Grammaticalization across Romance languages and the pace of language change

The position of Catalan

Béatrice Lamiroy and Anna Pineda

KULeuven / Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique CNRS – IKER (UMR 5478)

1. Introduction

On the basis of comparative data of three Romance languages, we propose a grammaticalization cline wherein Spanish is the most conservative language and French the most innovative one (Lamiroy, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2011; Lamiroy & De Mulder, 2011; De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012; Carlier, De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012; Van de Velde & Lamiroy, 2017):[1]

(1)   French > Italian > Spanish

The central hypothesis underlying the cline in (1) is twofold. On the one hand, as is commonly assumed, grammaticalization, the process by which an item moves away from the lexical pole toward the grammatical pole, is always a continuum, or a matter of gradation with many phenomena lying somewhere between the two extremes. On the other, a more original claim here is that the idea of gradualness can be extended to language typology: certain phenomena may be further grammaticalized in some language(s) than in others belonging to the same family. By the same token, a language may display a grammaticalization phenomenon which is absent in another one. An interesting prediction which follows from this hypothesis is that if languages of the same family display at a given point in synchrony varying degrees of grammaticalization, this suggests that diachronic changes took place in these languages at a different speed.

---

[1] Interestingly, a similar cline can be established for three Germanic languages as follows English > Dutch > German (see Van de Velde & Lamiroy, 2017 for details and references therein). In the present paper however, we will only deal with Romance.

The proposal of this paper is to situate Catalan on this cline: as we will show, evidence can be found in a variety of linguistic domains for placing Catalan between French and Italian. In many respects, Catalan thus turns out to be further grammaticalized than Spanish and Italian, but less than French. So the hypothesis we will argue for is the cline in (1′):

(1′)   French > Catalan > Italian > Spanish

In this introductory section, we briefly sketch the kind of evidence on which the cline in (1′) is based, such as the distinction of *have* and *be* auxiliaries, as well as the grammaticalization of the Latin noun CASA 'house' into a preposition and that of the Latin noun HOMO 'man' into a personal pronoun. In Section 2, we further develop the same line of reasoning by presenting a detailed analysis of five morpho-syntactic phenomena, viz. auxiliaries, past tense, existential sentences, mood and demonstratives, all of which support our hypothesis.

Additionally, we aim to shed light on the long-lasting typological controversy about the correct adscription of Catalan within the family of Romance languages, which has been an issue of debate since the beginning of the 20th century: according to Meyer-Lübke (1925), Catalan belonged to Gallo-Romance, like French and Occitan, whereas Menéndez Pidal (1926) argued for its classification as an Ibero-Romance language, on a par with Spanish and Portuguese. The fact that the two hypotheses were published almost at the same time by two renowned linguists with totally opposite views on the filiation of Catalan triggered an important controversy in which several specialists took part. Since then, scholars have taken a conciliatory stance considering Catalan a hybrid language between Ibero-Romance and Gallo-Romance: «una llengua hispànica amb majoria de trets lingüístics ultrapirinencs» 'a Hispanic language with a majority of linguistic features from beyond the Pyrenees' (Badia Margarit, 1981, pp. 10–11). In fact, this is the analysis which is verified by our data: as we will show, Catalan is in many respects similar to French, but is close to Spanish (and Italian) in many others.

Lamiroy & De Mulder (2011) note that there is at least one phenomenon which contradicts the proposed grammaticalization cline in (1): French and Italian distinguish between *avoir/avere* 'have' and *être/essere* 'be' as auxiliaries in the compound tenses of intransitive verbs (Manente, 2008), whereas nowadays Spanish only uses *haber* 'have' (Rosemeyer, 2014). So Spanish shows more *paradigmaticity*, i.e. paradigms with fewer members (Lehmann, 2002), and therefore a higher degree of grammaticalization.[2] It is interesting to note that Catalan behaves rather

---

2. *Paradigmaticity*, one of the main parameters of grammaticalization, corresponds to «the formal and semantic integration both of a paradigm as a whole and of a single subcategory into the paradigm of its generic category … The most superficial and evident aspect of paradigmaticity is *the sheer size of the paradigm*» [our italics] (Lehmann, 2002, p. 118).

like Spanish on this particular point. While Spanish no longer uses *ser* as auxiliary of compound tenses at all, the Catalan auxiliary system has maintained the distinction between *haver* and *ésser,* but only in a number of regional varieties, in particular in Alghero (Sardinia), in the French region of Roussillon, in the so-called Northern transition Catalan spoken in Spain at the boundary with Roussillon, and finally in parts of Mallorca and Menorca (Batlle, 2002; Moll, 2006, p. 290; Rosselló, 2002, pp. 1892–1893). In the rest of the Catalan area, the use of *haver* as an auxiliary in compound tenses has prevailed as the sole auxiliary from the 19th century on.[3]

With the loss of the double auxiliary system (*He cantat* 'I sang' / *He arribat* 'I arrived'), Catalan moved away from French (*J'ai chanté* 'I sang' / *Je suis arrivé* 'I arrived') and Occitan (*Ai cantat* 'I sang' / *Sieu arribat* 'I arrived'), and aligned with Spanish (*He cantado* 'I sang' / *He llegado* 'I arrived') and the other Ibero-Romance languages: in Portuguese and Galician, *ter* became the only auxiliary (*Tenho cantado* 'I sang' / *Tenho chegado* 'I arrived').[4]

In short, the Ibero-Romance evolution of *haver* + past participle continued the grammaticalization process that had already started in Late Latin (Väänänen, 1967), reaching its highest degree of development in Catalan and Spanish: (i) the derived verb of TENERE displaced the derived verb of HABERE as a possession verb, (ii) HABERE totally overcame ESSERE in the realm of the compound tenses and (iii) the agreement between the past participle and the direct object disappeared. Phenomenon (ii) is exemplified in the following sentences, which in the case of French also illustrate participle agreement with the subject:

(2)   Cat. *Ella **ha** anat a París*
      Sp. *Ella **ha** ido   a París*
      Fr.   *Elle **est** allé**e** à Paris*
      (She went to Paris)

Indeed, Catalan and Spanish differ from French in the lack of agreement between the past participle and the subject, a fact to be related to the lack of agreement between the past participle and the direct object. The past participle had originally a predicative function and, therefore, it showed agreement with the nominal

---

3. According to Batlle (2002, p. 133–135), the loss of *ésser* can be attributed to another change in the Ibero-Romance verbal system: the verb 'have' became semantically empty – unlike its French or Occitan counterparts, which maintained their original lexical meaning. Thus Cat. *haver* and Sp. *haber* gradually lost their full meaning in favour of *tenir* and *tener* respectively, which originally had a more specific meaning that still is alive in French and Occitan, 'to hold'. The lack of lexical content of *haver/haber* worked in favour of their generalization as auxiliary verb.

4. For a detailed explanation of the uses of both auxiliaries in the Romance area, see Vincent (1982) and also «Annex 2. L'evolució de la doble auxiliaritat en les llengües romàniques» in Batlle (2002, pp. 185–219).

argument which the past participle predicated about, whether it was a direct object in the case of *haver* (in which case the past participle expressed a secondary predication about the direct object) or a subject in the case of *ésser* (in which case the past participle expressed a resultative predication about the subject). However, as the grammaticalization of this construction advanced and the past participle acquired a verbal value, the loss of agreement started. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the behavior of Romance languages evokes different stages of the grammaticalization process of this construction. Thus, whereas in French the agreement is still maintained when the DO is pronominalized (e.g. *Ces peintures, il les a faitES*) or a relative pronoun (e.g. *L'erreur qu'il a commisE*), in Spanish no agreement is maintained at all. Catalan is in between: nearly in all dialects agreement is rare, especially with plural NPs. However, in Standard Catalan it is still recommended to establish agreement when the DO is a 3rd person clitic, especially in the case of feminine singular objects (*Aquesta noia no l'he vista / vist mai*), in order to distinguish the gender of the DO. Otherwise, *L'he vist* would be ambiguous, without any further context. On the other hand, in plural, where the gender distinction is already indicated by the form of the pronoun (***Els he vist / Les he vist***), agreement, which is functionally superfluous, is seen as an archaic feature. All in all, in Valencian Catalan, the agreement for gender is still quite systematic, not only in singular but also in plural.

There is another phenomenon which seemingly contradicts the cline in (1), since Spanish aligns with French (and Portuguese) in the development of a future auxiliary that grammaticalized from the motion verbs Fr. *aller/ Sp. Ptg. ir* 'to go', whereas normative Italian lacks this structure (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 161; Carlier, De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012). An important observation is in order here, however. In a reaction to a question raised by a speaker, the Italian Accademia della Crusca gives the following answer: *Andiamo a... servire la risposta!* (We are going to .. serve the answer !).[5] According to the Accademia, Italian began developing a periphrastic future with *andare* 'to go' in the 17th century, but this use was considered a *francesismo*, and therefore «a lungo censurato e sconsigliato» (for long censored and not recommended). Thus examples such as *il passo che ora **vado a leggervi*** (the passage which I am now going to read to you) instead of *che ora vi **leggerò*** (which I now will read to you) were criticized and «rapidamente respinte dalla lingua letteraria e dall'uso» (rapidly banned from literary language and from daily use). At first sight, with respect to the periphrastic future, Italian shows a phenomenon which has also been described for the evolution of HOMO > indefinite personal pronoun (cf. infra, end of this section), i.e. the emergence of a

---

5. http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/lingua-italiana/consulenza-linguistica/domande-risposte/andiamo-servire-risposta

grammaticalization process which is however interrupted after a certain time. Yet, it is important to note that, whereas Modern Italian no longer shows any trace of an indefinite personal pronoun comparable to French *on*, the same Accademia della Crusca comments with respect to the periphrastic future that «se ne nota al tempo stesso la larga diffusione nell'italiano di oggi» (one observes at the same time that it is widely spread in nowadays Italian), e.g. *Andiamo a cominciare* (We are going to begin). Admittedly, the construction is particularly frequent in what the Accademia terms as «l'italiano gastronomico» (gastronomic Italian), i.e. in recipes. Thus the Accademia cites examples taken from a blog[6] such as *La crostata che andiamo a fare oggi è estremamente calorica* (The pie we are going to make to-day is particularly rich in calories) or *Andiamo a fondere il cioccolato* (We are going to melt the chocolate). This, however, comes as no surprise, as we know that the French periphrastic construction with *aller* also appeared at first with verbs with concrete meaning before spreading to any other kind of infinitive (Gougenheim, 1929). In sum, although normative Italian lacks a periphrastic future with *andare*, the structure cannot be considered totally absent from informal language in Modern Italian (Amenta & Strudsholm, 2002).

With respect to the periphrastic future, Catalan differs from French (and Spanish for that matter) because it has not developed a periphrastic future with the present tense of the auxiliary *anar* 'to go'. However, quite surprisingly, a past auxiliary has emerged out of this verb, as we will see in Section 2.

Although the reduction from a double system of auxiliaries in compound tenses to a single auxiliary in Spanish (an innovative feature with respect to the other two languages) seems to contradict the cline French > Italian > Spanish, Lamiroy & De Mulder (2011) claim that «there is significant evidence that clearly argues in favor of the hypothesis that, all in all, French is more grammaticalized than the other Romance languages under study». The claim that French is usually «ahead» of the other languages has been repeatedly pointed out by several authors (Boysen, 1966; Delattre, 1966; Harris, 1978; Posner, 1996; Lamiroy, 2003; Marchello-Nizia, 2006; Detges, 2006; Lindschouw, 2010, 2011).

With respect to the position Catalan should occupy on the cline, we have seen so far that it parallels Spanish and Portuguese because of the almost general loss of the distinction between 'have' and 'be' as auxiliary verbs of the compound tenses. However, as we will see, the majority of the phenomena show that Catalan rather aligns with French.

To give a first piece of evidence for our hypothesis, Catalan, unlike Italian and Spanish, developed a preposition out of the Lat. noun CASA 'house', just like French did. The preposition which corresponds to Fr. *chez* is Cat. *ca*:

---

6. http://cucinandoinsiemeavoi.blogspot.it/

(3) Cat. He   anat   a **cal**   metge / a **ca**   la Maria
        have.1sg.prs.IND go.PTCP to home.the doctor / to home the Maria
        (I went to the doctor / to Mary's house)

However, *ca* differs from French in that it is not a full-fledged preposition since it needs another directional preposition next to it to indicate an oriented motion, as shown by the above examples (Cat. *a cal*, cf. Fr. *à chez*). This means that *ca*, contrary to *chez*, is not totally decategorized (from Noun to Preposition). Additionally, Catalan *ca* cannot introduce a non-human referent, thus differing again from French, which allows sentences like *Aujourd'hui on parlera de la tuberculose chez les animaux* (Today we will talk about tuberculosis in animals). In other words, *ca* has not undergone a complete semantic bleaching, the semantic feature [human place of living] which was part of the etymology of *casa* still being partly present, in contrast with what we observe in the case of Fr. *chez*. Thus the grammaticalization of *casa* into a preposition *ca* seems to be still on-going in Catalan, whereas it went the whole way in the case of the Fr. preposition *chez*. Therefore the following cline seems justified: French > Catalan > Italian > Spanish.

Another example which shows the extreme grammaticalization of French is the development of the personal pronoun *on* out of Lat. HOMO, a typologically common grammaticalization path (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 208), e.g. *On ne vit qu'une fois* 'You live only once' (Lamiroy, 2011).

Italian shows an interesting case here of a grammaticalization process that was initiated in its early stages (arguably due to language contact between Italian and French, cf. Giacalone Ramat & Sansò, 2007; Presslich, 2000, p. 173) but came to an end at the dawn of the 16th century. Thus in Old Italian, cases of *hom* are documented in which it has to be interpreted as an indefinite personal pronoun, like in the following example from 1300 (taken from Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007): *Eles se troven a Damiata en terra de Sarrazins en unes caves munt preunde, si que-hom no po veer lo funt* (*Sermoni subalpini* 10, p. 253) 'They are found in Damietta, in the land of the Saracens, in caves so deep that **one** cannot see the bottom'. The use of *hom* as indefinite pronoun however decreased progressively as the influence of French on Italian became less important and was eventually replaced by a competing device, viz. the reflexive/passive pronoun *si* which is still in use in Italian nowadays: *non si può vedere il fondo* 'one cannot see the bottom'.

Interestingly, the indefinite personal pronoun which goes back to Lat. HOMO is present not only in French (and Occitan), but also in Catalan (Bartra Kaufmann, 2002, pp. 2172–2174; Gemicioglu, 2017):

(4) Cat. **Hom** *ha*   *de*   *procurar*   *alimentar-se*   *bé*
        One have.3SG.PRS.IND PREP try.INF.PRS feed.INF.PRS-REFL.3SG well
        (People have to try to eat well)

However, Catalan has not developed the second grammaticalization process that French underwent, by which French *on* also functions as an equivalent of the first person plural pronoun *nous*, e.g. *Nous, on part dimanche* (We are leaving on Sunday). In Catalan, *hom* can only mean 'people in general', i.e. it functions as an indefinite pronoun, but not as a personal pronoun for the 1st person plural: **Nosaltres, hom surt diumenge*. Obviously, these facts point in the same direction as the preceding example regarding *ca*. Thus, up to a certain extent, Catalan parallels French both with respect to the grammaticalization of Lat. CASA and that of Lat. HOMO, yet the process in Catalan did not reach the same stage as it did in French. So its position on the grammaticalization cline seems to be as stated in (1′). In order to provide further evidence for our claim, we will consider five major linguistic domains in Romance: auxiliaries, past tense, existential sentences, mood and demonstratives. All of them are analyzed by Lamiroy (1999, 2003, 2011), Lamiroy & De Mulder (2011), De Mulder & Lamiroy (2012), Carlier, De Mulder & Lamiroy (2012) for French, Italian and Spanish. What we want to explore in the remainder of this paper is the relevant data regarding Catalan in order to verify its position on the grammaticalization cline proposed in (1′).

2.   Grammaticalization phenomena in Catalan

2.1 Auxiliaries

2.1.1   *Go*-auxiliaries

As mentioned before, Catalan, unlike French and Spanish, has not developed a periphrastic future with the auxiliary *anar* in the present tense. However, evidence for placing Catalan next to French on the grammaticalization cline is provided by auxiliaries in a twofold way. First, Catalan, like French, has an auxiliary that developed from «*anar* 'to go' + *a* 'to' + infinitive» but, whereas the French future auxiliary *aller* is used both in the present tense and in the imperfect, the Catalan auxiliary can only occur when inflected in the past tense (Gavarró & Laca, 2002, pp. 2693–2694). It has however exactly the same meaning in this case as its French equivalent:[7]

---

7. As Gavarró & Laca (2002, pp. 2693–2694) point out, this construction is often used in contexts of attempt (the situation is imminent but finally it is not carried out) or in contexts wherein someone perceives or deduces that the situation is imminent. The uses of this construction as an immediate future with the verb *anar* 'to go' inflected in present (*vaig a cantar*) are the result of the Spanish influence, and in those cases Catalan uses the synthetic future (*cantaré*) or a pro futuro present (*canto*).

(5) Cat. *Quan el   Joan va   arribar,   jo **anava**   **a***
      when the John go.3SG.PRS.IND arrive.INF.PRS, I   go.1SG.IPFV.IND to
      sortir
      go out
      (When John arrived, I was about to go out)
   Fr. *J'allais   sortir   quand Jean est   arrivé*
      I go.1SG.IPFV.IND to go.INF.PRS out when John be.3SG.PRS.IND arrive.PTCP
      (I was about to go out when John arrived)

And second, most interestingly, Catalan developed a past auxiliary out of *anar* 'to go':

(6) Cat. *El meu avi   **va**   **morir**   l'any   passat*
      the my   grandfather go.3SG.PRES.IND die.INF.PRS the year past
      (My grandfather died last year)

The conversion of a verb indicating 'movement towards a goal' into a past marker is quite a surprising fact[8] which aroused the interest of several authors, a.o. Colón (1959, 1976) and later Pérez Saldanya (1998), who established a grammaticalization path from motion verb to narrative-aspectual marker and, finally, past tense marker. The evolution is sketched by Pérez Saldanya (1998, pp. 261–275) as follows: the Old Catalan construction *anar* + infinitive, often without preposition, occurred in bi-clausal constructions in which the motion verb had final value and wherein the destination of the movement was implicit (*Lo rei anà/va prendre ses armes* 'The king went/goes to take his weapons'). This periphrasis paralleled the one found in other Romance languages (e.g. French *je vais chanter*, Spanish *voy a cantar* or

---

The pattern *anar* + *a* + infinitive is otherwise used in all tenses with a meaning of physical motion: for example, if one is leaving the house and going to the supermarket, one will say *vaig a comprar* 'I'm going to buy'.

8. Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003, p. 48) note that the Catalan construction is in fact less anomalous than it appears: similar constructions exist in Colloquial Spanish (i) or in Colloquial English (ii), with uses other than the future, e.g. as an emphatic form in narrative contexts:

   (i)   *Le dije que se callara y entonces él **va y me dice**: cállate tú.*

   (ii) *I told him to shut up and then he **goes and tells me**: you shut up.*

Likewise, they note that the periphrasis in narrative past contexts is documented not only in Catalan, but also in older stages of French (iii) as well as in Old Occitan (and even in some Occitan dialects nowadays), and, to a lesser extent, in Old Spanish:

   (iii) a. Middle Fr. *Lors le roy luy va jurer: ainsi le feray-je*
            (Then the king swore to him: thus I shall do it)   (*Melusine*, by Jehan d'Arras, p. 19)

It comes as a surprise, though, that Heine & Kuteva (2002) do not mention this grammaticalization path.

Portuguese *vou cantar*). Later on, the periphrasis specialized in narrative contexts in which the action took place in the past, conferring the stories a greater vivacity and expressivity. As is well known (Traugott, 1978), the inference of the structure 'go' + infinitive is that the intended event takes place (in the previous example, if the king moves with the intention of taking his weapons, the default interpretation will be that he took them indeed). Gradually, as the inference became part of the meaning, the structure evolved from indicating intended events situated in the past to expressing past events, with the verb *anar* turning into an auxiliary of past tense.

Another piece of evidence that points towards the grammaticalization of *anar* as past auxiliary is what Lehmann (2002) termed *paradigmaticity*. While the morphology of the French future auxiliary is the same as that of the motion verb *aller* 'to go' (7a), the Catalan past auxiliary underwent a paradigmatic regularization process with important formal consequences, viz. phonological reduction, suppression of the stressed forms in persons 4 and 5 of the paradigm and regularization of the paradigm through generalization of the non-stressed monosyllabic morph *va* (7b):

(7) a. French

French *aller*	French *aller* + inf (future value)	b. Catalan Catalan *anar*	Catalan *anar* + inf (past value)
Je vais	Je vais faire	Jo vaig	Jo vaig fer
Tu vas	Tu vas faire	Tu vas	Tu vas fer
Il va	Il va faire	Ell va	Ell va fer
Nous allons	Nous allons faire	Nosaltres **anem**	Nosaltres **vam** fer
Vous allez	Vous allez faire	Vosaltres **aneu**	Vosaltres **vau** fer
Ils vont	Ils vont faire	Ells van	Ells van fer

Moreover, nowadays there is another regularizing tendency consisting of the insertion, into all forms except 3rd person singular, of the segment /r/, reinterpreted as a past marker in the synthetic past simple (e.g. *cantí* 'I sang', *cantares* 'you sang', *cantà* '(s)he sang', *cantàrem* 'we sang', *cantàreu* 'you sang', *cantaren* 'they sang'):

(8)   Catalan *anar* + infinitive (past value)

Standard forms	Forms with *r*-insertion
Jo vaig fer	?*Jo vàreig fer*
Tu vas fer	Tu vares fer
Ell va fer	Ell va fer
Nosaltres vam fer	Nosaltres vàrem fer
Vosaltres vau fer	Vosaltres vàreu fer
Ells van fer	Ells varen fer

All these forms, except for the first one (*vàreig*), are accepted in Standard Catalan (Fabra, 1956, p. 50), although they are only in use in some regional areas, like North-Eastern Catalan, Balearic Catalan or Central Valencian (Perea, 2002, pp. 640–641).

In sum, with respect to the grammaticalization of the Romance verbs meaning 'to go', Catalan data add even more complexity to the issue, since this language lacks the future auxiliary 'to go' in the present tense (unlike French and Spanish) but it uses it to express near future in the past tense (like French and Spanish), and crucially, it also developed a past auxiliary from the same verb.

2.1.2   *Aspectual auxiliaries*

Still in the realm of auxiliaries, in particular the aspectual ones, it is interesting to note that the behavior of French points to a more advanced process of para-digmaticity. French thus shows a quite limited set of aspectual auxiliaries: French TAM verbs, i.e. verbs which semantically indicate Tense, Aspect or Modality (Heine, 1993) and which syntactically can exclusively be followed by an infinitive (Lamiroy, 1999) are far less numerous than in Spanish and Italian. These two lan-guages not only have a greater number of aspectual auxiliaries, but some of their TAM verbs can be followed either by an infinitive or by a gerund, and sometimes even by a NP. In this respect, Catalan seems to differ from French and rather aligns with Spanish and Italian. For example, there are several Catalan verbs to express inchoative aspect: *rompre* 'break', *començar* 'begin', *arrencar* 'burst out', *posar-se a* 'begin with' (lit. 'put REFL'), in contrast with French, which only has *commencer* 'begin' and *se mettre à* 'begin with' (Gavarró & Laca, 2002, pp. 2691–2696):

(9)   Cat. *La Maria* **començarà**   / **arrencarà**   / **es**   **posarà** *a*
           the Maria start.3SG.FUT / burst.3SG.FUT out / REFL.3SG put   to
           caminar   ben aviat
           walk.INF.PRS very soon
           (Maria will start walking very soon)

Thus, in this sense, Catalan is similar to Spanish and Italian. Catalan also paral-lels Spanish and Italian[9] as for the survival of iterative and habitual auxiliaries (11) (Gavarró & Laca, 2002, pp. 2701–2704), which now have completely di-sappeared in French. Interestingly however, older stages of French also had the auxiliary *soloir* (*suol* in example (10)), but it went progressively out of use during the 17th century:[10]

---

9. Italian used to have the equivalent *solere* until recently: Renzi & Salvi (1991, p. 521) still mention *solere* in their grammar but note that it sounds literary and archaic in Modern Italian.

10. The French verb *soloir* 'usually do something' was still listed in Jean Nicot (1606)'s *Thresor de la langue françoise*.

(10)   *Ne   croi   ge pas que me   puisse   tenir*
       NEG think 1SG.IND.PRS. I   not that REFL.1SG can. 1SG.SBJV.PRS hold.INF.PRS
       *De   vos que **suol**   baisie   et   acolloir*
       from you that use to.1SG.IND.PRS kiss.INF.PRS and embrace.INF.PRS
       (I do not think that I can part from you whom I am used to kiss and
       embrace)   (*Chanson de Roland*, quoted in Godefroy, 1901, p. 64)

(11)   a.   Cat. *Torna*   *a   ploure*
            Sp. *Vuelve*   *a   llover*
            It. ?*Torna*   *a   piovere*
            go back.3SG.IND.PRS to   rain.INF.PRS
            (It rains again)

       b.   Cat. *Solía veure-la   cada   dia* /*Acostumava a veure-la cada   dia*
            Sp. *Solía verla   cada   día* /*Acostumbraba a verla   cada   día*
            use.3SG.IND.IPFV every   day /see.INF.PRS=her.ACC.SG every   day
            (He used to see her every day)

With respect to the progressive aspect, Catalan preserves the use of the gerund
with *estar* and *anar* (Gavarró & Laca, 2002, pp. 2685–2688), just like Spanish (*es-
tar/ir*) and Italian (*stare/andare*) (12), and unlike French (13), which lost *être/aller*
+ gerund:[11]

(12)   Cat. *Està*   *dient   mentides* / *Va*   *dient   mentides*
       Sp. *Está*   *diciendo mentiras* / *Va*   *diciendo mentiras*
       It. *Sta*   *dicendo bugie*   / *Va*   *dicendo bugie*
       be.3SG.IND.PRS say.GER lies   / go.3SG.IND.PRS say.GER   lies
       (He is lying)

(13)   Fr. **Il **est disant** des mensonges   /**va disant** des mensonges*
            be.3SG.IND.PRS say.GER PARTITIVE lies / go.3SG.IND.PRS say.GER PARTITIVE lies
            (He is lying)   (De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012, p. 13)

That Catalan differs from French here and instead patterns with Spanish and
Italian is also suggested by the fact that all three languages have maintained the
structure with gerund not only for the expression of the progressive aspect but also
with verbs of perception (14):

---

11. Except for idiomatic expressions exemplified in (i) (title of a newspaper article):

    (i) Fr. *Maroc: l'espoir   des   islamistes **va**   croissant*
            Morocco: the hope of the islamists go.3SG.IND.PRS grow.GER
            (Morocco: growing hope for the Muslims) (De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012, p. 13)

That *aller* + gerund only occurs in fixed expressions means that the construction no longer be-
longs to the grammar of the language, but to the lexicon.

(14) Sp. ***Veo***   *a*   *María* **hablando** *con* *su* *madre*
      Cat. ***Veig***   *la*   *Maria* **parlant**   *amb la* *seva mare*
            see.1SG.IND.PRS (the) Maria speak.GER with her mother
            (I see Maria speaking to her mother)

However, it is interesting to note that the Catalan counterpart of Spanish and Italian *venir/venire* + gerund to indicate progressive aspect is not grammatical:

(15) Sp. ***Vengo***   **diciendo** *esto* *desde* *hace*   *tres* *años*
      Cat. ***Vinc***   **dient**   *això des de fa*   *tres* *anys*
            come.1SG.IND.PRS say.GER   that since do.3SG.IND.PRS three years
            (I have been saying that for three years)

In sum, in view of the above facts, we can reformulate De Mulder & Lamiroy (2012, p. 15) as follows, «the class of French auxiliaries is smaller in size […] and shows less syntactic heterogeneity than the equivalent class in Spanish and Italian **and in Catalan**», so that French is the language which scores highest on the scale of paradigmaticity and, thus, on the scale of grammaticalization. Since Catalan displays a slightly smaller lexical variation than Spanish and Italian with respect to inchoative and progressive auxiliaries, its position on the cline between French, on the one hand, and Italian and Spanish, on the other, seems justified.

2.2 Tense: the Past simple

When one compares the behavior of French, Italian and Spanish as for the past simple, Catalan clearly appears to pattern with French in that it virtually lost the use of the synthetic past simple. Thus, while Spanish and South Italian still preserve this tense (called *pretérito indefinido* and *passato remoto,* respectively), Catalan past simple has been replaced by the above mentioned periphrasis *anar* + infinitive (6). Nowadays, the past simple which developed out of the Latin CANTA(V)I only survives, in quite a residual way, in Central Valencian and on the island of Eivissa, especially in the 3rd person and among older speakers (Veny, 1983; Moll, 2006, pp. 293–294; Perea, 2002, pp. 630–631; Pérez Saldanya, 2002, pp. 2623–2624). As is the case in French, literary (written) Catalan still uses the otherwise archaic forms. And interestingly, it often combines both options, thus overtly showing the *overlap stage* (Heine, 1993) AB in the transition from A > AB > B:

(16) Cat. *Quan es*   *va*   *sentir*   *més serè* *s'*
            When REFL.3SG go.3SG.IND.PRS feel.INF.PRS more serene REFL.3SG
            aixecà   *de*   *la* *butaca*   *de llegir*
            get.up.3SG.IND.PST from the armchair of read.INF.PRS
            (When he felt more serene he got up from the reading armchair)
                                    (*Jo confesso*, by Jaume Cabré. Barcelona: Proa, p. 581)

On the other hand, Catalan differs from French and aligns with Spanish in that the Romance present perfect with 'have' + past participle has not reached the final stage of development, which according to Harris (1982) corresponds to the reference to the past event itself without necessarily implying its impact at the moment of speech (17). Thus the Catalan form cannot be used as a marker of aoristic value (17b) (Pérez Saldanya, 2002, pp. 2621–2623), contrasting with French, where *avoir* + past participle can be used as a simple aoristic equivalent of the past simple (18):

(17) a. *Avui he   menjat pa*
          today have.1SG.IND.PRS eat.PTCP bread
          (Today I've eaten bread)

      b. *Ahir   {*he   menjat / ^{ok}vaig   menjar} pa*
          yesterday {have.1SG.IND.PRS eat.PTCP / go.1SG.IND.PRS eat.INF.PRS} bread
          (Yesterday I ate bread)

(18) a. *Ajourd'hui j'ai   mangé du   pain*
          today   I have.1SG.IND.PRS eat.PTCP PARTITIVE bread
          (Today I have eaten bread)

      b. *Hier   {^{ok}j'ai   mangé / ?*je mangeai}*
          yesterday {I have.1SG.IND.PRS eat.PTCP / I   eat.1SG.IND.PST}
          du   pain
          PARTITIVE bread
          (Yesterday I ate bread)

Thus, once more, the position of Catalan among the Romance languages makes it come close to French, without, however, having reached the same degree of achievement of the grammaticalization process.

2.3 Existential sentences

French, Italian and Spanish have existential sentences which take the form of an impersonal construction with a locative clitic (Fr. and Sp. *y* / It. *ci*) and the verb *avoir* (Fr.) / *haber* (Sp.) / *essere* (It.) (Meulleman, 2012).[12] The same holds for the Catalan structure *hi ha* 'there is, there are':

(19) Fr. *Il y   a   beaucoup de monde ici*
           it there have.3SG.IND.PRS a lot   of people here

      It. *C'è   molta gente qui*
           there be.3SG.IND.PRS much people here

---

12. In Spanish, the locative clitic has been fossilized into the verbal form: *ha+y* = *hay* 'there is/ there are'.

Sp. ***Hay***   *mucha gente   aquí*
    have.3SG.IND.PRS-there much   people here
Cat.***Hi   ha***   *molta   gent   aquí*
    there have.3SG.IND.PRS a lot of people herE
    (There are a lot of people here)

According to Meulleman (2012, p. 231 ff.) and Lamiroy & De Mulder (2011), French *il y a* is far more grammaticalized than its Spanish and Italian counterpart, for the following reasons:

a. Because in French it came to be used as an obligatory tool to restrict a subject in focus, as shown in (20). On this point, Catalan differs from French and patterns with Spanish and Italian in that a paraphrase with the adverb 'only' has to be used instead (i.e. Cat. *Només tu saps…*, Sp. *Solo/Solamente tú sabes…*, It. *Solo/Solamente tu sai…* 'Only you know…').

(20) Fr.   ***Il   n'y   a***   ***que** toi qui*
      Cat. ²²/*No   **hi   ha***   *sinó tu   que*
            it NEG   there   have.3SG.IND.PRS   but you who
            sais   où   est   la   clé
            saps   on   és   la   clau
            know.2SG.IND.PRS   where be.3SG.IND.PRS the key
            (Only you know where the key is)

However, it is interesting to note that Roussillon Catalan does have the construction *Hi ha que tu que sabes on és la clau* (Gemma Gómez, p.c.), probably due to language contact, i.e. an influence of French syntax.

b. Because in French the post-verbal NP allows all kinds of determiners, including definite articles and even proper names, due to a far-going bleaching of the existential meaning of *il y a*: this is in contrast with prototypical existential structures which generally display post-verbal NPs introduced by an indefinite determiner, as their function is that of introducing a new referent into the discourse (*Il y a {une solution / *la solution} à tous les problèmes* 'There is a solution for all problems'). In this respect, Catalan behaves like French (and Italian), and unlike Spanish (Brucart, 2002, pp. 1459–1461):[13]

---

13. Indeed, as Brucart (2002, pp. 1459–1460) points out, these constructions behave quite idiosyncratically in Catalan: whereas there are clear contrasts such as (i), we find examples such as (ii), which clearly differ from the Spanish equivalents:

(i) Cat. *Hi   ha*   { *ᵒᵏuna / *la} solució   al   problema*
          there have.3PL.IND.PRS { ᵒᵏa   /   *the} solution to.the problem
          (There is a solution to the problem / The solution to the problem exists)

(21) a. Cat. **Hi   ha**   la teva filla   / la   Maria
          there have.3SG.IND.PRS your   daughter / the   Maria
      b. Sp. ***Hay**   tu   hija   /   María
          (There is Mary / your daughter)

In addition, Meulleman (2012, p. 248) notes that French *il y a* is a true impersonal structure since it only allows 3rd singular and no preposed subjects. However, in Italian the construction *c'è* may also appear as a plural (*ci sono*) and with a pre-posed subject. In this respect, Catalan aligns with Italian in that the verb may appear as a plural (22) but it patterns with French in disallowing pre-posed subjects (23a) – crucially, for (23a) to be grammatical, the form of *haver* has to be replaced by a form of *ésser* (23b), literally paralleling then the Italian construction:

(22) Cat. **Hi   ha(n)**   cotxes [14]
          there have.3PL.IND.PRS cars
          (There are cars)

(23) a. Cat. ***Però la   incomoditat hi   ha**   i se sent el mateix
              But the discomfort there have.3SG.IND.PRS   and   …
      b. Cat. *Però   la   incomoditat **hi**   **és**   i se sent el mateix
          It. *Però   il   disagio   c'   è   e si sente lo stesso
              But   the discomfort there be.3SG.IND.PRS and…
              (But the discomfort is there and one feels it all the same)

c. Because the French *il y a* is common in thetic (all focus) sentences, in which it occupies the sentence initial position of a cleft structure in which a non-topic NP appears post-verbally (Lambrecht, 2004) (24). In Catalan, this structure can be used, although it needs a particular pragmatic context to be fully acceptable:[15]

(ii) Cat.   *Al   pati   hi   ha   el noi i   la noia*
            at.the   courtyard   there   have.3PL.IND.PRS   the boy and the girl
     Sp.   ***En el   patio   hay   el chico   y   la chica*
            in the courtyard   have.3PL.IND.PRS-there the boy   and the girl
            (The boy and the girl are in the courtyard)

14. The agreement between the verb *ha(n)* and a plural subject is one of the most controversial points of Catalan syntax. For details, see Todolí (2002, p. 1424), Ramos (2002, p. 2004) and references therein.

15. For example, it sounds acceptable in a context where someone (A) enters a room where two people (B and C) are talking, and B, speaking of C, says to A:
(i) *Mira, hi ha el teu germà que ha vingut a donar-te una notícia*
     (Look, here you have your brother who came to give you some news)
This suggests that *hi ha* is less bleached than *il y a*, as it still displays the original (deictic) meaning of *hi* 'here'.

(24) Fr. *Il y   a   ton   frère   qui est venu*
      Cat. *ᵗHi   ha   el teu germà   que ha vingut*
          It there have.3SG.IND.PRS your   brother who come.3SG.IND.PST
          (Your brother came)

d. Because *il y a* bleached in French up to the point of becoming a temporal preposition meaning 'ago'. A similar evolution took place in Catalan although its use is not generalized (see also Garcia Sebastià, 2017 for an in-depth analysis of the grammaticalization of the expression *temps ha* '(lit.) time has', 'time ago' in Catalan):

(25) Fr. *Il y   a   deux ans   ils   sont   venus   à*
          it there have.3SG.IND.PRS two   years they be.IND.PRS.3PL come.PTCP to
          Paris
          Paris
          (They came to Paris two years ago)
      Cat. *Hi   ha   quatre anys*
          there have.3SG.IND.PRS four   years
          (Four years ago)
            (Catalan example from the *Diccionari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*)

e. Because the French structure shows phonetic erosion *il y a* > [ja]. Although Catalan is a pro-drop language and does not insert any expletive subject (like French *il*), the form *hi ha* also shows phonetic erosion, being pronounced with a semi-consonant of *i,* thus [ja].
In conclusion, in many respects, once again, Catalan is closer to French than to Italian and Spanish.

2.4 Mood

As for mood, however, Catalan is not exactly similar to French. Instead of being first and foremost a subordination marker as in French (a fact already pointed out by Harris, 1978), the Catalan subjunctive does alternate with the indicative in a way that points to differences in meaning. However, since these alternations are clearly more constrained than they are in Spanish and Italian, Catalan is once more closer to French than the other two Romance languages are (Quer, 2002, pp. 2808–2858).

    The use of the French subjunctive has been decreasing since Old French (Boysen, 1966; Buridant, 2000, p. 337; Dreer, 2007, p. 201s.; Harris, 1978, p. 172; Lagerqvist, 2009, p. 39; Lalaire, 1998; Lindschouw, 2010, 2011; Loengarov, 2006). Of course it is still in use, but it no longer seems to be motivated by the speaker's choice according to the degree of assertion he wants to give to his utterance.

Rather, it merely depends on the verb (e.g. *falloir*: *Il faut que tu viennes / * viens* 'You must come'), a particular conjunction (e.g. *avant que* 'before') or on the presence of factors which decrease assertivity, such as negation and interrogation. But even in this case, the indicative is common (*Je ne crois pas qu'il vienne / viendra ce soir* 'I don't think he will come tonight'). The increasing weakening of the subjunctive may be due to the fact that morphologically, indicative and subjunctive forms of the verbs which end in –ER (which is by far the largest group) are identical for the first, second, third and sixth person, e.g. *Je sais qu'il chante* IND (I know that he sings) vs *Je veux qu'il chante* SBJV (I want him to sing). The decrease of the French subjunctive thus illustrates a case of obligatorification[16] (Lehmann, 2002) and hence of grammaticalization as defined by Haspelmath (1998, p. 318):

> Grammaticalization is the gradual drift in all parts of the grammar toward tighter structures, toward less freedom in the use of linguistic expressions at all levels.

In contrast with French, in Italian and Spanish the alternation between indicative and subjunctive moods usually corresponds to a semantically motivated choice made by the speaker between presenting a fact as asserted or not (Loengarov, 2006). Note that in these languages, the forms of the indicative and the subjunctive are also distinct for all persons even in the group of verbs ending in -AR, e.g. Sp. *Sé que cantA* IND vs *Quiero que cantE* SBJV. As we have already mentioned, Catalan alternations are not as free as they are in Italian or Spanish: in fact they are quite constrained, although not as much as they are in French. For example, Catalan verbs of belief in affirmative main clauses only admit indicative mood, as in French, whereas in Italian the subjunctive is also possible (26):

(26) Cat. *Molts creuen*   *que la borsa*
          many think.3PL.IND.PRS that the Stock Exchange
          *{ᵒᵏha   tocat   / *hagi   tocat}   sostre*
          {have.3SG.IND.PRS touch.PTCP / have.3SG.SBJV.PRS touch.PTCP} roof
      It. *Molti credono*   *che la Borsa*
          many think.3PL.IND.PRS that the StockExchange
          abbia   toccato   il   suo tetto
          have.3SG.SBJV.PST touch.PTCP the its roof
          (Many think that the Stock Exchange has touched the roof)
                                    (Italian example from Wandruszka, 2001 *apud*
                                    Lamiroy & De Mulder, 2011, p. 8)

---

16. *Obligatorification* means that the choice of an item is «systematically constrained and its use largely obligatory» as opposed to the free «choice of items according to the communicative intentions of the speaker» (Lehmann, 2002, p. 146).

Spanish also allows both the indicative and the subjunctive in similar contexts, and we observe that Catalan behaves alike (27). However, it is worth noting that such an option in Catalan and Spanish is more restricted than it is in Italian, as we show in (28):[17]

(27) Cat. *Jo sí que crec*   *que {hi ha*   /
      Sp. *Yo sí   creo*   *que {hay*   /
      I   yes   believe.1SG.IND.PRS that there exist.3SG.IND.PRS. /
      hi hagi}   *vida en altres planetes*
      haya}   *vida en otros planetas*
      exist.3SG.SBJV.PRS life   in other planets
      (I do believe that there is life on other planets)
                    (Spanish example from De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012, p. 21)

(28) It.   *Credo*   *che **sia***   *necessaria una educazione*
      Cat.*Crec*   *que **sigui***   *necessària una educació*
      Sp. *Creo*   *que **sea***   *necesaria una educación*
      think.1SG.IND.PRS that be.3SG.SBJV.PRS necessary an   education
      che   formi una cultura
      que   formi una cultura
      que   forme una cultura
      which forms a   culture
      (I think that we need an education which leads to a culture)
                    (Italian example from De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012, p. 22)

As for the distinction of mood with verbs like 'hope', Catalan aligns with Italian and Spanish, where subjunctive signals the non-commitment of the speaker with

---

17. The availability of the subjunctive mood with belief verbs in affirmative sentences in Catalan and Spanish is really constrained and context-dependent. In the absence of elements like negation or interrogation, they select for indicative mood, since subordinate clauses of verbs of belief are interpreted as being true from the point of view of the subject in the main clause. Interestingly enough, Quer (2002, pp. 2821–2828) notes that Old Catalan behaved differently, since some verbs of belief admitted subjunctive mood in their subordinated clauses (i). The same holds for Old Spanish and Old French (see Buridant, 2000 and Jensen & Lathrop, 1973).

(i) *E   axí los ocells, creent   que ella **sia***   *morta, li*   *van*
     and thus the birds, think.GER that she be.3SG.SBJV.PRS dead,   CL.DAT.3SG go.3PL.IND.PRS
     entorn e…
     around and….
     (And thus the birds, thinking that she is dead, go around her and…)
                    (*Flors de virtut*, by Francesc De Santcliment, c. 1490, p. 134)

respect to the content of the clause (Quer, 2002, p. 2818); on the contrary, Modern French only admits indicative mood:[18]

(29) a. Cat. *Espero*   *que*   *{vindrà*   */ vingui}*
           Sp. *Espero*   *que*   *{vendrá*   */ venga}*
           It. *Spero*   *che*   *{verrá*   */ venga}*
           Fr. *J'espère*   *qu'il*   *{viendra*   */ *vienne}*
               I hope.1SG.IND.PRS   that (he) come.3SG.IND.FUT / come.3SG.SBJV.PRS
               (I hope he will come / he comes)

Regarding the subjunctive in indirect interrogative clauses, Italian and Spanish[19] allow both moods, as opposed to French which only allows the indicative. As far as Catalan is concerned, the subjunctive is impossible with indirect questions (Bonet, 2002, pp. 2352–2353, 2383–2384; Villalba, 2002, pp. 2309–2313), thus paralleling the French data:

(30) Fr. *Je ne sais pas*   *quelle*   *{est / *soit}*
      It. *Non so*   *quale*   *{è / sia}*
      Sp. *No sé*   *cuál*   *{es / sea}*
      Cat. *No sé*   *quina*   *{és / *sigui}*
           not   know.1SG.IND.PRS which be.3SG.IND.PRS / be.3SG.SBJV.PRS
           la   meilleure solution
           la   migliore soluzione
           la   mejor   solución
           la   millor   solució
           the best   solution
           (I do not know which is the best solution)

On the other hand, Catalan behaves like Italian and Spanish in that it distinguishes between the two moods in a number of adverbial clauses, for example those introduced by 'when': the use of the subjunctive indicates that the state of affairs of the clause is not asserted but virtual. In French, though, *quand* 'when' is always followed by the indicative:[20]

---

18. It should be noted, however, that according to some grammarians the use of subjunctive instead of indicative with *esperar* 'to hope' (and similar verbs) is to be considered a result of Spanish linguistic pressure (Badia Margarit, 1994, p. 635). This would mean that Catalan, again, is closer to French than Spanish.

19. However, we must point out that the use of subjunctive in Spanish is subject to dialectal variation, being ungrammatical for an important number of speakers.

20. The equivalent sentence in Italian (i) does not admit the subjunctive, according to our informants:

(31) Fr. *Quand ton   frère   {viendra   /*vienne}*…
      Sp. *Cuando tu   hermano {vendrá   /venga}*…
      Cat. *Quan el teu   germà   {vindrà   / vingui}*…
            when   the your brother come.3sg.ind.fut / come.3sg.sbjv.prs
            (When your brother {will come / comes})

Another reason than those already mentioned why the French subjunctive has dramatically decreased is the virtually total loss of the imperfect of the subjunctive, a form which is still perfectly alive in Spanish and Italian. In this respect, Catalan aligns with Spanish and Italian (Pérez Saldanya, 2002, pp. 2647–2648):

(32) Fr. *Je voudrais qu'il {soit   / ?*fût}   là*
      Sp. *Querría   que   {*esté   / estuviera}   aquí*
      It. *Vorrei   che   {*sia   / fosse}   quì*
      Cat. *Voldria   que   {*sigui   / fos}   aquí*
      .   I wish   that he be.3sg.sbjv.prs / 3sg.sbjv.ipfv there/here
            (I wish he were here)

In conclusion, as far as mood distinctions are concerned, in Catalan the subjunctive is still a motivated form which reflects a particular meaning (generally non-assertion), in contrast with French, which has undergone a progressive loss of the subjunctive, confirming the general grammaticalization path according to which subordinating moods tend to disappear gradually from the language (Bybee et al., 1994).[21] Thus, with respect to mood, French appears as the most grammaticalized language, whereas Catalan stands by the side of Spanish and Italian. However, given the above facts, Catalan is probably the Iberian language which is to be located closest to French on the cline. On the other hand, its relative position with respect to Italian is not totally clear (and will remain here as a topic for further research), as Italian is also advancing in the grammaticalization process: as Loengarov (2006)

(i) It. *Quando tuo fratello {verrà / *venga}*…
However, we find *quando + subjunctive* in other contexts:

(ii) It. *Nei   troncamenti, quando una m venga   a trovarsi alla finale,*
          in the cases of truncating, when an m come.3sg.sbjv.prs to appear at.the end,
          […] si   muta   in n
          refl.3sg change.3sg.ind.prs in n
          (In the case of truncating, when(ever) m happens to be the final consonant, it usually changes into n)   (Brunet, 2006 *apud*De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012, p. 25)

21. According to a study by Poplack et al. (to appear) on spoken corpora, the subjunctive is gradually disappearing as a semantic-pragmatic device from all Romance languages except Spanish – and, we would add, Catalan. However, the degree to which this is the case differs from one Romance language to the other, French being ahead of all the others.

points out, for some Italian native speakers, the subjunctive no longer seems to be a semantically motivated mood with verbs of belief, since these speakers use both moods after *credere* 'think, believe' and *pensare* 'think' without being aware of any semantic difference between one and the other.

2.5 Demonstratives

Unlike French, which has created two clearly different paradigms corresponding to the category of determiners and that of demonstrative pronouns (33), Catalan makes no formal distinction between the two (34) (Colomina, 2002, p. 548–551):

(33) a. Pronominal uses
      Fr. *celui,*   *celle,*   *ceux,*   *celles*
          this/that, this/that-FEM, these/those, these/those-FEM
                                  (+ -ci/-là/ relative clause / prepositional compl)
      b. Determiner uses
      Fr. *ce,*   *ces*
          this/that, these/those

(34) Pronominal and determiner uses
      Cat. *aquest* / *aquell, aquesta* / *aquella,* *aquests* / *aquells, aquestes* /
           this   / that,   this-FEM / that-FEM, these   / those,   these-FEM /
           aquelles
           those-FEM

On this point, Catalan resembles Italian and Spanish, where pronominal and determiner functions are accomplished by the same forms:

(35) a. Determiner uses
      Cat. ***Aquesta*** casa   *m'agrada*
      Sp. ***Esta***   casa   *me gusta*
      It. ***Questa*** casa   *mi piace*
           (I like this house)
      b. Pronominal uses
      Cat. ***Aquesta*** *m'agrada*
      Sp. ***Esta***   *me gusta*
      It. ***Questa*** *mi piace*
           (I like this one)

As shown in (33), the French demonstrative system has undergone a considerable downsizing and tightening, thus showing once more a high degree of paradigmaticity, a well-known characteristic of the grammaticalization process (Lehmann, 2002). French achieved a maximally reduced system, as the addition of *-ci/là* to the

noun following the demonstrative in order to distinguish the distance degree from the speaker (-*ci* close to the speaker, -*là* away from him) is no longer systematically used: in Modern French, -*là* can be used to indicate something which is close to the speaker or not, and hence, prevails in most cases. In other words, French reduced its deixis to a one-term system.

On the contrary, Spanish and Italian maintain a ternary and binary system respectively which distinguish three or two degrees of distance (Sp. *este, ese, aquél*, It. *questo, quello, ?*codesto*):[22] whereas Spanish uses commonly the three forms (although in some contexts *este* and *ese* are interchangeable), Italian has reduced its ternary system to a binary one as *codesto* has become obsolete even in formal language, as pointed out by Renzi & Salvi (1991) and is only documented in certain dialects such as that of Florence (Paolo Ramat, p.c.). Thus the behavior of demonstratives confirms once more that French is the most grammaticalized language, followed by Italian and finally by Spanish.

As for Catalan, its position on the cline is again between French, on the one hand, and Spanish and Italian, on the other. Indeed, as shown in (36), most varieties display a quite advanced grammaticalization process which results in a binary system: *aquest* vs. *aquell*. Some regional varieties however are still found which display a ternary system, but the three forms are often confused (with no systematic distinction between three degrees), so that the general tendency to eliminate the intermediate distance form seems to be at work (Badia Margarit, 1981, pp. 309–314; Colomina, 2002, pp. 550–551; Moll, 2006, pp. 179–180).

(36)

	Binary system (General Cat)	Binary system (Roussillon)	Ternary system (Valencian, some Nord-Western dialects)	Ternary sistem* (Tarragona, Menorca, Eivissa)
1st degree	*aquest*	*aqueix* (and *aquest*)	*este*	*aquest*
2nd degree	–	–	*eixe*	*aqueix*
3rd degree	*aquell*	*aquell*	*aquell*	*aquell*

* This second ternary system is disappearing

In sum, demonstratives constitute another piece of evidence for placing Catalan just after French, followed by Italian and Spanish on the grammaticalization cline.

---

22. In Italian the oppositions are person-oriented: 'close to the speaker', 'away from the speaker', 'away from the speaker, but close to the hearer'. In Spanish, Jungbluth (2005) proposes that it is a hybrid system between person-oriented or distance-oriented, depending on the orientation of the speakers (face-to-face, side-by-side or face-to-back).

Conclusions

In conclusion, our study of Catalan data has led us to position Catalan on the grammaticalization cline as follows: with respect to the topics under analysis in this paper, Catalan is more grammaticalized than Spanish and even than Italian, but less than French. Thus, our data have verified our initial hypothesis that the grammaticalization cline including Catalan looks like:

(1′)   French > <u>Catalan</u> > Italian > Spanish

In the following table which summarizes the main arguments put forward in favor of our claim, the ± sign means that the language displays the feature, but only to a certain extent. Either it is subject to regional variation (e.g. the Catalan synthetic past tense only survived in Central Valencian and on the island of Eivissa), or it shows a number of restrictions which no longer exist in French (e.g. Catalan *hom* has become an indefinite personal pronoun like Fr. *on*, but it cannot be used as an equivalent of the 1st plural pronoun, as opposed to French where *on part / nous partons* are interchangeable in most contexts). With respect to the same feature, Italian displays the ± sign because the grammaticalization process from HOMO toward an indefinite personal pronoun is documented in Old Italian, but was later interrupted. The same holds for the periphrastic future, which is not only documented in older stages of Italian, but also in synchronic data, albeit of a particular type, viz. *l'italiano gastronomico*.

Table 1. Features of grammaticalization

	French	Catalan	Italian	Spanish
Lat. CASA > preposition	+	±	−	−
Lat. HOMO > pronoun	+	±	±	−
Loss of 'HAVE'/'BE' auxiliary distinction	−	±	−	+
Go-auxiliaries	+	+	±	+
Limited number of aspectual auxiliaries	+	±	±	−
Loss of the synthetic past simple	+	±	±	−
Grammaticalization of existential sentences (*il y a, hi ha, hay, c'è*)	+	±	±	−
Mood: limited use of subjunctive	+	±	−	−
Reduced demonstratives: binary system	+	±	±	−

As the table clearly shows, Catalan behaves in some regards like French (even if grammaticalization phenomena in Catalan are usually less full-fledged than in French) and in others like Italian and Spanish, i.e. among the Romance

languages it undoubtedly has an intermediate position with respect to the pace of grammaticalization.

The Catalan data analyzed in this paper not only have interestingly completed the empirical facts regarding grammaticalization in Romance, but they also provide ample evidence for the theoretical hypothesis that the overall rate of change, and of grammaticalization in particular, often differs from one language to the other, contrary to a tacit assumption still often made in studies on language change: «The assumption that the rate of change is approximately constant across all languages and all times is still frequently employed, if more tacitly, by scholars following a more orthodox approach to linguistic relatedness» (Nettle, 1999, p. 120). Finally, the synchronic comparison of different Romance languages to which we have added Catalan here, is most interesting in that allows to observe *in vivo* in one language certain on-going processes of language change that have already been buried for long in another one, therefore belonging to its diachrony.

Acknowledgements

References

Accademia della crusca on line http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/lingua-italiana/consulenza-linguistica/domande-risposte/andiamo-servire-risposta.

Amenta, L. & Strudsholm, E. (2002). *Andare a + infinito» in italiano. Parametri di variazione sincronici e diacronici. Cuadernos de Filología Italiana*», 9, pp. 11–29.

Badia Margarit, A. (1981). *Gramàtica històrica catalana*. València: Tres i Quatre.

Badia Margarit, A. (1994). *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Encilopèdia Catalana.

Bartra Kaufmann, A. (2002). La passiva i les construccions que s'hi relacionen. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2 (pp. 2111–2179). Barcelona: Empúries.

Batlle, M. (2002). *L'expressió dels temps compostos en la veu mitjana i la passiva pronominal. El procés de substitució de l'auxiliar "ésser" per "haver"*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Bonet, S. (2002). Les subordinades substantives. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 3 (pp. 2321–2387). Barcelona: Empúries.

Boysen, G. (1966). L'emploi du subjonctif dans l'histoire des langues romanes. *Bulletin des Jeunes Romanistes*, 13, 19–33.

Brucart, J. M. (2002). Els determinants. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2 (pp. 1435–1516). Barcelona: Empúries.

Buridant, C. 2000. *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*. Paris: Sedes.

Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuca, W. (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University Press of Chicago.

Carlier, A., De Mulder, W., & Lamiroy, B. (2012). Introduction: The pace of grammaticalization in a typological perspective. *Folia Linguistica*, vol. 46.2 (Autumn 2012).

Colomina, J. (2002). Paradigmes flectius de les altres classes nominals. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 1 (pp. 535–582). Barcelona: Empúries.

Colón, G. (1959). El perfet perifràstic català "*va* + infinitiu". In G. Colón. (1978). *La llengua catalana en els seus textos*, vol. II (pp. 119–130). Barcelona: Curial.

Colón, G. (1976). Sobre el perfet perifràstic català "*vado* + infinitiu", en català, en provençal i en francès. In G. Colón. (1978). *La llengua catalana en els seus textos*, vol. II (pp. 131–174). Barcelona: Curial.

De Mulder, W., & Lamiroy, B. (2012). Gradualness of grammaticalization in Romance. The position of French, Spanish and Italian. In T. Breban, L. Brems, K. Davidse, & T. Mortelmans (Eds.). *New theoretical perspectives on grammaticalization and other processes of change: origins, recognition criteria and outcomes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
doi: 10.1075/slcs.130.08mul

Delattre, P. (1966). Stages of Old French phonetic changes observed in Modern Spanish. In P. Delattre, *Studies in French and Comparative Phonetics: Selected Papers in French and English* (pp. 175–205). The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Detges, U. (2006). The passé composé in Old French and the Old Spanish perfecto compuesto. In K. Eksell, & T. Vinther (ed.) (2006). *Change in Verbal Systems. Issues on Explanation* (pp. 47–71). Berlin: Peter Lang.

Dreer, I. (2007). *Expressing the Same by the Different. The Subjunctive vs the Indicative in French*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/sfsl.59

Fabra, P. (1956). *Gramàtica catalana*. Barcelona: Teide.

Garcia Sebastià, J. V. (2017). La gramaticalització de *temps ha*: de la noció de 'temps transcorregut' als usos discursius (segles XVI-XX), *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 30, pp. 77–98.

Gavarró, A., & Laca, B. (2002). Les perífrasis temporals, aspectuals i modals. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 3 (pp. 2663–2726). Barcelona: Empúries.

Gemicioglu, S. F. (2017). Die Grammatikalisierung von lat. HOMO im Katalanischen, Spanischen und Französischen, *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 30, pp. 207–224.

Giacalone Ramat, A. & Sansò, A. (2007). The spread and decline of indefinite *man*-constructions in European Languages. In P. Ramat, & E. Roma (Eds.), *Europe and the Mediterranean as Linguistic Area* (pp. 95–13). Amsterdam: J. Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/slcs.88.07gia

Godefroy, F. 1901. *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue*. http://www.lexilogos.com/francais_dictionnaire_ancien.htm.

Gougenheim, G. 1929. *Etude sur les périphrases verbales de la langue française*. Paris: Nizet.

Harris, M. (1978). *The Evolution of French Syntax: A Comparative Approach*. London: Longman.

Harris, M. (1982). The 'past simple' and the 'present perfect' in Romance. In N. Vincent and M. Harris (Eds.), *Studies in the Romance Verb. Essays Offered to Joe Cremona on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday* (pp. 42–70). London: Croom Helm.

Haspelmath, M. (1998). Does grammaticalization need reanalysis? *Studies in Language*, 22, 315–351. doi: 10.1075/sl.22.2.03has

Heine, B. (1993). *Auxiliaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heine, B., & Kuteva, T. (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511613463

Jensen, F., & Lathrop, T. A. (1973). *The Syntax of Old Spanish Subjunctive*. The Hague: Mouton.

Jungbluth, K. (2005). *Pragmatik der Demonstrativpronomina in den Iberoromanischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Max Nieyer. doi: 10.1515/9783110944334

Lagerqvist, Hans. (2009). *Le Subjonctif en Français Moderne*. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne.

Lalaire, Louis. (1998). *La Variation Modale dans les Subordonnées à Temps Fini du Français Moderne*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Lambrecht, K. (2004). Un système pour l'analyse de la structure informationnelle des phrases. L'exemple des constructions clivées. In J. Fernandez-Vest, S. Carter-Thomas, G. Bergounioux (Eds.), *Structure informationnelle et particules énonciatives. Esssai de typologie* (pp. 21–61). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Lamiroy, B. (1999). Auxiliaires, langues romanes et grammaticalisation. *Langages*, 135, 63–75.

Lamiroy, B. (2001). Grammaticalisation et Possession inaliénable dans les langues romanes et germaniques. *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, Beiheft 30, 82–97.

Lamiroy, B. (2003). Grammaticalisation et comparaison de langues, *Verbum*, 25, 411–431.

Lamiroy, B. (2011). Degrés de grammaticalisation à travers les langues de même famille. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, tome XIX, 167–192.

Lamiroy, B., & De Mulder, W. (2011). Degrees of Grammaticalization across Languages. In H. Narrog, & B. Heine (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization* (pp. 302–317). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lehmann, C. (2002). *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. Second revised edition. Available at <http://www.christianlehmann.eu/>.

Lindschouw, J. (2010). Grammaticalization and language comparison in the Romance mood system. In E.-M. Remberger, M. G. Becker (Eds.), *Modality and Mood in Romance. Modal Interpretation, Mood Selection, and Mood Alternation* (pp. 181–207). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Lindschouw, J. (2011). *Étude des Modes dans le Système Concessif en Français du 16e au 20e Siècle et en Espagnol Moderne: Evolution, Assertion et Grammaticalisation*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Loengarov, A. (2006). *L'alternance indicatif/subjonctif dans les langues romanes. Motivation sémanticopragmatique et grammaticalisation*. Doctoral dissertation, KULeuven.

Manente, M. (2008). *L'aspect, les auxiliaires 'être' et 'avoir' et l'Hypothèse inaccusative dans une perspective comparative français / italien*. Doctoral dissertation, Paris 8 and Università Ca'Foscari Venezia.

Marchello-Nizia, C. (2006). *Grammaticalisation et Changement Linguistique*. Brussels: De Boeck-Duculot.

Menéndez Pidal, R. (1926). *Orígenes del español. Estado lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo xi*. Madrid. Anexo I de la *Revista de Filología Española*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos.

Meulleman, M. (2012). *Les localisateurs dans les constructions existentielles. Approche comparée en espagnol, en français et en italien*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. doi: 10.1515/9783110263473

Meyer-Lübke, W. (1925). *Das Katalanische. Seine Stellung zum Spanischen und Provenzalischen, sprachwissenschaftlich und historisch dargestellt*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Moll, F. de B. (2006). *Gramàtica històrica catalana*. València: Universitat de València.

Nettle, D. (1999). Is the rate of linguistic change constant? *Lingua* 108, 119–136.
doi: 10.1016/S0024-3841(98)00047-3

Perea, M. P. (2002). Flexió verbal regular. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 1 (pp. 583–646). Barcelona: Empúries.

Pérez Saldanya, M. (1998). *Del llatí al català. Morfosintaxi verbal històrica*. València: Universitat de València.

Pérez Saldanya, M. (2002). Les relacions temporals i aspectuals. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 3 (pp. 2567–2662). Barcelona: Empúries.

Pérez Saldanya, M., & Hualde, J. I. (2003). On the origin and evolution of the Catalan periphrastic preterit. In C. D. Pusch, & A. Wesch (Eds.), *Verbalperiphrasen in den (ibero-)romanischen Sprachen* (pp. 47–60). Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Poplack, S., Torres Cacoullos, R., Dion, N. & Berlinck, R. de A. (forthc.). Variation and grammaticalization in Romance: A cross-linguistic study of the subjunctive. In W. Ayres-Bennett, & J. Carruthers (Eds.), *Manuals in Linguistics: Romance Sociolinguistics*. Berlin: de Gruyter

Posner, R. (1996). *The Romance Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Presslich, M. (2000). *Partitivität und Indefinitheit*. Frankfurt: P. Lang.

Quer, J. (2002). Subordinació i mode. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 3 (pp. 2799–2866). Barcelona: Empúries.

Ramos, J. -R. (2002). El SV, II: La predicació no verbal obligatòria. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2 (pp. 1951–2044). Barcelona: Empúries.

Renzi, L., & G. Salvi (Eds.). (1991). *Grande Grammatica di Consultazione*, vol. II. Bologna: Il Mulino

Rosemeyer, M. (2014). *Auxiliary selection in Spanish: gradience, gradualness, and conservation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/slcs.155

Rosselló, J. (2002). El SV, I: Verb i arguments verbals. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2 (pp. 1853–1949). Barcelona: Empúries.

Traugott, E. C. (1978). On the expression of spatio-temporal relations. In J. H. Greenberg, C. A. Ferguson, & E. Moravcsik (Eds.), *Universals of human language*, vol. 3 (pp. 369–400). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Todolí, J. (2002). Els pronoms. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2 (pp. 1337–1433). Barcelona: Empúries.

Väänänen, V. (1967). *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Van de Velde, F., & Lamiroy, B. (2017). External possessors in West Germanic and Romance: Differential speed in the drift toward NP configurationality. In H. Cuyckens, D. Van Olmen, & L. Ghesquière (Eds.), *Aspects of Grammaticalization (Intersubjectification and Directionality)* (pp. 353–400). Berlin: Mouton-de Gruyter.

Veny, J. (1983). *Els parlars catalans*. Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll.

Villalba, X. (2002). La subordinació. In J. Solà, M. -R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, & M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 3 (pp. 2247–2319). Barcelona: Empúries.

Vincent, N. (1982). The Development of the Auxiliaries HABERE and ESSE in Romance. In N. Vincent, & M. Harris (Eds.), *Studies in the Romance Verb* (pp. 71–96). London: Croom Helm.

Abstract

Grammaticalization across Romance languages and the pace of language change: The position of Catalan

Grammaticalization across Romance languages and the pace of language change. The position of Catalan.

In several works on grammaticalization, one of the authors of this paper has established a grammaticalization cline which posits three major Romance languages: French at one extreme, Spanish at the other, and Italian in between (Lamiroy, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2011, Lamiroy & De Mulder, 2011, De Mulder & Lamiroy, 2012, Van de Velde & Lamiroy, 2017). Our purpose is to place Catalan on this cline. To achieve our goal, we use data of Catalan related to several topics, viz. auxiliaries, past tense, existential sentences, mood and demonstratives. Catalan shows contradictory evidence: whereas the grammaticalization process in certain domains suggests that it parallels Spanish and Italian, in many others, it patterns with French. Thus the hypothesis for which we provide evidence here is the following cline : French > Catalan > Italian > Spanish.

Keywords: grammaticalization, language change, syntax, Romance languages, Catalan

Authors' addresses:

Béatrice Lamiroy
Faculty of Arts
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 – box 3308
3000 Leuven
Belgium

beatrice.lamiroy@kuleuven.be

Anna Pineda
Centre de recherche sur la langue et les textes basques IKER – UMR 5478 (CNRS, UBM, UPPA), Campus de la Nive Château-Neuf
15, place Paul Bert
64100 Bayonne
France

anna.pineda@iker.cnrs.fr