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Tense and Aspect in Periphrastic Pasts: Evidence from Iberian Romance

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M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1994

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Committee in charge:

Professor Andrew Garrett, Chair
Professor Gary B. Holland,
Professor Thomas F. Shannon

Spring 2002

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Tense and Aspect in Periphrastic Pasts: Evidence from Iberian Romance

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Matthew Lambert Juge

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Abstract

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by

Matthew Lambert Juge

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Andrew Garrett, Chair

Cross-linguistic similarities can result from shared history, borrowing, or parallel development, in which case the similarities may be due to universal tendencies or coincidence. For example, many languages have auxiliary verbs meaning 'be', 'have', 'come', or 'go'. In some cases, different languages' auxiliaries are very similar; for example, many future markers mean 'want'. Other cases are more complicated; for instance, some future auxiliaries mean 'go' , but some mean 'come'. Furthermore, divergent developments of the same verb show that these paths are not predictable simply from basic meanings.

This dissertation examines the development of past tense auxiliaries from 'be', 'have', and 'go' in the Iberian Romance languages (Catalan, Portuguese, and Spanish) with emphasis on both diachronic and synchronic patterns, specifically addressing universal versus language-specific factors and comparing developments in the Romance languages and other language families.

I argue that the development of verbs with these meanings into auxiliaries is motivated by syntactic and lexical semantic characteristics of the verbs, the nature of constructions, pragmatics, and discourse patterns. I also discuss the role of valence,

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metonymy, inference, reanalysis, and analogy. I integrate these considerations with current understanding of grammaticalization in particular and language change in general.

My research suggests that the participation of a small set of basic meanings in a wide array of constructions results from the relatedness of many of these constructions and the general nature of the processes of grammaticalization. I challenge accepted views on metaphor, unidirectionality, and . grammaticalization as a problem-solving process.

Because of the interaction of different grammatical components in grammaticalization, this study has implications for the nature of language change and of synchronic grammars. This is so because language change is ongoing and because the synchronic linguistic situation determines how a language will change. The study will also be useful to typologists and cognitive linguists.

The dissertation will also be a source on the history of these phenomena in Iberian Romance. A detailed account of the diachronic and modern synchronic situation will interest various researchers, including those seeking parallels to developments in other language families and those investigating related phenomena in the Romance languages.

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For Jamie

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Acknowledgements

I am not the first to observe that dissertation writing, a supposedly solitary process, in fact depends on the aid and support of many people. The people who made this piece of work possible fall into a number of groups. Let me first mention my fellow graduate students, in particular Andy Dolbey, David Peterson, and Bill Weigel, who provided me with numerous opportunities to try out ideas and who also gave me the chance to decompress by temporarily forgetting about linguistics altogether. My professors, of course, helped my direct my efforts so that I didn't waste my time or theirs. Offering a different kind of support were my family, who helped to shape (starting decades ago) my intellectual curiosity that led me to linguistics and supported me every step along the way. Lastly, in a class all by herself, my wife Jamie Lawrence always knew what I needed and gave it so generously and lovingly that I could not possibly have done it without her.

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Definitions and conventions

In a work such as this one it is impossible to avoid the use of numerous technical terms and it will indeed be necessary to introduce some new ones, but I shall attempt to make the terminology as transparent as possible. When a new term is introduced, it appears in **boldface** and is defined.

Another important presentational convention I employ is the use of *italics* for the citation of linguistic forms in orthography. For other transcriptions, I employ the familiar conventions of square brackets for phonetic transcription and slashes for phonemic (or otherwise more abstract) representations with stress marked by <'> before the stressed syllable. Angled brackets are used to refer to orthographic elements; for example, in Catalan the phoneme /b/ is spelled with either <b> or <v>. Glosses and translations are enclosed in single quote marks, as are direct quotations. For example, in standard Catalan *cantar* 'to sing' /kan'ta/ is pronounced [kən'ta].

In most cases, I use the standard orthography (where there is one) so as to facilitate abstracting away from dialectal differences in phonology which do not bear on the issues discussed herein. Where issues of phonetics and phonology are relevant, transcriptions will be provided as described above. In the case of Portuguese, I have chosen to follow Brazilian spelling practices, largely because my reference materials follow this standard. For Rhaeto-Romance and Sardinian, I have followed the transcriptions of my various sources.

I use SMALL CAPS to indicate fairly abstract meanings without referring to a specific language; thus I might say, 'The development of GO into a future marker is quite common,' where 'GO' is essentially equivalent to 'verbs whose central use is to encode motion away from the deictic center'; the purpose of this convention is to avoid implying that units referred to have the same polysemy patterns of the word used in the English gloss; thus the same verb does not typically express both GO and SAY, but *go* in English can. Of course, saying that the Spanish verb *ir* means 'to go' should not be taken to mean that every way in

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which Eng. *go* can be used is also true of *ir*. In charts and tables, some of these conventions are suspended in ways that I hope prove to be self-explanatory.

In example sentences from languages other than English, the foreign language sentence will appear first, with a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss below, and an English translation at the bottom. This can be seen in the example below.

I	Sp	Tien-e	tres	guitarr-a-s
		have-3s.pres.ind	three	guitar-f-p
		'She has three guitars.'		

In the above example, the example number appears at the far left, then the abbreviation of the language name, followed by the example itself. Hyphens are used to separate morphemes so that readers less familiar with a given language may be able to better appreciate the contribution of each part of the sentence to the overall meaning. Of course, the division of elements into morphemes is fraught with problems. In this example, I have associated the semantic element HAVE with *tien-* and the grammatical information third person singular, present indicative with the suffix *-e*, with the various contributions of this fusional morpheme separated in the gloss by periods. However, *tien-* in fact is an allomorph of the present stem and could be argued to contribute to the overall grammatical interpretation (not just the semantic value) of the verb form, since the suffix *-e* in this form is superficially identical to the suffix *-e* in the form *tuve*, which indicates the first person singular preterit indicative 'I had', where the stem is *tuv-* and the suffix *-e*. Despite such difficulties, I have chosen conventions and provided morphemic analyses aimed at helping the reader.

Quotations are cited in the form in which they originally appear unless explicitly stated otherwise, except for those originally in other languages, which I have translated myself.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Similarities across languages can result from shared history, borrowing, or independent but parallel development. In the case of parallel development, structures in different languages may share qualities because of universal linguistic patterns and tendencies or because of essentially random coincidence. A common linguistic pattern is the appearance in many languages of periphrases with auxiliary verbs which also mean (or used to mean) such things as 'be', 'have', 'come', and 'go'. In some cases, auxiliary verbs in different languages are used in very similar ways; for example, Bybee et al. (1994:254) cite six unrelated languages in which a unit meaning 'want' has developed into a future tense marker. In other cases, however, the facts seem much more complicated; for instance, the verb 'go' is another source of future marking, but so is the verb 'come', in a sense the opposite of 'go'. Furthermore, the fact that the same element can develop apparently opposite meanings, as when 'have' becomes involved in different constructions—some marking past and others marking future tense—shows that these developments are indeed not predictable simply from the basic meanings of the isolated lexemes involved.

The development of 'full' words like a verb meaning 'go' into elements which help to encode grammatical information, such as future tense, is called **grammaticalization**. How does this happen? In particular, how does a language 'select' what word to use as an auxiliary? To answer these questions, I present a case study of the history of auxiliaries that are used to mark past tense in several Romance languages—Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan; the verbs involved mean BE, HAVE, and GO. In looking at the details of changes in these languages, we will be able to develop a clearer understanding of how language change works in general; comparison with related phenomena in a number of other languages will further help us see what is going on. Ultimately, I shall argue that grammaticalization is not

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so much a special process as a result of the complex interaction of a number of other kinds of language change.

I aim to show that the development of verbs with these meanings into auxiliaries marking resultative, perfect, and past meaning is motivated by patterns of human cognition, the syntactic characteristics and lexical semantics of the verbs used in these constructions, the morphological patterns of the languages, the nature of linguistic constructions, the pragmatics of language use, and discourse patterns. In support of this claim, I will discuss the roles of argument structure, metaphor, metonymy, pragmatic and contextual inference, reanalysis, and analogy as the principal mechanisms by which these developments progress. These considerations will be integrated with current understanding of grammaticalization in particular and language change in general.

In this chapter I first discuss my goals and then move on to some background material on the Romance languages. I then present information about previous research in this area, which is followed by more information on the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula. Next I explore the main theoretical issues that I will examine in the thesis, after which I address a number of methodological issues. Finally, I preview the structure of the rest of the dissertation.

1 The aims of the present work

The body of research on the history of the Romance languages is already immense, and one may ask, What is the value of yet another treatment of historical developments in Iberian Romance? Part of the answer to this question relates to the very extent of the existing literature. With numerous scholars researching similar phenomena in various languages families, it is only natural that a number of divergent proposals have been made regarding nearly all levels of grammaticalization. I hope to contribute to the field by providing detailed examination of issues in the histories of the Iberian Romance languages which bear on generalizations and predictions made by other authors. An example of an unresolved but important issue is the degree to which metaphor plays a role in the

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development of grammatical meaning. Some authors (especially Heine et al. 1991) have suggested that metaphor is a key semantic factor in the process of grammaticalization, while others (such as Bybee et al. 1994) have claimed that the role of metaphor is much more limited. Credible answers to these questions can come only from the analysis of linguistic data, not from abstract argumentation. Because the Romance languages have such well-documented linguistic histories, they are perfect for research of this type. By doing detailed analyses of historical developments based on textual examples, I aim to increase the role of empirical data in discussion on these matters.

The Romance languages continue to be an important object of study for a number of reasons. For the present purposes, the most important of these relates to the great complexity of grammaticalization as part of language change. The lengthy written histories of different parts of the Romance group provide an excellent avenue for the determination of the importance of the diverse factors at play. The attestation of Latin further provides an excellent source of comparison between reconstructed and attested forms. The use of Romance texts to establish paths and mechanisms of development allows researchers to have confidence in proposing explanations for patterns found in other languages whose written histories provide less clear evidence than that found in the Romance languages.

2 The structure of the Romance subfamily of languages

At this point it will be useful to consider briefly the internal structure of the Romance languages, as I will frequently have cause to refer to parts of the subfamily and not to others. My view of this issue draws largely on the structure presented by Hall (1950). **Ibero-Romance** (IbR) includes Portuguese, Galician, and Spanish. My treatment of Catalan and Occitan does not follow the most common groupings, which usually treat Catalan as a member of Ibero-Romance and Occitan as a member of Gallo-Romance (along with French and Rhaeto-Romance) or consider both to belong to Gallo-Romance (Elcock 1975 [1960], Fleischman 1992). I, however, treat Catalan and Occitan together as **Catalo-**

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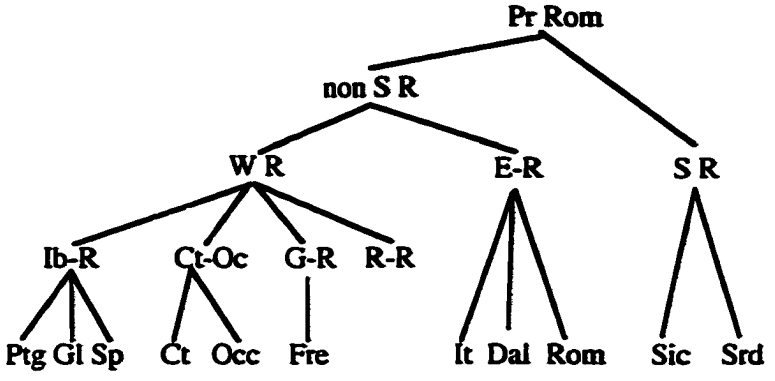
Occitan Romance (COR) because of a number of shared features which place these two closer to each other than to other Romance varieties; I will discuss this point further below. **West Romance** (WR) consists of Ibero-Romance, Catalo-Occitan Romance, French, and Rhaeto-Romance (RR), which I subgroup separately from French (in contrast with some others). **East Romance** (ER) includes **Italo-Romance** (standard Italian and the Italian dialects) (ItR) and Romanian. In my view, again differing from the most traditional but following that of Hall (1950), Sardinian belongs to **Southern Romance** (SR). This structure is represented in Figure 1.



The view presented above is a vast oversimplification of the complex interrelationships among the virtually countless local varieties of Romance and hides such factors as intra-Romance borrowing and areal influence, but I believe that it is a well-motivated visual representation of the family. Despite the usefulness of the *Stammbaum* or 'family tree' model, it is more accurate to view the situation as one involving numerous dialect continua and various centers of sociolinguistic importance.

3 Previous Grammaticalization research

Grammaticalization can be defined 'as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once

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grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions' (Hopper and Traugott 1993:xv). Meillet appears to have coined the term *grammaticalisation* early last century (1912), and lately there has been a great deal of research on this process. A number of theoretical works have appeared in recent years, including Hopper and Traugott (1993), Heine et al. (1991), and some of the papers in the two-volume collection of Traugott and Heine (1991). These works include further information on the history of the field.

A number of issues have become recurring themes in the field. Three of these are of particular interest to us here: metaphor, teleology, and gradualness. We will consider each of these issues throughout this work.

Many grammaticalization researchers focus on the history of one or more **constructions** (see §5.2 for discussion of this term), while others devote special attention to particular semantic and syntactic issues as they relate to various constructions. In some of these cases, especially those concerned with developments in verbal systems, researchers pay far less attention to how a newly grammaticalized construction affects the overall morphological system of a language. In this work, I shall endeavor to treat the development not only of specific verbal constructions via grammaticalization but also of verbal systems as larger morphological entities.

4 The Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula

In this study I focus on the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, namely Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan. These three are the varieties with the largest numbers of speakers on the peninsula; Portuguese and Spanish are also the dominant official languages of Portugal and Spain, respectively, while Catalan is also one of the regional languages of Spain with official status. Portuguese and Spanish further enjoy widespread use in other parts of the world.

Behind the decision to emphasize this group of languages lie a number of motivations. First, this natural geographical grouping includes languages from two branches of the Romance subfamily (on the view of the internal structure of Romance presented in

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§1.3 above), thus allowing for an appropriate degree of diversity in scope; at the same time, a comparatively small scope admits of the possibility of conducting research with the type of in-depth analysis required.

These languages have lengthy written histories, though certain putative changes relevant to our discussion pre-date the first reliable texts. On the issue of texts, it must be pointed out that so-called Late Latin documents will not be of primary concern to us, as difficulties in their interpretation render them inadequate for our purposes. For a thorough discussion of the issues involved in the analysis of Latinate texts and what they can tell us about the spoken language of the relevant periods, see Wright (1994). For the stages of development to which we do not have reliable access, we shall depend upon insights gained here into the details of the changes and cross-linguistic facts to make educated guesses about the relative chronology of the changes and the mechanisms involved therein.

It will be useful at this point to identify some of the synchronic facts that characterize the Iberian Romance languages. All the Iberian Romance languages belong to the Western subgroup. One phonological characteristic which characterizes this subgroup is that the regular correspondents of voiceless single intervocalic stops in Eastern and Southern Romance are voiced in Western Romance (in French, they have been lost). The word for 'life' illustrates this split.

Ptg	Sp	Ct	Fr	It	Rom	PrR	Latin
vida	vida	vida	vie	vita	viaţa	wi:ta	vīta
vidə	biða	biðə	vi	vita	viatsə	wi:ta	wi:ta

Table 1—Words for 'life' in selected Romance languages

Perhaps the most salient evidence for grouping Spanish and Portuguese into the same subbranch is the large degree of shared cognacy in the lexicon. Green (1988:123)

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claims 90% strict cognacy (and almost 95% root cognacy) for 100 core vocabulary items in Portuguese and Spanish.

The position of Catalan and Occitan[1] in the Romance languages is an issue which has been treated in a rather puzzling fashion by researchers. As I mentioned earlier, Catalan is commonly placed with Ibero-Romance and Occitan with Gallo-Romance. Hall (1950:24), for example, provides such a grouping. This contrasts with a common view of these two varieties as very similar to each other; Posner (1970:258), for instance, describes Catalan as 'very close to Provençal [Occitan] in its linguistic features.' In a later work, however, the same author, in discussing various methods of classification of the Romance languages, says, 'More controversially, Catalan comes out closer to Occitan and to French than to Spanish' (Posner 1996:200).

The conclusion that Catalan is close to Occitan and to French accords nicely with a number of factors in lexicon, morphology, and morphosyntax. Consider two Catalan particles: *hi* [i] 'there' (Lt *ibi* 'there, at that place; then' Elcock (1975 [1960]:95[2]) and the partitive element *en*[3] (Lt *inde* 'from there, thence'). These two clitics are sometimes called

---

[1] Unless otherwise specified, I cite forms from the Lengadocian variety, which Wheeler (1988:246) says 'is generally the most conservative dialect and...the basis of modern standard Occitan.' For more a general overview of Occitan, see Wheeler (1988).

[2]Meyer-Lübke (1911) cites this form as coming from Lt *hīc* [i:k] 'here' (304, #4129) but the semantics favors the phonologically and semantically plausible *ibi* 'there' as the etymon, as does the lack of /k/ in the modern form (cf. Lt *hōc* > *oc* /ɔk/ 'yes' in Occitan, though since this form is not a clitic it is conceivable that it would retain the velar but that the clitic would not).

[3] This element appears in several guises: [n] <n'> or <'n> before or after a vowel, [ən] <en> before a consonant, or [nə] <-ne> after a consonant. This distribution parallels that of a number of other clitic forms in Catalan, such as *m'/'m~em~-me* 'me'.

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adverbial pronouns (e.g., Yates 1993) because they behave largely like clitic personal pronouns and are anaphoric. These are to be compared with Oc *i* [i], Fr *y* [i] and Oc *n'~'n~ne* [ne], Fr *en* [ɑ̃], It *ne* [ne]. These clitics express meanings not indicated with such elements in Ibero-Romance, as shown below.

2a	Ct	Cal	que	ell	**hi**	vagi	
		be.necessary.pr.ind.3s	COMP	3sm	**there**	go-pr.sbj.3s	
2b	Oc	Cal	que	el	**i**	an-e	
		be.necessary.pr.ind.3s	COMP	3sm	**there**	go-pr.sbj.3s	
2c	Fr	Il faut	que	il	**y**	aille	
		3sm be.necessary.pr.ind.3s	COMP	3sm	**there**	go-pr.sbj.3s	
2d	Sp	Hay	que	él	vay-a	**allá**	
		EXISTENTIAL COP.prs.ind	COMP	3sm	go-pr.sbj.3s	**there**	

'It is necessary that he go there.'

3a	Ct	N'	hi	ha	força	
		PART	there	have-prs.ind.3s	much	
3b	Oc	N'	i	a	fòrça	
		PART	there	have-prs.ind.3s	much	
3c	Fr	Il y	**en**	a	beaucoup	
		3sm there	**PART**	have-prs.ind.3s	much	
3d	Sp	Hay		mucho		
		EXISTENTIAL COP.prs.ind		much		

'There is a lot (of that).'

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The status of these particles correlates with their typical pre-verbal placement (but note the different order in (3) of Catalan and Occitan [PART-'there'] as opposed to French ['there'-PART]—a sign of the closer connection between Catalan and Occitan).

Morphologically, both Catalan and Occitan resemble French and Italian in having retained some distinction between verbs which belonged to the second conjugation in Latin and those of the third. For example, second conjugation *habēre* /ha'be:re/ 'to have' gives Ct *haver* [ə'βe] Oc *aver* [a'βe], Fr *avoir* [av'waʀ], It *avere* [a'vere] while third conjugation *vendere* /'wendere/ 'to sell', with predictable antepenultimate stress, results in Ct *vendre* ['bɛndrə], Oc *vendre* ['bendre], Fr *vendre* [vɑ̃dʀ], It *vendere* ['vɛndere]. In Spanish and Portuguese, however, these both come out as so-called *-er* verbs: Sp *haber* [a'βɛr], Pt *haver* [a'ver] 'to have' and Sp *vender* [bɛn'dɛr], Pt *vender* [vẽ'der] 'to sell'. On this point, Catalan and Occitan group more closely with French and Italian than with Ibero-Romance.

Catalan shares another morphological characteristic only with Occitan: in a number of verbs (primarily coming from the Latin second conjugation), a velar element has been incorporated into various verb forms. For example, the verb meaning BELIEVE features a non-etymological voiced velar fricative in the present and imperfect subjunctive, the preterit, and the past participle. Catalan also shows the velar (in devoiced unfricated form) in the first person singular form of the present indicative as well. This pattern is the result of a number of analogical changes centered around the forms of the preterit and illustrating the morphological relatedness of various stems (for more on this, see Badia i Margarit 1981:337ff).

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	Catalan	Occitan	Spanish	French	Latin
present indicative 1s	'krɛk	'krezi	'kreo	kʀwa	'kre:do:
present indicative 2s	'krɛws	'krezes	'krees	kʀwa	'kre:dis
preterit indicative 2s	krə'ɣerəs[4]	kre'ɣeres[5]	kre'iste	kʀy	kre:di'disti:
present subjunctive 1s	'krɛɣi	'kreɣa	'krea	kʀwa	'kre:dam
imperfect subjunctive 1s	krə'ɣes	kre'ɣese	kre'jese	kʀys	kre:'didis:em[6]
perfect participle	krə'ɣut	kre'ɣut	kre'iðo	kʀy	kre:ditum

Table 2—Selected forms of BELIEVE in Romance

Thus, given the genetic closeness of Catalan and Occitan, much of what I shall say about Catalan will be applicable to Occitan.

5 The verbs BE, HAVE, COME, and GO

In this section I briefly explain how the verbs and constructions I analyze form a kind of natural class.

There are many kinds of lexical items which become grammaticalized, and any selection of elements for discussion will necessarily be somewhat arbitrary; but this fact does not prevent such selections from being well-motivated. The primary characteristics of the constructions I am examining is that they indicate some kind of past event and they involve **auxiliary verbs**. It is beyond the scope of this work to go into depth on the various

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[4] The synthetic preterit is not used in spoken standard Catalan, but does survive in writing and in some dialects.

[5] Like its Catalan counterpart, this form reflects a more generalized morphological change in which the element *-ar- ~ -er- ~ -ir-* was introduced into a number of preterit forms via contamination from the third person plural forms; for more detail on analogical changes in the synthetic preterit in Catalan see Badia i Margarit (1981:353, 354).

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issues surrounding the definition of the term **auxiliary**. I shall use this term to refer to elements which display verbal characteristics (such as inflection) and appear in constructions (especially those marking tense, mood, aspect, and/or voice) with non-finite verbs; I call these non-finite verbs (often called **main verbs**) **auxiliates**.

In addition to these functional/distributional similarities, the set of **grammaticands**, or elements becoming grammaticalized, studied here form a kind of family connected by the types of grammatical constructions in which they are found. I will argue that this is due to specific semantic and syntactic relationships among them.

In Iberian Romance, periphrastic constructions used to mark past events consist of a main verb and an auxiliary. The auxiliaries used in these constructions derive historically from verbs meaning 'be', 'have', and 'go'; while verbs meaning 'come' do not play a role similar to that of the others, these will be treated below because of the close semantic connection between GO and COME. Because of the tendency of BE and HAVE on the one hand and COME and GO on the other to enter into similar constructions, I shall start by treating these pairs of meanings, with additional discussion to follow.

5.1 BE and HAVE

The research of Bybee et al. (1994) indicates that verbs meaning 'be' and 'have' share cross-linguistic tendencies to enter into constructions marking the following grammatical categories: perfect, resultative, perfective, simple past, evidential (< perfect), remote past (< past perfect), obligational, future, predictive. Additionally, they show, verbs meaning 'be' often develop into markers of progressive aspect (apparently only with persistence of locative meaning), present, and imperfect (146). Copulas also appear in passive constructions. The most salient categories marked by forms deriving from BE and HAVE in Romance are these: perfect (and related senses), passive, progressive, obligation, and future.

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[6] This form was actually a pluperfect subjunctive.

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I will argue that the cooccurrence of BE and HAVE as auxiliaries in these various kinds of constructions is the result of similarities (especially in their syntax) between the full lexical forms of the verbs meaning 'be' and 'have'. For example, these two verbs have rather similar subcategorization patterns; that is, they call for the nearly the same kinds of co-occurring elements; specifically, they both require two elements, a subject and what I will call a **theme**, which Trask (1993:278) defines as

> the semantic role borne by an NP expressing an entity which is in a state or a location or which is undergoing motion, such as *the ball* in *The ball is dirty, The ball is on the table,* and *She threw me the ball....* It is not easy to draw a line between Theme and Patient, and some analysts conflate the two.

Let us consider the following Catalan sentences to see the similarities between BE and HAVE.

4	Ct	L-e-s	guitarr-e-s	són		en	el	racó.
		the-f-pl	guitar-f-pl	be.3p.prs.ind		in	the.ms	corner.m
		'The guitars are in the corner.'						
5	Ct	Té		tres	guitarr-e-s.			
		have.3s.prs.ind		three	guitar-f-pl			
		'She has three guitars.'						

Of course, these two examples do not show the totality of the ways in which the verbs *(és)ser* 'to be' and *tenir* 'to have' can be used as the only verbs in a clause, but we can see that each can have a theme as a noun phrase complement. The identification of *tres guitarres* in the above sentence as the theme is supported by the possessive constructions of, among others, languages such as Latin and Finnish, in which the copula is used and the

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possessor is expressed in an oblique case such as the dative (Latin) or the adessive (Finnish), as below:

6	Lat	Su-nt	e-ī	trēs	lībr-ī.
		be-3p.prs.ind	3-dat.s	three	book.p-nom
		'She has three books.'			
7	Fin	Häne-llä	on	kolme	kirja-a.
		3s-ads	be.3s.prs	three	book.s-part
		'She has three books.'			

Despite the difficulty (mentioned in the citation above) of distinguishing theme and patient, I contend that the facts motivate doing so, principally on the basis of passivizability. The **patient** can be defined as the semantic role which expresses a participant affected by the action indicated by the verb. As this definition is a bit vague, let us look at a few examples, this time from English. In the sentence *Frank pulverized the cookie, the cookie* is the patient, as it is in the semantically related sentence *The cookie was pulverized by Frank.*

It is noteworthy, then, that **A doctor is been by him* not only fails to be a passive counterpart of *He is a doctor*, but it also fails to be a grammatical sentence of English; likewise, *have* does not admit of passive and active uses—*She has three guitars is fine*, but **Three guitars are had by her* is not (note that the construction *be had* 'be deceived, be conned' does not have an active counterpart). This parallel asymmetry is due to the fact that the English passive construction typically calls for a patient (witness the ungrammaticality of **Two hundred pounds are weighed by Paul*, where *two hundred pounds* is a measure, not a patient) and that neither *be* nor *have* calls for a patient; thus they are neither truly active nor truly passive. Just as this shared selectional restriction appears to drive certain similarities in behavior synchronically, so shall we see that BE and HAVE play similar roles in the development of verbal categories. Furthermore, I will argue that the differences in the

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ways in which constructions with verbs of these meanings develop stem in large part from the fact that the other element in the valence is different for these two verbs.

For BE, the first element is the theme again; since copular sentences predicate something of the subject, this should come as no surprise. The sentence *Sparky is their fish* indicates that *Sparky* has the property of being in the set indicated by *their fish* . The other valence element of HAVE, on the other hand, has been identified by Vincent (1982) as a locative, which analysis I also endorse. An English example will be of use here; the sentence *She has three guitars* is, out of context, ambiguous as to whether the subject is the owner of the guitars, but a sentence such as *I have Bill's car* clearly indicates that I am not the owner of Bill's car but that the car is, in some sense at least, in my possession (even though it may be parked at some distance; but note that *We're on Euclid* can be used, via metonymy, to indicate the location of the car that is associated with us). As Eve Sweetser points out (p.c.), the use of combinations of a copula and cases such as the dative and the adessive further supports the view of the possessor as a locative.

5.2 COME and GO

The verbs of motion COME and GO clearly share a number of characteristics, the most salient of which is that they predicate motion of the subject. Like the pair BE and HAVE, these two also show similarities in valence, namely that both call for an element (perhaps best identified as theme) which undergoes motion. They further share the characteristic of having important deictic connotations; in a sense they are opposites in that GO often indicates motion away from the deictic center (the point which would be identified as HERE by the speaker), while COME expresses motion toward the deictic center.

A number of important differences in grammatical constructions using these verbs result from the deictic asymmetry between COME and GO; verbs meaning COME are much more commonly associated with grammatical forms whose meanings include some degree of past time reference, and verbs meaning GO seem particularly prone to develop into markers of futurity. A further difference between these verbs is that GO is the unmarked

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verb of motion. That is, it is in a sense much more basic than COME (as evidenced, for example, by the relative token frequency of verbs with these meanings); as such, GO is suitable in a wider range of discourse contexts and is thus more likely to participate in a wide range of cases of grammaticalization.

According to the research of Bybee et al. (1994) verbs meaning COME and GO show cross-linguistic tendencies to develop into markers of completive, future, progressive, perfect, and perfective meaning. We shall see that, except for completive meaning, all of these meanings are attested as results of the grammaticalization of constructions with COME and GO in Romance. In particular, verbs meaning COME (and COME FROM) often become incorporated into constructions marking perfect, past, progressive, and future; verbs meaning GO frequently develop into markers of progressive and future. Additionally there are Romance languages in which GO has come to help encode perfective aspect, a development which Bybee et al. (1994:57) did not find to be common.[7]

5.3 Summary

In short, the most common grammatical developments of constructions involving forms meaning BE, HAVE, COME, and GO are those which involve the marking of tense, aspect, voice, or some combination of these (but not mood, interestingly[8]); these developments typically do not alter the valence of the main verb in the construction.

I have claimed that there are similarities between the kinds of grammatical meaning found in constructions with the pairs of verbs BE/HAVE and COME/GO. I intend to argue that

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[7] They found one example but expressed doubt as to whether the form in question really qualified as a perfective marker. Theirs, however, is a comparatively small sample; see Chapter 5, §2.4 for discussion of cross-linguistic issues.

[8] I am grateful to the late Suzanne Fleischman for pointing out that the tendency of futures to develop modal uses provides an indirect connection between verbs of motion and mood marking.

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these similarities are due to resemblances in both the syntax and the semantics of each pair, and that by the same token, the differences are largely due to lack of similarity in the same areas. In the rest of the dissertation I aim to show that this is true not only in the particular case of the Iberian Romance languages but also in unrelated languages for which we have reliable data.

6 Theoretical issues

Let us now turn to a number of theoretical concerns I would like to address before going into depth on the Iberian Romance materials.

Grammaticalization involves interrelated changes in kinds of linguistic elements which have traditionally been compartmentalized into separate components, such as syntax, semantics, pragmatics, morphology, and phonology. The gradual nature of grammaticalization shows that the division of the grammar into parts is not a simple matter of placing things into pre-existing mutually exclusive categories; despite this, disentangling the various factors involved in grammaticalization is one of the most important steps to understanding the process. In this section we will look at the main issues which the constructions whose histories we are examining bear on; they fall into four primary types: pragmatic/discourse, syntactic, semantic, and morphological. In section 6.1 I will start with an overview of how these considerations interact and then look at more specific issues in each area.

6.1 The Cooperative Principle

People use language to do things. In order for their efforts to succeed, a certain amount of cooperation is required. Thus people generally follow a basic principle of trying to make their linguistic contribution to the situation optimally helpful and assume that those speaking to them are doing likewise. This scenario is that described by Grice (1975, 1978) as the Cooperative Principle. As we shall see, the actual situation is substantially more complicated than I have just described, but the basic status of this cooperation is nonetheless a key to language use.

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In any speech exchange, the speaker cannot possibly make explicit every aspect of the intended meaning of an utterance. Knowing (primarily intuitively) that this is the case, the hearer draws on a diverse set of strategies for interpreting the various components of the utterance and then building a meaning which is attributed to the speaker. Two examples will facilitate exploring the processes involved in utterance interpretation. The first example comes from phonology. The work of Ohala (1993 and elsewhere) emphasizes that speech consists of a highly complex set of acoustic cues and 'that there is infinite variation in speech—though still more or less lawfully determined' (1993:239). Naturally, language users must make sense of this variation to interpret utterances. We can illustrate this with the pronunciation of the word *else* as [ɛlᵗs]. In the transition from the alveolar lateral to the alveolar fricative, the speaker is likely to occasionally mistime raising the sides of the tongue, lowering the blade of the tongue (to allow turbulent airflow), and the cessation of the vibration of the vocal folds in such a way as to produce a short period during which the blade of the tongue is in contact with the alveolar ridge, the sides of the tongue are raised, and the vocal folds are not vibrating, thus creating an epenthetic [t]. Upon hearing this [t], an interlocutor has at least two options: (a) attribute the [t] to mistiming of the articulatory gestures involved in the transition between /l/ and /s/ or (b) attribute the [t] to an intention on the part of the speaker to produce it, that is, to think that the speaker in question has /ɛlts/ as the underlying representation of *else*; the hearer may then produce [ɛlts], in which the [t] is more prominent—and therefore less likely to be interpreted as epiphenomenal by other speakers. As Ohala (1993) makes clear, this kind of hypo-correction can lead to phonologization of what was earlier phonetically driven variation.

Our second example is in some respects more complicated. Kay & Fillmore (1999) present an analysis of what they call the *What's X doing Y?* (WXDY) construction, as in *What is this scratch doing on the table?*, which can be interpreted only as a request for an explanation. An example such as (8), on the other hand, has two primary readings: (a) as a

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request for information about the addressee's earlier activity and (b) as a demand for an explanation of the addressee's earlier presence in the speaker's office.

8 Eng What were you doing in my office?

For the sake of this illustration, I will examine this example as if the WXDY construction had not already been established in the language. At this earlier stage, the (a) reading of (8) would be its simple or 'literal' reading, while the (b) reading would be the result of pragmatic inferencing. If the addressee believes that the speaker did not expect the addressee to be in the office, the Gricean maxim of relevance (Be relevant) might lead to reading (b). The fact that the original speaker may defease this interpretation and assert that the question was merely a request for information shows that reading (b) is pragmatically driven.

This variable interpretability of language in action leads to many reanalyses—cases in which the hearer attributes to the utterance an intent different from what the speaker had in mind. In the case of (1), the addressee might (mostly subconsciously) attribute the request-for-explanation reading as a pragmatically-driven interpretation or as evidence that there is a construction, namely the *What's X doing Y*? construction, that sometimes results in utterances that are superficially the same as those produced by combination of other pre-existing constructions and that this construction invokes a frame of incongruity and thus calls for an explanation of the situation. This new analysis would then constitute a case of constructionalization, which is discussed in detail in §6.2.2.1 below.

In fact, reanalysis is an ever-present process, found in phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax. I argue throughout this thesis that a key driving force in language change is the interaction of the workings of reanalysis with the variable interpretability of language in context. In the following chapters I look at how we can sort out various factors in order to understand more clearly how this leads to the kind of linguistic variety that I discussed earlier. First, however, let us briefly consider how these factors interact synchronically by examining the nature of linguistic constructions.

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6.2 Linguistic constructions and Construction Grammar

6.2.1 Introduction to Construction Grammar

A **construction** is a form-meaning mapping which is not predictable on the basis of knowledge of other parts of a language. This notion is central to Fillmore and Kay's Construction Grammar (CG) as set forth by Fillmore et al. (1988), Fillmore & Kay (1999), Kay & Fillmore (1999), Kay (1998), and Goldberg (1995), among others (Kay & Fillmore 1999 and Goldberg 1995 provide further background on this view of linguistic structure). On this view, a given morpheme, such as Sp *lápiz* 'pencil' constitutes a construction because one could not determine its meaning compositionally (cf. Goldberg 1995:4). We can contrast a construction with a complex constructional **construct**, which is the result of the use of one or more constructions, as in *el lápiz azul* 'the blue pencil', which can be interpreted by a first-time hearer who already has access to the constructions which associate *el* with definiteness, *azul* with blueness, *lápiz* with a certain kind of writing implement, and the language-specific means of combining these elements (which again will consist of one or more constructions). Although the technical details will not concern us, for those interested, here is a simplified illustration of how this works:

morph/syn	m, s
cat	art
frame	
sem/prag	def
phon	*el*

morph/syn	m, s
cat	noun
frame	WRITING
sem/prag	PENCIL
phon	*lápiz*

morph/syn	s
cat	adj
frame	
sem/prag	BLUE
phon	*azul*

Figure 1—Three lexical constructions in Spanish

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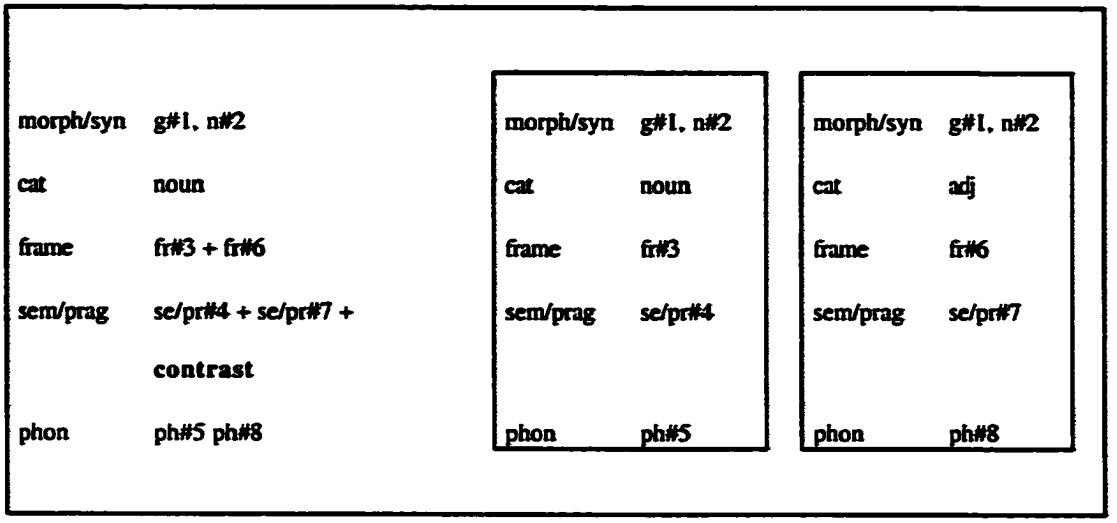

Figure 2—The contrastive noun-adjective construction in Spanish

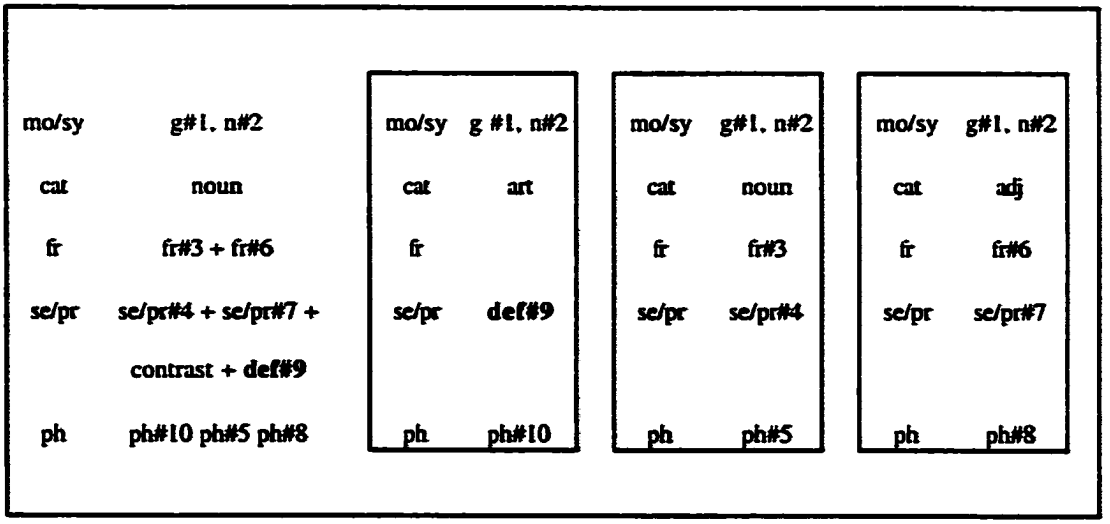

Figure 3—The article-noun construction in Spanish

As the above figures show, constructions not only include information about the form and meaning (in a narrow sense) of an element (e.g., *lápiz* 'pencil'), but also encode morphosyntactic and pragmatic material (greatly oversimplified above for the sake of expositional clarity). This is motivated by the fact that native speakers do not merely know that *lápiz* means 'pencil'; they also know that this word combines with elements which are said to be grammatically masculine (thus **la lápiz* is not a possible construct because the feminine specification of *la* conflicts with the masculine specification of *lápiz*; *azul*, on the

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other hand, is not marked with an indication of gender since it can combine with either masculine or feminine elements). These constructions illustrate the interconnection of syntax on the one hand with semantics and with pragmatics on the other, in that the construction which places the adjective after the noun introduces an element of contrastiveness. Thus the construction is not merely a template for combining lexical elements in a particular order—it has meaning of its own.

Further, speakers know that there is a scenario, or **frame**, having to do with writing which is evoked by the use of this word. One effect of this is that the mention of the word meaning 'pencil' licenses the use of definiteness marking *the* with a previously unmentioned word meaning 'eraser'. For more on frame semantics, see Fillmore (1976, 1982, 1985).

6.2.2 Constructions and language change

A change in any aspect of a construction constitutes a new construction. Of greatest interest to us will be those changes which involve shifting of constructional boundaries, though we will concern ourselves with other types of change as well. These changes fall into two basic types that I call **constructionalization** and **reconstructionalization**.

6.2.2.1 Constructionalization

Constructionalization is the process whereby a new construction is created in a language from linguistic elements already present in the language. The process includes the reanalysis of existing constructs and the use of new patterns to create previously unattested constructs. Reanalysis has received a fair amount of attention in the literature on language change, especially in syntactic change (see Anttila 1975, Timberlake 1977, Harris & Campbell 1995 for discussion). It is generally agreed that reanalysis involves the reinterpretation of the location of morpheme boundaries and often change in category labels.

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This reinterpretation is part of the process of induction, as explained by Andersen (1973). Induction consists in the identification of a generalization to account for one or more phenomena. In language this is the process in which hearers subconsciously and automatically attempt to discover what constructions have been used in the utterances which they hear. Frequently there are at least two possible analyses for a given utterance in a given context. Often the differences between them are subtle enough that the response of the hearer to the utterance does not reveal whether the hearer has associated the utterance with the same set of constructions as the speaker did when creating it. Thus reanalysis can remain covert indefinitely.

Only when a structure which is not compatible with previously established constructions appears can it be discovered that a hearer/speaker has first reanalyzed something(s) that she has heard and then created a new collocation on the basis of the structure attributed to previous input. The new structure can be described as an instance of deduction in that the speaker applies a generalization (which she herself has created) to a specific (speech) situation. Thus constructionalization includes not only reanalysis (induction) but also the use of the new structure (deduction).

Let me illustrate this process with a simplified look at the development of the 'future' use of *be going to* in English. At one stage, a sentence such as *They are going to sing* would have consisted of *they*, the verb *go*, the present progressive construction, and the purposive infinitive construction with the verb *sing*. At this point the 'going' motion predicated of *they* would be in a sense 'built-in' to the sentence, and the fact that the singing would happen later would be deduced from the context and the hearer's knowledge that when someone goes to a place to do something, the doing comes after the going. A person hearing this sentence might think, however, that the futurity was intended as a more inherent element and that the motion could be deduced since, if *They* weren't where they were going to sing, they would have to go there before singing. That is, the hearer might interpret the sentence as consisting of *they* and a future construction (itself consisting of the verb *go* in

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the present progressive plus the marker *to*) with the verb *sing*. This reinterpretation might then lead to a new type of sentence, such as *They are going to stay where they are*, in which it is clear that the futurity is key and that the motion is to be deduced, but only if it is compatible with the context (which is not the case here since staying and going conflict).

Fillmore & Kay (1999; see further references there) discuss this issue in the framework of Construction Grammar and suggest that inheritance, a network of hierarchical relationships among constructions, offers solutions to a number of problems in this area. For example, consider the English idiom *(to) kick the bucket* meaning 'to die'. A CG analysis of this construction would link it, via an inheritance network, to the verb *kick* and the words *the* and *bucket*, but the nature of these relations would be different, in that *kick the bucket* inherits the various morphological characteristics of *kick* (*They all kicked the bucket*) but none of those of *bucket* (**They all kicked the buckets*).

The construction does not inherit anything semantically from the lexemes from which it inherits phonological form; instead it is specified that semantically it marks a kind of DIE predicate, from which it in turn inherits a single (living) argument and thus incompatibility with the passive construction. Likewise, *keep tabs on* inherits the irregular morphology of *keep* (*We kept tabs on them throughout their careers*) and has its semantics marked as essentially being those of WATCH; thus it is compatible with the passive construction (*Close tabs are kept on these groups*). Note that such analyses are not restricted to CG. Like Koenig (1999), who states his analyses within the framework of Head-Driven Phrase-Structure Grammar (HPSG; see Pollard & Sag 1994), I wish to emphasize that, because approaches like CG, HPSG, and some versions of cognitive linguistics share certain positions on the nature of constructions, these analyses are largely amenable to restatement in any of these frameworks.

Constructionalization, then, is the reanalysis of a construct as a construction.

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6.2.2.2 Reconstructionalization

Reconstructionalization is the process of changing one or more aspects of an already existing construction. This is what is involved in such developments as back-formation; for example the English verb *to laze* is the result of the reconstructionalization of the previously monomorphemic adjective *lazy* as a dimorphemic structure of the shape *laze* + *-y*. A syntactic example is the change of English *like* from a verb taking a stimulus subject and a dative experiencer to one taking a subject experiencer and an object stimulus.

6.2.3 Motivation in grammatical constructions

An essential part of any construction is the pairing of form and meaning. In constructions at the morphemic level, these matches tend to be mostly arbitrary in that the forms of the morphemes themselves are not inherently connected to their semantics. Which morphemes and lexemes enter into larger constructions, however, appears much more semantically motivated. It has been shown that the lexical sources of grammatical morphemes constitute a very small number of items employed again and again in languages all over the world (Bybee et al. 1994). Determining the reasons for this is a key goal of this dissertation.

It should be recalled that my notion of meaning includes not only lexical meaning but also grammatical (i.e., morphosyntactic) and pragmatic information; thus when a new construction is created, the structure may be more grammatical but no less meaningful since grammatical information is equally meaningful as lexical information even though they show considerable differences; these will be explored in detail later. The differences, however, may not be so great as previously believed. Recent work in grammaticalization suggests that the same basic types of meaning change affect all meaning in systematic ways (Sweetser 1988, 1990).

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6.2.4 Compositionality in grammatical constructions

A compelling issue in grammaticalization is that of transparency or compositionality. For example, it is tempting to analyze a compound perfect such as the English pattern shown in *She has left* as (in a manner of speaking) containing the notion of present relevance in the auxiliary *has* and that of past in the participle *left*; in this sense the above sentence is more transparent than the Portuguese equivalent *Ela saiu*, where the inflectional ending *-iu* is a portmanteau morpheme encoding present relevance, past tense, third person, singular number, and indicative mood (it also indicates that the verb belongs to the class of *-ir* verbs). I shall argue that because a construction is needed for independent reasons to explain the behavior of the forms in question, it is not necessary to restrict ourselves to such a simplistic (though intuitively appealing) notion as this form of compositionality.

6.3 Semantic change

In the area of semantics, the issues that interest us involve the role of lexical semantics of the auxiliands and auxiliates, the roles of metaphor and metonymy, and the nature of semantic change as part of grammaticalization as compared with that found in other contexts. Let us look at these in turn.

6.3.1 Lexical semantics

One of the main questions I hope to shed light on is, How do particular verbs end up in periphrastic constructions? For example, why does English have a perfect construction with *have* while Finnish has one with *olla* 'to be'? Why does no language appear to have a perfect construction formed with a verb meaning SMELL as the auxiliary? It is clear that this is largely a matter of semantics at the lexical level, but the exact role of lexical semantics has been a matter of some debate. I shall argue that there have been two problems with previous accounts: (a) the role of lexical semantics has been exaggerated (cf. Bybee et al. 1994) and (b) insufficient attention has been paid to details of the lexical semantics of verbs which

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become auxiliaries. Examination of the role of lexical semantics in grammaticalization will not be restricted to auxiliaries, however; I will present evidence that the lexical semantics of main verbs can also play a role in the development of periphrastic constructions.

6.3.2 Metonymy and metaphor

The interaction of processes of semantic change is frequently difficult to characterize clearly and accurately. Metonymy and metaphor, in particular, have a complex relationship which often makes them nearly impossible to separate, even though the two processes are in principle easy to distinguish. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that these two phenomena are closely related. The primary distinction between them is that metaphor makes connections between domains while metonymy makes them within a domain.

Claims regarding the role of metaphor in grammaticalization cover a broad range, from the view that metaphor is a problem-solving phenomenon and that it drives grammaticalization (Heine et al. 1991) to the position that metaphor plays a role in grammaticalization only when the elements in question are close to the lexical end of the lexical-grammatical continuum (Bybee et al. 1994). I shall propose that, in the development of periphrastic verbal constructions, metaphor does not play any role at all and that it is merely the case that many such developments are consistent with—but not driven by—various metaphorical mappings.

Bybee et al. (1994) suggest that it may be the case that metaphor can function only in the early stages of grammaticalization when a substantial amount of lexical meaning is retained because a relatively large degree of semantic specificity is required for a metaphorical shift of a lexeme or grammatical morpheme from one domain to another. They continue to say that many changes previously attributed to metaphor are better analyzed as cases of change via inference or generalization.

Regardless of the question of the exact role of metaphor, we must address the related claim that the authors make about the operation of the various mechanisms of change

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in grammaticalization, namely that it appears that some mechanisms operate only at certain stages of grammaticalization. If this view is correct, then the important question which remains to be answered is whether it is possible to characterize accurately beyond which point in the process of grammaticalization it is that metaphor ceases to be a mechanism of change. In other words, how grammaticalized must a form be before it is 'immune' to metaphor? A position such as the one BPP present suggests that there are important differences between more and less grammatical meanings, although the exact nature of these differences is not yet worked out.

Reconstructionalization is perhaps a more useful term than **generalization.** Though the former is in some ways a more general term, it better captures a general process. As appropriate, one may explain that a particular change shows reconstructionalization via whatever more specific mechanism led to the revised version of the construction.

6.3.3 Semantic change in grammaticalization and elsewhere

Investigation of semantic change in grammaticalization has tended to focus on a process usually called **bleaching**; this is the apparent loss of meaning found when an element moves from the lexical toward the grammatical end of this continuum. For example, *go* could be said to be bleached of its motion sense in the future periphrasis *be going to*. I shall argue, along lines pursued by Sweetser (1990), that problems in this area benefit from close attention to the broad nature of 'meaning' in constructions and that the kinds of changes found in grammaticalization share more with changes in other domains than has typically been recognized.

On this topic Sweetser (1988) argues that the types of semantic change which accompany the process of grammaticalization do not constitute a special set of phenomena and are in fact a subset of the types of semantic change which occur generally in language. In particular, Sweetser shows that the process of 'bleaching' is a natural concomitant of certain types of semantic change; she also argues that the semantic 'loss' traditionally

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associated with the grammaticalization of lexical items is better viewed not as loss of meaning but rather as shift of meaning from one domain to another. She identifies metaphor as the primary mechanism by which these domain shifts are accomplished.

Sweetser further explains that the partial, rather than complete, transfer of inference structure from one domain to another follows from the fact that certain elements of the source domain will not map onto any corresponding elements in the target domain and will therefore necessarily be lost in the transfer.

Sweetser also contends that meaning change in grammaticalization does not display unique characteristics which set it apart from meaning change elsewhere in language. Thus, whenever metaphor is the mechanism of shift, image-schematic inferences are transferred and other inferences are not. Furthermore, when these shifts do occur, they are not cases of change from lexemes with meaning to grammatical markers without meaning; that is, grammatical meaning, while different from lexical meaning, is meaning nonetheless. Finally, she explains, the cross-linguistic correlations between types of grammatical markers and types of lexical items which give rise to those markers give us information about the semantics of the grammatical categories which they mark to which we might not otherwise have access.

A closely related concept is that of polysemy patterns, that is, the networks of multiple meanings that linguistic elements belong to. I shall argue a position similar to that of Emanatian (1991:2), who writes, 'the differences between lexical and grammatical polysemy...may be traced to differences in the nature of lexical and grammatical meaning.' She too views lexical and grammatical meaning as two ends of a continuum such that one cannot draw principled boundaries between the two. There is, however, a general tendency for meaning to be more concrete on the lexical end of the scale and more abstract on the grammatical end.

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6.4 Pragmatic factors

Let us now return to pragmatics, which will help us understand a process which I believe has been misanalyzed, namely **generalization**, which Bybee et al. (1994) argue is often the mechanism of change in cases commonly attributed to metonymy or metaphor. While this seems to be on the right track, it suffers from not adequately addressing the issue of directionality in grammaticalization.

Given that there is a strong tendency for the direction of change to be not from specific to general but from concrete to abstract, the term generalization seems to be a misnomer, and I will argue that the effects in question are a natural consequence of the interaction of the Cooperative Principle and reanalysis. The investigation of this issue involves determination of whether this directionality is an inherent part of grammaticalization and whether it is found elsewhere.

The four maxims of conversation proposed by Grice (1975, 1978)—quality, quantity, relevance, and manner—are essential . Consider the development and use of progressives. As BPP (1994) point out, an expression involving a progressive construction can be more informative than an expression which simply locates a referent; if the activity in which the subject is (metaphorically) located also is known by the speaker and the hearer to be likely to occur in a known location, the progressive structure concisely indicates not only the location but also the activity of the subject. BPP provide the following sequence (9, 10) as an example (1994:133).

9 Where's Lou?

10 He's taking a bath.

11 In the bathroom.

They argue that (10) is more informative than a response (such as 11) which strictly answers the question posed in (9) in that shared knowledge between the interlocutors will allow the questioner to draw certain conclusions regarding, e. g., how soon Lou will be ready to leave. These pragmatic considerations are not so much a mechanism of change as

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they are information about the nature of the environment in which linguistic developments occur, including motivations for certain patterns in language which contribute to the processes of change. Thus, just as in everyday speech such factors must be considered, so in language change must they be taken into account as completely as possible.

These pragmatic considerations are not so much a mechanism of change as they are information about the nature of the environment in which linguistic developments occur, including motivations for certain patterns in language which contribute to the processes of change. Thus, just as in everyday speech such factors must be considered, so in language change must they be taken into account as completely as possible. In fact, Pederson (1991) argues that semantic and pragmatic principles are primary relative to syntactic ones for variation in function and meaning; others reaching this conclusion include Traugott and Heine (1991). The importance of this claim—which I believe is essentially correct—lies in the fact that variation is an essential part of what allows for the creation of new constructions, as described above.

6.5 Phonological change and grammaticalization

One commonly cited characteristic of grammaticalization is what is called **phonological reduction**. This is the phenomenon whereby some sequence appears to undergo a reduction in its phonological material, as in the case of *going to* > *gonna* in English. This type of change affects our ability to determine the sources of grammatical elements; thus understanding how it works is essential to our ability to sort out the answers to the other questions we wish to address. We shall explore whether this process is specific to grammaticalization; I will argue that the kinds of sound change found in cases of grammaticalization actually belong to a set of phenomena related to token frequency.

In my discussion of the Catalan periphrastic preterit (Ch. 4), I will consider briefly the degree to which the phenomenon commonly called phonological reduction is specific to grammaticalization. I claim that it is likely that the kinds of sound change found in cases of

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grammaticalization actually belong to a set of phenomena related to token frequency. Let us explore this issue further here.

It seems likely that the phonological reduction associated with grammaticalization is primarily a part of a more general process whereby linguistic elements with high frequency of occurrence show faster phonological development than those with low frequency; intimately related to this is the high degree of irregularity often seen in grammaticalized elements. Bybee (1985) reports a tendency for high-frequency forms to show greater irregularity—which is primarily the result of what might be called accelerated sound change, though we shall see (Ch. 2) that forms such as those studied here have also shown the tendency to become more suppletive by incorporating stems from various sources—and greater resistance to regularization.

It is important to emphasize that by speaking of accelerated phonological development, I do not intend to suggest that the sound changes found in high-frequency forms will necessarily spread to lower frequency forms later, though that is certainly not an impossibility. Two English examples may prove instructive. First, consider the reduction of *going to* to *gonna* (['goŋtu > 'gənə]). This reduction of [oŋtu > ənə] need not ever be duplicated in the development of English, just as the reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables need not ever recur in stressed syllables. Note, though, that nongrammaticalized *going* may well be realized as ['goɪn]. When */t/* occurs after [n] in an unstressed syllable, one option is pronunciation with no */t/*, as in *center* ['sɛnɚ]. Thus, *They're going to the store* may be realized as [ðɛɹ'goɪnəðə'stɔɹ]. Given that auxiliary-like elements such as *be going to* often receive little stress, it is no surprise that there is reduction to schwa in *gonna*.

Consider now an example of reduction in a non-grammaticalized form, *says*. This form 'should' rhyme with *pays* and *lays*, but it has [ɛ] vocalism, not [ej]. This appears to be the result of the frequent use of *says* in narrative (which often employs the narrative present; see Ch. 4). Because it introduces a quote, *says* is likely to be in a relatively weak prosodic position and is thus more likely to reduced (in this case from a diphthong to a

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monophthong). This does not mean, however, that *says* will become a fully grammaticalized quotative nor that *pays* and *lays* will ever be pronounced [pɛz] and [lɛz]. For more discussion of the interaction of frequency with reduction, Pagliuca (1976; unpublished but cited in Bybee 1985) provides a general treatment, while Juge (2000) offers consideration in the specific context of the development of irregular morphology.

6.6 Morphological change

For our purposes, morphological concerns fall into two main types: What are the interactions between grammaticalization and the overall morphological system? and How does morphological change interact with grammaticalization? The basic issues are laid out below and will be addressed throughout the thesis.

6.6.1 The loss and creation of grammatical categories

As I mentioned earlier, grammaticalization affects the overall morphological system of a language. In this area we shall be concerned with the following questions: How do new constructions fit into the morphological system? What are the ways in which pre-existing morphological categories can be 'converted' into different ones?

Perhaps the most obvious possible consequence is the creation of a linguistic pattern not closely paralleled by earlier stages of the language. On the other hand, it is quite common for a new construction to cover many of the same functions as a single, previously attested pattern. In this event, the older pattern may be lost or be converted into what is effectively a new category. Let us re-examine some of our earlier examples with these issues in mind.

6.6.1.1 The creation of grammatical categories

Once a grammatical pattern becomes conventionalized in a language, we may speak of a new grammatical category in that language. As with lexical items, complete synonymy of grammatical constructions is either rare or non-existent. Thus it is nearly always possible

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to identify differences in the use of a set of constructions, though the factors involved can be extremely complicated.

A clear case of the creation of a grammatical category is treated in Chapter 4, §2.6, which covers the Catalan periphrastic preterit subjunctive, a category which is not found in other Romance varieties and, cross-linguistically, is very rarely encoded grammatically. The examples below, reproduced from Chapter 4, illustrate the contrast that this set of forms allows for. While in many Romance varieties the present subjunctive and indicative indicate (often redundantly) certain aspects of the speaker's stance on a proposition, most varieties do not allow speakers to unambiguously encode the imperfective/perfective distinction in the subjunctive that the indicative allows.

12 Ct Va-ig veu-re un ocell
aux.ind-1s see-inf one bird
'I saw a bird'

13 Ct Ell no creu pas
3.m NEG believe.pr.ind.3s NEG
que el vagi-n engany-ar
comp 3s.m.ac aux.sbj-3p deceive-inf
'He does not believe at all that they deceived him'

6.6.1.2 Shift of grammatical categories

As indicated above, the addition of new patterns to a language tends to correlate with a shift in distribution of one or more previously existing patterns. In some cases the result amounts to shift of the forms from one pre-existing 'slot' to another, while in other cases, the change is sufficiently large to recognize an entirely new category in the language. Within the Iberian Romance languages, both of these patterns are attested.

6.6.1.2.1 Shift into old grammatical categories

The shift of forms from one category to another already found in the language is relatively less well attested, but the shift of the pluperfect indicative (in Spanish) and the pluperfect subjunctive (in Iberian Romance generally) into the imperfect subjunctive is a

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good example. It could also be argued that the development of new imperative forms form older subjunctive forms fits this type of change.

6.6.1.2.2 Shift into new grammatical categories

In the Iberian Romance languages, there is one unambiguous case in which the shift of an old form resulted in a new grammatical category. The creation of the future subjunctive in Ibero-Romance eliminated the logical gap that had existed in the Latin verbal system whereby there was a contrast between indicative and subjunctive mood for all the tenses except the future.

In this category of change also belongs the Portuguese so-called personal infinitive, for a full treatment of the development of which, see Scida (1998).

6.6.1.3 The loss of grammatical categories

As we saw above, the Ibero-Romance future perfect is a very good example of the creation of a new grammatical category. It is also an instance of the nearly complete loss of a grammatical category in that the future subjunctive is almost completely dead in modern Spanish.

6.6.2 Analogy, contamination, and other morphological effects

Analogy and contamination in the area of morphology interest us for reasons similar to those we found compelling about phonological issues: if we want to understand the semantics of grammaticalization, we must be able to sort out morphological effects which can obscure semantic relations. We will see that this played a large role in the development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit.

The unique forms of the Catalan preterit auxiliary, discussed in Ch.4 §2.4, show the effects of both analogy and contamination. I argue that these changes show a number of important things. First, researchers who wish to conduct cross-linguistic comparison of constructions and their development must pay careful attention to the exact form of these constructions, as appearances may be deceiving. Second, in some cases we should expect to be unable to provide reconstructions of which we are certain because analogy and

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contamination are not regular in the sense that sound change usually is. Finally, grammaticalization—and language change in general—has nothing to do with improvement or deterioration of language.

At present it might be useful to discuss two kinds of analogy as it pertains to grammaticalization. The first type is at the morphological level and is represented by the changes to the form of the Catalan preterit auxiliary. The second type is at the level of auxiliary selection. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the Iberian Romance periphrastic perfects had, early in their developments, both BE and HAVE as auxiliaries, with the former occurring primarily with one-argument (especially non-agent arguments) verbs and the latter with verbs taking an agent. In the standard dialects of all three (as in English, but not in French or Italian), the HAVE auxiliary (whether from HABERE or from TENERE) has been extended analogically to the cases in which BE was formerly used. In this case, frequency appears to have been a major factor.

6.7 Syntactic change

The relationship between grammaticalization and syntax has been treated by a number of different scholars, including Meillet (1912), Lightfoot (1991), Hopper & Traugott (1993), and Bybee et al. (1994). We will examine the issue with two main goals: (1) to determine what effects syntactic patterns and grammaticalization have on each other and (2) to adduce syntactic criteria in exploring degrees of grammaticalization. In keeping with what I have already said about the gradualness of grammaticalization and the interrelatedness of syntax and other factors in constructional patterning, I will argue against the view that discrete changes in syntactic category and rules drive grammaticalization.

6.8 The role of 'problems' and teleology in grammaticalization

In Chapter 4, we will look at some supposed morphological 'problems' in Catalan. We will examine whether it is the case that any of the changes under consideration can be

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said to be motivated by a need to resolve problems. I shall argue that language users do not consciously bring about change in such a teleological fashion.

In that discussion, the main topic will be the set of claims made by Pérez (1995) about supposed problems in Catalan verbal morphology. This issue can be split into two main parts. The first deals with what it means to identify a linguistic pattern as problematic. The second has to do with whether grammaticalization is a teleological, problem-solving process. We will consider these, each in their turn after a brief consideration of some prior exploration of the matter.

McMahon offers a cogent discussion of the issue but reaches the somewhat unsatisfying conclusion (1994:334) that the

> verdict of Not Proven in the Scottish courts...seems the best judgement on teleology. We cannot prove teleological explanations wrong (although this may in itself be an indictment, in a discipline where many regard potentially falsifiable hypotheses as the only valid ones), but nor can we prove them right. More pragmatically, alleged cases of teleology tend to have equally plausible alternative explanations, and there are valid arguments against the teleological position.

As I mentioned above, Pérez (1995) has explicitly claimed that there were 'problems' with the Catalan synthetic preterit and that its replacement by the periphrastic preterit eliminated them. This is an untenable position in light of the well established fact that, as we tell introductory linguistics students, all natural languages are equivalent at some objective level. If a language can have problems, then it follows naturally that it should be possible for a given variety to be so riddled with problems as to be useless, which is exactly the fear of many laypersons scared of letting go of prescriptive standards. Bringing questions of learnability into the discussion does not help. Until our understanding of the psychological and neurological processes involved in language learning is far greater, we can not but assume that if a natural language exists, then it must be learnable.

Bybee et al. conclude (1994:300):

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> [G]rammaticization is not goal-directed; grams cannot "see" where they are going, nor are they pulled into abstract functions. The push for grammaticization comes from below—it originates in the need to be more specific, in the tendency to infer as much as possible from the input, and in the necessity of interpreting items in context.

When people do make conscious attempts at change, the results are often not what they'd hoped for. For example, the political correctness movement has probably resulted in as many jokes as it has actual changes in linguistic behavior, and attempts to eliminate the 'object' form of English pronouns in conjoined subjects (e.g., *Me and Fran went to the show*) are probably a major factor in the use of 'subject' forms in conjoined objects (e.g., *That's between she and I*) and *myself* in non-reflexive contexts (e.g., *If you have any questions, just ask Chris or myself*)[9], both of which many prescriptivists view as problems. Thus conscious attempts to establish new patterns or to eliminate old ones seem doomed to at least partial failure; meanwhile, other changes go on, often below the radar of self-appointed language guardians.

6.9 Mechanisms of change and implications for grammaticalization theory

The examples of grammaticalization studied herein are interesting not only in themselves but also in their implications for the theory of grammaticalization as a subfield of linguistics. By providing additional evidence bearing on several earlier claims regarding the wide range and possible universality of several facets of grammaticalization, this study will hopefully contribute to the understanding of the cross-linguistic nature of the process. Among the considerations are these questions: which phenomena in grammaticalization are specific to this type of change?; which are manifestations of more widespread linguistic processes?; which are universal and which are language-specific?; which are areal?

Since a study of this size cannot possibly answer all these questions I will limit myself to what I see as the key issues. As we saw above, a number of the most important

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[9] Note that emphatic contexts and Irish English also feature such uses of *myself*,

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processes involved in grammaticalization, such as constructionalization, metaphor, and pragmatic and metonymic inferencing, are also at work in many other types of language change, especially semantic change. In fact, given the proper view of the nature of grammatical meaning, the nature of general semantic change and that seen in grammaticalization can be shown to be extremely similar.

Because the parts of grammaticalization appear to be more general processes, I believe that, while for conceptual and terminological reasons it is useful to group certain phenomena under the rubric of grammaticalization, the types of changes explored here (among others of course) do not reflect a single coherent process. I wish to cover more specifically now the mechanisms of change which contribute to grammaticalization effects.

6.9.1 Sources and pathways of development

One contribution which I believe this study has for grammaticalization theory is strong additional evidence for the common claim that the lexical sources of most grammatical morphemes tend to belong to a small class of high-frequency lexemes with general meanings. We have seen that the four basic meanings BE, HAVE, COME, and GO provide the source for more than a dozen construction types, several of which are among the most frequently occurring in these languages.

Researchers discussing sources of grammatical constructions have not always been clear as to what counts as a source. For Heine et al., the emphasis is on concepts: 'one source concept can give rise to more than one grammatical category' (1991:338). For Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (BPP), constructions are the focus: 'we disagree with Heine, Claudi, and Hunnemeyer.... It is the entire construction, and not simply the lexical meaning of the stem, which is the precursor, and hence the source, of the grammatical meaning' (1994:11). In this I am in general agreement with BPP. Specific components of their approach are, however, in need of refinement. The most salient of these is the notion of semantically 'general' lexical sources.

6.9.1.1 Generality and lexical semantics

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Bybee et al. (1994) take a strong position on the importance of a general semantics for lexical sources in the development of grammatical constructions. The issue can be divided into two subparts. The first concerns the degree of generality necessary for a lexical item to be eligible to participate in a construction that will lead to grammaticalization. The second has to do with semantic changes that BPP attribute to a process of 'generalization'. I deal with each of these in turn.

6.9.1.2 Semantic prerequisites to grammaticalization

BPP illustrate the supposed requirement that lexical sources have 'general' meanings with English motion verbs. They claim that verbs like '*walk, stroll, saunter, swim, roll, slide* each contain considerable detail about the nature of the movement and thus are appropriate only with certain types of subjects. The more generalized movement verbs *go* and *come*, however, lack specifics concerning the nature of the movement and are thus appropriate in a much wider range of contexts.... It is lexical items of this degree of generality that are used in constructions that enter into grammaticization' (1994:5). They realize, though, that the notion of generality is problematic, admitting (1994:10) that *finish*, in referring to a particular phase of an event (its closure) and *desire* and *owe*, in referring to internal and social states respectively, encode what appear to be more complex properties and relations of the world in which humans find themselves. But since this is the world that human commentary concerns itself with, their specificity relative to verbs which describe generalized physical events is not of concern. Rather, they claim, what is relevant is that these verbs encode major orientation points in human experience.

6.9.1.3 Generalization

The putative process of generalization seems to conflate two distinct scenarios, namely semantic broadening and extension, both of which can lead to use of the form in more contexts. Broadening is a well known change type not restricted to grammaticalization. One way to characterize it is as a change in the semantics of an item such that it refers to more entities at time t+1 than at time t. Thus the set of referents of OE *docga* was

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comparatively small, as the term specified one breed, while the modern *dog* covers a much larger group of referents. In this sense we may call the semantics of the word less specific, or, equivalently, more general.

Extension, on the other hand, is the process by which a form enters into a new semantic area, i.e., a different domain. The use of *dog* to identify an ugly human, for example, or as a verb meaning essentially 'to chase persistently' both reflect extensions and correspond to use of the term in more contexts than previously, but they do not reflect a greater degree of generality in any coherent sense.

Extension can to a certain extent feed on broadening, in that a form may be at one stage too specific to be appropriate for extension into another semantic field. Continuing on the canine theme, it seems that the use of *dog* to refer to humans postdates its broadening from indicating a particular breed to indicating a more general group. Note, however, that *dog* and *hound*, the narrowed term formerly used more generally, have both been extended with verbal uses and that these uses are very close indeed. Clearly further examination of the role of broadening and extension—and their interaction—is needed. One of the issues in need of exploration is the strong apparent directionality found in cases of such 'generalization', which appears to involve other factors. Some suggest that this directionality may be an inherent part of the process (BPP 1994:292) but the evidence seems to point to an epiphenomenal character for such directionality, a point I explore in more detail below (Ch. 5, §2.8). In short, I feel that **generalization** is an inadequate term because it fails to capture the fact that, when semantic shifts occur in grammaticalization, there is a strong tendency for the direction to be not from specific to general but from concrete to abstract, although this is complicated by the process of subjectification, a process whereby constructions increasingly reflect speakers' attitudes (see the next section).

6.9.1.4 Subjectification

Traugott & König suggest that grammaticalization involves a process whereby '[m]eanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-

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state/attitude toward the situation' (1991:209). Both the development of the periphrastic perfect and that of the periphrastic preterit in Iberian Romance provide evidence that such subjectification is not involved in all cases of grammaticalization.

One problem with this view is that Traugott & König, like a number of researchers, take an overly speaker-centered stance on language change. They cite (1991:211) Stern's (1968 [1931]) rejection of Leumann's hypothesis that metonymic change is the result of '"a difference between the meaning intended by the speaker and that comprehended by the hearer" on the grounds that the speaker must be assumed to know his native language (1968:360).' They then approvingly cite his conclusion that change results not from 'speaker's improper processing (or inadequate learning)' (1991:211) but rather from 'speaker's communicative intent and desire to be fully expressive' (1991:212). But surely at least some of the speaker's interlocutors are native speakers of the language in question too. Yet they somehow manage to reanalyze parts of the grammar. So while we must pay attention to what the speaker is trying to do, we must also pay attention to what the hearer is trying to do, a large part of which is to figure out what the speaker is trying to do. I discuss in the next section some important limits to what we can expect speakers to attempt and to achieve.

To be more specific, let us consider briefly a fairly common kind of grammaticalization, the development of a verb of volition into a future marker. Along the way from full verb to auxiliary, the element in question might be used in exchanges similar to the following:

A: Are Pat and Chris going to the museum with us tomorrow?

B: They told me they want to catch the last day of the boat show.

In such a case, it is unclear how the incorporation of a conversational implicature (I'm mentioning their desire in the context of your asking about what they'll be doing in the future – I may be talking about the future itself) necessarily relates to the speaker's belief-state or attitude. In fact, it is not quite clear how we are to judge the degree to which an

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expression encodes the belief state or attitude of the speaker. Furthermore, the development of sentence adverbs like *certainly* and *hopefully* seem to show subjectification but not grammaticalization and therefore suggest that, while related, the two phenomena are at least partly independent.

These problems aside, let us briefly look ahead to the constructions studied here. The Catalan periphrastic preterit is no more subjective than the synthetic, and arguably less so than the 'ungrammaticalized' construction that led up to it.

With the perfect, perhaps a stronger case for subjectification could be made, as I argue in Chapter 3. Here again, though, the subjectification seems to be a secondary effect of the conventionalization of implicature. Secondary effects seem like poor candidates for 'mechanisms' of linguistic change.

6.9.2 Morphosyntactic considerations in grammaticalization

6.9.2.1 'Gaps' in auxiliaries

Perhaps one of the most significant explananda in discussing auxiliaries is that auxiliaries covering a wide range of functions tend overwhelmingly to be show present tense morphology. This is actually part of a more general pattern, namely that auxiliaries in certain constructions frequently show 'gaps'. Often a construction consisting of an auxiliary and a non finite verb form exists with only certain tam-cats.

6.9.2.2 The prevalence of present tense morphology in auxiliaries

This is due in large part to the fact that many cases of auxiliarization depend on the conventionalization of implicatures in expressions that make assertions about the time of utterance as indicators of other things such as what has happened, what should happen, what will happen, what may happen and so forth.

Futures and conditionals are interesting in this respect. The fact that they are often morphologically composed of some element plus a form inflected for present tense may reflect the importance of the maxim of quality: speakers can not vouch for the accuracy of

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statements about the future, but they can do so better with observations about the present that might lead their interlocutors to make reasonable guesses about the future.

6.9.3 Degrees of grammaticalization

In chapter 4 I discuss the possibility that there might be degrees of grammaticalization in the specific context of the Catalan periphrastic preterit. As I've already indicated, I do not believe that grammaticalization constitutes a unitary process. While it is not clear exactly how the status of grammaticalization as a process would affect the possibility of gradation, I believe that its status as the result of multiple related but largely independent processes means that we should expect to find cases of constructions whose development fits the prototype of grammaticalization.

6.10 Broader theoretical issues

In this section I explore some more general theoretical issues that study of periphrastic pasts in Iberian Romance can shed light on, including the relation between diachrony and synchrony (§6.10.1) and functional and formal factors in language change (§6.10.2)

6.10.1 The relation between diachrony and synchrony

The interrelation of synchrony and diachrony has been much emphasized by scholars of late, especially those working specifically on grammaticalization since it is in some ways a clearer example of the phenomenon than some other types of change.

Among those explicitly advocating an approach which includes both synchronic and diachronic considerations are BPP (1994), Heine et al. (1991), and Hopper & Traugott (1993). It has been my finding that the intertwining nature of these two viewpoints becomes more and more manifest all the time. Without an understanding of one, the understanding of the other is impossible.

Despite the intricate relationship between synchrony and diachrony, there is a great deal of value in considering them to be in some ways different. For example, the study of typology and universals gains much from looking at synchronic states so as to discover

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truths about the generalities of how language works and is structured; of course, typology does not necessarily have to compare contemporaneous synchronic states. Further, I feel that synchronic analyses should emphasize psychological reality and current recoverability over historical fact when the two are in conflict. For example, I feel that the fact that native speakers do not consider Romance futures to consist of an infinitive plus HAVE strongly contraindicates such a synchronic analysis even though it accurately reflects the history of those forms.

6.10.2 Formal and functional aspects of language change

There is a tendency in the discipline to set up formal and functional as opposites of some kind. Newmeyer (1998) argues convincingly, however, that the apparent split between these two sets of factors in language is far greater than the actual split. Perhaps the most important issue for our purposes concerns the fact that functional explanations seek to explain formal characteristics of a systems.

Lass argues (1997:352-3) that a claim that language change is functional (such as J. Milroy 1992)

> fails on two grounds: (a) the suggested notion of 'system' is excessively restrictive, excluding major types quite consistent both with certain modified structuralist views of systems and with the facts of variation and change; and (b) a demonstration that something is not 'dysfunctional' does not entail that it is 'functional'. The first mistake is empirical, the second logical.

Lass explains that Milroy's restriction of the notion of 'system' to machines falsely excludes natural systems like animals and points out (1997:353) that as S.J. Gould has been arguing in detail for over a decade (e.g., Gould 1980) animals, while certainly "functional systems", are often quite sloppy ones. Parts are jerry-built and cobbled together out of other parts, there are systemic excrescences...., and collapse and minor dysfunction are common.

On the logical side, Lass (1997:353-4) points out that labeling parts of a system as 'functional' and others as 'dysfunctional' does not preclude the possibility of there being

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neutral or non-functional elements. While I believe that Lass' attack on this type of functional explanation essentially invalidates many arguments about language change that have been termed 'functionality', I do not believe that it is meaningless to talk about function in language. I suggest we must ask, though, what we mean when we use the term **function**.

It is commonly either assumed or asserted, both by the lay public and the academic linguistic community, that the purpose or function of language is communication. Typically, by this people mean something like 'the exchange of ideas'. This view, however, is highly suspect. As telegrams, headlines, and the speech of nonnative speakers show, the features of any given language are far more complex than what is required for the adequate exchange of information.

Instead, it seems that, if we are to assign to language only one function or purpose (and we certainly need not a priori restrict ourselves so), then the one thing to focus on would have to be much broader. I suggest something along the lines of 'establishing, shaping, and maintaining social relations'. While this issue is far too complex to treat adequately here, I believe that a brief discussion will allow us to better understand how a notion of functionality might be examined in the context of language change. For more in depth discussion and references to others who have emphasized the social function of language, see Newmeyer (1998:133).

Imagine a community of speakers of language X. Since all natural languages exhibit variation in nearly all areas of their grammars, so will language X, even if at the beginning of a given time period X is relatively homogeneous. Now, as time passes, varieties of X are likely to diverge slightly, especially if there is separation among groups. At some point (if not from the very start), linguistic variation will correlate with social and geographic factors with the result that speakers will be able to make certain guesses (some more accurate than others) about those they interact with based on how they talk. To a certain extent, people will have the ability to affect how others relate to and regard them by making linguistic choices. They might, for example, attempt to copy phonological patterns used by those with prestige,

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even though the sound changes that led to such differences among speakers occur outside the conscious control of speakers and can not be meaningfully said to happen 'for' a purpose or function. In fact, as I pointed out in section 1.4, when people consciously try to change or fix (in the sense 'cause to remain in a given state') a language, their attempts not only usually fail, but they often have unintended side effects.

Now, recognizing social functions for language is not tantamount to saying that language is not used for the exchange of ideas. What we must recall, though, is that the communication in this narrow sense fits into a larger picture. For example, one person may give information to another not because the second needs or will benefit from that information, but because the first wants to appear knowledgeable. The rich variety of resources available to speakers allows them to shape their social relations at multiple levels- in what they say, how they say it, who they say it to, when they say it, and so forth. Some of these resources, however, are there in part because language changes in highly complex ways. Consider for example the option of copying phonological patterns of speakers of particular social groups to emphasize one's point, to be humorous, or to achieve some other effect. The fact of sound change, which provides the background for such nuance, is largely the result of physical features of humans and the world they live in, and the assertion that they exist for a particular function seems unfounded.

Thus, I agree with Bybee et al. (1994), who seem to think that language change is largely mechanistic, though I disagree with them on how some of the mechanisms operate.

To a certain extent, this view is consistent with the tendency towards subjectification, which I discussed in section 1.3.3.

6.10.3 Language change and language acquisition

A perennial question in historical linguistics concerns who changes languages—children or adults. The role of language acquisition in language change has prompted a number of views. Broadly speaking, the generativist view has been that of Lightfoot (1979, 1981), namely that 'language change is the result of restructuring which

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takes place during the process of acquisition' (Roberts 1995:229). The patterns of development examined in this study may well be consistent with this position, but they are also consistent with the position that a substantial portion of language change—perhaps the majority—is effected by adult learners. This issue calls for further research, and I believe that careful analysis of texts may shed some light on the matter. Meanwhile, it is important to note that the question need not be an issue of either-or; it is likely that both children and adults change languages.

6.10.4 Ambiguity and language change

Closely related to the issue of who effects language change is that of the role of ambiguity in language change. While it is generally agreed that language change is facilitated by ambiguity, some older treatments of the matter seem to assume a restricted kind of ambiguity, namely one in which the different readings must reflect different meanings. But since meaning in this sense usually refers to relatively concrete reference, inadequate room is left for examining subtle differences among constructions. The histories of both resultatives and preterits in Iberian Romance strongly suggest that constructional changes can be very subtle indeed and, perhaps more importantly, can introduce new parameters into a system. Perhaps a useful parallel is the development of distinctive rounding of front vowels via the phonemicization of umlaut. In such cases speakers may interpret the frontness of rounded vowels as a consequence of the environment in which the vowels occur or as an inherent trait of the vowels themselves. If they do the latter, they effectively restructure the phonological system. I suggest, then, that future research pay special attention to the range of ways in which constructions may vary so that we may better understand the possible kinds of ambiguity. For example, Johnson (1999) examines the role of interpretational overlap in the acquisition of complex constructions by children, and it seems likely that future work in acquisition and language change will cross-fertilize each other.

6.10.5 Constructions and reconstruction

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In this research I have attempted to show how understanding certain aspects of linguistic constructions may help us better understand language change. As we progress in this area, we are likely to see advances in our ability to reconstruct syntactic and semantic patterns, much as advances in the understanding of phonetics and phonological change have improved phonological reconstruction. Harris and Campbell (1995) discuss at length (Ch. 12) reasons to be more hopeful about the possibility of syntactic reconstruction than authors like Lightfoot (1979, 1981) and Warner (1983).

7 Methodological concerns

My research raises a number of methodological issues as well, especially as concerns the investigation of linguistic typology and language universals. Newmeyer (1998: Ch. 6) offers a clear discussion of the general problems involved in typological research, focusing primarily on the validity of the generalizations set forth as explananda and on sampling methods. Here I will focus on the insights that I believe come from studies such as this one, which involve multiple languages but make no attempt to control in any systematic way for genetic or areal influence (though discussion of other languages that seem to show relevant phenomena is included). Investigations such as BPP (1994) depend, as typological research in general does, on sampling languages from diverse language families and geographic regions so that the likelihood of capturing truly universal patterns is increased. While the importance of cross-linguistic comparison cannot be denied, great care must be taken in such research. Because of the relatively large number of languages involved in such studies, the investigators cannot possibly study each of the languages in detail. Thus they must depend on the descriptions and analyses of others. Aside from the not inconsequential difficulties due to variation in terminology and theoretical perspective, difficulty may result from inadequately detailed descriptions of constructions. This problem is to a certain extent aggravated by a tendency to impose a Latin-style grammatical structure on languages of diverse types, though this problem is not nearly so great as in the past.

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Perhaps more important is the room for error in connecting semantic factors to observed patterns. This is especially apparent in examinations of the development of future constructions. Because the bulk of the research in this area in conducted by English- or Romance-speaking scholars, one focus has been on the development of so-called COME and GO futures. Behind this focus is the assumption that it is common to have a general verb of motion that encodes movement away from the deictic center and another that encodes motion toward the deictic center, as English *go* and *come* and French *aller* and *venir* do. However, one need not look further than the other Germanic languages to see that the situation is far more complex. In German and the Scandinavian languages, the verb normally translated 'come' in English tends to also function as a general verb of motion (though Icelandic complicates matters further in that the verb *fara* is similar in meaning to English *go* even though *koma* shares some of the features of other Germanic COME verbs). In light of this, statements like 'A "come"-future requires that the speaker's point of view be some time in the future' (BPP 1994:269) become difficult to interpret.

The first difficulty is the general issue of what it means to call a construction a COME future: does that mean that the language uses an auxiliary that also serves as a verb of motion encoding motion toward the deictic center and has as an antonym (or converse) a general verb of motion encoding motion away from the deictic center? Or does it mean that the auxiliary in question is sometimes the translation equivalent of the English word *come*? In this particular case, such a claim is complicated by the fact that there seems to be little to no actual analysis of change in progress, but rather only speculation, as it is easy to imagine a scenario in which a verb meaning something like 'come' could occur in circumstances conducive to the development of a future construction: The following hypothetical exchange occurs between two speakers, A and B, who are in the same place:

A: Where's Jan?

B: She's coming to fix the pipes.

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An exchange of this type clearly depends in no way on a projection of the deictic center, but still provides the kind of bridging context necessary for a reanalysis of a verb of motion plus a purposive clause as a periphrastic construction expressing a kind of futurity.

An additional difficulty concerns whether the gloss for formatives reflects current use or older, possibly obsolete uses. When we determine whether to call a construction a COME future, for example, does the auxiliary have to mean 'come' synchronically? Or could it be that it used to mean 'come'? Depending on how these questions are answered, we might choose to call the English *will* future a WANT future. Similarly, as show in Chapter 4, calling the Catalan periphrastic preterit a GO preterit is misleading not only synchronically (many of the forms of the auxiliary cannot be used as a main verb) but also diachronically (the construction almost certainly developed from *past* tense forms of *anar* 'go') . I don't pretend to suggest that there is a simple answer to such questions, as the answer will depend greatly on what exactly it is one wishes to study.

What are we to do, then? I propose that close analysis of attested changes and detailed description of underdescribed languages (of which there are indeed many) are the techniques most likely to lead to fruitful discoveries. Of course, tentative conclusions must be tested by cross-linguistic comparison, but such comparison is surely most effective when these constructions—and how they relate to other constructions in the language—are well understood.

Examining cross-linguistic data is important for a number of reasons. Perhaps most important is the fact that such comparison provides a framework of possibilities. Newmeyer makes a convincing case (1998:306ff) that the known languages of the world (past and present) may well represent only a small portion of the range of possible human languages. Even so, in many respects there is great variation among these languages, variation all too often not represented in linguistic studies, as I argued above with respect to lexical semantics and polysemy patterns.

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Language A has structures X and Y; these caused it to have structure Z as well. If language B has X and Y but not Z, then some other explanation must be found (it could simply be a more detailed analysis, in which the researcher discovers that X and Y cause/lead up to Z only if Q (not found in R) is also present.

8 Structure of the present work

To provide the reader with sufficient background, I look in Chapter 2 at a number of issues in the morphology of the auxiliaries in question. Building on this information, I will move on to close examination of the development of past periphrastic constructions.

The first constructions examined are resultatives and the perfect constructions that they turn into (Ch. 3). Because these constructions are closely tied with the development of perfective past tense forms, their examination leads naturally into the history of the Catalan periphrastic preterit using forms originally meaning GO plus an infinitive, discussed in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 5 I draw conclusions from what I've discussed earlier.

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Chapter 2 Morphological Overview

The grammaticalization of verbal constructions in a language changes the overall verbal system of the language. Therefore, it is appropriate for a treatment of grammaticalization to provide a general perspective on the overall verb system, which is the goal of this chapter. Without concerning ourselves for the time being with what degree of grammaticalization is required to judge a pattern to be part of the verbal system, we can state unequivocally that the development of new grammatical constructions with elements coming from verbs meaning 'be', 'have', 'come', and 'go' has accompanied substantial change in the verbal systems of the Romance languages relative to that of Latin. First, let us address a number of terminological issues (§1); then we will take stock of the overall verbal system of Classical Latin (§2), the key points of those of the Iberian Romance languages (§3), and finally (§4) the sources of the auxiliaries we are concerned with.

1 Terminology

Like a phonological system, a verbal system may be analyzed in terms of distinctive features or paradigmatic parameters of contrasts;[10] as an illustrative device, this will prove useful in comparing Latin with Romance. For the purposes of analysis of the Latin and Romance verbal systems, we will need to distinguish the following independent parameters (§ 1.1-1.6), most of which involve binary distinctions: tense, aspect, perfectness, mood, voice, person, and number. In §1.7 we will consider some formal issues and the terminology necessary to deal with them.

1.1 Tense

In traditional grammar, the term **tense** is commonly used to refer to language-specific verbal categories as in 'the imperfect tense' ; herein, however, I follow more recent

[10] Though Eve Sweetser was the one who suggested this image to me (p.c.), this model is that of Jakobson and the Prague school.

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definitions of **tense** such as that of Comrie (1985:9), where it is defined as the expression of location in time via grammatical categories. Tense, then, is to be distinguished from **aspect**, defined as a 'grammatical category which relates to the internal temporal structure of a situation' (Trask 1993:21). Though tense and aspect are essentially separate parameters, it nonetheless true that, as Trask points out (21), 'in many languages the expression of aspect is intimately bound up with the expression of tense.' Within the category of tense, the terms **present, past,** and **future** will be used basically as they are in lay language; the term **present**, however, in its technical use will be distinguished from **non-past** for languages (such as the Germanic languages) in which future tense is not expressed inflectionally.

1.2 Aspect

The aspectual categories imperfective and perfective stand in opposition with each other; **imperfective** refers to '[a] superordinate aspectual category making reference to the internal structure of the activity of the verb' (Trask 1993:135), while **perfective** indicates '[a] superordinate aspectual category involving a lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation' (Trask 1993:204). The contrast between these two aspectual categories can be observed in the following example from Bruyne (1995:443).

1	Sp	Mi	herman-a	mur-ió	cuando	yo	ten-i-a
		my	sibling-f	die-pret.ind.3s	when	I	have-impf.ind-1s
		12	añ-o-s.				
		twelve	year-m-p				
		'My sister died when I was twelve.'					

In this example, the form *murió* is a **preterit** form, that is, it expresses past tense and perfective aspect; *tenía*, on the other hand, is an **imperfect** form, that is, it expresses past tense and imperfective aspect (note that in Spanish as in Romance generally, the verb HAVE is used with a temporal expression to indicate a person's age).

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1.3 Perfectness

In addition to tense and aspect, we will be concerned with the **perfect** and the **non-perfect**. Sometimes referred to as an aspectual distinction (cf. Trask 1993:204), this opposition has been the source of some discussion in the literature, discussed at greater length in Comrie (1976). In his treatment of the perfect, Comrie points out that the perfect differs from other 'aspects' 'since it tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation' (1976:52). For this reason, and because **perfectness** is distinct from both tense and aspect, I treat it as a separate (but related) phenomenon. Thus perfectness and perfectivity (an aspect) are largely independent parameters.

The independence of the perfect/non-perfect distinction from that between imperfective and perfective is corroborated by the existence of such verbal categories as the Spanish and Catalan pluperfect and past anterior, as both forms are perfect forms, the pluperfect being an imperfective and the past anterior a perfective. Bruyne (1995:448-9), describes the Spanish pluperfect as 'indicating an action or state of affairs which takes place before another action or state of affairs in the past' and the past anterior as denoting an 'action [which] takes place immediately before another.'

2	Sp	Record-ó		l-a	tarde	que	l-e	
		recall-pret.ind.3s		the-f	evening.f	COMP	3-obl	
		hab-í-a	llev-ad-o	a-l	«Olivar»	de	don	Daniel.
		have-impf3s	take-ppcpl-m	to-the.m	O.	of	Don	D.

'He recalled the evening he had taken him to Don Daniel's "olive grove".'

3	Sp	Confund-i		su-s	nombre-s		y	su-s
		confuse-pret.ind.1s		3poss-p	name-p		and	3poss-p
		fisonomi-a-s	apenas	hub-e	bes-ad-o			
		face-f-p	hardly	have.pret.ind-1s	kiss-ppcpl-m			
		convencion-al-mente		su-s	mano-s			

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convention-ADJ-ADV 3poss-p hand-p

'I confused their names and faces as soon as I had conventionally kissed their hands.'

Here the auxiliary *haber* 'to have' appears in the imperfect (*había*-past imperfective) and in the preterit (*hube*-past perfective) in the pluperfect and past anterior constructions, respectively. In effect, the perfect meaning is conveyed by the use of the verb *haber* and the past participle while the aspect is the same as that expressed by the auxiliary itself.

1.4 Mood

Orthogonal to tense, aspect, and perfectness is **mood**, '[a] grammatical category which expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition, as perceived by the speaker' (Trask 1993:174). We will identify three moods. The **indicative** (sometimes called declarative) is '[t]he mood category associated with the uttering of a statement which the speaker believes to be true' (Trask 1993:72). **Subjunctive** refers to a mood category often used to express uncertainty; verbs marked for the subjunctive tend to occur in subordinate clauses. Trask (1993:54) identifies the **conditional** as

> [a] conventional name for certain verb forms occurring in some languages, notably Romance languages, which typically express some notion of remoteness, supposition, approximation or implied condition. Semantically, the conditional is really a mood, but formally it behaves more like part of the tense system.

1.5 Voice

Another independent parameter is that of **voice**, which deals with the way in which thematic roles are linked with grammatical functions. We will be concerned with the active and passive voices. The following definitions depend on a view of grammatical relations similar to that developed in Fillmore (1968) and Fillmore (1988). **Active** refers to forms of (usually transitive) verbs used in constructions in which the most prototypical pattern is that of having the agent serve as the grammatical subject while the patient appears as the direct object of the verb. **Passive** refers to forms used in constructions in which the patient is the

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grammatical subject and the agent is optionally omitted; if expressed, the agent typically appears as an oblique noun phrase.

1.6 Person and number

Finally, we will find it useful to refer to person and number. **Person** is a 'deictic grammatical category which primarily distinguishes among entities in terms of their role, if any, in a conversational exchange' (Trask 1993:206). **First person** refers to the speaker, **second** to the addressee and not the speaker, and **third** to neither the speaker nor the addressee. **Number** is a grammatical category of both verbal and nominal elements; with reference to verbs, it is tied most closely to whether the grammatical subject designates one or more individuals. We will be concerned with only a simple opposition between **singular**, indicating a single entity, and **plural**, indicating two or more entities.

1.7 Formal issues

Morphologically, verb forms may be **synthetic**, i.e., consisting of a single word, or **periphrastic**, i.e., consisting of an **auxiliary** verb and an **auxiliate**, or main verb. For now, let us define **auxiliary** simplistically as an inflected form used in combination with a non-finite form to express tense, aspect, mood, perfectness, voice, person, and number.

In this work I will use the term **tamcat** (Tense-Aspect-Mood CATegory) to refer to a set of forms marking a given combination of tense, aspect, mood, perfectness, and voice features; for example, the Latin imperfect active indicative expressed past tense, imperfective aspect, non-perfectness, active voice, and indicative mood. It will often be necessary to refer to tamcats by their traditional names, which will be explained upon their first appearance if necessary. I will, however, now identify a number of terms which will be used to indicate certain combinations of verbal features.

Imperfect indicates the combination of past time and imperfective aspect, while **preterit** forms express past time and perfective aspect; both are non-perfect. **Compound past** indicates any tamcat indicating past tense which is expressed periphrastically, without specific regard to characteristics of aspect or perfectness.

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Lastly, if the mood and voice of a verbal category are not explicitly mentioned, they should be assumed to be indicative and active, respectively. Unless otherwise stated, forms discussed are non-perfect.

2 Classical Latin verb morphology

Let us now turn to the verbal categories of Classical Latin. For ease of exposition, I will start with forms that distinguish person and conclude with those that do not.

2.1 Forms distinguishing person

As I suggested earlier, it may be useful to view the Latin verbal system along several parametric lines. Starting with the indicative and the subjunctive, we may divide the Latin verbal system first into past and non-past forms; non-past may then be split into present and future. Another orthogonal parameter is the active-passive distinction. The forms also show a contrast of perfect versus non-perfect. The system further includes a contrast between indicative and subjunctive moods. Finally, there is a singular-plural opposition in number and a three-way contrast among first, second, and third persons.

Leaving aside for the moment person and number, this set of five different binary characteristics allows in principle for thirty-two (2^5) distinct categories; but the Classical Latin system (as typically described, and shown in Table 3.1) consists of only twenty categories. Eight of the 'missing' hypothetical categories could be said to be absent because the present/future distinction is specific to the non-past, as we might expect. This leaves us in need of an explanation for the absence of four tamcats: future subjunctive active, future subjunctive passive, future perfect subjunctive active, and future perfect subjunctive passive. Clearly, all four of these 'missing' categories would combine future with subjunctive. The Latin future forms in the third and fourth conjugations were historically subjunctive forms. Furthermore, there is a semantic relationship between the future and the subjunctive. Though the two are by no means mutually exclusive (as evidenced by the fact that Portuguese and, to a lesser degree, Spanish have forms combining them), future and

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subjunctive are often not combined in the same forms. Thus it is no surprise that Latin lacked future subjunctive verbal forms. Table 3.1 shows the attested tamcats of the Classical Latin verb.

	active				passive			
	indicative		subjunctive		indicative		subjunctive	
prs	amō	amāmus	amem	amēmus	amor	amāmur	amer	amēmur
	amās	amātis	amēs	amētis	amāris	amāminī	amēris	amēminī
	amat	amant	amet	ament	amātur	amāntur	amētur	amentur
impf	amābam	amābāmus	amārem	amārēmus	amābar	amābamur	amārer	amārēmur
	amābās	amābātis	amāres	amārētis	amābāris	amābaminī	amārēris	amārēminī
	amābat	amābant	amāret	amārent	amābātur	amābantur	amārētur	amārentur
fut	amābō	amābimus			amābor	amābimur		
	amābis	amābitis			amāberis	amābiminī		
	amābit	amābunt			amābitur	amābuntur		
prf	amāvī	amāvimus	amāveri	amāverim	amātus	amātī	amātus sim	amātī sīmus
	amāvistī	amāvistis	amāveris	amāveritis	amātus es	amātī estis	amātus sīs	amātī sītis
	amāvit	amāvērunt	amāverit	amāverint	amātus est	amātī sunt	amātus sit	amātī sint
plprf	amāver	amāverām	amāvera	amāverām	amātus	amātī	amātus	amātī
	amāverās	amāverātis	amāverās	amāverātis	amātus	amātī erātis	amātus	amātī essētis
	amāverat	amāverant	amāverat	amāverant	amātus erat	amātī erant	amātus	amātī essent
futt	amāverō	amāverimu			amātus erō	amātī		
	amāveris	amāveritis			amātus eris	amātī eritis		
	amāverit	amāverint			amātus erit	amātī erunt		

Table 3.1-The indicative and subjunctive forms of 'love' in Classical Latin

The twenty verbal categories illustrated above can be analyzed as distinguishing inflectionally the following categories: tense (present~past~future), mood (indicative~subjunctive), perfectness (non-perfect~perfect), voice (active~passive), person (first~second~third), and number (singular~plural).

An issue which clearly calls for comment is that of the role of aspect in the Latin verbal system. Above I suggested that the aspectual distinction in the Latin verbal system consisted of a contrast between non-perfect and perfect, but this constitutes something of an oversimplification, as there is a contrast between perfective and non-perfective aspect, even though it is not expressed in as morphologically overt a way as the contrast between perfect and non-perfect. Consider the verbal categories traditionally called the perfect and the imperfect. The Latin perfect had two main readings. One was present tense and perfect, much like the English present perfect in *Kim has left the office*. This usage requires some

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comment in terms of tense and perfectivity. Previous research on the perfect has often acknowledged that it has a certain duality of tense because the form indicates a past action which has led to a present resultant state; Comrie (1985:35), for example, concludes 'that an adequate solution will probably have to combine past and present time reference.' Similarly, the perfect has a double nature in that the action expressed is perfective, but the resultant state is imperfective. This important aspectual duality, which other writers have not traditionally emphasized, will be treated in detail in Chapter 3.

The other interpretation of the Latin perfect was as a non-perfect past tense with perfective aspect, as with the English simple past in *Kim bought a car on Friday*. This dual character stems from the fact that the category known as the perfect in Latin was actually a conflation of two previously separate categories in earlier Indo-European, traditionally referred to as the perfect (which was present tense and perfect) and the aorist (which was past tense perfective, but non-perfect). The lack of a verbal category devoted, as it were, to marking a combination of past, perfective, and non-perfect eliminated the possibility of a clear morphological contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect, even though of course in context such a distinction could be made.

2.1.1 Imperatives

Latin had an active imperative which distinguished singular and plural but was restricted to the second person. These forms have continued in Romance, but have in many varieties been joined by forms from other parts of the system (especially the subjunctive) as a result of the development of polite forms of address.

		Latin		Spanish	
		positive	negative	positive	negative
informal	singular	'ama	'no:li: a'ma:re	'ama	no 'ames
	plural	a'ma:te	no:'li:te a'ma:re	a'mad	no 'ame
polite	singular			'ame	no 'ame

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	plural			'amen	no 'amen

Table 3.2—Imperatives of 'love' in Latin and Spanish

As can be seen in Table 3.2, the Latin negative imperative consisted of the imperative form of the verb *nolle* 'to be unwilling, refuse' followed by a present infinitive. This pattern was lost, and the negative imperative now varies widely across Romance; the strategies include using the normal negative marker plus the imperative form (e.g. French; Italian, Romanian in the plural informal), a subjunctive form (e.g., Ibero-Romance and Catalan/Occitan), or the infinitive (e.g., Italian, Romanian in the singular informal).

The development of polite forms of address consisting of a pronoun distinct from both the singular and plural forms of the informal second person has conditioned the incorporation of subjunctive forms into the imperative set. On this point, the Romance languages can be divided into three groups: those using the second person plural form (French and Romanian), those using forms which function morphosyntactically as third person (Italian and the Ibero-Romance and Rhaeto-Romance varieties), and those doing both (Catalan-Occitan and Romanian). In the first group, the structure of the imperative system closely resembles that of the Latin system; in these languages the informal/formal distinction in the verbal system is neutralized in the plural, though Romanian does mark this contrast in the pronominal system. In Italian, RR, and IbR, the consequence of the introduction of *Lei* (It), *você/usted* (IbR)/*vostè* (Ct), and other polite second person forms has been a complicated set of patterns of syncretisms between the imperative and subjunctive paradigms.

2.2 Forms not distinguishing person

2.2.1 Verbal nouns

Latin verbs had two types of verbal noun, the infinitive and the gerund. Among infinitives, perfect and non-perfect were distinguished, as were active and passive; within

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the non-perfect active, there was an opposition of present and future, for a total of five infinitive types.

	non-perfect		perfect
	present	future	present
active	amāre	amātūrus (-a, -um) esse	amāvisse
passive	amārī		amātus (-a, -um) esse

Table 3.3—Infinitives of 'love' in Latin

Formally, only the present infinitive survived into Romance, and the functions of the present passive, perfect active, and perfect passive infinitives are filled by periphrastic constructions typically consisting of the infinitive of the appropriate auxiliary plus the past participle.

2.2.2 Participles

Latin participles partially distinguish present and future, active and passive, and perfect and non-perfect, but of the eight possibilities that these three two-way distinctions allow, only four are attested, as shown below.

	non-perfect		perfect
	present	future	present
active	amans, -tis	amātūrus, -a, -um	
passive		amandus, -a, -um	amātus, -a, -um

Table 3.4—Participles of 'love' in Latin

3 Romance verb morphology

Naturally, the various Romance languages differ from each other extensively in their verbal morphology, and so I will start with the general differences which separate Romance as a whole from Latin and then move on to specific coverage of the Iberian Romance languages. It almost goes without saying that the topic of Romance verb morphology is an

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immense subject about which volumes have been written.[11] In this section I will focus on systematic generalities.

3.1 Latin and Romance compared

The substantial variation in verbal systems across the Romance languages makes it impossible to compare Latin and Romance as if they were like entities; therefore I will first identify Latin patterns which have not survived in any Romance variety, and second Romance features not found in Latin, even if they are not found in all branches.

3.1.1 Latin losses

There are four verbal structures found in Latin which were lost in whole or in part in the Romance languages. These are the synthetic future, the synthetic perfect categories, the synthetic passive, and the rich participial system. The reasons for the loss of the future fall outside of the scope of this work, while changes to the perfect system will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. For now, we should note that the forms of the Latin future did not survive into Romance; the same is true of the Latin passive. In the case of the perfect system, however, a notable number of the Latin forms were retained in Romance, but their functions changed substantially.

3.1.2 Romance innovations

Four construction types stand out as the key Romance innovations in the verbal system. These are the originally periphrastic but now synthetic future and conditional, the periphrastic perfect, the periphrastic passive, and the periphrastic progressive. Additionally,

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[11] Among these is Anderson (1979), a general treatment of historical Romance morphology. The articles in Vincent and Harris (1988) provide bibliographic information about the specific languages. Anderson (1988) deals with historical morphology from a more general point of view, while Fisiak (1980) is a collection of articles on a number of issues in historical morphology.

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the development of a periphrastic preterit in Catalan constitutes a significant change relative to the Latin system.

Of these new constructions, the future and conditional are notable because they have in the course of time developed into primarily synthetic constructions, while the others are all periphrastic patterns in the modern languages, including the commonly found GO future.

4 Etymological sources of Romance auxiliaries

We have already cited various factors which group the lexical verbs BE, HAVE, COME, and GO together (Ch. 1, §5). A further characteristic common to these verbs is their tendency to be highly irregular, which seems to be tied to their very high frequency (for more on this issue, see Juge 2000); in fact, there appears to be a relatively straightforward correlation between the degree of irregularity and frequency on the one hand and semantic markedness or specificity on the other (cf. Bybee 1985). For example, COME is generally the least irregular in the languages under consideration (note that the same is true in the Germanic languages as well) and also usually less frequent than the others (for example, in English the lemma *come* ranks sixtieth in frequency in the Brown Corpus, well after *be* and *have*, which are in the top thirty, and *go* [forty-seventh]; Finegan 1990). I attribute this tendency to the greater semantic markedness of COME; its comparatively high degree of deictic specificity (especially in English and the Romance languages) means that there are fewer contexts in which it is called for or suitable. I argue that this difference in the semantics of COME is a key factor in that it seems to enter into grammatical constructions less than the others, which further skews the differences in relative frequency.

The rather complex histories of these verbs are relevant to our discussions because their irregularity is not limited to the results of morphological peculiarities brought on by regular sound change, idiosyncratic phonological development, and analogical and contaminative changes; suppletion also plays a major role. Because the phenomenon of suppletion is closely tied to issues of semantics as well as to morphophonological considerations, an understanding of the sources of various parts of a given paradigm may

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affect our analysis of the lexical meaning of the item in question. That is, cases of grammaticalization of suppletive verbs require tracking the semantics of all of the sources of the forms; they must all have semantics appropriate to the development of grammatical constructions. Thus, while a complete treatment of the historical morphology of these verbs lies far beyond the scope of this work, a brief summary is in order to establish the background for later discussion and to ensure adequate familiarity on the reader's part with the forms in question. For a fuller discussion of some of these issues, see Juge (2000). Note that, except where specifically relevant, I will not address the pre-Latin history of the verbs in question.

4.1 HAVE

With verbs meaning 'have'—Pt *ter, haver*; Sp *tener, haber*; Ct *tenir, haver*; Fr *avoir*; It *avere, tenere*; Rm *a avea*—the Latin etyma are *habēre* 'have' and *tenēre* 'hold'. Overall, these verbs are quite straightforward morphologically and thus merit no further discussion in this chapter. In these cases no suppletion is involved; the difference in the semantics of these verbs will be treated in Chapter 3.

4.2 BE

Let us start with the copula, which cross-linguistically tends to be the most irregular; for the Ibero-Romance languages, Catalan[12], and, to a certain degree, Italian, we must recognize two copulas, while for the others, we find only one. The issue of the difference

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[12] In Occitan, the verb *estar* is 'archaic' (Sauzet 1995:79); note also that in Occitan the infinitval form of the copula appears both as *èsser*—like the Catalan form (though in Catalan the shorter form *ser* is more common than the longer form *ésser*)—and as *èstre*—a form coming from **essere* with syncope and consonantal epenthesis (**essere* > **esre* > *estre*), a path which in French concluded with the loss of /s/ in the coda of the first syllable (**estre* > *être*).

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between these two copulas is one that has been discussed quite extensively, especially for Spanish *ser* and *estar* (scholarly treatments specifically on this issue include Monge (1961), while grammars usually offer a section on the issue (cf. Bruyne 1995:570-582, among others), and one can also find usage guides devoted to the topic, such as Serrano 1992).

4.2.1 The identificational copula

For the identificational copula, serving such functions as linking subjects with inherent characteristics attributed to them, as in 'He is tall' or 'She is a child', we have the following principal forms (note that some of the forms represent reformulations of the Latin etyma and that some of the periphrastic constructions are not direct continuations of patterns found in the classical language):

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'to be'	Sp	Ct	French	Grd	Sd	It	Rm	Latin	addt'l etyma
pr inf	ser	(és)ser	etre	veʃter	essere	essere	a fi	esse	sedēre/*essere/fierī
1s pr in	soy	sóc	suis	soŋ	so(e)	sono	sînt	sum	
2s pr in	eres	ets	es	iəs	ses	sei	eşti	es	
3s pr in	es	és	est	iə	es(t)	è	e(ste)	est	
1p pr in	somos	som	sommes	soŋ	semus	siamo	sîntem	sumus	
2p pr in	sois	sou	êtes	səjs	sedzis	siete	sînteţi	estis	
3s pr sbj	sea	sigui	soit	sib-/si:-	sun	sia	(să) fie	sit	fiat
1s imp in	era	era	étais	fo-	fipo	ero	eram	eram	stābam
1s fut in	seré	seré	serai	—	—	sarò	voi fi/o să fiu	erō	*essere habeō[13]/volo fierī/*se fīam
1s prt in	fui	fui (vaig ser)	fus	—	—	fui	—	fuī	*vadeo/*essere
pr pcpl	siendo	essent	étant	—	essende	essendo	fiind	—	standum/*essentem/*esse
p pcpl	sido	estat/sigut	été	ʃtat	istatu	stato	fost	—	*status/*situ

Table 3.4-Selected forms of the identificational copula in Romance and Latin

The principal Latin etyma for these forms are the forms of *esse* 'to be', along with the restructured form **essere* and its derivatives (for more on this paradigm, see Buck 1949:635-636 and Palmer 1954 [1988]). Already suppletive in Latin (cf. *esse, sum,* and *fuī*), the *esse* paradigm has become more so in Romance, in part because, as can be seen above, the paradigm was defective, lacking a gerund or a present participle (the sources of the present participle in the modern Romance languages) and a past participle; additionally, the development of the synthetic future and conditional categories in Italo-Western Romance has entrenched shortened forms of **essere* in the paradigm (cf. the stems Fr *ser-*, It *sar-*).

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[13] The synthetic Romance future comes from a periphrastic construction consisting of the present infinitive plus forms of the verb *habēre* 'to have'.

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The principal root contributing additional forms to this paradigm is *stāre* 'to stand'. Before we discuss the semantics of this form of suppletion, let us look briefly at the forms in question. The most common point of intrusion, so to speak, is in the past participle; **status, -a, -um* was adopted in Catalan (where there is in colloquial usage a form *sigut*, presumably of analogical origin, though the source of the analogy is not entirely clear), French, Rhaeto-Romance, Sardinian, and Italian. In Catalan, Rhaeto-Romance, and Italian, the participle deriving from *status* is shared with the other copula, whose source is Lt *stāre*, while in the others this verb has not survived as a separate lexical item. Of these languages losing *stāre*, French alone has incorporated additional forms from this paradigm into that of the copula, namely for the imperfect and present participle.

'to be'	Sp	Ct	Fr	Grd	It	Rm	Latin	additional etyma
pr inf	estar	estar	être	veʃter	stare	a fi	stāre	*essere/fierī
1s pr in	estoy	estic	suis	soŋ	sto	sînt	stō	sum
3s pr in	está	està	est	iə	sta	e(ste)	stat	est
1s imp in	estaba	estava	étais	fo-	stavo	eram	stābam	eram
1s fut in	estaré	estaré	serai	—	starò	voi fi/ o să fiu	stābō	stāre habeō/*essere
1s pret in	estuve	estiguí (vaig estar)	fus	—	stetti	—	stetī	fu'ī
pr pcpl	estando	estant	étant	—	stando	fiind	stāndum	*essendum/sedendum
p pcpl	estado	estat	été	ʃtat	stato	fost	status	*situ

Table 3.5—Selected forms of the locative copula in Romance and Latin

Another verb semantically related to *stāre* 'to stand' has also contributed forms to the identificational copula. In Ibero-Romance, the infinitive, imperative, and present subjunctive of *ser* 'to be' come from *sedēre* 'to sit' (cf. Lathrop 1980:133,135; note that Ct *ser* is a shortening of *ésser*, while *sedere* > *seure*). It is no coincidence that SIT provided forms for the inherent/identificational copula while STAND did so for the locative copula; part of the distinction between these verbs in Ibero-Romance and in Catalan is that *ser* tends

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to predicate qualities and states which are inherent to the subject, while *estar* is used with temporary states and states resulting from change; the fact that *estar* is used with DEAD is indicative not of temporariness of this state but of the fact that death involves a change of state (cf. Eng *I stand corrected*). The use of posture verbs in locative copular functions is paralleled in Germanic, where SIT, STAND, and LIE are all used in these ways (see van Oosten 1986 for discussion of the Dutch facts, which are broadly similar to those of the Scandinavian languages).

Consider the following examples from Swedish (Holmes 1997:94-5):

4a Sw Din-a glas-og-on sitte-r pa nas-an.
your-pl glass-eye-pl sit-prs on nose-def.art.c
'Your glasses are on your nose.'

4b Sw Bord-et sta-r i horn-et.
table-def.art.n stand-pr in corner-def.art.n
'The table is in the corner.'

4c Sw Sverige ligge-r i Skandinavi-en.
Sweden lie-prs in Scandinavia-def.art.c
'Sweden is in Scandinavia.'

In short, sitting is typically correlated with staying in a place longer than the amount of time canonically associated with standing, with lying going with the greatest duration; thus the Ibero-Romance pattern of suppletion is well motivated by the semantics of the source verbs. I should note, though, that an additional factor is the perceived similarity between the configuration of the item in question and human configurations. Thus a bottle of milk may be said to stand or lie depending not on how long it stays in a given spot but rather in accordance whether its long axis is perpendicular or parallel to the surface it's on.

Finally, the Romanian copula shows the influence of a regularized variant **fire* of *fierī*, a defective verb meaning 'to become' and coming from the same Indo-European root as the Lt future participle and perfect of *esse* 'to be' (as well as Eng *be*). There is no difficulty with this semantic connection.

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The other innovative forms are the result of various, mostly analogical, creations with no significant semantic implications.

4.2.2 The resultative/locative copula

As mentioned in the preceding section, the modern reflex of the Latin verb *stāre* 'to stand' serves, in varying degrees, as a copula in Ibero-Romance (*estar*), Catalan and Occitan (*estar*), and Italian (*stare*). This copula is used primarily to predicate non-permanent attributes of its grammatical subject. A related but secondary function is to mark location, but this is found only in Ibero-Romance (and even there the other copula is used in certain cases, such as with events in Spanish; for example, in *El concierto será en el estadio* 'The concert will be in the stadium,' *será* is a form of *ser*.

4.3 GO

Perhaps surprisingly, the situation with GO is even more complicated. Here we find the forms IbR/RR *ir*, Ct *anar*, Fr *aller*, It *andare*, and Rm *a merge* coming from the Latin etyma *īre* 'to go', **allare/*andare/*ambitare* 'to walk', *vadere/*vadēre* 'to go', *esse* 'to be', and *mergere* 'to sink'. The Surselvan (RR) verb *ir* 'to go' adds the wrinkle of including forms which appear to be from Lt *meāre* 'to go, to pass', while the Surmeiran, Puter, and Valleder varieties of Rhaeto-Romance incorporate the reflexes of Lt *veniō* 'come-1s pr in' into the GO paradigm. The semantics of these verbs are all very similar, and only the introduction of a form from COME merits mention here. This syncretism is motivated by the fact that when a person says of herself that she is coming she clearly cannot be moving closer to herself, but rather closer to a projected deictic center; thus there is substantial overlap between the scenarios in which 'I go/am going' and 'I come/am coming' are felicitous statements. This is reflected in the fact that the standard response to indicate that a speaker is complying with another's request for her presence uses in some languages the verb COME.

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In Spanish and Portuguese we find the initially puzzling syncretism between the paradigms of GO and BE in the preterit, the imperfect subjunctive, the synthetic pluperfect indicative, and the future subjunctive (French shows the same pattern optionally in the reflexive-partitive form of 'to go' *s'en aller—je m'en fus* 'I went away'; according to Lathrop (1984:191) it also occurs in Italian, though I have been unable to find a further citation in support of this claim). Morphologically, these forms are all related in that they are formed on the preterit stem (corresponding to the perfect stem in Latin). It is not at all surprising that this overlap is found precisely in the parts of the paradigm deriving from the Latin perfect, which functioned not only as a simple past (preterit) but also as a present perfect more or less equivalent to the English type *They have been* (recall that the dual nature of the Lt perfect is due in part to the fact that this category in Latin combined IE perfects and aorists). The connection in the perfect between GO and BE is simple to grasp if we consider the fact that having gone to a place entails having been there. While the converse is not necessarily true (one may have spent one's entire life in the same place without having gone there), it typically holds. For discussion of why the influence should be from BE to GO rather than vice versa, see Juge (2000).

A crucial fact in this suppletion is that the synthetic preterit, derived from the Latin perfect, must have still displayed distributional characteristics of a present perfect (as it does in modern Portuguese) when the substitution took place, because the closeness of the connection between 'I have gone (to a place)' and 'I have been (to a place)' is far greater than that between 'I went (to a place)' and 'I was (to a place)'; in fact, this is evident in the fact that in English the use of *to be* plus a prepositional phrase with *to* is quite common in the perfect tenses (as in *They've been to France many times*) but almost unheard of in the simple past (*?They were to France last year*). According to Lathrop (1984:191) the presence of this pattern in Italian and French indicates that it must have been a panRomance phenomenon (though it is not found in Romanian). For more on this development, see the discussion in Juge (2000).

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4.4 COME

Finally, the Latin etymon *venīre* is the source of Pt *vir*, Sp/Ct/Ft *venir*, It *venire*, and Rm *a veni*. As with HAVE, there is no suppletion in the Romance verbs meaning 'come'.

Of course, the treatment of the semantics of these verbs will continue throughout the rest of this work, and the discussion here is intended as only an introduction to the verbs being examined.

4.5 Existential copulas

In Latin, existence was expressed principally by the copula *esse*, (the verbs *existere* and *ex(s)tāre* indicated in the classical language more specific meanings, namely 'to come into existence' and 'to remain in existence' [cf. Eng *extant*], respectively). In the Iberian Romance languages, however, impersonal constructions using forms historically from the verb HAVE fill this function. This is further evidence of the semantico-syntactic connection between BE and HAVE discussed above (§X.X). Compare the Latin pattern (found also in Romanian) with those of the Iberian Romance languages.

5	Lt	Hic quinque homin-es sunt.
		here five man-nom.pl be.3pl.pres.ind
		'There are five men here.'
6a	Ptg	Há cinco pesso-a-s aqui
		have.prs.ind.3s five person-fem-pl here
		'There are five people here'
6b	Ptg	Tem cinco pesso-a-s aqui
		have.prs.ind.3s five person-fem-pl here
		'There are five people here.'
7	Sp	Hay cinco person-a-s aqui
		cop.pres.ind five person-fem-pl here
		'There are five people here.'
8	Ct	Hi ha cinc person-e-s aqui.
		there have.pres.ind.3s five person-fem-pl here
		'There are five people here.'

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4.5.1 BE, HAVE, and THERE

The principal distinction between the Latin pattern and that of the modern languages is that BE is used in Latin while the Iberian Romance existential copulas are ultimately forms of HAVE. Among the Iberian languages, Portuguese is notable for having two patterns of use of *haver* and *ter*. We will return to this issue shortly.

Morphosyntactically, we see that the Catalan construction stands apart from the Spanish and Portuguese ones in that the clitic particle *hi /i/* 'there' (<Latin *ibi* 'there') is used. This element follows the same positional patterns found with object clitics and the partitive clitic *(e)n/n(e)*, namely that it appears immediately before the verb or, when part of the verb is a present participle or an infinitive, optionally after the non-finite form (as below).

9 Ct Va hav-er-hi un accident.
aux.3s.ind have-inf there one accident
Hi va hav-er un accident.
there aux.3s.ind have-inf one accident
'There was an accident.'

The structure of this construction brings to mind the French existential copula, as in *Il y a trois livres sur la table* 'There are three books on the table'. The use of the masculine pronoun *Il* 'he' and the fixed position of *y /i/* 'there' (cognate with Ct *hi*) in French reflect more general differences between the morphosyntactic patterns of French and Catalan and are not peculiar to this construction.

The THERE formative appears in Spanish only in the present indicative as an offglide which distinguishes the existential form *hay /aj/* from the third person singular present indicative form of the auxiliary *ha /a/*. In forms expressing other tense-aspect-perfectness-mood combinations, the Spanish construction is formally identical to the auxiliary verb *haber*, as can be seen below.

indicative subjunctive

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	'have'	copula	'have'	copula
present	ha	hay	haya	haya
imperfect	habia	habia	hubiera	hubiera
			hubiese	hubiese
preterit	hubo	hubo	—	—
future	habrá	habrá	hubiere	hubiere

Table 3.6—The existential copula and third person singular forms of HAVE

In Portuguese, there are two variants of the existential copula. One uses forms of *haver*, while forms from *ter*, the lexical verb of possession are also used (especially in Brazil) (Parkinson 1988:150). In this respect Portuguese differs from the other two languages under consideration. The use of *ter* for *haver* appears to be related to the high degree of use of *ter* in compound verb constructions; we will return to this issue in Chapter 3.

4.5.2 Number marking

We saw above that the Latin construction with *esse* 'to be' showed number agreement between the verb and the nominal expressing the things whose existence is predicated. This contrasts with the standard use of the modern Iberian forms, which are morphologically singular regardless of the number of the nominal, as we saw in the examples above. However, in both Spanish and Catalan, the existential copula appears in sentences with a plural nominal and a plural verb form, though this usage is frowned upon as incorrect in Spanish (Bruyne 1995:406). In Catalan, non-agreement is the pattern usually presented (Yates 1993a, 1993b), but it is sometimes described as optional (Hualde 1992:81) or characteristic of the eastern (standard) variety (Wheeler 1988:194-5). Thus it seems fair to say that while non-agreement is the most common pattern in Catalan, agreement does not evoke the disapproval found in Spanish.

11 Sp Hub-ieron fiest-a-s.

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ave.pret.ind-3p party-f-p

'There were festivities.'

4.5.3 Pronominal 'objects'

Related to the issue of number marking of the existential copula is the use of clitic pronouns with this construction. As we will find to be common, in this area Spanish and Portuguese group more closely to each other than either does to Catalan. Specifically, in Spanish and Portuguese the existential copula can take object clitic pronouns (Parkinson 1988:157), as we can see in the following examples.

12 Sp Los hay de cualquier tema imaginable.

m.3p.acc cop.ind.pres of whatever topic imaginable

'There are ones on any topic imaginable.'

from http://www.datamarkets.com.ar/golomb/glosario.html

13 Sp No import-a ... si l-a-s nube-s son
NEG matter-3s.pres.ind if 3-f-p cloud.f-p be.3p.pres.ind

amenaz-ad-or-a-s o no l-a-s hay.

threaten-ppcpl-agt-f-p or NEG 3-f-p cop.ind.pres

'It does not matter...if the clouds are threatening or there are none.'

from http://www.guiar.com/80/esteweb.htm

5 Summary

As observed in the beginning of this chapter, changes in the function of forms or in the morphological expression of grammatical functions affect an overall system of morphosyntactic encoding in a language. We have seen that the Latin synthetic passive was lost altogether and its function filled by periphrastic constructions partially like those which made up a small part of the Latin passive system. Along with one of the Romance future patterns came the conditional, a form-function pairing not corresponding closely to anything found in the Latin system.

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Chapter 3 Resultatives and Related Constructions

The Iberian Romance languages all have periphrastic constructions used to express situations occurring prior to utterance time. Because I follow the now-standard view that some of these have developed from constructions expressing result, this chapter focuses on resultative constructions and the past-tense marking patterns which develop from them, namely active and passive perfects and preterits (present passives can also develop from resultatives, but these fall outside the scope of this study; for discussion of such constructions see Juge 1996).

Before addressing how resultatives develop these other functions (§3), I provide an overview of past forms and resultatives in modern Iberian Romance (§1), which I follow with an examination of past forms and resultatives in Latin (§2).

1 The modern Iberian Romance languages

In this section I start with resultative constructions (§1.1), then examine the various tamcats expressing past tense (§1.2).

1.1 Resultative constructions

Resultatives in Iberian Romance fall into two main types: those with BE (1) and those with HAVE (2). **Resultative** constructions are those which indicate that some entity is in a given state as the result of some prior event.

1	Sp	El	vas-o	est-á	rot-o
		the.m	glass-m	be-3.pr.ind	break-ppcpl.m
		'The glass is broken'			

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2 Sp Teng-o l-a comid-a prepar-ad-a
have-1.pr.in the-f food-f prepare-ppcpl-f
'I have the food ready'

Two of the primary defining characteristics of resultatives are that they involve telic predicates, that is, those with a clear end point, and that they focus more on the current state than on the events leading up to that state. Now I look at resultatives with BE (§1.1.1), then at those with HAVE (§1.1.2).

1.1.1 Resultative constructions with BE

As I stated in Chapter 2, Ibero-Romance and Catalan have two copulas. The forms of the equational or identificational copula Pt, Sp *ser*, Ct *(és)ser* come primarily from Lt *esse* 'to be' while the locative copula *estar* is from *stāre* 'to stand'. In the modern languages, the earlier semantics of these copulas is reflected in the fact that resultatives expressed with the copula are expressed with the locative copula, coming from STAND. The key factor here is that standing is a more transient activity than being (in the sense of *to be human*, for example); the resultative also often expresses change from one temporary state to another, which itself need not be temporary. That the change of state is quite salient is illustrated by the fact that in Ibero-Romance (though not in Catalan) *estar* is the verb used with DEAD (3), which canonically denotes a permanent state.

3 Pt Est-á mort-a
be-pr.in.3s dead-f
'She is dead'

The difference in these two copulas also allows for minimal pairs of sentences which differ in terms of whether the characteristic indicated is construed as a **quality** (4) or a **state** (5). Nedjalkov & Jaxontov distinguish between these as follows: 'State differs from

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quality in that it is not a permanent feature of an object (thing or person) or its invariable distinctive characteristic: it has both a beginning and an end or at least a beginning' (1988:4). Thus, in the first of these examples, the speaker asserts that the addressee is by nature pretty, while in the second the claim is that she currently has a pretty appearance.

4	Sp	Er-e-s	guap-a
		be-pr.in-2s	pretty-f
		'You are pretty'	
5	Sp	Est-á-s	guap-a
		be-pr.ind-2s	pretty-f
		'You look pretty'	

Within the category of **states**, Nedjalkov & Jaxontov further distinguish between **natural** and **secondary** states: 'A natural state may come into being by itself, irrespective of the will or effort of an agent. A secondary state is always the result of somebody's conscious action or activity' (1988:4). In fact, a secondary state can also result from natural events and need not involve any element of consciousness (for example, a tree branch may be broken as the result of high winds); the important distinction here concerns the fact that secondary states are the result of some event.

The difference between natural and secondary states correlates with the fact that in Iberian Romance, many participles do not show the same semantic pattern as *guapa* 'pretty' (4-5) when collocated with the two copulas. These fall into two types: those expressing natural states and those expressing secondary states. For the former, the combination of the participle with *(és)ser* can have only a passive interpretation, while the latter do not collocate with *(és)ser* at all.

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1.1.2 Resultative constructions with HAVE

As I indicated in Chapter 2 (§4.3), the Iberian Romance languages have two verbs which may in some cases be translated as 'have'. One, coming from Lt *tenēre* (Pt *ter*, Sp *tener*, Ct *tenir*), is the main verb of possession and is used in numerous idiomatic expressions which serve such functions as indicating age and state of mind; in Portuguese, this verb is also the auxiliary of the perfect tamcats. The other, derived from Lt *habēre* (Pt *haver*, Sp *haber*, Ct *haver*), is restricted to use as an auxiliary of the perfect tamcats and in a relatively small number of idiomatic expressions indicating things such as existence and obligation. Of these two verbs, only the one from *tenēre* participates in a resultative construction in the modern languages, though the other did as well at an earlier time.

The basic pattern for the *te*-resultative is the same in all three languages: the grammatical subject of *ter/tener/tenir* expresses someone in control or possession of the (usually inanimate) object, which is at **reference time** (i.e., the time referred to by the utterance) in the state indicated by an adjective or a participle, which typically agrees in number and gender with the nominal object (6-8); if there is no agreement, the participle appears in the masculine singular, which for a constellation of reasons can be considered the unmarked form.

6	Pt	Tenho	preparada	a	resposta.
		have-1s.pr.ind	prepare-f	the.f	answer-f
		'I have the answer prepared.'			
7	Sp	Tengo	preparada	la	respuesta.
		have-1s.pr.ind	prepare-f	the.f	answer-f
		'I have the answer prepared.'			

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8 Ct Tinc preparada la contesta.

have-1s.pr.ind prepare-f the.f answer-f

'I have the answer prepared.'

In all three languages there are two key syntactic variants on the construction. The difference lies in the placement of the participle, which may precede or follow (6-8) the object noun phrase; naturally this distinction is neutralized in relative clauses and questions with object fronting.

The status of the *te*-resultative is perhaps most complicated in Portuguese, where *haver* as the auxiliary of the perfect tamcats has all but vanished; instead, *ter* is used for both the perfect tamcats and the HAVE resultative. As a result, distinguishing among resultative and perfect uses of *ter* + participle is somewhat more complicated in Portuguese than in Spanish or Catalan, in both of which the perfect is formed with the *ha-* auxiliary.

1.2 Tamcats expressing past tense

Explaining the distribution of periphrastic pasts in modern Iberian Romance depends in large part on understanding how these forms differ from the other pasts in these languages. The principal tamcats at issue are the imperfect (past imperfective non-perfect) and the preterit (past perfective non-perfect).

1.2.1 Romance

Among the Romance languages Spanish is a good starting place because of the interaction of the resultative with both BE and HAVE. It is widely known that Spanish has two verbs meaning 'be', as do both Portuguese and Catalan; they may be roughly characterized as the existential copula *ser* (Pt *ser*, Ct (*és*)*ser*) and the locative copula *estar* (Pt/Ct *estar*). The basic uses of *ser* include equation, as in (9), ascription (10), predication of inherent qualities (11), and participation in the passive construction (see §2). The primary functions of *estar* include location (12), predication of transient qualities (13), and

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participation in the resultative (24) and progressive constructions (16). The same basic division obtains in Portuguese and Catalan, with the noteworthy exception that in Catalan *estar* is used for location only in a quite restricted sense.

9 Ell-a es mi madre.

3s-f be.3s.pr.ind my mother
'She is my mother.'

10 Él es médic-o.

he be.3s.pr.ind doctor-m

'He is a doctor.'

11 L-a mes-a es pequeñ-a.

the-f table-f be.3s.pr.ind small-f

'The table is small.'

12 El gat-o est-á en l-a mes-a.

the.ms cat-m be-3s.pr.ind on the-f table-f

'The cat is on the table.'

13 L-a toall-a est-á sec-a.

the-f towel-f be-3s.pr.ind dry-f

'The towel is dry.'

14 L-a sill-a est-á ro-t-a.

the-f chair-f be-3s.pr.ind break-ppcpl-f

'The chair is broken.'

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15 L-o-s cómplice-s fu-eron también conden-ad-o-s a muerte

the-m-p accomplice-pl be.pret-3p also condemn-ppcpl-m-p to death

'The accomplices were also condemned to death.'

(Bruyne 1995:435 from Marsá, 1968:222)

16 ...Sara Montiel est-á ten-iendo un gran éxit-o en Barcelona

...SM be-3s.pr.ind have-ger a great success-m in B.

'Sara Montiel is having great success in Barcelona'

(Bruyne 1995:541 from F. Umbral, *Noche de famosos*, in *Heraldo de Aragón*, 12 May 1974:28)

The fact that it is *estar* rather than *ser* which participates in the BE-resultative provides some insight into why some seemingly permanent states are expressed with *estar*, the form also used to predicate transient qualities. Certain permanent states are described with *estar* not because of or despite their permanence but because they are the result of some event; i.e., a change of state has occurred and the resulting state happens to be permanent (25).

17 Su abuelo está muerto. 'Her grandfather is dead.'

It must be pointed out that some resultatives are also consistent with the transient-quality reading of *estar*; for example, sentence (14) may describe either a situation in which the chair is reparable or one in which it is beyond repair.

The preponderance of participial forms participating in the resultative construction is from transitive verbs; further, the subject of *estar* corresponds to the patient of the verb expressed participially. To my knowledge, the only intransitive verbs which may enter into

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the 'be'-resultative in Spanish are unaccusatives. True intransitives such as *venir* 'come' and *ir* 'go' are disallowed; one apparent counterexample is shown below.

18 Él está ido. 'He is crazy.' (lit. 'He is gone.')

This use of *ido* 'gone' is clearly metaphorical and as such does not really constitute the use of a past participle in a resultative. That is, *ido* is not the participial form of a verb meaning 'to become crazy'; rather, it is an adjective related (via metaphor) to the past participle of *ir* 'to go' (cf. Eng. *gone* and *out there*, both indicating reduced mental faculties). Therefore this example does not actually constitute a counteraxample to my claim. Note that the fact that some of the speakers I consulted hesitated when they heard this sentence suggests that it may be marginal.

Spanish also has a second resultative construction with a verb meaning 'have'. As in the rest of Iberian Romance, the basic verb of possession in Spanish is a reflex of Latin *tenēre* 'have, hold'; this is in contrast with the most of the other Romance languages, where reflexes of *habēre* are basic. Like its English counterpart, Spanish *tener* participates in a resultative construction. Harre (1991) provides an in-depth study of this construction; she treats the history of the construction and compares it with similar ones in other Romance languages (among these are Portuguese, Catalan, and Italian). This phenomenon of repeating essentially the same process of grammaticalization is usually called *renewal* (cf. Hopper 1993).

In short, the Spanish 'have'-resultative consists of *tener* plus a past participle in concord with the object of *tener* and is fairly similar on the whole to the English 'have'-resultative. There are, however, several important differences between the two constructions. First, as indicated above, Spanish has the capacity for agreement between the noun and the participle, while English of course does not. Additionally, in English the perfect auxiliary is formally identical to the 'have' verb in the resultative construction; in Spanish, on the other

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hand, the two are different: the perfect auxiliary is *haber*, which is not used as a full lexical verb in the language. As a result, a given utterance cannot be ambiguous as to whether it belongs to one or the other of the two constructions, as is possible in English (more on this point later). Let us look at the following examples of the construction.

19a	Teng-o	preparada	la	comida.
	have-1s	prepared-f	art-f	food
	'I have the food prepared.'			
19b	Tengo	la	comida	preparada.
	have-1s	art-f.s	food	prepared-f.s
	'I have the food prepared.'			
20	He	preparado	la	comida.
	aux-1s	prepared-m.s	art-f.s	food
	'I have prepared the food.'			

According to my consultants, (19a) and (19b) are equally acceptable with little difference in meaning; the corresponding sentences without concord, i.e. *preparado* for *preparada*, are ungrammatical. For comparison, I have included example (20), the corresponding perfect sentence. In this case, unlike (27a-b), there is no concord between the participle and the object. The same is true of the Portuguese perfect (with both *haver* and *ter*); the 'have'-perfects in Catalan (*haver*), French (*avoir*), and Italian (*avere*) show agreement only when the object is expressed via a proclitic pronoun (see below for a treatment of participle agreement in the perfect in Rhaeto-Romance). These perfect constructions are discussed in greater detail below.

Returning to the 'have'-resultative, Harre's study (1991) shows a substantial degree of variability among speakers as to the kinds of uses of this construction which are acceptable. Harre identifies durativity—the degree to which the object remains in the state

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indicated by the participle—rather than resultant state *per se* as the primary parameter (1991:93) along which more or less acceptable uses vary. That is, uses which clearly show durative qualities tend to be widely accepted while those displaying less durative character are more marginal. This analysis seems to be mostly in line with the situation found in English. At this point it seems that Spanish has broadened the scope of the construction more than English has. For instance, while some of Harre's informants accepted instances of this construction with verbs like *decir* 'say', such a use in English is ungrammatical (21-2).

21 Me tien-en dich-a-s much-a-s cos-a-s (Harre 1991:66)
me-dat.s have-3p said-f-p much-f-p thing-f-p
'They have said many things to me.'

22 *They have many things said to me.

The Romance family shows considerable diversity in the characteristics of the 'have'-resultative construction. Of the languages considered here, only Portuguese (*ter*), Catalan (*tenir*), and Italian (*tenere*) are identified by Harre (1991) as having constructions corresponding to the Spanish *tener* + participle use. Of these, Catalan is most like Spanish in usage; next is Portuguese, while Italian tends to retain the notion of genuine possession to a greater degree than do the others. One important fact about Portuguese is that, since *ter* (>Lat. *tenēre*) has all but ousted *haver* as the usual perfect auxiliary, the situation fairly closely resembles that of English in that the resultative and the perfect both use the same auxiliary. Both also share the trait of having a usual means by which the two constructions may be distinguished; in many cases English word order and Portuguese concord (as in Spanish) serve to differentiate between resultative and perfect.

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The two languages further have in common the fact that ambiguity between the two constructions may arise. Consider for instance a sentence with the 'have'-resultative construction in a relative clause as in (23).

23 My name's not on the list they have posted on the door .

Out of context this sentence is ambiguous as to whether *have posted* is part of the perfect construction or the resultative construction. Likewise in Portuguese, where *ter* belongs to both constructions, some uses may be ambiguous. Note that Portuguese not only requires the appropriate word order but also an object which will trigger the default masculine singular form of the participle. Recall that, as shown in (19a-b), Spanish allows the participle to precede or follow the object with little restriction; the situation is almost identical in Portuguese. Thus in Portuguese it is the state of the number and gender marking which is most relevant for ambiguity. Compare sentences (24) and (25), where the first is not ambiguous while the second is.

24 Mostrou-lhe rey Poro todos seus thesouros
show-pret.3s-3s.d king-s Poro all-m.p 3poss-m.p treasure-p
que tiinha escondidos.
REL have-impf.3s hidden-m.p

'King Poro showed him all his treasures which he kept hidden.' (Harre 1991:142)

25 O problema que temos resolvido é facil.
the-m.s problem-s REL have-pres.1p solved-m.s be-pres.3s easy-m.s
'The problem which we have solved is easy.'

It must be noted that the Portuguese *ter* + invariant participle construction does not correspond exactly to either the English or the Spanish perfect. In contrast with Spanish, the

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synthetic preterit in Portuguese still has present perfect meaning whereas the 'have' compound form has a more durative or iterative sense (Harre 1991:147). Harre summarizes the difference between the Spanish and Portuguese situations by saying that while both agreeing-participle constructions indicate resultant state, only the Spanish version also marks durativity and iterativity continuing to the present moment, as this function is filled in Portuguese via the invariant participle construction.

Returning to the examples of ambiguity above, sentences of this type are of particular interest as Harre's work finds that they are among the few which allow lack of concord in the Spanish *tener* construction (1991:66-68)[14]. She notes that when non-agreement is found other parameters indicate 'a more grammaticalised interpretation' (Harre 1991:68). Some of the characteristics she considers to indicate greater grammaticalization include greater emphasis on the past event rather than on the current state. As I discuss below, this shift of emphasis is part of the process whereby resultatives give rise to perfects.

1.3 Historical development

Before discussing the development of resultatives into perfects, I will explore the history of resultatives. The basic path of development appears to be as follows: an expression with HAVE or BE plus an argument modified by a past (i.e., perfective) participle (with morphosyntactic agreement) is used in a situation in which an event has been completed, e.g., 'I have the letters written.' At this stage one would expect HAVE to occur almost exclusively with participles of transitive verbs indicating telic activities and BE with participles of intransitive verbs. An example with BE would be *I am come*. These expectations arise in part from the fact that HAVE as a lexical verb is prototypically a stative

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[14] Harre notes that the cases of non-agreement are quite few and the conclusions drawn from them can be nothing other than tentative.

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predicate which describes a situation of possession of the object by the subject. Thus the grammatical object of HAVE is likely to be something of which one may be in possession, whether literally (*I have a book*) or metaphorically (*I have an idea*).

In the beginning, then, these clauses would consist of simple verbs and would be subtypes of clauses containing the verbs HAVE and BE; in the case of the HAVE examples, the second argument (syntactic object, semantic theme) would be complex. An important fact about this stage is that, since these uses of HAVE and BE do not yet represent established constructions in the language, certain restrictions and semantic nuances attested in later stages are not present. One salient restriction not imposed in the first stage is that the subject of HAVE also be the agent of the verb expressed participially. Thus in Present Day English (PDE) the sentence

26 I'll have the book copied by tomorrow

is ambiguous as to whether it will be the speaker who does the copying.[15] Note that in collocations with BE the subject of BE will be identical to the patient (with transitives) or agent/experiencer (with intransitives) since the copula is essentially a one-argument verb which equates the syntactic subject with the complement of the verb.

The findings of Harre (1991) are of interest here because in Spanish BE is not used with intransitive verbs to indicate resultant state (or any related meaning) but *tener* 'have' is acceptable to some speakers with certain uses of a few intransitive verbs. It must be noted, however, that the acceptability of intransitives in the *tener* + past participle construction is

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[15] My first reaction is to assume that someone else will do the actual copying, although I would react oppositely to an utterance such as "I'll have that letter written by tomorrow." It is likely that these judgments will vary from speaker to speaker depending largely on individual expectations of who is likely to do what.

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quite limited and may not be directly parallel to the other developments of HAVE auxiliaries. Further, the historical development of the Spanish construction does not parallel the modern variation in this regard even though it tends to do so in other respects.

Pragmatically these expressions indicate present relevance of a prior completed activity or event; that is, a current state is described but the event leading to that state is also indicated. Although it may seem obvious, it is worth noting that these meanings are mirrored by the morphology in the form of the present marking of the simple verb and perfect marking of the participle. At this point I should make it clear that uses at this stage need not have the simple verb in the present tense, as shown by (26) above. Thus I should further explain that when I use the expression *present relevance* the term *present* is best interpreted as meaning approximately 'contemporaneous with the time indicated by the utterance.' Let us call this stage the resultative stage.

1.4 Constructionalization

At this point it will be useful to digress temporarily into a discussion of constructions and what I call **constructionalization**. Following Goldberg (1995), I consider a construction to be any form-meaning correspondence which is not predictable from anything else. Thus, as Goldberg notes, morphemes constitute constructions; for the most part, however, I focus on entities such as the *tener* + past participle use in Spanish. Part of the construction of any verb is its valence or argument structure. While the notion of constructionalization may apply to morphemes of any type, I will explain it in terms of verbs since they are our primary concern here.

Constructionalization is the process whereby a collocation is reinterpreted as an instance of a construction not previously present in language. This is very similar to what has in the past been called reanalysis (cf. Anttila 1977). In my view reanalysis is the first part of the constructionalization process; Holland expresses a similar opinion with specific reference to the interaction of syntactic change and reanalysis (1995:12): 'Syntactic changes

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are the consequence, not the cause of reanalysis.' Let us reconsider sentence (23), reproduced here as example (27).

27 The list which they have posted does not include my name.

In a language in which a 'have'-perfect does not yet exist, a sentence of this type provides a good environment for the creation of a perfect construction with HAVE. This would involve the reanalysis of *have posted* as a complex verb form of the type auxiliary + main verb versus a simplex form followed by a participle associated with the object of that verb. This is of course a subtle distinction, for even in the resultative construction the verb *have* displays some characteristics of an auxiliary, though fewer than in a perfect construction. This is yet another illustration of the fact that the grammaticalization process is a gradual one in which items change status by degrees.

Reanalysis is of course done primarily by the hearer since the speaker presumably knows (at least subconsciously) which constructions are involved in her utterances. The hearer, on the other hand, is free to associate the string with any set of constructions which is consistent with the entire discourse situation. However, evidence of reanalysis does not occur until an utterance is made which does not fit the unreanalyzed structure; that is, until a previously disallowed collocation appears, the hearer's reanalysis remains covert. When the structure resulting from reanalysis is used to create a string, constructionalization occurs. An example can be found in some of the data which Harre (1991:66) provides; some of her informants accepted both (28) and (29), while others accepted only (29).

28	No	me	creo	las	cosas	que	me	tienen	dichas.
	neg	1s.d	believe-pres.1s	the-f.p	thing-p	rel	1s.d	have-pres.3p	said-f.p

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29 No me creo las cosas que me tienen dicho.
neg 1s.d believe-pres.1s the-f.p thing-p rel 1s.d have-pres.3p said-m.s
'I do not believe the things which they have said to me.'

The acceptability of the lack of agreement between the object noun *cosas* and the participle *dicho* in (29) suggests that a partial reanalysis may be under way. Thus the first step in the development under consideration is the cooccurrence of participially modified nominals as complements of the verbs BE and HAVE followed by a reanalysis of the structure. Rather than being interpreted as a simple verb with a complex argument, this type of collocation was viewed as a structure with either HAVE or BE plus a nominal plus a participle. It is important to recall that constructionalization includes association of special semantics with the construction. The presence of semantic information which is not predictable from other constructions is a large part of what makes the structure a construction.

Furthermore, there is evidence that the constructionalization process is an important prerequisite to phonological reduction. While a construction may exist without reduction, reduction may not exist without a construction. This point can be (somewhat simplistically) summarized as follows. For two elements to fuse, they must belong to the same syntactic constituent so that they may also belong to the same phonological unit. Consider for instance the following sentences.

30 I'm gonna go to New Orleans.

31 I'm going to go to New Orleans.

32 I'm going to New Orleans.

33 *I'm gonna New Orleans.

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Example (33) is grammatical only if *New Orleans* is a verb because for *going* and *to* to appear fused, they must be sisters within the same constituent. However, in (32) *to New Orleans* constitutes a subconstituent of the verb phrase. Thus the infinitive marker *to* fuses with the preceding verb in structures such as *wanna* and *be gonna*; similarly, *has* and *have* display assimilatory devoicing in the *have to* + verb obligational construction (more on this construction later): *hasta* and *hafta*.

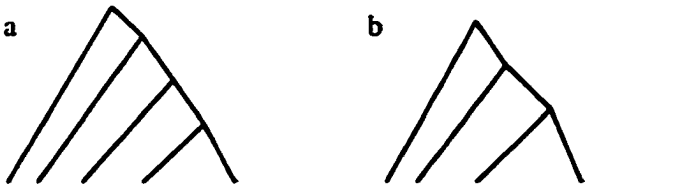

Figure 1—Constituent structures of sentences with be going to

Returning now to the development of resultative constructions, it must be noted that, as with other examples of grammaticalization, the presence of HAVE- and BE-resultatives does not necessarily entail further development of grammatical meaning; additionally, even if grammaticalization continues, uses typical of the early stages may persist in the language indefinitely (this retention of multiple degrees of grammaticalization of the same source item along a single path is often called **divergence** (Hopper 1991) or **split** (Heine and Reh 1984)). To take an extreme example, one may consider the full lexical use of a form which also displays grammaticalization to be its least grammaticalized use. Thus this is a clear case of layering in that English *have ('ve) got* may be used both as a verb of possession and in the resultative construction as in (34) and (35) respectively.

34 I've got two cute cats.

35 I've got the pie cut.

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1.5 Summary

We may summarize the synchronic Romance resultative situation by saying that both 'be'- and 'have'-resultative constructions exist in the languages, although the 'have' construction seems to be less widespread (apparently occurring only in Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, and Italian). The opportunity for ambiguity between, on the one hand, 'be'-resultatives, passives, and perfects, and on the other hand, 'have'-resultatives and perfects (including durative/iterative constructions as in Portuguese), varies considerably from language to language. Since the Ibero-Romance languages have two copulas and one (*ser*) is used for passives and the other (*estar*) for resultatives and do not have perfects formed with 'to be', the opportunity for ambiguity among these constructions does not arise. Likewise, since the resultative 'have' and the perfect 'have' are different in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian, ambiguity between these two constructions is not possible. In contrast, French allows for ambiguity among resultatives, perfects, and passives with BE, as does Italian.[16] Like Ibero-Romance, Romanian does not use BE for perfects (only *a avea* 'have' is used) and thus does not allow for ambiguity between 'be'-resultatives and perfects; 'be'-resultatives and passives may however be ambiguous.

Since the languages with 'have'-resultatives usually have agreement between object and participle, it is primarily the range of verbs and interpretation allowed with the construction which varies most both among and within languages. The most restricted uses, as in Italian, typically with some sense of possession or maintenance of the object in the state indicated by the participle, occur only with transitive verbs, and place primary emphasis on the present state which is the result of some prior event. Next on the cline is a situation like that found in Spanish, where iterative and durative interpretations are also accepted; here the range of permissible verbs is also wider and includes some verbs with clausal or implied

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[16] Italian has less room for ambiguity than French as *stare*, though not equivalent to Ibero-Romance *estar*, is used in some similar ways.

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objects rather than nominal ones and even some intransitive verbs, mostly motion verbs. At this stage the construction shows less emphasis on the current state than on the past action and displays increasing similarities to traditional perfect constructions.

At this point it will be useful to consider the argument structure of these constructions and the verbs used therein. Regardless of the difference between what I earlier called true intransitives versus unaccusatives, it is clear that, both in English and Romance, when an intransitive participle participates in the 'be'-resultative, the grammatical subject of the expression corresponds to the sole argument of the verb. This is of course not surprising since these verbs have only one argument, either a patient or an agent (or perhaps, experiencer). On the other hand, the structure of the 'have'-resultatives is such that, if the grammatical subject is to be associated with an argument of the participial verb (which is not a necessary association), it must be the agent since the grammatical object already corresponds to the patient. The important point is that, broadly speaking, resultatives tend to equate subjects of intransitives with patients of transitives apart from agents. The result of this, as I discuss in greater detail below, is that, when resultative constructions give rise to perfect constructions, there tends to be a formal distinction between transitives and intransitives, namely that transitives go with auxiliaries originally meaning 'have' and intransitives with those originally meaning 'be', as in Germanic.

The 'be'-resultative in English is probably most similar to that of Romanian since both allow for ambiguity between resultatives and passives (as do French and Italian), unlike Ibero-Romance. Further, in contrast with both French and Italian, Romanian and English do not use BE as an auxiliary in compound pasts (though English used to).

The English 'have'-resultative appears to be closest to the Portuguese plus agreeing participle construction. The primary characteristics of the English resultative with *have* are as follows: first, transitive verbs which describe events that effect a change of state in the patient are the preferred participants in the construction; the construction is typically ambiguous as to whether the subject of *have* and the agent of the participle are the same. In

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non-relative clauses the participle almost always follows the object. Additionally, the semantic emphasis, like that of the corresponding Portuguese construction, is on the resultant state more than on the event leading up to it. Finally, both share the situation of using as the resultative auxiliary the same form as the lexical verb HAVE (Eng *have*, Pt *ter*) and the perfect marker. At this point it is worth remembering that in Portuguese the synthetic past form includes among its functions a perfect use approximately equivalent to the English perfect; thus, while the formal similarities among the various HAVE constructions are quite similar in the two languages, the semantics are less so.

2 Active and passive perfects

The verbal systems of the Iberian Romance languages include periphrastic forms showing either perfect meaning or some related sense; for convenience I will refer to these as compound pasts. These forms consist of an auxiliary plus a past participle. In the Iberian languages, the auxiliaries used derive from lexical verbs meaning 'have'; in the older varieties of the languages the copula also served as an auxiliary, as is still the case in some other modern Romance languages, as well as various non-Romance languages. A basic overview of the situation regarding the use of BE and HAVE as past auxiliaries appears in Table 4.1.

	Portuguese	Spanish	Catalan	Occitan	French	Italian	Romanian
HAVE	ter	haber	haver	aver	avoir	avere	a avea
BE					être	essere	

Table 4.1—Auxiliaries used in the perfect in selected Romance languages

As Table 4.1 indicates, BE is used along with HAVE in some of the languages; the basic distinction is one of transitivity, although agentivity also appears to play a role. The situation here shows a number of similarities to that presented above in my discussion of resultative constructions.

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The development of the HAVE compound pasts has received a substantial amount of attention over the years, especially in Romance. The majority view (Benveniste 1968, Vincent 1982, Harre 1991) is that the perfect meaning of these collocations developed out of resultatives via intermediate stages. According to Vincent (1982) the resultative stage is followed by use of the form with durative and iterative meaning, with perfect meaning, and finally with perfective meaning.

Vincent (1982) treats the development of the Romance compound past forms from constructions with the Latin verbs *esse* 'to be' and *habēre* 'to have'. He is critical of some previous work in this area for not treating together the development of the passive and the 'be'- and 'have'-perfects because of strong formal and semantic connections among the three constructions. He notes that *esse* perfects in particular are neglected; '[t]his omission...forbids a properly integrated account of the three constructions' (72). Even when *esse* and *habēre* are considered together, Vincent says, the syntactico-semantic distinctions between the constructions are oversimplified as being between intransitive and transitive verbs respectively, although some do hint that this is an inadequate characterization. What is needed, Vincent concludes, is a way to classify verbs so as 'to account for the relations between *habere* and *esse*.' (73). His final serious criticism of previous attempts 'concerns the theoretical underpinnings of the mechanism of change by which verbs like *habere* and *esse*...get drawn into periphrastic uses' (73). This treatment will attempt to integrate all of the above considerations within the basic framework of grammaticalization that I have begun to lay out.

With regard to the differences between BE and HAVE, I have already referred to the valence or argument structure of the lexical verbs as important considerations. This is essentially the same type of approach which Vincent takes as well. As mentioned earlier, following Vincent, I am treating lexical HAVE as a two-argument verb whose valence calls for a locative (subject) and a theme (object); lexical BE is a one-argument verb with a theme (subject) about which a predication (complement) is made. Finally, the argument associated

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with the past participle forms under consideration here is the theme. This type of analysis, Vincent feels, is much more explanatory of the distribution of BE and HAVE as auxiliaries than characterizations based simply on transitivity. To this point Vincent and I are in agreement. I should add that Vincent's analysis relies on the retention by grammaticalized forms of characteristics present in the lexical forms. More recent work has identified this phenomenon as a basic feature of grammaticalization (e.g., Hopper 1991, among others), usually called **persistence**.

Now let us explore the nature of the past participle (e.g. Lat. *amātus* 'loved', English *written*). As indicated earlier in our discussion of resultatives, the participle typically modifies only one of the valence elements of the verb; this single argument is almost always the theme. Thus the generalizations which have been attempted in the past fall out from this analysis. Furthermore, such an approach helps to account for the variability in the apparent voice of these participles. For example, transitive verbs will usually be considered to have in their valence an agent and a theme; thus the referent modified by the participle will correspond to the syntactic object of a sentence in which the verb is used as a main verb; consider the following sentences.

36 I composed the lyrics.

37 I have the lyrics composed.

Although my conceptualization of grammar is not transformational, it does recognize relationships between constructions. Thus in both (36) and (37) the theme of *composed* is *the lyrics*. On this analysis it follows that linguistic systems in which perfects have developed from 'be'- and 'have'-resultatives would show the following distribution: BE will be the perfect auxiliary with single-argument verbs whose valence calls for a theme (unaccusatives) and HAVE will be the auxiliary for all others, including single-argument verbs whose valence calls for a more agentive participant such as an experiencer or agent

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(unergatives). In fact, this is almost exactly the situation in modern standard Italian (cf. Vincent 1988). The importance of the distinction between more and less agentive one-argument verbs surfaces in the treatment of motion verbs in Italian; for example, *correre* 'to run' takes either *essere* 'to be' or *avere* 'to have' as the perfect auxiliary depending on the sense of the verb. Vincent (1988:301) explains that *ha corso* means 'he has run (=done some running)' while *è corso* means 'he has run (=gone by running),' as expected. Finally, Vincent notes that when the distinction between agent and theme does not pertain, then either auxiliary may be used, as with *piovere* 'to rain' and *vivere* 'to live' (301).

Strangely, Vincent's 1988 discussion of this matter treats the second argument of transitives as the patient rather than the neutral (here, theme) as in his 1982 treatment. As a result he notes that one would expect reflexives to take HAVE as the auxiliary in the perfect because they are transitives whose agents and patients are the same (1988:302); he notes that this occurs sometimes in Old Italian and in some southern dialects. However, if one considers reflexives to have one fewer valence element than their corresponding non-reflexives, it is possible to consider the subject either the agent or the theme. Thus, the fact that modern standard Italian takes BE as the perfect auxiliary for reflexives suggests that the emphasis is on the role of theme rather than that of agent. In his 1982 treatment of auxiliary choice Vincent rightly notes that some formally reflexive constructs are essentially passives, especially when the participant is inanimate; in these cases the grammatical subject is usually the patient. He contrasts these medio-passives with 'real' reflexives and reciprocals. Vincent argues that since such uses involve only one participant, BE should be expected as the auxiliary; this is in fact the case. It is his explanation of the generalization of BE to all reflexives (in French and Italian) which I find troublesome. He claims (1982:96) that 'the statistical preponderance of the medio-passive over the genuine transitive use' is the deciding factor; there is no offer, however, of any support for this claim. I feel that a better explanation is that since, for all formal reflexives, the grammatical subject always corresponds to the theme, those languages which still use BE as a perfect auxiliary have

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generalized it to all reflexives. This could be considered a type of analogical change from the earlier split reflexive system to the modern consistent one. With regard to those languages which do not use BE with reflexives, Vincent correctly points out that they are the same ones which do not use BE as a perfect auxiliary at all (Ibero-Romance, Romanian). He explains that in Ibero-Romance reflexives took BE in the perfect when BE was still used as a perfect auxiliary and that HAVE took over for reflexives only after the loss of BE in this function. For Romanian he reminds us that BE was never used as an auxiliary in the perfect and was thus not available for reflexives.

One further point of interest concerns us here, namely comparison with Germanic languages, which do not use BE with reflexives (Thomas F. Shannon, p.c.). In light of this fact, further research is needed into the issue of auxiliary selection with reflexives. Perhaps the most fruitful place to start would be with the Rhaeto-Romance languages, which display several different patterns in reflexives and perfect auxiliary selection (Haiman & Benincà 1992).

Our next concern, then, is the development of passives from resultative constructions. Since a defining characteristic of a passive use is that the patient or theme be the grammatical subject, BE, not HAVE, is expected to be the auxiliary of choice. The basic difference between 'be'-resultatives which develop into active perfects and those which develop into passives concerns transitivity. That is, BE-resultatives develop into perfects with active meaning when the verb is intransitive and with passive meaning when the verb is transitive (cf. Vincent 1982). Yet both in Romance and in Germanic, passive constructions with BE as the auxiliary are in the present tense when the auxiliary is inflected for present marking. Thus in Italian, for instance, sentence (38) is in the present while (39) is in the perfect.

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38 La porta è chiusa.

art-f.s door-s be-pres.3s closed-f.s

'The door is (being) closed.'

39 Sono venuto.

be-pres.1s come-m.s

'I have come.'/'I came.'

In Latin, on the other hand, passive constructions with BE existed only in the perfect tamcats, as expected, and showed the order participle auxiliary rather than the opposite pattern present in the modern languages. Consider the following sentences.

40 Amatus sum.

loved-m.s be-pres.1s

'I have been loved.'

41 Locutus sum.

spoken-m.s be-pres.1s

'I have spoken.'

Sentence (40) represents a perfect passive and (41) shows the perfect of a so-called deponent verb, one of a set of verbs in Latin usually described as passive in form but active in meaning, i.e. morphologically passive but otherwise active. We are thus faced with the dilemma of explaining the relation between the system of Latin and that of Italian. As indicated earlier, the resultative construction has both present (inflected verb) and perfective (participle) morphology. This is part of the situation which sets the stage for the development of present perfect meaning. If in the passive, however, the participle is somehow reinterpreted as non-perfect, then perhaps the present marking of the inflected verb takes precedence. Unfortunately, while he discusses the appropriateness of BE as the

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passive auxiliary. Vincent (1982) makes no mention of the discrepancy between the tense/aspect and morpheme order of the Latin type and the Italian type. It is possible that the Italian type is not necessarily a continuation of the Latin type but rather an innovative structure. For additional discussion see below.

With the distribution of BE and HAVE auxiliaries in compound past forms accounted for, I consider next the other factors involved in the development from resultative to perfect. Recall that these forms show both present and past (or perfect) morphology. Thus since past meaning is already encoded even in the resultative stage, one possible development is a reinterpretation of the relative salience of this past meaning. Additionally, the lack of overt expression of the agent of transitive participles may be perceived as indicative of identity between the subject of HAVE and the agent of the participle. As stated above, BE collocations would equate the subject of the main verb with the appropriate argument of the participle. The constructionalization of the identity of the subject of HAVE and the agent would then bring the HAVE construction in line with the BE construction.

So the expected development is from resultative to some kind of meaning which still indicates present relevance but shows greater emphasis on the priority of the action. This is what both Harris (1982) and Harre (1991) find; the next discernible meaning which is included in constructions with resultative meaning is that of durativity or iterativity. Harris's study focuses on the development of simple versus compound pasts in Romance and deals largely with an apparent progressive transfer of functions from one to the other. Harris claims that the second stage in the development of resultatives involves a durative or iterative ('repetitive') meaning. He notes that the Portuguese HAVE + invariant participle construction is at this stage, although it shows some instances of a more perfect-like use; this is consistent with Harre's claims. Neither of these explains, however, why this should be the next development nor what the mechanism is that results in this shift at all. The most informative discussion appears in a footnote by Harre (1991:198n7), in which she points out the similarity between the resultative and durative/iterative uses of the Spanish *tener*

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'have' + past participle construction and the Eng. *keep* + past participle/*keep (on)* + gerund constructions. Harre does little more than point out the similarities and suggest that further inquiry is warranted.

One possible factor is the extension of the range of verbs allowed in the construction. Recall that the prototypical verb in these constructions was telic and indicated a change of state in the theme (object). Perhaps as the construction starts to admit verbs which involve little or no change in the theme, the construction becomes compatible with repetition.

This is especially understandable in light of the fact that one meaning of the derivatives of *tenēre* is 'to keep'. If party A asserts that party B keeps their hair cut short, the nature of hair growth allows the hearer to conclude that party B either cuts or has someone cut their hair repeatedly.

It seems to me that, as soon as the emphasis shifts from the current resultant state (where indications of frequency are inadmissible) to the action or event itself (where indications of frequency are allowed), the construction becomes ambiguous as to the number of times (or extent of time for statives) the action has occurred. Of course, duration is closely related to the 'hold' meaning often said to be present in the lexical verb from which the HAVE auxiliaries come; it is also consistent with 'be'-resultatives in that an object in a state may have been in that state for at least some amount of time prior to the time of the speech event.

If this is correct then those constructions which allow durative/iterative uses but not perfect uses may be said to require that the period in which the activity or state indicated occurs include the present moment. That is, constructions at what Harris considers the second stage do not allow the previous activity to be done and never to be repeated, even though the relevance continues. Perfects (stage three) on the other hand, allow the event or state to be completely finished so long as it is currently relevant. Of course it must be

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emphasized that these developments tend to be quite gradual and that uses typical of earlier stages often continue for some time as additional uses are allowed.

The next stage of development which Harris identifies is one in which the compound form is used both with and without present relevance. According to Harris (1982:58), '[I]t is not at all difficult to imagine that the concept 'perceived as having present relevance to the speaker' came, in certain areas, to encompass all past events reported in colloquial speech.' I am inclined to agree with this claim since pragmatic considerations suggest that which is said is assumed to be relevant (cf. Grice's maxim of relevance). Among the Romance languages, French, northern standard Italian, and standard Romanian are at this stage.

Up to this point I have considered only those structures in which the BE or HAVE auxiliary is in the present tense. Of course, the resultative constructions out of which I claim perfects have developed are compatible with a wide range of tense, aspect, and mood combinations. As such it is not at all surprising to find that in the languages in which the compound forms have developed perfect meaning, the auxiliary may be inflected for tense and mood to provide compound forms with past perfect and future perfect meaning. In fact, in several of the languages (e.g., Spanish) the auxiliary can appear in the imperfect or the preterit to give two perfect pasts distinguished by imperfective versus perfective aspect, respectively. Lastly, Harris (1982:60) notes that in those languages which have lost the simple past altogether (French, northern Italian, Romanian) it is possible to use a double compound structure to encode perfective past perfect; for example in some dialects of French (42) has replaced (43) (cf. German, where a similar process has occurred).

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42 J'ai eu parlé.

I'have-pres.1s had spoken

43 J'eus parlé.

I'have-pret.1s spoken.

'I had spoken.'

The final consideration for this section concerns the interrelationship of these compound forms with coexistent synthetic forms. The primary form of interest in Romance is the simple past or perfect form; examples from Latin include *amāvī* 'I loved/have loved', *vidī* 'I saw/have seen', and *dixī* 'I said/have said'. These forms (which themselves come from various sources, cf. Palmer 1954) are usually said to have functioned as perfectives and as perfects; this situation still holds in Portuguese (Harris 1982) and southern standard Italian. The two situations, however, are quite different in that Portuguese uses a HAVE periphrastic (with durative/iterative meaning) while southern Italian does not use the periphrastic forms at all; standard Italian, in fact, can be fairly neatly split into northern and southern varieties which exclusively use the compound and the simple forms, respectively.

In general the Romance compound and simple past forms share the functions of encoding durative/iterative, present perfect, and preterit meaning. For the most part the two split these uses and do not overlap substantially; when the compound form expands its range the emphasis tends to shift from the present relevance of a state to a previous action. At the same time, the simple form tends to be restricted to increasingly past-oriented uses; the penultimate stage (cf. French, northern Italian, Romanian) is one in which the form encodes distal past meaning. The final stage before use ceases altogether is one in which the form is limited to high registers and literary writing. In addition to the Romance languages cited above, German shows this level of development as well (although it is not clear the extent to which the simple past can be said to have had perfect meaning).

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Formally the auxiliaries are indistinguishable from their lexical counterparts in most of the Romance and Germanic languages. Ibero-Romance is rather interesting in this regard as the reflexes of Latin *habēre* do not retain full lexical status, having effectively been replaced by forms of *tenēre*. In all three languages *habēre* survives in a few constructions: as an existential copula (see below), as a marker of obligation in the *haber/haver/haver* (Sp./Ptg./Cat.) + *de* + infinitive construction 'to have to V', and, of course, as the auxiliary in compound pasts. In Portuguese, only the obligation use of *haver* remains unaffected by the spread of *ter*, which has all but replaced the former as the past auxiliary and has even come to be used as the existential copula (*tem* for *há*) in Brazilian Portuguese (Parkinson 1988:150; see Ch. 2 §5). Catalan is the only language in the sample in which the past auxiliary differs formally from the parallel form in other uses: in the first person singular of the present perfect indicative *he* [e] is used rather than *haig* [atʃ], which is found in the obligation construction.

Perhaps the most significant factor in the development of the periphrastic perfect in Romance is implicature. When someone asserts that they are in possession of of something that has come to be in a given state, the most common inference is that they are the one that caused that thing to enter that state. Thus it is likely that, over time, a resultative construction with HAVE will develop a perfect reading as well.

3 Summary

In this chapter I have argued that compound past forms in the Romance languages have two sources. The primary one is resultative constructions with BE and HAVE plus a past participle. The distribution of the auxiliaries was at first determined by the interaction of the argument structures of the lexical verbs BE and HAVE and of the participial verb in the construction with the basic division between one-argument verbs (intransitives and passives)

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and two-argument verbs (transitives),[17] taking BE and HAVE, respectively. In these languages, HAVE has spread, replacing BE altogether; Portuguese is separate from Spanish and Catalan in that the auxiliary in colloquial use is identical to the lexical verb of possession, *ter*.

In Iberian Romance these compound forms interacted with synthetic forms which in Latin had both aorist and perfect meaning; the compound forms took over many of the functions of these forms. Catalan differs from the Ibero-Romance languages in having effectively eliminated the synthetic forms from colloquial use (in the standard variety; recall that in some dialects, such as Balearic, the synthetic forms are still used). In Germanic some similar interactions took place between the compound pasts and the simple preterit (which combined the old Indo-European perfect and the Germanic innovative dental past). As in some Romance languages, the periphrastic form has spread and is now basically the only past form used in southern German, Yiddish, and Afrikaans. In these cases the present relevance which had been encoded since the resultative stage has been lost.

The auxiliaries can in most of these languages combine with other verbal marking to produce such forms as pluperfect and future perfect, active and passive, subjunctive and indicative. Formally the auxiliaries typically do not show phonological reduction specific to these constructions and thus remain easily linked to their lexical correspondents, which themselves tend to be highly irregular.

As noted earlier, modern Ibero-Romance does not retain reflexes of Lat. *habēre* as a full lexical verb of possession (unlike the rest of Romance); it is replaced by forms of *tenēre* which, in a display of the process of renewal, has itself become grammaticalized in resultative and even perfect constructions, replacing Pt *haver* almost completely as an auxiliary.

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[17] Including verbs with more than two agruments, such as GIVE.

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Chapter 4 The Catalan periphrastic preterit

In this chapter I examine the development of the so-called GO-preterit in Catalan, a periphrastic construction consisting of forms historically from *anar* 'to go' plus an infinitive, as in (1); (2) shows the lexical use of *anar* in its central sense.

1	Ct	Va-ig	an-ar	a-l	mercat
		go.prs-ls.ind	go-inf	to-the.m	market
		'I went to the market.'			
2	Ct	Va-ig	a-l		mercat.
		go.prs-ls.ind	to-the.m		market
		'I am going to the market.'			

This construction is of particular interest because instances of grammaticalization involving GO verbs plus an infinitive in various languages usually involve the development of periphrastic constructions with future meanings,[18] whereas this one marks perfective past. I argue that this seemingly puzzling development is a result of the interaction of a number of commonly found diachronic processes with language-specific constructional patterns which resulted in a cross-linguistically unusual construction. I start with the current distribution of the construction (§1) before turning to its history (§2).

1 Current distribution

The preterit periphrasis consists of forms of what Wheeler (1988:186) calls the *va*-auxiliary followed by the infinitive of the main verb. In standard Catalan, this form has replaced the synthetic forms derived from the Latin Perfect, except in so-called literary

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[18] In a number of languages, including Catalan and Spanish, there is a construction which consists of forms of GO plus a present participle; this type of construction usually has either 'durative + motion' or 'durative + evolutive' meaning (Wheeler 1988:196).

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registers (Harris 1982:60-61) and some dialects such as Valencian and Balearic Catalan (Yates and Ibarz 1993:260). The *va-* auxiliary has indicative and subjunctive forms which show no tense, aspect, or perfectness distinctions; the identification of the tense of the *va-* auxiliary is discussed below (2.6). The auxiliary also occurs in combination with the other primary auxiliaries *(és)ser* 'to be' and *haver* 'to have', resulting in double compound forms (preterit passive [3] and preterit perfect [4], respectively). Indicative and subjunctive examples (from Yates 1993:74, 207, respectively) of the construction also appear below (5, 6).

3	Ct	Va	s-er	constru-ït-a		l'any	1.966.
		aux.ind.3s	be-inf	build-ppcpl-f		the'year	1966
		'It was built in 1966.'					
4	Ct	quan	el	noi	l'hi	va	hav-er	di-t...
		when	the	boy	3.obl'it	aux.ind.3s	have-inf	say-ppcpl
		'when the boy (had) said it to her...'						

5	Ct	Va-ig	veu-re	un	ocell.
		aux.ind-1s	see-inf	a	bird
		'I saw a bird.'			

6	Ct	Ell	no	creu	pas
		3s.m	NEG	believe.pr.ind.3s	NEG-EMPH
		que	el	vagi-n	engany-ar.
		COMP	3s.m.obj	aux.sbj-3p	deceive-inf
		'He does not believe at all that they deceived him.'			

As in some varieties of Spanish (especially European Spanish, cf. Schwenter 1994), in Catalan the preterit is used to indicate perfective events taking place prior to the day of the utterance; the perfect is used for the hodiernal past (i.e., for situations within the last twenty-four hours, regardless of present relevance) and for past events with present relevance. As in

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other Romance varieties, the preterit also contrasts with the imperfect in that the former is perfective while the latter is imperfective (7). The modern forms of the preterit auxiliary appear below in Table 1, along with forms of *anar* 'to go' for comparison; forms shared by the two paradigms are in boldface.

7 Ct El-s estudiant-s xerr-av-en quan la professor-a
the-p student-p chat-impf.-3p when art.f professor-f
v-a entr-ar.
pret.aux.ind-3s enter-inf
'The students were chatting when the professor entered.'

	preterit auxiliary		'to go'	
	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1s	**vaig (vàreig)**	**vagi**	**vaig**	**vagi**
2s	**vas (vares)**	**vagis**	**vas**	**vagis**
3s	**va**	**vagi**	**va**	**vagi**
1p	vam (vàrem/vem)	vàgim	anem	anem
2p	vau (vàreu/veu)	vàgiu	aneu	aneu
3p	**van (varen)**	**vagin**	**van**	**vagin**

Table 4.1-The Catalan preterit auxiliary (including variant forms) and anar *'to go'*

2 Historical development

The Catalan periphrastic preterit presents two principal questions, the most salient of which is, How does a language develop a construction with present-tense forms of GO with preterit meaning? This issue has been tackled from a number of viewpoints which have quite consistently shared the claim that a narrative or historic present usage of forms of *anar* + infinitive played a major role in the development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit. Among

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the authors taking this basic approach are Badia i Margarit (1981), Bruguera (1991), Colon (1961), Pérez (1996, 1998), Pérez and Hualde (1999), and Vallduví (1988), the last of whom includes further description of the history of research on the issue at hand.

The second principal question deals with the origins of the forms unique to this construction *(vàreig, vares, vàrem, vam, vem, vàreu, vats, vau, veu, varen)*. I will start with the issue of the narrative present and lexical semantics, then address the role of Catalan verbal morphology and syntax in this development; I will then treat issues of so-called morphological problems and relative degrees of grammaticalization. First, however, let us review the basic historical facts.

2.1 A brief history of the Catalan periphrastic preterit

In Old Catalan (roughly 1250-1500 CE), derivatives of the Latin Perfect were the dominant means by which the perfective past (preterit) was encoded. At this time there was also a pattern of combining the verb *anar* 'to go' with infinitives; the forms of *anar* found in these collocations were primarily preterit (8). From this period until the present day, use of present forms of *anar* with an infinitive in past contexts became increasingly common. Meanwhile, the forms used with infinitives underwent a number of changes which made them less like the present tense of *anar*, ultimately resulting in the standard language in the paradigm shown in Table 4.1 above (including the variants presented there).

8	Ct	E•l	rey	En	Jacme	ajustà		ses	osts
		and•art	king	p.art	J	prepare-ind.prt.3s		3p-f-p	troop-p
		e	an-à	assetg-ar	aquel	castel	de	Peniscola.	
		and	go-ind.prt.3s	besiege-inf	that	castle	of	P	

'And the king Jaume prepared his troops and went and besieged that castle in Peniscola.'

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2.2 Previous analyses—the narrative present

Previous researchers, such as Badia i Margarit (1981), Bruguera (1991), Colon (1961), Pérez (1996, 1998), Pérez and Hualde (1999), and Vallduví (1988), have consistently viewed the Catalan periphrastic preterit as having originated in a use of a (normally) finite form of *anar* 'to go' and an infinitive of another verb, supposedly to add 'vividness', such as is found in English examples like *Then they went and told everybody.* They account for the use of present tense forms of *anar* by assuming that the construction was used in texts featuring a narrative or historical use of present tense forms. A number of historical grammars, such as Moll (1952:336), accept this proposal without comment.

Scholars subscribing to this view consistently claim that the early uses of *anar* + infinitive occurred in narrative present passages, i.e., those in which forms morphologically marked for present tense are used to express past events. These analyses fail because closer inspection of the early relevant texts shows that the passages in question were not instances of the narrative present at all. Furthermore, such treatments have not adequately accounted for the use in Old Catalan of both preterit and present morphology in the auxiliary and the importance of morphological considerations in the development of the construction. Let us examine the issue here with data from the *Llibre dels Fets (Book of Deeds)* of King Jaume I (written between 1313 and 1327) and the first 106 chapters of the *Crònica (Chronicle)* of Bernat Desclot (written between 1283 and 1295), two of the earliest and most important narrative texts in Catalan.

In the introduction to his edition of the *Llibre dels Fets* (also referred to as the *Crònica* of Jaume I), Bruguera (1991:91-92) summarizes his 1981 explanation (the examples cited herein appear below as exx. 9-12):

> Without texts in the common language of the thirteenth century that can provide for us documentation about the moments in which the periphrasis must have been formed, I am convinced that the *Crònica* of Jaume I is a testament of exceptional value to illustrate the stages which the

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process of grammaticalization of the periphrastic preterit must have undergone:

1) In narrative texts, the verb *anar*, in its proper sense of motion, represents a fundamental and constant role: it is the customary function of this verb in the examples adduced.

2) The historic present, quite usual stylistically in texts of epic character, appears residually in a few examples.

3) The proper sense of motion of the verb *anar* undergoes a progressive weakening, but the idea of propulsion remains, which imparts to it an extraordinary, organizing pace in the accounts. In some examples in the *Crònica*, we can note this weakening of the sense of motion, as with numbers 26, 36, and 48 [9-11], for which it would be more plausible for me to accept its quality as a past, as a periphrastic preterit.

4) The overlapping of the historic present and the past, with the realization of the latter via the former, broadens the distribution of the form of the present to the point of being completely grammaticalized, from the fourteenth century on. This is the stage most weakly documented in the *Crònica*. Perhaps an indication of it might be the textual variant that the latest manuscripts offer for number 14 [12], *van-los ferir* [they.go-them to.attack 'they attacked them'].

5) While the grammaticalization of *va* + infinitive is being cemented as a periphrastic preterit, the use of the preposition *a* to introduce an infinitive subordinate to the verb *anar* in its motion sense is being accentuated to mark the difference from the periphrastic preterit.

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9	Ct	E	anà'ns	abraçar	e	dix-nos...			224.9
		and	go-ind.prt.3s'lp	embrace-inf	and	say.ind.prt.3s-lp			
		'And he embraced us and said to us...'							
10	Ct	e...	anà'l	ferir	del	coltel...			
		and	go-ind.prt.3s'3s.m	attack-inf	of-art.m	knife			
		e...	anam-lo	pendre	als	cabeyls...			323.7-9
		and	go-ind.prt.lp-3s.m	take-inf	to- art.p.m	horse-p			
		'and ... he attacked him with the knife ... and ... we took him to the horses'							
11	Ct	E	anà's	gitar	als	nostres	peus		520.20
		and	go-ind.prt.lp-3s.r	throw-inf	art.p.m	our-p	foot-p		
		'And he threw himself at our feet'							
12	Ct	E	anam-los	ferir	e	esveym-los			85.21
		and	go-ind.prt.lp-3p.m	attack-inf	and	dispel-ind.prt.lp-3p.m			
		'And we attacked them and dispelled them'							

The principal problematic issue here is the historic present. Two points are of key importance. First, the earliest instances of the *anar* + infinitive construction show the auxiliary predominantly in the (simple) preterit with an increase over time in the use of the auxiliary in the present. Second, cases with the auxiliary marked for present tense do not fit with the characterization of the context as one of a historic or narrative present.

Clearly the examples of the construction with the auxiliary itself in the preterit, as in example 13 (cited in Pérez 1998:264), cannot be instances of a historic present. The occurrence of the auxiliary in forms other than the preterit or present will be treated at length in section 2.7.

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13 Ct ...e an-à fer-ir lo cavaler alamayn de tal vertut...
and go-pret.3s.ind strike-inf the knight German of such effort...
'...and he (went and) struck the German knight with such force...'

If the origin of the periphrastic preterit were indeed in a narrative present usage which was then extended to non-narrative present contexts, there is no clear reason why preterit forms of *anar* should occur in these collocations at all. I return to this issue in §2.3.

In fact, there is no reason to posit a historic present origin for this construction. Let us start by examining the main characteristics of the historic present. On the issue of present tenses used with past reference, Fleischman (1990:376) draws a distinction between the **narrative present** and **historical present** as subtypes of **diegetic** present use:

> [I use] the term 'diegetic PR' as a cover term for two distinct varieties of PR[ESENT] tense, both referring to the (past) time-frame of a story-world: the so-called HISTORICAL PRESENT (HP) and what I call the NARRATIVE PRESENT (NP).... The NP is exclusively a phenomenon of orally performed narratives, where it occurs in alternation with the past, while the HP is a cultivated feature of planned written narratives that generally occurs in sustained sequences.

Before evaluating whether the Catalan periphrastic preterit construction developed from either a historic or narrative present, it is necessary to examine more closely Fleischman's claims about these phenomena. Her 'definitions' actually constitute claims about how tense and narrative interact. Though her examples come almost exclusively from English and the Romance languages, Fleischman seems to treat these terms as if they had, if not universal, then at least very widespread applicability. But as she clearly makes no pretense of having a corpus appropriate for typological study (nor cites research that does), it is unclear how universal we are to take these claims to be. In fact, even in her own book,

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she is not strict in applying her own criterion of oral performance in classifying examples of present tense forms in texts.

Accepting Fleischman's terms for the sake of argument, I will evaluate whether the origin of the Catalan periphrastic preterit lies in a diegetic present usage. Since Fleischman claims that the historical present 'generally occurs in sustained sequences' (1990:376), one need only look superficially at the Old Catalan texts which provide the earliest attestations of the GO-preterit to see that they are not written in the historical present, as there are no extended sequences of present tense usage, as we shall see below.

The situation is no better for the narrative present. Following Wolfson (1978, 1979), Fleischman connects the narrative present to oral story performance or performed stories, whose key 'features include direct speech, asides, repetition, expressive sounds and sound effects, and motions and gestures' (1990:9). Fleischman provides some qualification, though (1990:9):

> Not all but at least some of them must be in evidence for a narrative to constitute a performed story and not merely an oral report of past events. The performed story should thus be understood as a prototype concept whose distinctive features are present to different degrees, and some not at all, in individual actualizations. The more fully a story is performed, Wolfson asserts, the more likely it is to exhibit tense switching.

On the basis of these considerations, Fleischman concludes (1990:9),

> From what we know about conditions of text production and reception in the neo-Latin Middle Ages, we can be reasonably certain that the varieties of storytelling involved in medieval epics, romances, ballads, and so forth, qualified as performance (as defined by Wolfson), even when a written text was involved.

Based on this presentation, the relevant Old Catalan texts seem to be only moderately good candidates for performed stories in that, while they do show a substantial

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amount of direct speech, the other features are almost entirely missing, with the possible exception of tense switching. As we shall see shortly, however, the candidate cases for tense switching are almost entirely restricted to instances of *anar* + infinitive, but since these are the object of my study, it is inappropriate to use them in support of a claim that these texts constitute performed stories.

Consider the following passage from the *Crònica* of Ramon Muntaner, a narrative text from circa 1325-1328, followed by my translation. Imperfect verb forms are italicized, simple preterits underlined, and periphrastic preterits bolded.

> E mentre aquesta festa *era* tan gran, genoveses, per llur supèrbia, mogren baralla ab los catalans, sí que la brega fo molt gran. E un malvat hom, qui *havia* nom Russo de Finar, trasc la senyera dels genoveses, e vengren d'En Pera davant to palau de Blanquerna. E los nostres almogàvers e hòmens de mar eixiren a ells, que anc to megaduc ne els rics-hòmens ne els cavallers no els pogueren tenir; e anaren-se'n defora ab un penó reial, e ab ells anaren solament tro a trenta escuders ab cavalls alforrats. E con foren prop los uns dels altres, los trenta escuders **van brocar** e **van** tal **ferir** lla on *era* la senyera dels genoveses, que abateren a terra aquell Rosso de Finar, e los almogàvers **van ferir** en ells. Què us diré? Que aquí morí aquell Rosso de Finar e més de tres mília genoveses. E tot açò *veïa* l'emperador de son palau, e havia'n gran goig, e gran alegre, sí que dix davant tuit: Ara han trobat genoveses qui abatrà llur ergull. E és gran raon, que a colpa dels genoveses se són moguts los catalans.—

> And while this party was so large, [the] Genoans, because of their pride, started battle with the Catalans; the battle was indeed very large. And a perverse man, whose name was Russo of Finar, took the standard of the Genoans, and they came from En Pera in front of the palace of Blanquerna.

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And our soldiers and marines went out towards them, since neither the megaduke nor the rich men nor the knights were ever able to hold them; and they went out with a royal standard, and with them went only about thirty pages with leather-clad horses. And when they were near each other, the thirty pages **charged** and so **attacked** there where the standard of the Genoans was that they threw to the ground this Rosso of Finar, and the soldiers **attacked** them. What shall I tell you? That here this Rosso of Finar died and more than three thousand Genoans. And the emperor *saw* all of this from his palace and *felt* great joy and great happiness; indeed he said to all: 'Now [the] Genoans have found who will knock down their pride. And there is great reason, that the Catalans are moved by the defeat of the Genoans.'

Of the fourteen preterit uses in the passage, eleven (79%) are of the simple preterit and three (21 %) of the periphrastic type. These three tokens actually represent only two types, as the verb *ferir* 'to attack' is used twice. These uses show no trace of any kind of narrative present patterning. In the narrative present one normally finds an extended sequence of verbs in the present tense, with background information provided by verbs in the past (or, in the case of English, the present progressive, which contrasts with the non-progressive narrative present by virtue of being interpreted as imperfective rather than perfective just like imperfect versus preterit in Romance; for example, in *I'm walking down the street and this woman comes up to me*, the speaker's walking is viewed imperfectively, while the approach of the woman is viewed perfectively). Consider the following story, reproduced from Fleischman (1990:318-20), who got it from Schiffrin (1981:47f).

Oh it was so crazy[;] I remember this. Maybe I shouldn't say it now. It was a really weird thing. We *were* at camp and we did this crazy thing. We *were* all going out for lunch[;] it *was* our birthdays and we *were* C.I.T.'S so we *were* allowed to. We borrowed someone's car and we got

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blown out. And w-so, the car stalled but we didn't ca-*couldn't* call because we *were* supposed t' be out t' lunch and why *were* we here? Cause we had moved ... off the road t' party. So we *were* in this car in this—an' we *were* in Allentown. [I]t's real dinky an' it's like real hick town off o' Allentown. [R]ight around therein this factory. We just pulled into this lot[;] it *was* just this lot and all of a sudden the buzzer **sounds** and all the guys hh **come** hh out and we *didn't* know what t' do cause we were stuck. So we asked some guy t' come over an' help us. So he **opens** the car and everyone **gets** out except me and my girlfriend. We *were* in the front[;] we just *didn't* feel like getting out[.] And all of a sudden all these sparks **start** t' fly[.] So the girl **says**, 'Look, do you know what you're doing? Because y' know um ... this is not my car an' if you don't know what you're doing, just don't do anything.' And he **says**, 'Yeh, I have t' do it from inside.' And all of a sudden he **gets** in the car, **sits** down, and **starts** t' turn on the motor. We *thought* he *was* taking off with us[.] We really *thought*—h—he was-he *was* like real—with all tattoos and *smelled*—an' we *thought* that was it! hhh But he got out hhh after awhile. I really *thought* I was gonna die or be taken someplace far away. It *was* so crazy, because we *couldn't* call anybody. It *was* really funny.

In this passage, once the switch to narrative present is made, only one perfective use of the past appears until the switch back from narrative present. The other past forms in that portion of the story are imperfectives used to give background information. This contrasts quite strongly with the Catalan example above, where the use of the simple versus the periphrastic preterit seems to correlate strongly with the predicate type expressed in a given instance and less than by narrative concerns *per se*. This passage is characteristic not only of Muntaner in general but also of Jaume I and Desclot.

There are three key prototypical characteristics of texts using the narrative present:

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- present tense verbs used with past temporal reference (foregrounded information),
- present progressive or past verbs used for background information, and
- extended sequences of present tense verbs.

The use of *anar* + infinitive in old Catalan does not fit with the normal use of the narrative present.

For more detail, let us consider the *Llibre dels fets (LDF)* and Desclot's *Crònica (C)*. These are narrative texts, and thus we might expect to find substantial use of the narrative present if it were as important a factor as other researchers have suggested. The data, however, tell a different story. Consider the forms *va* and *van*, the third person present indicative forms of *anar* 'to go', singular and plural, respectively. As Table 4.2[19] shows, they appear a total of 42 times. Of these cases, eighteen (*va:* seven in LDF, one in *C; van:* nine in LDF, one in C) are uses of the form with present reference in direct quotations (1-11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26) and thus immediately excluded from consideration as possible cases of a narrative present. Eight of the uses occur in general descriptions, either of the general characteristics of a group of people described in the text (11-12), or of essentially permanent objects—roads, mountains, and rivers (15, 17, 19)—and therefore do not constitute narrative present uses. The remaining sixteen examples (*va:* six in C, one in LDF; *van:* one in LDF, eight in C) are instances of the periphrastic preterit with the form of *anar* in the present rather than the preterit. *There is not a single example of* va *or* van *used non-periphrastically with a past value.*

form	source	quotation	description	preterit	narrative present	totals
va	LDF	7	5	1	0	13
	C	1	1	6	0	8
	total	8	6	7	0	21
van	LDF	9	0	1	0	10
	C	1	2	8	0	11
	total	10	2	9	0	21

Table 4.2—Uses of third person present forms of anar *in* LDF *and C*

[19] Translations from the *Llibre dels fets (LDF)* are mine, though I have consulted Forster (1883) as well.

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1	E el dix: «Ferit só, e ve'ls-vos aquí per on **van**». And he said: «I'm wounded, and look at them here where they are going.»	LDF 26.35
2	e faem aytal oració: «...pregar al vostre car Fiyl que él me storga d'esta pena e d'aquest periyl en què yo só, e aquels qui **van** amb mi.» and we made such a speech: «...beg your dear Son that he free me from this punishment and from this danger in which I am, and those who go with me.»	LDF 57.40-61
3	...e dix: «Veus tots los peons que se'n **van** e ixen-se de la ost». ...and he said: «You see all the foot-soldiers who **go** off and leave the army.»	LDF 63.12-3
4-6	E dixem a Don Nuno: «Don Nuno, pugem ab aquesta companya, que ara **van**, que vençuts són, que tuyt **van** brescan, e companya que **va** brescan en batayla,...» And we said to Don Nuno: «Don Nuno, let us go up with this company, who **are** now **going**, who are beaten, who **go** around breaking everything, and the company that **goes** around breaking in battle....»	LDF 64.23-4
7	E dix él: « Parle jo ab vós. E no sabets vós açò que és? Tots los richs hòmens vos **van** falsament e volen trer diners de nós.» And he said: «I will speak with you. And don't you know what this is? All the rich men **go** to you falsely and want to take money from us.»	LDF 151.10-2
8-9	... vench .La vots lessus del castell dels que u miraven: «Van-se'n, van-se' n. . . !» ...there came a cry from the castle, from those who were watching: «**They're running, they're running** ... !»	LDF 218.9-11

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10	«Sapiats—dix él—feit es to via fora; que, si vos **vos n'anats, van-se'n** éls.... «Know—he said—it is done outside; that if you **go away**, they **go away** .... »	LDF 236.30-2
11	Quant cels de la host ho viuren, meseren mans a cridar: —A armes, cavalers! Que.ls cavalers del castel se'n **van**!—. When those in the army saw it, they sent hands to shout:—To arms, knights! Let the knights **leave** from the castle!—.	C 2.43.3-5[20]
12	e per ço com no an rendes de que viven, o cor han degastat o jugat so que an, o per alcuna mala feta, han a fugir de lur terra, e ab lurs armes, axi com homens qui alre no poden ne saben fer, **van-se'n** en la frontera dels ports de Muredal, qui son grans muntayes e forts, ... and therefore when they hadn't surrendered of what they live, either they have worn out the heart or played what they have, or through some evil deed, have to flee from their land, and with their weapons, so when men who on the other side neither could nor know how to do it, go to the border of the ports of Muredal, which are great and strong mountains	C 3.64.2-8
13	E sempre **van** per la ciutat, corren com a homens rabiosos, ab lurs armes, ... And they always **go** through the city, running like rabid men, with their arms, ...	C 3.75.6-8
14	«.... E, Seyor, membre-us de tanta gent que **va** ab mi per servir-vos.... » «... And, sir, be mindful of so many people who **go** with me to serve you.... »	LDF 57.56-7
15	E fo lo conseyl aytal: que enviassen Don Nuno en una galea que era sua e En Ramon de Muntcada en la galea de Tortosa, e que anassen riba mar con qui **va** contra Maylorques, ... And such was the counsel: that they send Don Nuno in a ship that was his and Ramon of Muntcada in the ship of Tortosa, and that	LDF 59.5-7

[20] These references are in the form (volume.page.line).

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	they go along the shore as one goes to Mallorca, ...	
16	E dixem nos: «Pus En Jaçpert hi va, iré-y yo». And we said: «Since Jaçpert goes, I shall go».	LDF 65.2-3
17	E en tant avalam per la costa enjús e anam-nos-en pas a pas al camí que va a la vila. And as soon as we did something and went step by step to the road that goes to the village.	LDF 66.11-3
18	E dixem-li: «Con vos va?» And we said to him: «How is it going with you?»	LDF 172.13
19	...e exim al riu Sech, que va sobre Servera. ...and we reached the river Sech, which runs through Cervera.	LDF 183.16
20	«...mas, de conduyt, con vos va?» «...but, in terms of provisions, how is it going with you?»	LDF 213.18-9
21	E puys mudam-nos en .I. pug que es sobre Biar, de la part on hom va a Castalla; .... And then we set off to a hill that is above Biar, on the side where one goes to Castalla;	LDF 357.1-2
22	«...e dire-us la natura del feyt con va.» «...and I will tell you the nature of what is going on.»	LDF 382.3
23	...fom a .I.a alqueria que es mentre Murcia e la muntanya on hom va a Cartagenia,.... ...we were at a hamlet that is between Murcia and the mountain where one goes to Cartagena,....	LDF 423.19-20
24	... diu .I. exempli: «Qui fol va a Roma pech se'n torna..... » ... a proverb says : «He who goes to Rome a fool returns a fool ..... »	LDF 542.5-6
25	e aquen passa to cami qui va de Castela a Xibília e a Cordova and on this side passes the road that goes from Castel to Xibilia and to Cordova	C 3.64.9-11
26	e dix-lur: —...E digats a la gent d'Alcol...que.l rey d'Aragó se'n va en Barberia ab gran host.— and then he said to them:—And tell the people of Alcol...that the King of Aragon is going to Barberia with a great army.—	C 3.69.7-13

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1	E aquels qui eren en la reraguarda dels sarraïns, qui eren dessús los altres, començaren de fugir primers que aquels qui eren denant; e **van ferir** en la devantera los nostres als sarraïns e obriren-los. And those who were in the rear guard of the saracens, who were on the others, started to flee before those who were in front; and our men **attacked** the Saracens in the front and opened them up.	LDF 218.13-6
2	E Don Pedro Cornell, qui hoí cridar a armes, **va pendre** ses armes e brocà aenant. And Don Perdo Cornell, who heard the call to arms, **seized** his arms and set forth.	LDF 226.4-6
3	E quant venc •l• jorn, tots los sarayns de tota l'encontrada foren justats, e foren molts grans gens, que no sabem to comte: tants foren. E **van ferir** en la host ; e•l rey fo armat ab tota sa gent e exi fora de les tendes per combatre ab los sarayns. And when a day came, all the saracens from the entire area were ready and there were many troops, such that we don't know the count: so many were they. And they **attacked** the enemy; and the king was armed with all his men and went out from the shops to combat the Saracens.	C 2.13.18-24
4	Quant cels de la host ho viuren, meseren mans a cridar:—A armes, cavalers! Que.ls cavalers del castel se'n van!-. E el rey, qui assó hac entès, **va pendre** ses armes, e muntà a caval e comensà a córrer aprés d'éls When those among the enemy saw it, they sent their hands to cry:—To arms, knights! Let the knights of the castle take off!—. And the king, who had heard this, **took** his arms and mounted his horse and began to ride after them	C 2.43.3-7
5	E.l chomte En Nuno venc abrivat ves éls, e els serrayns qui.ls o viren venir aparalaren-se e **van-se mesclar** ab éls. E el chomte d'Empúries exí del aguayt e ferí de l'altra part, sí qui.ls sarrayns foren tots morts he preses And Count Nuno came fearlessly towards them, and the saracens who saw him come prepared themselves and **mingled** with them. And the count of Empuries left the watch and attacked the other part,	C 2.113.8-13

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	such that the Saracens were all killed and taken.	
6	En Bernat Guilem d'Entenca, ab los L cavalers e ab los •M sirvens, va **ferir** entre.ls serrayns molt ardidament, sí que.n abateren molts a terra, morts de colps de lanses. Bernat Guilem of Entenca, with fifty knights and a thousand servants, **attacked** the Saracens very passionately, such that many of them fell to the ground, dead of lance blows.	C 2.144.7-10
7	E **van ferir** en la host dels sarrayns de la banda de tresmuntana, sí que.ls sarrayns se desbarataren e comensaren a fugir, en tal guysa que los uns quaïyen morts sobre.ls altres. And they **attacked** the Saracens' troops on the northern side, such that the saracens fell down and began to flee in such a way that they fell dead one on top of the other.	C 2.144.20-4
8	Lo seyor de la barcha pensa's que aquests eren honrats hòmens e que si o deÿa al castelà d'aquel castel, que.n auria bon gasardé d'él; e, ... qui **va fer** leya ho sercar alre, partís de la barcha e anà-se'n al castelà del castel, e quant fo la dix-li: The captain of the boat decided that these were honorable men and that if he said so to the Castilian of that castle, there would be a good reward from him; and ... who **made** him seek it on the other side, left the boat and went off to the Castilian of the castle and when he was there said to him:	C 2.178.26-179.2
9	Sobr•assò encontraren-se ab •l•a compaya de ribauts francès qui eren de la cort de Carles, qui estaven en Palerm per eyl; e aquests malvats ribauts **van-se acostar** a les dones e metien lurs mans a les mameles de les dones. Thereupon they found themselves with a company of French scoundrels who were from the court of Charles, who were in Palermo on his behalf, and these wicked scoundrels **approached** the women and were putting their hands on the women's breasts.	C 3.72.12-7
10	Ab tant venc •l• comte d'Urgeyl, qui era enfant e Jove, e •ll• donzels, qui foren fils d'En Vidal de Serria, e puyen lurs cavals dels esperons, e **van ferir** en la pressa dels sarraÿns per ajuda al comte de Palars.	C 3.94.9-13

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	As soon as a count from Urgell arrived, who was infant and young, and two squires, who were sons of Vidal de Serria, and incited their horses by the spurs, and **attacked** the throng of the Saracens to help the count of Palars.	
11	Quant les galeres de Marcela, e de Pisa e de Principat viuren que les galeres dels catalans lur venien desobre e que no les refusaven, calaren totes, e giraren les proes ves aqueles, e meseren-se en escala e aparelaren-se de la batayla. E aqueles de Marçela, qui estaven de la banda de migjorn, **van dressar** ab gran gatzara •l•a seyera molt gran que apelen l'estandart de sen Victor, e celes de Pisa e de Principat, qui estaven de la banda de terra, feeren atressi per lo aquel semblant metex. When the ships from Marcela, and from Pisa and Prinicpat saw that the Catalans' ships were coming toward them and that they were not rejecting them, they all fell , and the turned the prows towards them and sent them to the stairs and got ready for battle. And those from Marcela, who were on the noon side, **approached** with great shouting a very large banner that they call the standard of Sir Victor, and those from Pisa and Prinicipat, who were on the land side, made also through that one seeming the same.	C 3.120.1-11
12	e quant los marcelesos les viuren ferir, **van metre** l'estandart de sen Victor a bayx molt vilment, e preseren la volta de migjorn, e comensaren de fugir a rems e a vela, e gitaren en mar molt beyl arnès de matalafs de seda, e caxes, e bonetes..., per tal que lurs galeres fossen pus leugeres. and when the Marcelans saw them attack , they **put** the standard of Sir Victor down very vilely, and took the noon turn, and began to flee by oar and sail, and they threw into the sea very beautiful gear of a matress of silk, and boxes, and saddlebags..., so that their ships were lighter.	C 3.121.14-21
13	Quant les gens de Messina saberen aquela nuyt la novela, levaren-se tuyt de lurs lits, grans e pocs, e **van encendre** ... brandons, e cera, e candeles ..., e feen tan gran luminària que d'una legua entorn avia tan gran clardat con si fos jorn, e menaven lo major alegre qui hanc més fos vist.	C 3.123.22-8

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	When the people of Messina found out that night the news, they all—young and old—got up from their beds, and lit ...torches, and wax, and candles, ..., and created such a great light that one league away there was great clarity as if it were day, and they felt the greatest joy that had ever been seen.	
14	E cascú **se va armar** axi com poc, e d'altres qui fugien sens armes; e.ls almugàvers entraren en la vila e aucieren-hi bé .D. cavalers, sens l'altra gent, e preseren tot lur arnès e lur tresor, e reculiren-ho en les galees, e meseren molts cavayls en les tarides que hi eren, e puys aucieren tots los altres que no se'n pogren menar. And each armed himself thus as little, and others who fled without arms; and the infantry entered the village and killed there at least five hundred knights, without anyone else, and took all their armor and their treasure, and gathered it in the ships and put many horses in the trailers that were there and then killed all the others who couldn't fight.	C 3.139.3-9
15	Puis pres .I. salt a través, e encontrà •l• cavaler d'aqueyls •v•, e a través per mig los flancs **va ferrr** de la lança lo cavayl; sí que de l'altra part li'n passà tot lo ferre, e.l cavayl caec mort a terra e el cavaler caec sots to cavayl, sí que no.s pudia levar. Then he took a leap across and found a knight from those five and across the middle of the flanks he **attacked** the horse with his lance such that all the iron passed through his other side, and the horse fell to the ground dead and the knight fell under the horse so that he could not get up.	C 3.140.23-141.5
16	Ab tant lo senescalc **se va a eyl acostar**, e saludà-lo e dix-li que ben fos vengut; e a cavayl tria-lo luny dels altres, e parlà ab eyl e dix-li: Thereupon the senescal approached him; and he greeted him and offered him welcome; and he brought him to a horse far from the others, and spoke with him and said to him:	C 3.160.9-11

Note that these cases of *van* and *va* in the periphrasis are surrounded by forms in the simple preterit (e.g., *hoí, brocà* and numerous others) and are in fact often conjoined

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with simple preterits in the same sentence; this constitutes further evidence that these are not narrative present uses at all.

In contrast with the present third person forms of *anar*, the preterit forms *anà* 'he/she/it went' and *anaren* 'they went' appear quite often in the texts in non-quotation contexts. Starting with the singular form, thirty-two (seven in LDF, twenty-five in C) of the 157 (41 LDF, 116 C) (20.4%) instances of *anà* in the text are plausibly cases of the periphrastic preterit; similarly with *anaren* there are 264 (71 LDF, 93 C) instances in all, with 40 (16 LDF, 24 C) (15.2%) of these being good candidates for the periphrastic preterit.

2.3 Semantic development

Grammaticalization researchers have consistently recognized the importance of semantics (Hopper & Traugott 1993, Heine et al. 1991 among many others). I argue, however, that greater refinement of our understanding of the role of lexical semantics is still required and that grammaticalization study has suffered from overly coarse semantic gradations, especially with respect to the lexical sources of auxiliaries.[21] As a result, I claim, researchers have made sweeping generalizations about the processes involved in grammaticalization; these problems have both led to and been compounded by inadequate attention to details of morphological structure which I believe crucially affect the course of such developments (for the role of morphology, see §2.4). In this section I address the semantics of the auxiliary, of the connector(s) (if there are any), and of the auxiliate.

2.3.1 The semantics of the auxiliary

As mentioned above, periphrases with verbs meaning 'go' and an infinitive are normally expected to develop into some type of future construction. Fleischman remarks, 'This has occurred in English, Western Romance (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Gascon,

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[21] A version of this argument can be found in my paper of the development of passives in (Juge 1996), in which I focus more on the semantics of the auxiliate.

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Occitan, French), Hebrew, varieties of Arabic, Coptic, possibly Sanskrit, Cuna, Central Sierra Miwok, a large number of African languages (Hausa, Bassa, Igbo, Zulu and Tonga, Kishamba, and possibly Swahili), and no doubt elsewhere as well' (Fleischman 1982b:323). To this list Bybee et al. add Icelandic, Finnish, Margi, Cocama, Mating, Atchin, Abipon, Krongo, Mano, Bari, Zuni, and Nung (1994:267). The list can easily be expanded with languages like Dutch.

As Fleischman notes, Catalan itself makes use of such a construction (*anar a* + inf.), but it has a strictly motion-oriented meaning (Yates 1993:42) and thus merely implies the relative futurity of the action which the subject is moving to complete; consequently this form has a narrower distribution than that found with the more grammaticalized constructions in these other languages[22]. More significantly, this illustrates the fact that these constructions vary in important ways across languages. I argue that previous research has not paid adequate attention to these differences.

2.3.1.1 The semantics of motion verbs and auxiliarization

Yet the most frequent periphrastic construction with forms of GO in Catalan is the preterit form. The problem, then, is this: how did this periphrasis develop into a past perfective form? As I said in 2.2, the majority of the views expressed on the origins of the Catalan periphrastic preterit all depend on a notion of a narrative or historic present use of a construction with forms of *anar* plus an infinitive, a view which the textual evidence does not support.

2.3.1.2 The semantics and forms of Catalan *anar*

One researcher taking this approach is Harris (1982), who argues, 'The original value of this paradigm...seems to have been inchoative,' though he does not explicitly

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[22] There is a tendency to use *anar a* + infinitive as a future without expressing genuine motion, but this usage is regarded as a Castilianism.

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define **inchoative**. He offers the following as a recounting of Colon's (1961:173) explanation (1982:61):

> in brief, a combination of a verb of motion to add immediacy coupled with a use of the historic present of the auxiliary for a similar purpose (cf. pop. Eng. 'then he goes and messes it all up!'). Such a paradigm would have first been used in contexts having present relevance, then extended its use in a now familiar way.

Before examining the problems this account presents, I want to compare what Colon actually claims (1961:173):

> In the Catalan edition, the phrase *va's pendre* corresponds to a present indicative *pren* 'he takes' in the Provençal version. The present indicative of Provençal shows, normally, one fact: the stratagem the beaver uses when he is chased. On the other hand, the Catalan example is more suggestive. Because of the entrance into the game of that extraordinary and perturbing element that is *va* + *inf.*, the narration takes a more lively turn. And especially this *va's pendre* arrives in the first row, it forces itself.—In sum, the periphrasis renders the action closer to the reader or to the listener. But it is normal, when the action is situated in the past, that the tense of the auxiliary should also be a past. And in fact, the constructions of the type *anà ferir* ['he went to wound'], *tu anist respondre* ['you went to respsond'] where the auxiliary is in the simple past, are sufficiently common in texts from from the 13th and 14th centuries. Their usage is, however, impeded by the influence of the historic present. The historic present gives the phrase a very powerful descriptive force and it is strongly employed in old Catalan, as elsewhere during the middle age, in all the Romance languages. Since the periphrasis *va* + infinitive is employed to make current the action, to bring it close to us, it is perfectly understandable that one would find it very

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> frequently in the historic present, whose mission is also to make present the account and to infuse it with greater vivacity. Both behaviors, the periphrasis and the historic present, interpenetrate and unify their forces. So we need not be surprised if historical narration prefers the present *va + inf.* to the past *anà + inf.*

There are two main problems with Harris' citation of Colon: (a) Colon provides inadequate evidence for his claims and (b) even if he had backed up his claims, they still would not support what Harris wants to say. Since I have already addressed the main problems with the argument that Colon and others make, I focus here on the claims that Harris is making.

First, as I mentioned above, he offers no definition of the term **inchoative**. If he is using the term as in Latin and early Romance study, where the term is reserved primarily for verbs that mark the beginning of a process (as in Lat. FLORESCERE, 'to begin to flower'), then he is misusing the term. It is clear from the context that the agents are not merely beginning to perform certain actions, but rather that they perform them to completion. One might, however, argue that through their completion of an action (e.g., wounding) a new state begins (e.g., death). An inchoative origin has also been proposed by Berchem (1968) and Meyer-Lübke (1900:§324); Colon (1975) and Pérez (1996) provide counterarguments, though still within a framework that assumes a significant role for the narrative present.

Second, Harris accepts uncritically Colon's claim about the narrative/historic present, which does not account for the patterns found in the texts I've analyzed.

Third, he mentions present relevance, but he seems to have confused historic present with present relevance, for there is no sense in which the verbs used in the *anar* periphrasis in Old Catalan can be said to display present relevance. This means that it cannot have spread in the 'now familiar way' he mentions, since that way is the pattern of increasing restriction of the functions of the simple form accompanied by increasing use of the periphrastic in semantic contexts in which the simple form used to predominate—that is, of

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the simple perfect being replaced gradually by the periphrastic. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that there has ever been as great a semantic distinction between the Catalan simple preterit and the periphrasis as between these two and the perfect. Thus Harris ultimately has very little to offer in support of his claim about how the Catalan periphrastic preterit developed or became more frequent.

The portion of Harris's analysis that is on the right track is the notion that *anar* was used 'to add immediacy'. In this he follows the general view of researchers adopting the narrative present analysis, such as Badia (1981), Colon (1959, 1961, 1976), Damourette & Pichon (1911-1936), Flydal (1943), Montoliu (1916), Pérez (1996, 1998), and Vallduví (1988). Examples from early Catalan texts clearly show uses of *anar* plus a purposive infinitive, as in (7) from Desclot's *Crònica* (11.66.3-5), in which the motion encoded by the verb *anà* 'he went' could easily be deduced from the fact that the king besieged the castle, since this act required that he move from his prior location; thus it seems that the use of the *anar* + infinitive construction serves stylistically to add immediacy by emphasizing the dynamic nature of the king's actions.

14 Ct E-l rey En Jaume... an-à assetg-ar
and•the.m king.m art.m Jaume go-pret.3s besiege-inf
aquel castel de Peniscola.
that castle of Peniscola
'And King Jaume...went to besiege that castle of Peniscola.'

A number of other cases of such stylistic uses of GO offer similar parallels. Among these are the English use of *go and* + verb (as mentioned above; e.g., *Don't go and tell everybody)* and the Spanish use of *ir* y + verb in a true narrative present *(va y me dice...* 'he goes and tells me...'; cf. Pérez 1998:271).

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In his edition of the *Llibre dels fets* of Jaume I, Bruguera (1991) offers further discussion of the issue, including a list of all the instances that one might consider to be examples of the periphrastic preterit (88-9). He starts by offering all the cases which consist of forms of *anar* plus an infinitive with no preposition; this subgroup is important because modern Catalan normally uses the preposition *per* to introduce infinitival purpose clauses when a destination clause is expressed or the preposition *a* to introduce a clause when no destination clause is present, while the preterit periphrasis involves no preposition at all. In Old Catalan, however (as in other old Romance varieties) it was common to express purpose with simple infinitives. For more on this and other syntactic issues, see §2.3.2 and §2.5 below.

In support of the claim that the examples from the first group show true motion uses of *anar*, Bruguera offers a second set of examples with *anar* conjugated in forms other than the present and preterit indicative. Introducing them he says (89):

> Some other examples show the use of the verb *anar* in the original sense of motion, although conjugated as well in tenses other than the perfect [i.e., preterit], which corroborates that, when it is conjugated in the perfect [i.e., preterit], it also has the same value and not that of a constituent element of a periphrasis with past value....

This line of argumentation suffers, however, from a serious methodological flaw. The determination of whether or not a verb retains its central lexical sense or displays an auxiliary-type usage must be made on the basis of context, not simply on whether the verb in question appears in given forms in other examples. This can be illustrated by considering the following example[23] of the Spanish GO-future in the imperfect:

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[23] http://venezuela.mit.edu/listas/atarraya-anteriores/9511/atarraya951115/0044.html

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15 Sp ...ya que nadie i-ba a qued-ar-se alli (sic)....

...since no one go-3s.imp to stay-inf-3rfl there

'...since no one was going to stay there'

The fact that the verb *ir* 'to go' appears in the imperfect in no way indicates a nongrammaticalized use of the verb in the construction. In this particular case, part of the evidence that this is a grammaticalized use of *ir a* + infinitive is the fact that the verb *quedarse* means 'to remain, to stay (in a place where one is already located)'; thus a motion reading of *iba* is semantically incongruous with the rest of the sentence.

Similar examples of verbs (meaning, among other things, 'have', 'go', and 'be') used in various forms in numerous other languages further illustrate this point. In fact, the participation of auxiliary verbs in various forms in periphrastic constructions is often the source of new grammatical categories in language. Two examples in Romance alone are the conditional and the Catalan preterit subjunctive (4.2.6 below).

As I argued in Chapter 3.2, a key consideration in grammaticalization is implicature. As Pérez (1996, 1998) also points out, this has been important in the history of the Catalan periphrastic preterit. On hearing an utterance which explicitly encodes the subject having gone to a place with the purpose of engaging in a particular activity, the hearer uses pragmatic and contextual cues to determine whether or not the intended activity has taken place. Thus an imperfective auxiliary implies that the situation indicated by the auxiliate did not take place, while a perfective auxiliary implies that it did. The early examples of *anar* + verb in Catalan all involve animate grammatical subjects and highly agentive verbs. In cases with *anar* in the preterit, context shows that the infinitive expresses an action that was performed by the agent. This allows for a further pragmatic inference that the construction merely implicates, rather than explicitly encodes, motion; the mechanisms and consequences of this change are discussed below.

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2.3.2 The semantics of the connector

In keeping with my claim that previous analyses have paid inadequate attention to semantics, I argue that the role of the semantics involved in connecting the elements of a construction being grammaticalized has also been understudied. In all cases there is some constructional pattern that allows the forms in question to be connected, though these linkages do not always involve lexical material. Participial perfects, for example, typically inherit a construction licensing the use of a participle in an adjectival function, either predicatively or attributively.

In Old Catalan, there were three constructions that licensed purposive infinitives. Two used prepositions *a* and *per* as **clause-linkage markers** (a term proposed by Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:476 for the broader category to which complementizers belong), and the other used no overt marker. These three strategies appear to have been in free variation. In the modern language, however, the distribution is as follows: *a* introduces infinitives in cases in which the subject is physically moving to do something (*Vaig a fer-ho ara mateix* 'I'm going to do it right now'); *per* is used to express purpose in other cases (*Vaig anar/ser a Barcelona per estudiar català* 'I went to/was in Barcelona to study Catalan'); bare infinitives appear as the complements of various verbs, such as *voler* 'to want' (*Vull visitar Itàlia* 'I want to visit Italy') and *poder* 'to be able' and, of course, the preterit auxiliary. The exact nature of the interaction between the development of the periphrastic preterit and these changes requires further research.

2.3.3 The semantics of the auxiliate

In the early stages of grammaticalization, the lexical semantics of the auxiliate plays an important role as well. In the case of the Catalan preterit, the usual claim in this area has been that the infinitival predicates used early in conjunction with *anar* were all telic. Pérez (1996, 1998) and Pérez and Hualde (1999) specifically suggest that the first verbs used in the construction were punctual verbs by which they appear to mean **achievements** as defined by Vendler (1967); these describe situations which occur at a specific moment.

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(Note that this use of **punctual** recalls that of Comrie 1976:41-44.) While it is true that many examples of *anar* + infinitive involve such verbs, the *Llibre dels fets* and the *Crònica* show that further analysis is required.

As we might expect from texts representing an early stage of the development of a construction consisting of a motion verb and a purposive infinite, the verbs are all ones whose prototypical subjects are human (or animate); there are no examples of verbs such as *ploure* 'to rain'. The verbs expressed infinitivally in these two texts appear below with the English glosses and the number of occurrences; for the *Crònica*, the tokens are subclassified on the basis of whether the form of *anar* is in the present or the preterit (recall that the *Llibre dels fets* has only two examples of *anar* in the present; the infinitives are *ferir* 'to attack' and *pendre* 'to take').

Of the forty-four types represented here (Table 2), one, *ferir* 'to attack', accounts for 26 of the 118 tokens (22%); the next two, *assetjar* 'to besiege' and *pendre* (mod. spelling *prendre)* 'to take' can, like *ferir*, be construed as punctual. On the other hand, predicates with verbs such as *oyr/hoir* (mod. *oir)* 'to hear' (each time with *la missa* or *les misses* 'mass'), *menjar* 'to eat', *reposar* 'to rest', *estar* 'to stay (i.e., lodge)', and *vetlar* (mod. *vetllar)* 'to keep watch' clearly are not punctual. They are, however, telic—the key consideration appears to be that the sequence of *anar* + infinitive be used with verbs which, in the discourse context, would be interpreted as encoding activities that were (eventually) performed.

form	gloss	LDF	C prt	C prs	total
ferir	attack	8	13	5	26
assetjar[24]	besiege	5	8		13
pendre	take	7	1	1	9
oyr (3)/ hoir (2)	hear	1	4		5
veer	see	5			5
albergar	take shelter	4			4

[24] These 13 tokens are spelled five ways: *assetjar* (5), *assetgar* (3), *assetiar* (3), *asetgar* (1), *asetyar* (1).

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reposar	rest		4		4
acordar	agree	3			3
menjar (1)/ menyar (2)	eat	1	2		3
abragar	embrace	2			2
acostar	approach			2	2
armar	arm	1		1	2
combatre	combat, battle	1	1		2
deportar	deport	1	1		2
dinar	havelunch		2		2
gitar	throw	2			2
jaer (2) / jaure (1)	lie	1	2		3
mesclar	mix		1	1	2
reebre	receive	2			2
amagar	hide	1			1
aparelar	prepare		1		1
asseer	sit	1			1
cassar	annul	1			1
cavar	dig		1		1
conquere	conquer		1		1
cridar	cry	1			1
deslassar	tire		1		1
desrengar	put into disarray		1		1
dir	say		1		1
donar	give		1		1
dressar	go straight			1	1
encendre	light			1	1
entrar	enter	1			1
escometre	attack	1			1
estar	stay		1		1
fer	do			1	1
metre	put			1	1
passar	go	1			1
posar	put	1			1
recuylir	collect	1			1
regonexer	recognize		1		1
tener	have/take	1			1
trencar	break		1		1
vetlar	keep watch		1		1
totals		54	50	14	118

Table 4.2—Infinitives used with anar *'to go' in the* Llibre dels fets *and the* Crònica

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2.3.4 Aspect and purposive clauses

Closely connected to these considerations is the interaction of aspect with purposive causes. In languages with GO-futures, such as English and Spanish, there is a tendency to use the auxiliary in the imperfective past to express unfulfilled potentials, as in *Pero iba a decir algo...* 'But I was gonna say something....' In contrast, use in the perfective past tends to go with completed actions, as in *...fui a hablar con la Irene y ella me dijo...*[25] 'I went to speak with Irene and she told me....' While there are counterexamples on both sides, there does seem to be a robust tendency for such a correlation between aspect and the interpretation of purposive clauses. In fact, this appears to be a more general characteristic of expressions which, in the present, would implicate futurity, such as constructions with verbs meaning WANT, HAVE TO, and so forth.

Significantly Catalan seems to be unique in having developed an unmarked preterit (i.e., one that lacks special emphasis) from GO;[26] Bybee et al. discuss three languages in which GO has become a marker of some type of past meaning, but these uses all seem to be emphatic or otherwise pragmatically marked. For example, they say that a form in Alyawarra (Australia, Pama-Nyungan) that

> is probably a perfective ... involves 'go' plus an unidentified linking element. The sense seems to be perfective, but it is not clear that this construction is frequent enough to be a perfective; that is, it probably does not occur on successive verbs in a narrative (1994:57).

The second language they cite is Tucano (Andean Equatorial), which, as reported in Sorensen (1969:272), has a GO completive. For Bybee et al., the essence of completives is that they mark complete and thorough action, but that one of the common nuances found

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[25] http://rehue.csociales.uchile.cl/rehuehome/facultad/pares3/zacarias.htm

[26] The use of *anar* + infinitive as a preterite in Occitan is not to be regarded as an independent development.

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with such forms is some degree of emphasis or surprise value. In the case of the Tucano completive, they report that it 'seems parallel to the English "went and did it" construction: *He went and told her the whole story*' (1994:57).

Finally, Bybee et al. report a GO perfect in Cocarna (Andean Equatorial), but they provide no discussion of the form of the construction nor of its development (1994:57). At any rate, they provide no examples of cases parallel to that of the Catalan preterit, that is, of instances in which a verb meaning 'go' has come to participate in an unmarked perfective past construction.

An additional case is that of Cuna (believed to be an isolate with heavy Chibchan influence due to contact, Panama [Grimes 1996:112]). According to Holmer, the narrative preterit consists of the present stem and the suffix *-na*, which 'is probably a form of the verb *na(a)-* go.... and the original meaning may have been *went about (doing*, etc.)' (1946:193). In line with his speculation on the earlier meaning of the construction, he offers the example *takke-na* 'he saw (as he went)'. In both cases, his gloss suggests that the GO element is to be construed as past (unfortunately, his relatively brief treatment of the morphology does not provide adequate grounds for making a clear determination), which would favor viewing the Cuna narrative preterit as a WENT preterit rather than as a GO preterit. Holmer provides only brief descriptions of the narrative, completive, and resultative preterits, but it seems that the narrative preterit is the least marked of the three.

Given that the interaction of semantics and pragmatics involved in the development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit seems to fit with common patterns, an obvious question to pose at this point is, Why is this kind of GO-preterit not more widely attested? I argue that the rarity of such constructions follows from the complex set of contributing conditions necessary for such a development. One of these factors is the morphological form of the auxiliary element, to which I now turn.

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2.4 Morphological development

In this section I address two aspects of the morphological development of the Catalan preterit auxiliary. I start (§2.4.1) with some aspects of Old Catalan verbal morphology that I consider keys to the rise of present tense forms of *anar* at the expense of preterit forms, and then I move on to an attempt to make sense of the various forms of the auxiliary that developed after the construction established itself as a competitor with the simple preterit (§2.4.2).

2.4.1 The loss of preterit forms of *anar* in the preterit auxiliary

A significant fact presents itself upon a closer look at the forms of *anar* in the *Llibre dels fets*. While only two of the examples show *anar* unambiguously in the present tense, over half of them—31 of 54 (57%)—use *anam*, which (as discussed below) is ambiguous between a preterit and a present form (it is unambiguously first person plural indicative) and thus could mean either 'we go/we are going' or 'we went'. I claim that this ambiguity between present and preterit, characteristic of many (but by no means all) Catalan verbs and found only in the first and second person plural indicative, played an important role in the construal of a periphrasis with an auxiliary in the preterit as one with a present tense auxiliary.

Admittedly, we do not typically expect first and second person plural forms to exert significant influence on other members of a paradigm, but two points bear mention here. First, the influence is not directly on the other forms in the paradigm; rather it is on the interpretation of the structure as a whole. Secondly, as mentioned above, in a text like the *Llibre dels fets*, such forms, especially the 1pl, are abnormally frequent because it is a first person narrative.

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	present	preterit
1 s	vaig	ané
2s	vas	anast
3s	va	anà
1 p	**anam**	**anam**
2p	**anats**	**anats**
3p	van	anaren

Table 4.3-The present and preterit indicative of anar 'to go' *in old Catalan*

Analysis 1		Analysis 2	
an-am	fer-ir	an-am	fer-ir
go-1p.**preterit**.ind	attack-inf	go-1p.**present**.ind	attack-inf
'we attacked'		'we attacked'	

Figure 4.1—Multiple possible constructional analyses due to syncretism in old Catalan

As Table 4.3 shows, there is an overlap between the present and preterit of *anar* 'to go' (as in many other *-ar* verbs) in Old Catalan. This means that a sequence such as *anam ferir* 'we attacked' is interpretable as either an infinitive preceded by a verb marked for the preterit or as an infinitive preceded by a verb marked for the present. That is, in this construction, with its unambiguous overall interpretation as past tense, the suffix *-am* can be thought of as either a marker of present tense or of past tense (perfective aspect). If a speaker thinks of *anam* as present tense, then it will bring to mind the other present tense forms *vaig, vas, va, anats,* and *van*, while if the speaker thinks of *anam* as a preterit form, then the forms *ané, anast, anà, anats,* and *anaren* come to mind. This ambiguity, then, effectively presents the speaker with a choice between two paradigms that overlap in two of their six forms.

One possible reason for the reanalysis of forms such as *anam* as present *in this construction* is the tendency for finite verbs participating in periphrases to be morphologically present tense. Consider the Catalan perfect and the Spanish periphrastic future, both of which use a present-tense auxiliary and a non-finite form to encode non-present temporal reference (Table 4.4) (it is no accident that the English glosses also exhibit constructions following this pattern). There is a strong cross-linguistic tendency for

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auxiliary marking to be in the present; this issue will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5.

language	form	example	gloss
Catalan	HAVE + participle	he cantat	'I have sung'
Spanish	GO + TO + infinitive	voy a cantar	'I am going to sing'

Table 4.4—Present used in other non present periphrastic constructions

Evidence supporting a present-tense connection between the perfect and preterit in Catalan comes from the forms of the auxiliaries in the subjunctive. In both cases, the lp and 2p forms show irregular stress—rather than the expected final stress (cf. the subjunctive lp pres of *anar: anem* [ə'nɛm] '(that) we go', which in this case differs from the preterit auxiliary), they have initial stress. This may reflect a categorization of these forms as belonging to what are sometimes called the secondary tenses, such as the imperfect indicative and subjunctive, which also have retracted stress (i.e. stress on the syllable before the one expected on historical-phonological grounds; cf. the indicative lp imperfect *anàvem* [ə'naβəm] 'we were going'). The date of the creation of the forms *vàgim* and *vàgiu* is, however, rather late, so it is not clear whether these connections indicate similar associations at the time of the reanalysis in question.

	perfect	preterit
1s	hagi	vagi
2s	hagis	vagis
3s	hagi	vagi
lp	hàgim	vàgim
2p	hàgiu	vàgiu
3p	hagin	vagin

Table 4.5—The subjunctive forms of the perfect and preterit auxiliaries in Catalan

2.4.2 Further morphological development of the preterit auxiliary

Let us now move on to the development of new forms of the preterit auxiliary. To understand these developments, a little background on the verb *anar* 'to go' is necessary. Verbs meaning GO are well-known for their tendency to be highly irregular, often including suppletive forms, especially in Indo-European. Catalan *anar* is no exception: the forms of

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this verb come from three distinct sources: **andāre, vādere/*vadēre,* and *īre.* The first of these is itself quite problematic; the etymon for Sp/Pt *andar,* It *andare,* Cat. *anar* 'to go, to walk' looks like a reflex of **ambitāre (cf. ambitus* 'a going around') .[27] This verb, however, is completely unattested as an alternative to the more common *ambulāre* 'to go, to walk' (> Fr. *aller,*[28] Rom. *umbla)* (Meyer-Lubke 1911 #409, 412). Despite the obscurity of its origin, there is no dispute that **andāre is* the source of most of the forms of GO in Catalan, including the infinitive, the participles, the imperfect indicative and subjunctive, and the simple preterit. In the future and conditional, two sets of forms occur; one set *(iré* [i're] 'I will go', etc.) derives from Latin *īre,* while the other *(aniré* [əni're], etc.) appears to be a conflation of the expected regular forms *(*anaré* [ənə're], etc.) and those of the first set. Finally, the present subjunctive and most of the present indicative forms come from *vadere,* via a reformation as **vadēre;* the palatal consonants of *vaig* [batʃ] 'I go' and the present subjunctive stem *vag-* [baʒ-] point to etyma of the shape **vadeō, *vadea-,* since the attested forms *vādō* and *vādam, vādas,* etc. would not have provided the appropriate environment for palatalization (cf. Sp. *vaya,* 1 s pres subj, also with palatalization).[29] The key issue here

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[27] Via the development **ambitāre* > **ambidāre* > **ambdare* > **andare* > **andare,* with the later regular change in Catalan of *-nd-* > *-n-* intervocalically (cf. *mandāre* > *manar*).

[28] This verb is often said to come from *ambulāre* (Meyer-Lubke, 1911 #412), but the regular French development from that verb is *ambler* 'to amble (of horses)'; regardless of its source, it appears to be cognate with the Friulian verb *la* 'to go'.

[29] The palatal final consonant may also be the result of influence by the forms *faig* 'I do' and *veig* 'I see', in which the [tʃ] is etymological, but this seems less likely than a shift in verb class, a very common occurrence in the history of Romance. For a more detailed analysis of

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is that the individual histories of GO verbs in the various Romance languages resulted in a present-preterit syncretism only in Catalan.

As indicated above, all the forms used in the early examples of this periphrasis were forms of the verb *anar*. Today, however, the forms of the *va-* auxiliary are not identical to the forms of the lexical verb *anar* 'to go'; the primary difference is that the first and second person plural forms are suppletive in the lexical verb but not in the auxiliary; the auxiliary also has some variants not found as forms of the lexical verb:

	preterit auxiliary			'to	go'
		indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1s	vaig	(vàreig)	vagi	vaig	vagi
2s	vas	(vares)	vagis	vas	vagis
3s	va		vagi	va	vagi
1p	vam	(vàrem/vem)	vàgim	anem	anem
2p	vau	(vàreu/veu)	vàgiu	aneu	aneu
3p	van	(varen)	vagin	van	vagin

Table 4.6—The Catalan preterit auxiliary and anar *'to go'*

Except for the first person singular, the common indicative forms of the auxiliary have the appearance of those of a hypothetical verb **var*. One exception is the standard /a/ vocalism in the 1p and 2p *vam, vau;* this lends the paradigm the appearance of that found in more conservative dialectal forms in which the change /a/ > /e/ (in some closed syllables) has not taken place, giving, e.g., Balearic *cantam* and *cantau* (Veny 1993:91). A paradigm with these non-standard forms more closely resembles that of a regular *-ar* verb like *cantar* 'to sing' (recall that unstressed /e ɛ a/ reduce to [ə], which is represented orthographically by <a> and <e>).

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the development of suppletion in verbs meaning GO in the Romance languages, see Juge (2000).

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		cantar 'to sing'	
	auxiliary	present	preterit
1s	vaig	cant-o	cant-í
2s	vas	cant-es	cant-ares
3s	va	cant-a	cant-à
1p	vem	cant-em	cant-àrem
2p	veu	cant-eu	cant-àreu
3p	van	cant-en	cant-aren

Table 4.7—Catalan first conjugation indicative forms

The subjunctive forms have regular endings which are added to the irregular stem *vag-* /baʒ-/. The irregularity of the subjunctive stem fits with a subregularity whereby Catalan verbs with an irregular first person singular present indicative form usually have the same stem for that form and for the present subjunctive (cf. 'to believe': *crec* [krɛk] 1s pres ind, *cregui* ['krɛɣi] 1s pres subj).[30] The subjunctive forms of the preterit auxiliary are not stress-shifting, which separates them from those of lexical verbs, such as *cantar*; the relevant forms are the 1p and 2p, *vàgim* and *vàgiu*, respectively. The corresponding forms of lexical verbs have final stress (e.g. *cantem* [kən'tɛm], *canteu* [kən'tɛw]) rather than

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[30] The consonant alternations (including word-final devoicing) seen here—[tʃ~ʒ] in *va-* and [k~ɣ] in *creure*—occur elsewhere in the language and are not particular to these forms (cf. Ch. 1, § 3.1). Note that this connection between the 1s pr ind form and the pr subj forms is found in other Romance languages as well, including Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian (e.g., Sp *digo* 'I say', *digas* '(that) you say' *vs. dices* 'you say' from *decir* 'to say') and that there are also cases in which the first person present indicative form and the present subjunctive are both irregular but are not built on the same stem (e.g. *Sp. he* 'I have', *hayas* '(that) you have' from *haber* 'to have').

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penultimate stress. This correlates with the elimination of stress shift in some so-called secondary paradigms in Catalan. In the present there is shifting stress, a reflection of the Latin quantity-based stress rule, with stress landing on a thematic vowel or the stem. In the imperfect, one of the secondary tenses, shift has been eliminated, and stress falls on the thematic vowel in all persons. This is illustrated with the forms of the imperfect of 'to sing' in Table 4.8, where shifted forms are bolded.

	Catalan	Spanish	Italian	Latin
1s	kən'taβə	kan'taβa	kan'tavo	kan'ta:bam
2s	kən'taβəs	kan'taβas	kan'tavi	kan'ta:ba:s
3s	kən'taβə	kan'taβa	kan'tava	kan'ta:bat
1p	**kən'taβəm**	**kan'taβamos**	kanta'vamo	kanta:'ba:mus
2p	**kən'taβəw**	**kan'taβajs**	kanta'vate	kanta:'ba:tis
3p	kən'taβən	kan'taβan	kan'tavano	kan'ta:ban

Table 4.8—Stress patterns in the imperfect

The stem-stressed 1 p and 2p subjunctive forms of the preterit auxiliary also parallel those of another auxiliary used in a semantically related periphrastic construction, namely *haver*, the auxiliary of the perfect. The forms *hàgim* ['aʒim] and *hàgiu* ['aʒiw], however, have the variants *haguem* [a'ɣɛm] and *hagueu* [a'ɣɛw], respectively, which have final stress (and a velar rather than a palatal stem-final consonant). It seems likely that the primary factor leading to the leveling of stress in the subjunctive forms of the preterit auxiliary (and the optional indicative forms *vàrem* ['barəm] and *vàreu* ['barəw]) was a conceptualization of the auxiliary as part of the so-called secondary tense system.

Upon comparison of the variant forms of *va-* with the regular preterit forms of *-ar* (first conjugation) verbs such as *cantar*, it is apparent that the optional forms have the effect of making the paradigm of *va-* identical to that of the preterit of *cantar* (except for the first person singular). That is, the optional forms look like regular preterit forms of a first conjugation verb with the stem *v-* (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2 above).

The explanation for this situation relies crucially upon the structure of the 3s form, which is morphologically ambiguous between a present and a preterit. First conjugation

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verbs rely on stress to distinguish the 3s present from the 3s preterit.[31] The form *va*, however, is monosyllabic—unlike all other forms of *-ar* verbs in the language—and thus is interpretable as either present or preterit. Given the semantics which had already been attributed to the construction, a preterit reading of *va* is certainly reasonable. This reanalysis in turn opened the door for the creation of the optional forms as described above. The retention of the irregular 1s form *vaig* is not surprising in light of the fact that high frequency forms such as this one tend to be highly resistant to regularization; for example, in discussing a restructuring, Bybee (1985:57) explains, 'Note that the 1s form did not undergo restructuring, but retained its old shape. This is not surprising, since 1s forms are almost as frequent as 3s forms....' The relation of the subjunctive forms to the first person singular indicative form provides further motivation for maintaining this irregularity; even when analogy is applied to the first person singular form, the resulting form (used quite infrequently [Badia 1951:328]) *vàreig* ['barətʃ] still keeps a degree of irregularity. It is worth noting that the apparent contradiction between the regularization of the 1p and 2p forms and the lack of same for the 1s is due to the fact that suppletion is a more extreme form of irregularity than is an irregular suffix. Additionally, a number of other very high frequency verbs in Catalan end in [tʃ] (cf. *faig* [fatʃ] 'I do', *veig* [betʃ] 'I see', *haig* [atʃ] 'I have').

The morphological history of the auxiliary can be summed up as follows:

- Stage 1 preterit AUX + infinitive used with preterit meaning; the forms of the AUX equal the preterit of *anar*
- Change 1 reanalysis due to syncretism between some forms of the present and the preterit

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[31] In the preterit forms in Table 4.2, stress falls on the second syllable in all cases. In the present, the stress falls on the stem except in the 1p and 2p forms. All forms of *va-* have initial stress.

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- Stage 2 present AUX + infinitive used with preterit meaning; the forms of the AUX equal the present of *anar*
- Change 2 analogical creation of new forms of the AUX
- Stage 3 partial formal overlap between the AUX and *anar*
- Change 3 additional AUX forms are created analogically on the model of the reformulated synthetic preterit
- Stage 4 further reduced formal overlap between the AUX and *anar*
- Change 4 additional AUX forms are created analogically on the model of the reformulated synthetic preterit
- Stage 5 still further reduced formal overlap between the AUX and *anar*

One final point on the morphology of this auxiliary concerns the question of the degree to which it is synchronically related to the lexical verb *anar*. Semantically, there is a high degree of opacity to the periphrastic preterit. Morphologically there is an important difference between standard Catalan and the other varieties that use the periphrasis. In non-standard dialects which have not seen the development of innovative forms of the auxiliary, such as Algherese (Sardinia), there is complete overlap between the preterit auxiliary and the present tense forms of *anar* 'to go'. In standard Catalan, however, where the divergence between the forms of the preterit auxiliary and the verb *anar* is greater, the synchronic relatedness of these elements is less. In fact, it is somewhat misleading to call the Catalan preterit a GO-past.

2.4.3 A Germanic parallel

Thomas F. Shannon reports (personal communication) a similar development in Yiddish. The conditional auxiliary is *volt* (cf. Gm. *wollte*, preterit), as in *Ikh volt geven* 'I would be'. While the historical source is preterit, the form looks like a present, since synthetic past forms no longer exist in Yiddish.

The habitual past auxiliary is *fleg* (cf. Gm. *pflegen*), as in *Ikh fleg zayn* 'I used to be'. The auxiliary conjugates just like a present (even though the meaning is past only!).

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This probably comes from reanalysis of apocopated third person singular forms like **ikh pflegte zayn* 'I used (pret.) to be' > **ikh pflegt zayn*. After that all the other forms of the auxiliary were remodelled on the present stem (with *-t*, which was the preterit marker originally!).

2.5 Interaction with other constructions

A further issue to consider is the interaction between the periphrastic preterit and other constructions, especially phrasal (i.e., syntactic) constructions, already treated in part above in §2.3.2. As mentioned in 2.3.1, there are several respects in which Old Catalan showed a great deal of syntactic variation not found in the modern language. The main potentially relevant factor concerns clitic placement.

Among the early examples of *anar* plus infinitive, there are some cases in which a clitic pronoun, especially a reflexive, appears between the inflected verb and the infinitive, as in this example from the *Llibre dels fets*:

16 Ct E ana's gitar als nostrs peus
and go-3 s. prt. ind 3 rfl throw-inf at-the-mpl our-pl foot.m-p
e besa-ls nos
and kiss-3s.prt.ind the-mpl 1p.obl
'And he threw himself at our feet and kissed them'

In the modern language, however, nothing at all appears between an auxiliary and its infinitive or its participle. The sequence of object pronouns after *besa* 'he kissed' (spelled *besà* in modern Catalan) shows that the general patterns of object pronouns placement have changed from the medieval to the modern period. Now these clitic elements appear proclitically to the inflected verb or enclitically to a present (but not past, unlike Italian) participle or an infinitive, with the proclitic pattern being more commonly found in speech than the enclitic pattern, especially when the referent of the clitic is animate (this distribution is almost exactly like that in Spanish). Because of the general nature of the restrictions in

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the modern language on clitic placement (appearing either proclitic to the inflected verb or enclitic to an infinitive or participle), it appears that the differences between the medieval and the modern patterns with the periphrastic preterit are part of a larger change in Catalan syntax and not developments specifically relating to the constructional development of this construction.

2.6 The 'problems' of the synthetic preterit in Catalan

Pérez's analysis of the Catalan periphrastic preterit (1996) requires comment on a number of issues. He follows the traditional view that the construction originated in a narrative present usage. In his discussion of why the periphrastic construction 'succeeded' in Catalan, he identifies several 'problems' concerning the relationship of the simple preterit to other forms and relating to the morphology of the preterit forms themselves.
Pérez (1996) takes as a starting point a view he attributes to 'the majority of researchers of the Romance verbal system' (14), namely

> that temporal forms are structured on the basis of two distinct series: that of absolute tenses (deictic or current), organized based on the moment of the speech act, and that of relative tenses (anaphoric or non-current), organized based on another past tense.

To illustrate, he provides the following chart (here translated and expanded with examples from *cantar* 'to sing'):

	perfect	simultaneous	posterior
absolute	preterit cantà	present canta	future cantar ha
relative	pluperfect havia	imperfect cantava	conditional cantar (hav)ia

It bears note that, of the perfect tamcats, only the Pluperfect (past perfect) is afforded a position in this treatment, with the present perfect, future perfect, and the conditional perfect all left out. Leaving this objection aside, let us examine the 'three different problems'

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(14) that Pérez attributes to 'the progressive generalization of the periphrases with HABEO or SUM plus participle'.

The first issue Pérez identifies (14) concerns the pluperfect. Pérez points to the change of the synthetic pluperfect (such as *cantara)* into a conditional and the development of a periphrastic pluperfect (such as *havia cantat)* as creating 'a clear anomaly since the simple form of the preterit (*cantà*) contrasts with the periphrastic form of the pluperfect (*havia cantat*)'. The same basic set of facts, however, obtained in Ibero-Romance, where no replacement of the preterit has occurred. I will return to the Ibero-Romance data below after looking at Pérez's other points.

Pérez continues by observing (15):

> This anomaly turns out to be even greater if we keep in mind that the simple preterit is the only form in the system which does not maintain any kind of morphological relationship with the other forms in its subsystem. Note that in the relative subsystem the pluperfect and the conditional derive morphologically from forms conjugated in the imperfect, and that, likewise, in the absolute subsystem, the future comes from a form conjugated in the present. The preterit is, then, the only form which deviates from this morphological regularity established in each series on the basis of the simultaneous tenses:

	anterior	simultaneous	posterior
absolute	canta	canta	cantar ha
relative	havia cantat	cantava	cantar (hav)ia

Again, the same basic situation held in Spanish and Portuguese, yet no periphrastic preterit arose in these languages. Furthermore, the data suggest that, at the relevant period, the relationship between the conditional and the imperfect of *haver (havia, havies,* etc.) had been lost as a recoverable synchronic phenomenon. In support of this view, note that forms

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such as *hauria* 'he would have' from *haver* 'to have' and *volriem* 'we would like' from *voler* 'to want' appeared in the thirteenth century (*El llibre dels fets* of Jaume I) alongside *parlaria* 'he would speak' from *parlar* 'to speak'. The fact that at this comparatively early stage there were already conditional forms (as well as future forms) with stem alternations relative to the infinitive (from which the future/conditional stem comes historically) suggests that the endings of the conditional were not synchronically related to the imperfect forms of *haver* (for further discussion of the synchronic relationship between the conditional and the verb HAVE, see Ch. 3).

The next point made by Pérez is this: 'The preterit, finally, maintains an unstable opposition with the perfect (*he cantat* ['I have sung']), since both forms share the trait of perfectness and the latter shows a strong tendency towards converting the original perfective-resultative aspect into a past temporal value' (15). He goes on to suggest that it is no surprise that

> most of the Romance languages that have eliminated the simple past forms (i.e., standard French, northern Italian, and Rumanian) have substituted these forms for the old perfective forms with HABEO or SUM + participle: these forms allowed the resolution of the three problems identified above (16).

This account of events glosses over the potential 'problem' of losing the morphological means to express clearly a distinction between perfective past (preterit) and present perfect. More problematically, it does not fit the facts, since modern Catalan has retained the preterit/perfect distinction. For more on the role of grammaticalization in the resolution of linguistic 'problems', see Ch. 5.

Addressing the fact that Catalan has not also replaced the simple preterit with the perfect, Pérez argues 'that in Catalan the crisis of the derivatives of CANTAVI was accelerated by factors of a formal nature' (16). He identifies five 'very grave formal problems brought about by the regular phonetic evolution of the Latin desinences' (16-7). Let us look at all five of these points and then the issues that they raise.

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i The loss of the Latin formative -VI- had left the forms without any morpheme that signaled explicitly the past value in all persons and had introduced a high degree of morphological opacity in the conjugation of this tense.

ii The different verb conjugations presented great irregularity in the forms of the preterit, since besides the distinction between weak preterits (*cantà* ['sing-3s.prt.ind'], *perdé* ['lose-3s.prt.ind'], *sentí* ['feel-3s.prt.ind']) and strong ones, the latter were subclassified according to whether they had a root ending in a velar (*hac* ['have. 3s.prt.ind']), in /s/ (*mès* ['put.. 3s.prt.ind']), or in a semiconsonant (*veu* ['see.3s.prt.ind']).

iii In the sixth person [=third person plural] there developed a strange syllabic disequilibrium, since, unlike what is normal in the rest of the conjugation, this person had in the preterit one more syllable than in the rest of the persons....

iv Certain forms of the preterit were homonymous with forms of the present (*cantam* ['sing-1p.prt.ind'], *cantast* ['sing-2p.prt.ind'] [sic]) and of the conditional (*cantaren* ['sing-3p.prt.ind']). The homonymy with the present was especially grave since the present and the preterit are absolute or deictic tenses that indicate temporal reference by themselves.

v In some strong preterits and in the weak ones of the third conjugation homonymy developed between the first and the third persons (*hac* ['have. 1/3s.prt.ind'], *dix* ['say. 1/3s.prt.ind'], *dormí* ['sleep. 1/3s.prt.ind']). This homonymy of person is normal in the relative tenses (the imperfect, the conditional, the pluperfect) and in the subjunctive mood but it turns out to be especially irritating in an absolute tense such as the preterit.

Pérez concedes that analogical changes to the preterit paradigm eliminated some of the 'problematic' patterns. These changes were the reformation of most strong preterits as weak preterits (which also resolved the 1s-3s homonymy, as with the verb *dir* 'to say': *dix* -> *diguí* [1 s.prt.ind], *dix* -> *digué* [3s.prt.ind]) and the incorporation of the formative *-ar-* from the third person plural into the 2s, 1p, and 2p (as with the verb *parlar* 'to speak': *parlast* -> *parlares* [2s.prt.ind], *parlam* -> *parlàrem* [1p.prt.ind], *parlats* ->*parlàrets*

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[2p.prt.ind].[32] Pérez correctly points out that these changes eliminated the syncretism in the first and second person plural (a 'problem' still found in Spanish and Portuguese—see below), the homonymy between the first and the third person singular forms, and part of the syllabic disequilibrium of the older system. He continues, however, to argue that despite these analogical developments, 'the preterit continued without a regular formative for all the persons, it maintained some desinences and forms which were rather strange in Catalan verbal conjugation (*digué* ['say.1s.prt.ind'], *fiu* ['make.1s.prt.ind], *viu* ['see.1s.prt.ind']), and the homophony with the conditional in *-RA-* (*cantares, cantàrem, cantàreu, cantàren* [sic]) grew' (17). Even all together, these considerations seem inadequate to account for the development of the periphrastic preterit, though they may have contributed to its subsequent spread.

First, the preterits in Spanish and Portuguese are like the Catalan preterit in lacking a distinctive formative. Second, it is not clear what is meant by the description of endings and forms as 'strange'; certainly the first of the forms cited, *digué*, fits perfectly well with the new pattern established by the analogical changes cited. The others are irregular, but this is not surprising since the rest of the paradigms of these verbs are also irregular. Furthermore, the suggestion made above by Pérez that the preterit is a special tense (to be distinguished from the relative tenses) is consistent with a higher degree of irregularity. Finally, the point about increasing homophony between the preterit and the conditional in *-ra-* is somewhat misleading in that, at the relevant period, this form of the conditional already had a rather low frequency of occurrence, with the conditional usually being expressed by the forms historically related to the future forms.

If all these 'problems' were indeed so grave, it is not at all clear why the periphrastic preterit construction has not ousted the synthetic preterit in all Catalan dialects. In fact, the

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[32] The change of [ts] to [w] in forms such as *vats* -> *vau* 'aux.2p.ind' is a later development.

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syncretism of the first person plural present and the first person plural preterit is found in Spanish and, to a lesser degree, Portuguese; Spanish also displays syncretism between present and preterit in the second person plural forms. Finally, the claim that the syncretism between the first person and third person singular forms of the Catalan preterit constituted a serious problem is thrown into question when one considers the fact that the same situation holds in the paradigms of a number of irregular verbs (such as *querer* 'to want'—*quis* 'I wanted/he wanted', *dizer* 'to say'—*disse* 'I said/he said', among others) in modern Portuguese, where the ambiguity is increased since (in Brazilian varieties) the *tu* (second person singular) forms of the verb are rarely used and the normal informal second person pronoun *você* takes what is historically third person verbal agreement.

	'sing'		'eat'		'feel'	
	Spanish	Portuguese	Spanish	Portuguese	Spanish	Portuguese
1s prs	'kanto	'kãtu	'komo	'komu	'sjento	'sĩtu
1s prt	kan'te	kã'tej	ko'mi	ko'mi	sen'ti	sẽ'tʃi
1p prs	kan'tamos	kã'tamus	ko'memos	ko'memus	sen'timos	sẽ'tʃimus
1p prt	kan'tamos	kã'tamus	ko'mimos	ko'memus	sen'timos	sẽ'tʃimus

Table 9—First person present and preterit syncretism in Spanish and Portuguese

The Ibero-Romance facts and, perhaps more importantly, the analogical developments in the Catalan preterit (discussed above), argue against Pérez's view that the Catalan simple preterit was in a meaningful sense problematic, although these factors may well have contributed to the spread of the *va-* + infinitive construction (and thus the loss of the synthetic forms) once it developed. See Chapter 5 (§2.3) for further discussion of the notion of grammaticalization as a 'problem-solving' process.

2.7 Combinations of tense, mood, and aspect

As described above, the *va-* auxiliary has both indicative and subjunctive forms, thus allowing for a paradigm—the preterit subjunctive—not found in any of the other Romance languages. Common uses of the Romance subjunctive include the expression of doubt of

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some kind and of presuppositions (especially when an emotion relating to the presupposed proposition is expressed). A further use is in subordinate clauses, especially when some uncertainty is involved, as in the following example[33]:

17 Ct Si analitzem la frase que has enfatitzat, pot tenir molta gràcia depenent del contexte en el que vagi ser escrita.

'If we analyze the sentence that you've emphasized, it could have a lot of favor, depending on the context in which it was written.'

This example runs counter to the claim of Hualde (1992:323) that the imperfect subjunctive is used instead of the preterit subjunctive '[i]n the normal language'. Use of the periphrastic form allows, at least in principle, for a distinction between perfective and imperfective in the past subjunctive parallel to that found in the past indicative, apparently a functional side-effect of the grammaticalization processes. Pérez (personal communication) confirms Hualde's claim as a strong trend; this suggests that the distinction between perfective and imperfective is not as well entrenched in subjunctive uses as it is in indicative uses; this is consistent with the common cross-linguistic generalization that more marked categories (such as subjunctive relative to indicative) tend not to formally encode as many distinctions as found in less marked categories (for example, English has [some] person-number marking in the non-past, but none in the past, except for the highly exceptional verb to *be*, with the forms *was* and *were*).

Synchronically, it is not clear that anything is gained by assigning a tense to the *va*-auxiliary, but it seems that if the decision must be made, the judgement would be that it is present tense, because the normal first and second person singular and third person plural indicative forms and all the subjunctive forms share the most morphologically with present tense forms.

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[33] http://tinet.org/mllistes/parlem/May_1999/msg00212.html

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As I pointed out earlier in section 2, the perfect and the passive auxiliaries appear in numerous forms, thus providing a strong contrast with the periphrastic preterit. I will further argue (Chapter 5) that the future/conditional auxiliaries differ from all of the above in this respect, as do the progressive auxiliaries.

2.8 Degrees of grammaticalization

In his treatment of the Catalan periphrastic preterit, Pérez mentions stages in the development of the construction and makes reference to 'partially grammaticalized examples' (1996:2). This suggests a notion of degree of grammaticalization, which he does not explicitly discuss. While this seems intuitively like a clear concept, the issue merits a detailed examination. In this section I consider some possible indicators of the relative degree of grammaticalization of the Catalan periphrastic preterit. The following parameters appear to play a role in this determination:

- phonological reduction
- valence differences between auxiliary and full lexical uses of a verb
- the degree to which 'metaphorical' or superficially 'contradictory' uses occur
- stylistic versus grammatical conditioning

These are useful parameters along which to evaluate the construction under consideration because such constructions change over time with respect to these characteristics as elements move further from lexical to grammatical status. In effect, these are the main ways in which a construction may differ from a compositional combination of the elements from which the pattern has developed.

The first of these, phonological reduction, is a commonly cited concomitant of grammaticalization. Numerous researchers, including Hopper & Traugott (1993:145-150), Bybee et al. (1994:106-115), and Heine et al. (1991:17), cite the differential development of elements in their grammatical and lexical functions. Hopper & Traugott (1993:145) explain the phenomenon thus: 'Often, as might be expected from the divergence and the resultant coexistence of both unreduced (tonic) and reduced (clitic) forms, the autonomous lexical

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form will undergo a different set of phonological changes from the bound form.' As an example, they offer the English cases of *like* [lajk] and *-ly* [li] (as in *slowly*) as well as *by* [baj] and *be-* [bi~bə] (as in *because*), where the grammaticalized versions of the elements do not show the effects of the Great Vowel Shift (presumably because they were not long enough to pattern with the long vowels which did undergo the sound change). However, they rightly point out (1993:147),

> Many of the phonological changes that accompany morphologization are not peculiar to this process but are simply part of the same processes of assimilation, attrition, and other kinds of reduction that are found more generally in non-prominent syllables and across junctures.

An example of the generality of the processes at work can be found in English present tense verb forms. There are four English verbs which have irregular present tense third person singular forms (modal verbs are not considered because they do not have person-number marking): *is* [ɪz], *has* [hæz], *does* [dəz], and *says* [sɛz]. The first three of these serve as auxiliaries, but the other is purely a lexical element. The uniting factor is token frequency: 'these are the most frequent verb forms in English' (Brown corpus, quoted by Finegan 1990:87). Likewise in Catalan the first person singular present indicative form of *voler* 'to want' *vull* should, according to general patterns of Catalan historical phonology be pronounced [buʎ] (it is listed thus in some pronunciation guides); the 3s prs ind form *bull*, from *bullir* 'to boil' is pronounced, as expected, [buʎ]). *Vull* is instead pronounced [bwi]. Thus it seems that the seemingly 'special' phonological changes found in grammaticalization are actually the result of a more general process whereby high frequency elements undergo further phonological development than that found with lower frequency items. This is essentially the same conclusion that Bybee, citing unpublished work by Pagliuca (1976), reaches (1985:89).

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In the case of the Catalan periphrastic preterit, there is no phonological reduction, though this fact by no means contradicts the view that the auxiliary is highly grammaticalized. It should be noted that, contrary to what I have said here, Pérez (1996:22) claims that phonological reduction has played a role in the development of this construction. Discussing increased iconicity in the construction, he writes,

> Note, in this sense, that the conversion of *anar* ['to go'] into an auxiliary verb provokes, initially, a phonological reduction and, concretely, an elimination of the more clearly tonic forms (*anam* [1p] and *anats* [2p]) and a regularization of the paradigm based on the monosyllabic and normally atonic formative *va-*.

None of the Catalan auxiliary verbs is unstressed; Badia (1981), for example, confirms that the forms of the preterit auxiliary have full vocalism and stress (though it is a secondary stress relative to that of the main verb), as indicated in the orthography of some of the verb forms that Pérez cites himself. For example, the modern first and second person plural forms *vàrem* and *vàreu* show clearly that they have initial stress; thus they have [a] vocalism in the first syllable and schwa vocalism in the second syllable: they are pronounced ['barəm] and ['barəw], respectively, and are therefore no less tonic than the forms that they replaced (*anam* [a'nam] and *anats* [a'nats]/*anau* [a'naw].

When a lexical item undergoes grammaticalization, certain syntactic-semantic traits characteristic of the previous distribution of the item cease to hold for the grammaticalized version. A key area in which this is the case is that of valence, the restrictions imposed by a linguistic unit on its arguments. Consider, for example, the verb *go* in English, which subcategorizes for a subject which is prototypically agentive and thus animate, though numerous other kinds of elements can fulfill the subject role via various extensions from the prototypical subject, thus *This road goes to Figueres*. A sentence such as *This table is going to be varnished* provides an example of *go* used as part of the construction *be going to/be gonna* which has a subject (this *table)* which would normally not occur as the subject

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of the lexical verb *go;* examples such as *There's gonna be a party at Joe's house tomorrow* show even less prototypically subject-like characteristics. This pattern of usage in English points to a relatively high degree of grammaticalization. The issue of valence or subcategorization ties in with the range of allowable verbs which participate in the construction; this is discussed below.

In the case of the Catalan periphrastic preterit, there are no restrictions on the subject with which the auxiliary shows morphosyntactic agreement, as would be expected for a construction with a high degree of grammaticalization. It is not surprising that this is the case with a construction which has replaced the simple preterit, as it would be hard to imagine that certain kinds of subjects might be disallowed from the simple past but not, say, the present or the future. Over the course of the development of this periphrasis, increases in the range of permissible subjects have been more straightforwardly correlatable with changes in the types of verbs occurring in this construction, the issue to which I now turn.

The types of verbs allowed in a grammatical construction may change as the construction develops. In early stages, the non-finite verb will belong to the class of verbs that subcategorize for the kind of subject selected by the inflected verb. Consider the verbs found in the *anar* + infinitive construction in the *Lilbre dels fets* of Jaume I.

In the modern language, however, there are no restrictions on verb type with this construction; even avalent verbs like *ploure* 'to rain' participate in this construction, as below.

18 Ct La setman-a pass-ad-a no va-m an-ar a l-a
the-f week-f pass-ppcpl-f NEG aux-1p.ind go-inf to the-f
platj-a perque va plou-re.
beach-f because aux.3s rain-inf
'Last week we didn't go to the beach because it rained.'

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On this point Pérez makes the somewhat puzzling claim that the verb *deure* cannot occur in the periphrastic preterit as an auxiliary, i.e., that the pattern *va deure* + verb is not grammatical. In its full lexical sense *deure* means 'to owe, to be due to' and does indeed appear in this periphrastic preterit construction (as below).

19 Ct Aquesta lleugera millora **es va deure** a la contenció generalitzada dels diferents components de l'índex, llevat dels preus energetics.

'This slight improvement **was due** to the generalized containment of the different components of the index, except for energetic prices.'

As an auxiliary, *deure* means 'must' in a strictly epistemic sense; that is, it is used only in cases in which an inference is expressed (note that Catalan differs from some other Romance languages, including Spanish and Portuguese, in that the Catalan synthetic future does not have an epistemic sense), as in (13).

20 Ct Ja deu-en ésser-hi:
already must-3p.prs.ind be.inf-there
surt fum de l-a xemenei-a
leave.3s.prs.ind smoke of the-f chimney-f
'They must already be there: there's smoke coming from the chimney.'

Pérez claims that epistemic *deure* cannot be used in the periphrastic preterit because 'epistemic modality represents a very elevated degree of grammaticalization and of distancing from prototypical verbal meaning, a degree which is, at least, more removed than that which temporal auxiliaries can have. This fact explains the ungrammaticality of sentences' with *deure*in the periphrastic preterit (Pérez 1996:22); he argues that such sentences must have *deure*in in the synthetic preterit. However, Roser Morante confirms (personal communication) that a past tense version of an epistemic sentence with *deure* takes the periphrastic form, as in *Hi va deure haver un malentès* 'There must have been a misunderstanding'. She does suggest that it seems forced in the past tense, but offers a preterit (again periphrastic) with *segurament* 'probably' or *possiblement* 'possibly'

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(Segurament/possiblement hi va haver un malentès 'There was probably a misunderstanding'), though she makes no mention of a need to use the synthetic form of *deure*. In the quote above, Pérez again mentions the degree of grammaticalization of one construction (that with *va-*) relative to others (presumably such as those with *haver*), but again without explanation of how this is to be judged. It may be that the differing judgements of Morante and Pérez reflect a generational difference, with the position of Pérez reflecting the older state of affairs, but this might also reflect a more general tendency for speakers to differ on such matters. However, examples of the periphrasis do occur with *deure*in its epistemic sense, as below:

21 Ct La seua ocupació va deure ser pacífica ja que el noble visigod teodomiro que poblaba Iaspis al any 713, va donar el seu domini al conqueridor àrab Abd al Aziz, amb el pagament d'un impos, respetant-li a cambi la vida, propietats, llibertat, religió, etc. dels seus moradors.

'Their occupation had to be peaceful since the noble Visigoth Teodomiro, who inhabited Iaspis to the year 713, gave his domain to the Arab conqueror Abd al Aziz, with the payment of a tax, respecting himm in the life change, property, freedom, religion, etc. of the inhabitants.'

Another way to evaluate a construction's degree of grammaticalization is to consider whether the construction admits verbs whose semantics appear superficially to result in 'contradictory' or 'metaphorical' juxtapositions. This can be thought of as a question of how semantically 'bleached' the auxiliary has become, though perhaps it is more meaningful to speak of change in meaning (and possibly in kind of meaning) rather than of semantic bleaching (for more on this perspective, see Sweetser 1988). For example, the semantics of the verb *quedar-se* 'to remain' clearly conflicts with the sense of 'go', but, as pointed out above, the periphrastic preterit occurs with all verbs, including this one, as in the following example:

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22 Ct Hi va qued-ar-se.

there aux.3s.ind stay-inf 3.rfl

'He stayed there.'

2.9 A possible metaphor account

Given the recent convergence of metaphor studies and grammaticalization studies, it is surprising that my research produced no metaphor-based analyses of the Catalan periphrastic preterit. I did find, however, an analysis of grammaticalization in Chagga, an Eastern Bantu language of Tanzinia, that is directly relevant to the Catalan case. Emanatian (1992) analyzes uses of COME and GO in past and future constructions in Chagga and offers as a main component to her metaphor analysis what she calls **perspectival shifting**.

Before going into the details of her analysis, it may be appropriate to comment on the nature of Emanatian's study. This article's title, 'Metaphor and the development of tense-aspect' suggests that it will include diachronic analysis, but none is offered; the author promises a 'snapshot view of change-in-progress' (2), but does not provide attestation of change or evidence for patterns of change based on good reconstructions (not an unreasonable request with the Bantu languages) and attested mechanisms of language change. Meanwhile, Emanatian writes of '[t]he perspectival shifting that takes place', which suggests a synchronic analysis. To the extent that she offers synchronic thoughts, she does not make it clear whether she intends for her analysis to be an example of how a person, especially a linguist, might make sense of the patterns she describes or a proposal for what she thinks Chagga speakers do when they use their language. Thus Emanatian's piece is almost achronic, in that it does not commit itself to a clear position with respect to synchrony and diachrony. The evidence for some of these claims will become clearer as my discussion of the article proceeds.

The particular construction that concerns us here is what Emanatian calls an infinitival construction. She asserts that the verb for COME (actually 'to come from' [1992:3]) (*icha*, short form *-cha-*) is used to mark a past tense, but in support of this

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etymology, she gives little other than a brief reference to cross-linguistic research that has scant legitimate claim to the status of work on language universals and linguistic typology owing to the small sample sizes and both genetic and areal skewing. Furthermore, she offers neither relevant dialect or sub-branch sibling language data nor evidence from reconstruction—in a language family whose history has received ample attention—to support what amounts to a superficial claim. Ultimately, however, I see little reason to doubt the cognacy of the forms in question, but only because I believe that a compelling case can be made in its favor.

The 'full' form of the next verb is *ienda*, which Emanatian glosses as 'to go to', and the short form is *-enda-*. After the introduction, Emanatian proceeds to explore two future constructions, one using *-nde-* and the other using *-cha-*. While these are not strictly within the scope of this study, briefly examining them will help illustrate the kind of explanation Emanatian employs. After introducing two examples (1-2; 16-17 here), she explains that she 'will make a case that in this construction *-enda* and *-cha* may imply a future interpretation...by expressing present "motion" of the actors on a path of action through time, directed toward the future' (3). She then goes on to say, 'This, **of course**, is spatio-temporal metaphor' (3, emphasis added). As I've already argued, there is no need to invoke metaphor of any kind, and thus Emanatian has no reason to use the phrase 'of course', except perhaps as a way to coerce the reader into accepting her interpretation. Emanatian then strengthens her case for grammaticalization by pointing to evidence of increasing morphosyntactic and phonological dependence for these two verbal elements.

23 *mndu* *chu* *naíndelupfíía*

		na	*-i*	*-enda*	*-i*	*-lu*	*-pfi*	*-i*	*-a*
person	this	FOC:SM:3SG	PROG	go:to	INF	OM:1PL	die	APPL	IND

'This person is going to die on us.'

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24	*nái'chédílika*						*mkoóngi*
	na	*-i*	*-cha*	*-i*	*-alik*	*-a*	
	FOC:SM:3SG	PROG	come	INF	marry	IND	wife:other

'He'll marry another wife.' (lit., he's coming to marry another wife)

As I mentioned above, Emanatian puts the main burden of her case on the notion of perspectival shifting. Before we can fully appreciate her argument, we must briefly examine a few aspects of how she treats the lexical semantics of the source verbs in question. Like most, if not all, grammaticalization researchers, Emanatian is a native speaker of a European language and a speaker of English. This is significant because many of these researchers have the unfortunate tendency to treat glosses of words or morphemes into European languages as somehow definitive and then, when they discuss lexical semantics, they do so on the basis of European languages, especially numerically and/or historically dominant ones like English and French. This is the background for Emanatian's analysis of COME: '"Come" **of course** expresses movement toward the deictic center' (5, emphasis added). The 'of course' here is felicitous in the context of English and the Romance languages, but not with certain other languages, like the other Germanic languages, for example, where there is no easy COME-GO pairing as there is in English and the Romance languages. It is inappropriate to assume that the lexical semantics of words in a group of closely related languages will apply neatly to the words of any other language, much less an unrelated one.

In addition to metaphor, Emanatian invokes pragmatic strengthening as a mechanism in the development of these forms:'*-nde-* and *-che-* do not, strictly speaking, mark futurity...[They] are commonly and conventionally used to implicate future. ...[T]his sort of situation leaves the door open for the implicated meaning to become part of what is asserted by the morpheme' (8). On this point we are in agreement.

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Moving now to the discussion of pasts with these morphemes, we once again find Emanatian performing lexical semantic analysis of foreign languages on the basis of English patterns. She writes, for example, "'Go" expresses motion away from the deictic center, even in its metaphorical, temporal use...' (11). From this she concludes that '[t]his directedness conflicts with the movement of an actor through time from past to present—and in no other order—that is, motion toward the deictic center' (11). But, she points out, perspectival shifting might be possible, since there are languages with GO pasts, even though 'in Chagga it appears true that the speaker's vantage point cannot be de-coupled from the moment of speech for metaphorical uses of "go"' (12).

I think it is now clear how one might construct a metaphor analysis of the Catalan periphrastic preterit: (1) assume the operation of a metaphor that states that time is space and that thus motion through time is motion through space, invoking a target domain override to get around the difference between (presumably) two-dimensional time and three-dimensional space. (2) Next, assume that a morpheme sometimes translated into English by *go* has only negligibly different lexical semantics from the English word *go*; specifically, work on the premise that GO must involve motion away from the deictic center. Then, to get around the seeming conflict between steps (1) and (2), posit perspectival shifting, that is, the temporary placement of the deictic center at some point in the past, which allows the going to involve motion away from that deictic center but still result in temporal 'motion' toward the now.

Emanatian makes quite clear her position on the ungrammaticality of perspectival shifting with *-enda-*. She asserts that the lexical semantics of the verb *ienda* are such that the source can only be the deictic center. While this shows that she does not rely solely on English for her lexical semantic analysis, it seems somewhat unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, grammaticalization is widely considered to a process that involves changing or 'relaxing' the requirements of source elements' restrictions (part of the process that researchers like Bybee et al. 1994 call 'generalization'). This seems like a good candidate

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for such a shift. Secondly, she invokes 'the way we conceive of time' (14), but it seems that she allows for there to be only one way in which all humans conceive of time, a position for which she provides no evidence.

As with many metaphor analyses, Emanatian's is in no way a must-be kind of scenario. That is, such 'explanations' are usually plausible stories but not compelling accounts of the alignment of details, events, and principles that are most likely to answer the questions *how?* and *why?* about the construction(s) under consideration. Emanatian admits that hers is not the only possible way of approaching the Chagga data, and she offers little to convince even the slightly skeptical reader to take her perspective. It seems to me that the task of historical linguists is to weave webs of connections among facts and patterns that constitute plausible and compelling explanations—in the truest sense of the word—of the phenomena under consideration. The conclusions should lead other researchers—who inevitably bring to the table familiarity with other languages and other theorereticals frameworks—to reach new answers to old questions and to ask fruitful, new questions.

3 Consequences of the development of the periphrastic preterit

In this section I examine the significance of the development of the periphrastic preterit for the verbal system of Catalan, first by reviewing the specific consequences in Catalan and then via brief comparison of related phenomena in other languages.

3.1 Catalan

As I mentioned earlier, one effect of the development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit is that, unlike the other Romance languages and indeed most languages of which I am aware, the periphrasis allows for the simultaneous encoding of subjunctive mood, past tense, and perfective aspect (in both perfect and non-perfect tamcats). Though not highly frequent, forms such as that found in example (4) do distinguish Catalan from its relatives.

An additional consideration falls more into the sociolinguistic side of matters, namely the retention of the synthetic preterit forms. These survive in some dialects and in so-called literary usage in those dialects with the periphrastic preterit, thus allowing speakers

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to (at least attempt to) categorize others on the basis of whether they use the periphrasis and, if so, in what contexts.

3.2 Other Romance languages

In comparing the standard varieties of Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan in Chapter 3, we saw that one of the most significant distinguishing characteristics of Catalan is the elimination of the forms of the synthetic perfective past in favor of the GO-periphrastic preterit in contrast with their retention in Ibero-Romance. The Catalan loss of the synthetic forms, however, differs substantially from the loss of these forms in most other varieties of Romance, such as French, some varieties of Rhaeto-Romance, Italian, Sardinian, and Romanian. In these varieties, the periphrastic perfect forms with HAVE (and BE in some cases) plus past participle have effectively taken over for the synthetic forms, with the result that the periphrastic forms are ambiguous between (at least) two interpretations: a perfect reading and a perfective reading, as in (25) from Romanian.

25 Rm Am dor-it
have. I s.pres.ind wish-pptcpl
'I wished' / 'I have wished'

A further result of this development is a change in the expression of the pluperfect. Whereas Spanish and Portuguese offer a formally simple distinction between an imperfective and a perfective past perfect using the imperfect and preterit forms of the perfect auxiliary (mostly HAVE, but BE in some cases), respectively, languages which have lost the synthetic preterit can achieve this distinction only by employing three-part periphrastic forms. As we saw in Chapter 3, Catalan uses the *va-* auxiliary plus *haver* 'to have' and the past participle of the main verb to express the perfective past perfect. However, since the other languages have replaced the synthetic preterit with the periphrastic perfect, some use forms that are called in French grammar *les temps surcomposés*, which, following Harris (1988: 226), I refer to as **double compound tenses** (26 from Harris 1988:229).

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26 Fr Je me suis eu ass-is

I me be.1s.pr.ind have.ppcpl seat-ppcpl

'I had (just) sat down'

It is noteworthy that Occitan, Catalan's closest relative, also uses such forms (called *los tempses subrecompausats*), though their function differs from that of the corresponding French forms (see Harris 1988, Wheeler 1988, Sauzet 1995 for more information on these forms). This difference in distribution appears to correlate in part with the greater use of the synthetic preterit in Occitan than in French.

3.3 Other languages

As with the Romance languages, most cases of periphrastic past tense forms are either primarily or secondarily used to express the perfect. This is the case, for example, in most of the Germanic languages, where a synthetic past form not specifically marked for perfectivity contrasts with a compound perfect with a perfective participle and an auxiliary meaning 'have', and in some cases, 'be'. This is true of English and the Scandinavian languages, while in Yiddish, Afrikaans, and southern dialects of German the simple past has been all but eliminated in a development very similar to that described in French and Occitan; here the simple past has been lost, with the compound past serving for both perfect and preterit uses.

4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have examined the development of a periphrastic preterit construction in Catalan which is not found in the other Romance languages (except for some Occitan varieties). This development was accompanied by the virtual elimination of the synthetic forms from colloquial use (in the standard variety; recall that in some dialects, such as Balearic, the synthetic forms are still used). In some other Romance languages and some Germanic varieties some similar interactions took place between the compound pasts

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and the simple preterit (which in Germanic combined the old Indo-European perfect and the Germanic innovative dental past [Heath 1998]). As in some Romance languages, the periphrastic form has spread and is now basically the only past form used in southern German. In these cases the present relevance which had been encoded since the resultative stage has been lost as a necessary component of the interpretation. The Catalan periphrastic construction differs importantly from the others just mentioned because in these other languages the compound past serves both a perfect function and a preterit function, while in Catalan two different periphrastic constructions fill these roles.

The auxiliary differs from those of other constructions in that it occurs only in two basic guises: indicative and subjunctive. Formally the auxiliary does not show phonological reduction specific to this construction but its connection with its lexical correspondent, which is itself quite irregular, is a matter of some debate because some of the forms (including a number created analogically) of this auxiliary do not match those of the lexical verb (but in some dialects they coincide completely); nevertheless synchronically the two are considered by some speakers to belong to the same lexeme. Whether this conscious connection is paralleled by their internalized grammars is a matter for further research.

The development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit appears to conflict with cross-linguistic tendencies for GO + infinitive to participate in constructions which mark future time. The Catalan construction is traditionally said to be the result of a reanalysis of the use in medieval Catalan of present tense forms of *anar* 'to go' plus an infinitive for stylistic effect in past tense narrative. Analysis of the early examples of the construction shows, however, that the first uses had the GO verb in the preterit tense and that the texts from the relevant period did not display features characteristic of narrative present use.

I have argued that the construction originated in a partially affective use of perfective past forms of *anar* 'to go' with a purposive infinitive, typically in contexts where it was clear that the referent of the grammatical subject of *anar* went somewhere and engaged in the activity indicated by the infinitive. These collocations resulting from the use of a number of

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older constructions then gave way to a constructionalized periphrastic construction. The identity of certain forms in the present and preterit of *anar* allowed for the reinterpretation of the auxiliary as present rather than preterit. The reanalysis was further facilitated by the option of using infinitives without complementizers (unlike in Modern Catalan) to express purpose. It is worth noting that there is no evidence that metaphor played any role at all. See Chapter 5.2.1 for further discussion of the role of metaphor in the development of grammatical structures in the Iberian Romance languages and its role in grammaticalization in general.

Once the construction developed a more or less pragmatically neutral preterit reading, the forms of the auxiliary underwent analogical reformation. The monosyllabic character of the third person singular form (*va*) of the auxiliary facilitated the creation of alternate forms analogous to regular preterit forms of the first conjugation. Despite the elimination of suppletion in the first and second person plural indicative forms (*anam/anem, anau/aneu* → *vam, vau*), the first person singular indicative form (*vaig*) has stayed irregular due to its high frequency; further, the irregularity of the first person singular form has support in that a number of other frequent first person singular forms have a similar shape, such as *faig* [fatʃ] 'I do' and *veig* [betʃ] 'I see'. In the modern standard language the increased use of the periphrastic form has corresponded to the restriction of the synthetic variant to literary and formal registers.

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Chapter 5 Conclusions

In this chapter I will summarize the key points I have made (§1), draw broader conclusions (§2), and suggest some directions for further research (§3).

1 Key points

In the preceding chapters I have presented case studies of instances of language change in the Iberian Romance languages Spanish, Catalan, and Portuguese to explore a number of issues in grammaticalization. These case studies all involve periphrastic past constructions. This summary is arranged into the following sections: theoretical context (§1.1), resultative and related constructions (§1.2), and the Catalan periphrastic preterit (§1.3).

1.1 The key traits of grammaticalization

While there is ample room for disagreement and debate among grammaticalization researchers (see §2), there are a number of points on which there is now wide agreement. Perhaps chief among these is that grammaticalization is a gradual process that often places individual words and constructions in between traditionally recognized categories (like verb and adposition) or gives them joint membership in multiple categories. Some, but not all, researchers have taken this to mean that traditional Chomskyan style analyses depending on discrete categories are no longer tenable.

Connected to the gradualness of grammaticalization is the fact that it takes quite some time for an element (lexical item, construction, etc.) to change substantially in grammatical status. This fact supports my conclusion that grammaticalization is not a teleological process over which speakers have any substantial degree of conscious control (see §2.3).

Another key feature of grammaticalization is that certain patterns recur across the world in unrelated languages. For example, perfect constructions with HAVE and/or BE plus a participle are quite common. This suggests that there are limits on the degree to which linguistic traits are arbitrary and calls for explanation of why some patterns are common, others rare, and still others unattested.

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1.2 Resultatives and related constructions

In my analysis of resultatives and the constructions that they develop into—especially perfects—I focused on two main pathways by which resulatives develop into perfects. In rough terms, monovalent verbs like verbs of motion appear participially with the copula, marking that the subject is in a particular state indicated by the participle. With transitives, the verb shows up in the participle as a modifier of a noun as part of a noun phrase that is the object of a verb meaning HAVE. In the Iberian Romance languages, over time the pattern for the statistically more numerous transitives was extended to the intransitives.

A point on which previous research has been either silent or mistaken concerns the mechanism by which the forms that were used in Latin to mark perfect passives (e.g., *amātus est* 'he has been loved') came to mark non-perfect passives (e.g., Spanish *es amado* 'he is loved'). Vincent (1988) argues that analogical pressure from the transitive perfect caused a shift in the perfectness of the perfect passive, resulting in a non-perfect passive. Drawing on an earlier argument (Juge 1996), I argue that in fact any analogical pressure from the transitives would have merely reinforced the perfect quality to this passive construction. I claim instead that the interaction of the lexical semantics of certain verbs and the passive construction favored the restructuring from perfect to non-perfect.

1.3 The Catalan periphrastic preterit

In analyzing the Catalan periphrastic preterit, I focused on one main claim that some previous researchers have made and others have willingly accepted, namely that the construction developed out of the use of the narrative present of the verb *anar* 'to go' plus an infinitive. I argued that the evidence does not support the view that the construction came from a narrative present use of *anar* and that such an account does not explain the use of *anar* in the preterit along with an infinitive in the same meaning; in particular, it does not account for the early prevalence of the preterit followed by a steady rise of the present with a concomitant decline in the preterit.

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Examining two Old Catalan texts, the *Llibre dels fets* of King Jaume I and Bernat Desclot's *Crònica*, I analyzed the various examples of the construction, including the contexts in which those examples appeared, and found no evidence of the narrative present in either text.

The texts suggest the following sequence of events:

1. *anar* + infinitive is used (in various tenses) to indicate actions that immediately followed change of location
2. *anar* + infinitive is used in the preterit to mark some cases in which context provides enough clues to figure out that a change of location must have preceded the event encoded in the infinitive, thus leading speakers to think of the construction as essentially semantically equivalent to the synthetic preterit
3. a pattern of syncretism in *anar*, namely the fact that the first and second person plural of the present indicative are identical to the first and second personal plural of the preterit, opened the door to reinterpreting patterns like *anam ferir* 'we went to attack = we attacked' as 'we go to attack = we attacked', that is, viewing what is historically a preterit tense auxiliary plus infinitive as a present tense auxiliary plus infinitive.

After the reanalysis of the construction as consisting of present forms of *anar* plus infinitive, the door was opened to a number of analogical changes that have resulted in the preterit auxiliary's differing from the present tense of the verb meaning 'to go' in two main respects. First, the most commonly used forms of the auxiliary do not show the stem suppletion of the lexical verb. Second, with the less commonly used forms of the auxiliary, there is influence from the synthetic preterit itself in the form of the *-ar-* formative visible in *vàreig, vares, vàrem, vàreu,* and *varen* (note that there is no **vara* for the third person singular, presumably because the monosyllabic *va* resembles both a present in its initial stress and a synthetic preterit in its final stress). One consequence of this is that it is now quite misleading to call the Catalan periphrastic preterit a GO-past.

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2 Broader conclusions

I have raised a number of issues on which there is not yet general agreement among researchers. I now review my conclusions and explore some implications of the solutions I have offered to these problems.

2.1 The role of metaphor in grammaticalization

Because certain cases of grammaticalization show similarities to some cases of metaphorical mappings, some researchers have taken the position that grammaticalization is a metaphorical process. While other researchers have taken weaker stances on the role of metaphor in grammaticalization, most if not all accept some role for it. I on the other hand have argued that it plays an extremely limited role, possibly none at all.

A well known type of grammaticalization often attributed to metaphor is the use of a verb of motion (e.g., a GO verb) in a construction marking some kind of future, as found in English (*They're going to stay here all evening*) and several Romance languages (e.g., Spanish *Vamos a cantar esta noche* 'We're going to sing tonight'). The standard explanation is that there is a metaphor, TIME IS SPACE, and that these grammatical constructions show that time, in particular the relationship between the present and the future, is being conceived of in terms of space.

In other cases, however, there is relatively little to recommend a metaphor analysis, as in the development of both perfects and related constructions. One problem here is that metaphor requires two different domains and a mapping between them, but it is unclear exactly what kind of relationship there might be between, on the on hand, the domains of possession and existence and, on the other, the domain of relating past situations to the present.

I argued in Chapter 4 that there is no need of a metaphor account for the development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit, in part because such an account would, in mapping time onto space, require a claim of shifting perspective, as Emanatian posits in her (1992) account of Chagga grammaticalization. An alternative account adequately explains this

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development by invoking well-established mechanisms of change. In fact, I have argued that it is generally—possibly always—the case that, while certain grammaticalization changes are consistent with a metaphor account, close analysis reveals a bridging context that explains the change.

The commitment to metaphor sometimes leads to an unnecessary conceptual stretch. This is most evident in Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca's (1994) treatment of COME futures, as in Norwegian *Det kommer til å regne i dag* 'It's going to rain today'. They follow Emanatian's (1992) lead and assert (1994:269), 'A "come"-future requires that the speaker's point of view be some time in the future,' on the assumption that the mechanism of change is metaphor and that there must be a relatively neat mapping of time onto space. However, such a claim is not needed to explain this development. A straightforward bridging context is available in cases in which two speakers are in the same place talking about a third party on their way to where the two speakers are:

A: Where's Fran?

B: Coming to fix the sink.

If Fran is currently traveling to where the speakers are, the sink fixing will necessarily happen later, i.e., in the future. Thus the metaphor explanation not only proves no more explanatory, but it in fact encourages positing unnecessary mental gymnastics.

2.2 Pragmatics

One mechanism of change sometimes viewed as an alternative or competitor to metaphor is pragmatic inferencing, which involves attributing to the 'built-in' semantics of a construction something implied pragmatically or through knowledge of the real world. Consider again the development of futures from motion verbs. Any time a person is moving toward a place with the intent of doing something there, the action temporally follows the moving. If someone asserts that that person is currently moving, the action they intend to perform, if it happens, will necessarily happen in the future. Thus we have a situation ripe for reinterpretation. At one stage the speaker uses the verb of motion plus a purpose

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complement to indicate movement with intent, but partially because movement is often an unstated necessity anyway, a hearer may reinterpret the utterance as action in the future. Here there is no need for a metaphor account and, to the extent that we choose to view metaphor and pragmatic inferencing as competitors, the evidence comes down strongly on the side of pragmatic inferencing, in part because pragmatic interpretation is a constant, on-line process, while the evidence for metaphor as a continuous process is far less secure.

2.3 Teleology

Treatments of grammaticalization as a goal oriented process usually involve positing some kind of problem to be solved. These fall into two main categories: formal and functional.

2.3.1 Formal problems

In Chapter 4 I reviewed Pérez's (1996) claims that there were problems with the Catalan synthetic preterit, a morphological descendant of the Latin perfect. He identifies two types of problem. First, Pérez claims that the relation between the synthetic preterit and other verb forms was problematically asymmetrical. But similar kinds of asymmetry obtained in Spanish and Portuguese without any replacement of the synthetic preterit. Second, Pérez asserts that, as the result of five 'very grave formal problems brought about by the regular phonetic evolution of the Latin desinences' (1996:16-7), there was a 'crisis of the derivatives' of the Latin perfect.

There must be something to recommend a construction that ends up grammaticalized in a language. It may be the case that since Catalan had the right preconditions for the development of a periphrastic preterit, these 'problems' with it were essentially the straw(s) that broke the camel's back. Thus Spanish and Portuguese didn't have the right set-up for such a development, but if they had, the natural prediction is that they would have taken advantage of such a situation.

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I see no evidence, however, to believe that speakers recognize patterns as problems and then attempt to fix them, especially via grammaticalization, a slow, long process that they could never hope to see completed within their own lifetimes.

Furthermore, this line of thought raises the issue of whether one language can be more problematic or problem-ridden than another. Such a notion runs directly counter to the widespread claim that all languages are essentially equal. While I hesitate to reject the possibility of languages differing in problematicity on purely philosophical grounds, the evidence seems overwhelming that there is no objective basis for calling one language superior to another in any respect.

2.3.2 Functional problems

Discussion of functional problems occurs primarily in the context of examination of the role of metaphor in grammaticalization. The best-known representative of this line of inquiry is Heine and his colleagues. In Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991:65), for example, the authors describe

> the process underlying grammaticalization as the result of a problem-solving strategy whereby "abstract" concepts are understood in terms of less "abstract" concepts. The process is metaphorical in nature and involves a transfer in discrete steps from one cognitive domain to another.

The basic idea here is that speakers have the problem of expressing themselves by discussing certain abstract topic or marking certain abstract relationships that their language is in some way unable to encode (or perhaps, the language can encode these things but only akwardly). Speakers then solve their own problems by recruiting more concrete forms to get their abstract ideas across.

I have two problems with this view. First, it raises the same issue I mentioned in the last section, namely the fact that the evidence seems to point away from some languages being better at allowing speakers to communicate than others.

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Second, this view attributes to grammaticalization a level of conscious control for which I see little evidence. Given the gradual nature of grammatical change, there seems to be little reason to posit that speakers are making conscious efforts to change their languages by slowly changing their grammatical systems.

Overall, then, my data on the Iberian Romance periphrastic past constructions contribute to the collection of information arguing against a teleological view of language change in general and grammaticalization in particular.

2.4 In depth analysis vs. cross-linguistic research

I alluded several times to the cross-linguistic nature of grammaticalization research, but I have not gone into much detail on any methological issues. Cross-linguistic comparison of the type usually ideally sought in grammaticalization studies involves a special type of typological research, an area of study that is fraught with difficulty. Newmeyer (1998) explores a number of problems the typological researcher faces, including the practical impossibility of obtaining a truly representative sample of the world's languages and the fact that the languages of the world do not represent all the possible languages of the world, nor is it clear how to extrapolate from the attested languages (so many of which poorly or underdescribed) to those that happen not to exist but could.

Even leaving these matters aside, the typologically oriented grammaticalization researcher is faced with the task of exploring not merely the constructions found across a wide range of languages, but also the histories of these constructions. Only in the case of extended written attestation—by far the minority circumstance—can this process approach a reasonable degree of reliability. Despite the power of the comparative method, it is very difficult to be confident in reconstructions of grammatical constructions, though Harris and Campbell (1995) argue that the possibilities in such reconstruction are far greater than has usually been believed.

Essentially what researchers face is a version of the classic problem of depth versus breadth: how does one strike a balance between covering a good sampling of the world's

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languages and gathering adequate detail about the development of the various constructions? I believe that the answer is that, in light of the difficulties in sampling, researchers can best proceed by focusing on analyzing individual cases in great detail with an eye toward broader patterns. This area of research highlights the cooperative nature of our discipline.

The potential for trouble as a result of superficial cross-linguistic analysis is evident in our earlier discussion of COME futures, where researchers appear to have noticed the similarity between the future auxiliary and the verb for 'come' and, rather than conducting an analysis of the changes that led to the current situation, made a reasonable guess as to how the modern situation arose, in the process asserting a general principle for which they produced no convincing evidence.

2.5 Generality and generalization

In arguing for a lesser role for metaphor than some other researchers, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca attribute many changes others believe derive from metaphor to a process they call **(semantic) generalization**, which they define as 'the loss of specific features of meaning with the consequent expansion of appropriate contexts for use for a gram' (1994:289).

Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca appear to be conflating two distinct kinds of change, namely **broadening** and **extension**. Broadening involves the expansion of the referents of a lexeme, as happened with *dog*, which formerly referred to a specific type of dog, rather than the whole class. Extension is a process of increasing the contexts of application for a term through more or less discrete steps.

They also claim that a lexical item has to show a certain degree of generality to be eligible for grammaticalization, which claim is belied by their own examination of the grammaticalization of words meaning 'finish', 'desire', and 'owe'. More problematic is the fact that many of the words that do become grammaticalized are not so much general as they are highly polysemous.

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2.6 Source determination and construction grammar

In discussing paths of development in grammaticalization, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca claim that 'the source meaning uniquely determines the grammaticization path that the gram[matical element] will travel in its semantic development' (1994:12). On the face of it, this would appear to suggest that the a word meaning 'have' could not be drawn into multiple constructions, as *haber* has done in Spanish, becoming a marker of obligation (*he de hacerlo* 'I have to do it'), of the perfect (*he visto esa película* 'I've seen that movie') and of the future (*cantaré [-é = he]* 'I will sing'). I argue that these examples illustrate the importance of paying close attention not just to lexical items but also to the constructions in which they appear. A version of the source determination hypothesis that takes into account how elements of constructions interact would likely prove well-supported by data from various languages.

2.7 Frequency of lexical sources and grammatical elements

A process that is widely held to be a key component of grammaticalization is phonological reduction, whereby elements lose in phonetic robustness, as in the reduction of *like* to *-ly* in the adjectival/adverbial ending found in words like *friendly* and *slowly*. The evidence of both the Iberian Romance perfects and the Catalan periphrastic preterit suggests that grammaticalization does not always include such reduction, as there is no substantial reduction of the auxiliaries in any of these constructions. In fact, it appears that reduction is a process largely independent of grammaticalization, since it is also found in highly frequent lexical items that have not undergone grammaticalization, such as English *says* as contrasted with *pays*, where the much more common *says* has the reduced monophthong [ɛ].

2.8 Unidirectionality

A hypothesis commonly assumed to be correct in grammaticalization is the notion that there is a unidirectional development from more lexical to more grammatical. While my research on Iberian periphrastic pasts does not add to the relatively small (but growing) number of counterexamples, it is worth addressing this issue briefly here. It seems likely

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that, to the extent that unidirectionality in fact holds, it is due largely to (near) unidirectionality in the subprocesses that make up grammaticalization. Consider, for instance, phonological reduction. This process involves the change of 'robust' sequences into less robust sequences. As with phonological merger, these changes are often not internally recoverable. Thus the process is necessarily essentially irreversible.

Certain other cases, however, need further explanation. The semantic changes in grammaticalization, for example, are found in 'full' lexical items, as are their opposites. As an example, consider the pair *dog* and *hound*, which, through broadening and narrowing respectively, have reversed roles as restricted and general terms for canines. In this case there is no obvious explanation from how semantic change works that accounts for the patterns seen in grammaticalization. I have yet to see a case of a reseacher offering an explanation, rather than asserting that unidirectionality holds (sometimes with an unsupported claim that the counterexmples are few enough to simply be discounted).

3 Directions for further research

In this section I offer some thoughts on how other researchers might proceed in investigating these kinds of issues in the light of my findings.

3.1 Integration of psycholinguistic and historical linguistic research

I mentioned in §2.2 that some researchers have seen in grammaticalization a teleological process, but that I see no convincing evidence in support of such a view. One way to make progress in answering this question is to draw on psycholinguistic research. There is a seemingly clear relationship between certain changes in grammaticalization and analogical change in morphology, but confirmation from psycholinguistic experiments of such a relationship would solidify our inductive conclusions.

Another potential advantage to this approach is that it may be possible to devise experiments that show what kind of psychological (and perhaps even neurological) patterns show up when speakers use metaphors and when they use grammatical constructions of the

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type explored here, thus offering insight (albeit indirect) into the role of metaphor in grammaticalization.

3.2 Pragmatic universals and typology

In light of the extensive role I claim for pragmatic inferencing in grammaticalization, a natural question to raise is, how consistent are pragmatic patterns cross-linguistically. Since part of what makes grammaticalization interesting is the appearance of similar patterns across diverse and unrelated languages, such analysis of pragmatics in different languages of the world is called for because explaining cross-linguistic grammaticalization patterns can only be done with reference to reasonably widespread phenomena, and the extent to which pragmatics differs from language to language will affect our understanding of how pragmatic facts shed light on grammaticalization.

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