 9.3.1 we have looked at evidence from other Romance languages that underwent the same process. In light of the analysis developed in this Chapter, cliticisation on the lower *v* in restructuring clauses is an innovation of Romance between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In French, CC was ultimately lost because syntactic proclisis generalised from finite to non-finite clauses: in section 9.5, I have shown that cliticisation on finite verbs takes place before V-movement. Recall from Chapter 8 that infinitives undergo V-movement independently from the clitic in OF (which accounts for enclisis) and the two elements remain independent in MidF (which accounts for interpolation and, as I have shown in the present Chapter, CC). Thus cliticisation is syntactic in all ModF clauses (except imperatives, see footnote 10 page 321) and takes place before Spell-Out (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005). Standard Italian, Spanish and Catalan have enclisis, which I have claimed in Chapter 8 results from V-to-T: following the hypothesis developed in the former and in the present Chapters, cliticisation on infinitives is never syntactic in these languages (i.e. the infinitive moves alone and the clitic cliticises on it at PF). Thus, their clitics were never reanalysed as syntactic clitics on infinitives and cliticisation remains available in the domain of the finite verb, yielding (optional) CC. Therefore, CC is available in languages where cliticisation on infinitives is phonological.





# Chapter 10

## Conclusion

### 10.1 Contribution

This thesis aimed to establish the evolution and cause of the reorganisation of clitic placement in infinitival contexts in French. The contribution of the present work is significant, considering that older periods of the language had not been thoroughly investigated within a quantitative framework before.

To document each stage of the evolution, I have created and investigated a corpus of legal and epistolary texts. This register was chosen over others to reflect a less literary language, with a flattened style which was hoped to be closer to the vernacular than literature. The data collected were sufficient in quantity (more than a thousand constructions per period) to allow the study to bring both diachronic and synchronic answers, as I have dated the loss and birth of different orderings and also identified the different contexts in which each of them is found. Within a generative theoretical framework, I have provided a series of analyses that reveal that a reorganisation of (i) the morphosyntax of infinitives, (ii) the features of *v*, and (iii) cliticisation at a different stage in the derivation have caused clitic placement to readjust.

## 10.2 Summaries

### 10.2.1 Empirical findings

I have reported on clauses where an infinitive has a clitic complement between the mid-12<sup>th</sup> and the mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In so doing, I have established paths of change in clitic placement: the data were allocated to two groups, depending on whether the infinitive is introduced by a main verb or not. Such main verbs are essentially modal verbs and the literature on Romance languages commonly refers to them as *restructuring verbs*. In environments where the infinitive is introduced by a conjunction, a preposition or a subordinator, the following findings were reported:

- Both proclisis and enclisis are found before 1300, yet proclisis is distinctly occasional. This early period is marked by the use of enclisis.
- From the early 14<sup>th</sup> century on, enclisis is not found anymore and proclisis is systematic.
- Cases of interpolation (where an adverb intervenes between the clitic and the infinitive, in this order) are infrequent in the corpus, nevertheless they are found until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This construction is not available in ModF anymore.

In restructuring clauses, we find the following:

- When a restructuring verb is present, the clitic complement of the infinitive necessarily cliticises on it until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This is clitic climbing (henceforth, CC).
- Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, CC is optional. When the clitic does not climb, it remains proclitic on the infinitive. In the corpus, I did not find evidence of a slow decrease.

- The loss of CC took place around 1800. In the data for the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the clitic is systematically proclitic on the infinitive and interpolation disappears.

I have endorsed the view that a corpus limited to a non-literary register would ensure a certain quality of the findings. Whilst this has provided us with a rich set of data, the choice of using legal material forced the study to almost limit itself to third person clitics. Overall, instances of *me* ‘to me’ or *te* ‘to you’ are rare in our corpus, for obvious reasons: the law is not a matter of ‘me’ and ‘you’. Nevertheless, I compared our findings with that of other work that focus on different texts, and it showed that they were consistent. Further research should take this into account to ensure a more comprehensive dataset.

### 10.2.2 Analyses

These findings have led us to the claim that the loss of enclisis and the loss of CC are not directly related, for there is a substantial chronological gap between the two, and I have not grouped those two shifts under a unique parametric change. Instead, I have adopted the view that, although these two constructions rely on the same cliticisation mechanism, they are context-dependent (i.e. depending on whether a restructuring verb is present). This claim is further supported by the fact that some languages have proclisis in both contexts (Modern French), whilst some have CC with restructuring verbs and proclisis in non-restructuring contexts (Occitan), some have CC with restructuring verbs and enclisis in non-restructuring contexts (Italian), and some have enclisis in both contexts (Piedmontese). Since all configurations are present crosslinguistically, it would seem quite challenging to claim that the presence of enclisis and CC together in one language depends on the same parameter.

I have adopted Roberts’ (2010) analysis according to which cliticisation is constantly realised on *v* (the idea that clitics target a functional head was previously

developed by Kayne, 1991). I have also used the distinction between phonological and syntactic cliticisation proposed by Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) and Ledgeway (2017). The analyses I proposed are summarised in Table 10.1 and discussed directly below.

	Cliticisation on infinitives		Non-restructuring clauses		Restructuring clauses	
	Phonological	Syntactic	V-to-T	V-to-v	Clitic on Higher v	Clitic on Lower v
<b>Pre-1300</b>	✓		✓		✓	
<b>1300-1600</b>	✓			✓	✓	
<b>1600-1800</b>	✓			✓	✓	✓
<b>1800</b>	<i>transition</i>			✓	<i>transition</i>	
<b>Post-1800</b>		✓		✓		✓

Table 10.1: Summary of the analyses

For non-restructuring clauses:

- Infinitival T was richer in OF and the suffix *-r* triggered V-to-T movement, resulting in enclisis. I have adopted the view that enclisis is necessarily phonological, i.e. cliticisation at PF. This analysis is analogous to that of Italian and Spanish.
- A loss of infinitival morphology towards 1300 caused the infinitive to remain low on the structure, yielding proclisis.
- As long as interpolation is available in the language, cliticisation was phonological on infinitives: any prosodic word following the clitic can serve as phonological host. To account for its loss, I proposed that interpolation must have

been uncommon enough, and more particularly cliticisation was reanalysed from phonological to syntactic around 1800.

For restructuring clauses:

- I have adopted a mono-clausal approach of restructuring, that is no intervening CP and TP introduce the infinitive (*contra* Kayne, 1989 and Martineau, 1990, *pro* Cinque, 2004 and Wurmbrand, 2004, 2014).
- In this configuration, the lower v was deficient in OF and MidF and could not value the  $\varphi$ -features of the clitic. The higher v (i.e. the modal) was richer, and entered in an Agree relationship with the clitic. This is how CC obtained.
- I have proposed that the rise of optional CC stems from a novel ability of the lower v to interpret unvalued features, which is also observed in other Romance languages at the same time.
- Finally, the shift from phonological to syntactic cliticisation mentioned above took place uniformly in all infinitival clauses around 1800. This rendered cliticisation more local and resulted in systematic (and adjacent) proclisis.

### 10.3 The role of phonology in language change

Ultimately, this thesis shows that changes in syntax can be induced by changes in phonology. Roberts and Roussou (2003) claim that a parameter is acquired as long as there is a trigger in the PLD. I have applied this hypothesis to infinitives, and I argued at length that since *-r* was subject to *amuïssement* in OF, the trigger was not present anymore therefore T-to-V movement was not acquired. Regarding the loss of CC, I have argued two possible motivations that caused a shift to systematic syntactic cliticisation on infinitives: first, this was already the case on finite verbs therefore

the system generalised the mechanism; second, a low frequency of interpolation in the language led to a reanalysis whereby the clitic and the infinitive are necessarily adjacent. Therefore, using Roberts's (2019) words, enclisis and CC are two micro-parameters whose trigger were not expressed anymore in the diachrony of French, and these two losses can be accounted for in terms of lack of phonological cues.

## 10.4 Crosslinguistic and diachronic remarks

This investigation is centred on two interacting themes: first a purely diachronic one, as I sought to document how clitic placement developed and changed in French, and then a comparative one where I looked at how each period compares with (the diachrony of) other Romance languages. The peculiarity of ModF is that infinitives lack V-to-T movement and cliticisation is always syntactic: this accounts for proclisis in both restructuring and non-restructuring contexts.

The data reveal that OF was typologically close to other Old Romance languages in sharing a 'nucleus' of characteristics consisting of high frequencies of CC and enclisis where CC failed to obtain. Indeed, different quantitative studies on early periods of other Romance languages have shown similar trends as those I report (see Davies, 1995, 1996; de Andrade, 2010*a*; Iglesias, 2021; Pescarini, 2021). Interestingly, the present work and the ones cited here reach the same observation: all Romance languages drifted away from that nucleus. For instance, Gallo-Romance, Brazilian Portuguese and Southern Italo-Romance replaced enclisis with proclisis in non-restructuring contexts (at least). Additionally, the frequency of CC grew weaker, particularly in canonical Romance languages, where it became optional. ModF and Brazilian Portuguese went a step further and lost this construction altogether. Effectively, although some languages retain a few characteristics from Old Romance clitic placement, none of them seem to have conserved both enclisis and systematic

CC: the directionality of change across Romance appears to share interesting parallels. The general observation I make here deserves further investigation on the macro level. Iglesias (2021) compares the evolution of CC in French and Spanish and reports striking findings for the latter: he observes that CC became optional in Middle Spanish to such an extent that it was less frequent than enclisis. Nevertheless, the construction seems to undergo a revival since 1850 as its frequency increases.

If my analyses of the weakening/loss of CC and of the shift from enclisis to proclisis are one the right track, we should expect theoretical studies on clitic placement in other languages to corroborate and support the view developed here. For instance, there appears to be a distribution in Romance where infinitives lacking non-finite morphology pattern with proclisis. Whilst there is a real temporal antecedence in French, which I have treated as causal, further research should investigate a possible correlation between the presence and absence of the infinitival suffix and the loss of enclisis in other Gallo-Romance languages, in Brazilian Portuguese and in Southern Italo-Romance.

## 10.5 On weak pronouns

To close the discussion of this thesis, I want to consider non-clitic weak pronouns (henceforth, WP) in the diachrony of French. The literature available on this topic remains meagre: here, I refer to pre-infinitival pronouns (443), which I have taken to be weak in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

- (443) *Vous auriez tort de moy faire desplaisir.* [MidF]  
 you have.COND.2PL wrong to me make.INF displeasure  
 ‘You would be wrong to make me unhappy.’

(*Actes de la Chancellerie d’Henri VI*, JJ 172, p. 336, fol. 174 recto.)

This construction is quite rare in the corpus and spreads from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup>

century. It is not found in a particular context where clitics would be banned, in fact we find the construction where clitics are expected. The main differences between WPs and clitics are that (i) WPs do not climb to the main verb in restructuring contexts, and (ii) WPs have a strong morphology. We can speculate for now that WPs are used in an emphatic way, where the pronoun receives some particular focus in the discourse. In ModF, this is done by the addition of a strong pronoun (444a). Emphasis is indicated with small capitals.

- (444) a. *Tu me le donnes.* [ModF]  
 you me it give.PRS.2SG  
 ‘You give it to me.’
- b. *Tu me le donnes      À MOI (et pas à lui).*  
 you me it give.PRS.2SG to me (and not to him)  
 ‘You give it TO ME (and not to him).’

Further research should focus on WPs in the diachrony of French. The documentation provided here is rather succinct, which once again can be accounted for by the register choice. If I am right in assuming that WPs are emphatic, it is not surprising that their occurrences remain limited in legal texts; rather, they should be more present perhaps in literary dialogues, or other written renditions of oral communication. To document and assess their use, future research should explore different registers than the one opted for here.



# Appendix A

## Corpus: primary sources

### Chronologically:

- *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant*, (1150). John E. Matzke (1988), Paris.  
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<http://catalog.bfm-corpus.org/brut2>
- SCRIPTA, (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.). Database of medieval norman documents, P. Bauduin (2010-2016), Caen, CRAHAM-MRSH.  
<https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/>
- *Établissements et coutumes, assises et arrêts de l'Échiquier de Normandie au treizième siècle*, (1207-1270). Ange Ignace Marnier (1839), Paris: Techener.  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57063292.texteImage>
- *Actes de Ferri III, duc de Lorraine*, (1251-1303). ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine (septembre 2014).  
<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/ActesFerriIII>

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[https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:11589675\\$8i](https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:11589675$8i)
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<http://corpus.enc.sorbonne.fr/actesroyauxdupoitou/>
- *Plaids de la sergenterie de Mortemer*, (1320-1321). Société d'Histoire du Droit Normand (1923), Caen.
- *Actes normands de la chambre des comptes sous Philippe de Valois*, (1328-1350). Leopold Delisle (1871), Rouen: A. le Brument.  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k361814.texteImage>
- *Registres de Charles, dauphin et duc de Normandie, lieutenant du roi ou régent*, JJ 87 & 88 (1357-1360). Inv. anal. ms., par S. Clémencet (1957), 129 p. [inv. 1159.]  
<http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/chan/chan/fonds/edi/sa/jj.htm>
- *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI concernant la Normandie sous la domination anglaise*, (1422-1435). Paul le Cacheux (1908), extrait des registres du Trésor des chartes aux Archives nationales. Tome 1. Rouen: L'Estringant.
- Guillaume le Rouillé, *Le Grant coutumier du pays et duché de Normendie*, (1534). Paris: F. Regnault.  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9107313w>

- Guillaume Terrien, *Commentaires du droict civil tant public que prive, observe au pays & duche de Normandie*, (1578). Paris: J. Du Puys.  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9107304x.image>
- Josias Bérault, Jacques Godefroy & Jacques Le Batelier d'Avrion, *La coutume réformée du païs et duché de Normandie*, (1684). Rouen.  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k42205810>
- Henri Basnage de Beauval, *La coutume réformée du païs et duché de Normandie, anciens ressorts et enclaves d'iceluy, expliquée par plusieurs arrests et reglements, et commentée par Me Henry Basnage, écuyer, seigneur du Franquesney, avocat au parlement de Normandie*, (1678). Volume 1.  
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=wGiqRyx9HsC&printsec=frontcover&hl=frv=onepage&q&f=false>
- Pierre Biarnoy de Merville, *Décision sur chaque article de la coutume de Normandie et observations sur les usages locaux de la même coutume, & sur les Articles Placitez ou Arrétez du Parlement de Rouen, Avec une Explication des Termes difficiles & inusitez qui se trouvent dans le Texte de cette Coutume; Et aussi les anciens Reglements de l'Echiquier de Normandie, Paris, Valeyre*, (1731). Bibliothèque David Hoüard. Bibliothèque numérique de droit normand.  
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