

Synthetic or analytical: factors which explain the formal variation of future and conditional in Old Catalan

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In Romance languages, future and conditional are newly created verbal tenses. They are the result of grammaticalization processes of Latin periphrasis, mainly of the periphrasis CANTĀRE HABEŌ, which has been the successful one in most languages. During the Middle Ages, the grammaticalization process of the two verbal tenses was not yet complete in many Romance varieties, such as Portuguese, Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, Occitan, or some Italian dialects. Two types of forms could be found: the so-called synthetic forms (*cantaré* ‘I will sing’) and the so-called analytical forms (*cantar-lo he* ‘I will sing it’). Analytical forms differed from synthetic forms because of the need of a weak pronoun between the infinitive and the auxiliary. The presence of a clitic within the verbal tense shows the absence of univerbation, one of the characteristics of grammaticalization (see Lehmann 1985, 2020). Hence, synthetic forms are more grammaticalized than analytical forms.

The aim of this work is to study the variation between synthetic and analytical forms in Old Catalan. The distribution between the two types of forms is not arbitrary. First, it follows syntactic-pragmatic restrictions. In medieval Romance, clitic placement was due to different syntactic environments: ones which entailed preverbal clitics and others in which pronouns were postverbal (for Old Catalan, Batllori *et al.* 2005, Francalanci *et al.* in press). Clitic placement followed the same principles with future and conditional (Sentí & Bouzouita 2022). In this case, preverbal clitics only appeared with synthetic forms (*lo cantaré* ‘I will sing it’), but postverbal pronouns could be used with analytical forms (*cantar-lo he* ‘I will sing it’) or with synthetic forms (*cantaré-lo* ‘I will sing it’). To study the variation between synthetic and analytical forms only those who appear in the same environments can be compared, that is, analytical forms and synthetic forms with postverbal clitics.

Then, in second place, the distribution of synthetic forms with postverbal clitics and analytical forms is not arbitrary either. Some studies based on Old Castilian (Bouzouita 2016a, 2016b) and Old Navarro-Aragonese (Primerano & Bouzouita submitted) suggest some morphological and syntactic factors which could explain a preference for synthetic forms instead of analytical forms, the most common ones in these languages. The proposed factors are: (i) verbal tense (if it is a future or a conditional), (ii) verbal conjugation, (iii) presence of a verbal syncope, (iv) presence of a non-finite verbal form after the future or conditional. This study intends to analyse the behaviour of these factors in Old Catalan, and to suggest differences between Catalan and the other languages studied. The mentioned factors will be reviewed based on data from the 11th century to the 16th century extracted from the *Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic* (CICA).

Corpus

CICA = *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic*, Torruella, Joan (dir.), with Manuel Pérez Saldanya and Josep Martines: <http://www.cica.cat>.

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