

Preface

Catalan Morphosyntax at the Interfaces – Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives

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The aim of the special issue *Catalan Morphosyntax at the Interfaces* is to gather recent investigations and offer new insights into Catalan core grammar and its interfaces. This volume presents an extensive picture of the current research focused on Catalan grammar both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. The studies attain new theoretical findings relying on a strong empirical background. The contributions deal with interface phenomena in the verbal and (pro-) nominal domain. The main topics addressed are the following:

- the morphosyntax of clitics in Catalan and its varieties
- the nature and structure of different (pro-)nominal forms
- morphosyntax and the verbal domain (tense, aspect, word formation)
- Catalan morphosyntax and the interface to semantics, pragmatics, and phonology

This special issue collects selected works that were first presented at the *Jornades de lingüística catalana a Viena*. This scientific event was started by Monja Burkard and Anna Kocher in 2018 and has since celebrated four editions, the last one in June 2022. The *Jornades* were founded as an initiative to encourage the theoretical study of Catalan outside the area where it is spoken and to deepen connections between the Austrian linguistic community and the universities in the Catalan speaking countries and beyond. A clear goal of the *Jornades* is to make relevant contributions to the theoretical discussion and thereby promote the role of Catalan in formal linguistics. Furthermore, we aim to integrate new generations of young researchers to the community of linguists dedicated to the study of Catalan. We are proud to say that this publication is a perfect cumulation of these objectives.

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List of contributions

Gemma Rigau's article "An Unexpected Pronominalization of Some Temporal Measure Phrases" deals with the interface between syntax and morphology. She focuses on the structure of quasicopulative constructions in which temporal measure phrases carry partitive case (*La Maria se n'hi va estar tres*. 'Mary lived here for three month.', with the partitive clitic (*e*)*n* referring to 'months'). Usually, Catalan partitive case, pronominalized through the clitic *en*, is assigned to the indefinite (or bare) direct object of transitive verbs and the indefinite (or bare) postverbal subject of unaccusative predicates. In the quasicopulative constructions discussed by Rigau, partitive case is assigned to temporal measure phrases. Although these might appear to be adjunct phrases, Rigau argues against such an analysis. Instead, she treats these partitive temporal measure phrases as arguments, not of the verb, but as arguments of the syntactic structure. She argues that the temporal measure phrases are selected by an abstract Place preposition which has been incorporated into the verb. The analysis of partitive case as inherent case assigned by a Place preposition is then extended to other Catalan constructions with verbs such as *passar* 'to pass' and *portar* 'to bring'.

The paper "On Psych Verbs and Optional Clitic Doubling in Catalan and Other Ibero-Romance Languages" by Jorge Vega Vilanova deals with the intriguing topic of dative experiencers in Catalan in comparison to other Ibero-Romance languages, such as Spanish and Portuguese. In this study, several interfaces are examined, such as the interplay between syntax, morphology, semantics and information structure. With respect to dative experiencers, the paper examines a case of optionality, namely, the occurrence of clitic doubling or lack thereof. The author tackles several issues with respect to how dative clitic doubling emerged and spread in different Ibero-Romance languages. He argues that dative experiencers give rise to syntax-semantics mismatches and different strategies of reducing these complexities are applied by different languages. Thus, whereas in Catalan and Spanish, dative clitics have grammaticalized as agreement markers, Portuguese avoids inherent datives, using structural case. This way, clitic doubling with full DPs and the grammaticalization of clitics are blocked in the latter language. Apart from the factor of the grammaticalization of the clitic, the author discusses the role that verb movement might play in the use of clitic doubling and differences with respect to doubling of personal pronouns and full DPs are analyzed.

In the paper "The Syntax of Old Catalan Clitics: *Llibre dels Fets*", Andreu Sentí and Miriam Bouzouita deal with the distribution of clitics in Old Catalan in the 13th

century's text *Llibre dels Fets*. One focus of the study is on the clitic position in the future and conditional tenses. The investigation of enclisis and proclisis with these forms is highly interesting given that they originate from periphrastic structures and they could appear with a synthetic or analytic form. Using quantitative and qualitative methods, the authors examine syntactic as well as pragmatic factors that influence the distribution of clitics. Furthermore, the study investigates the degrees of grammaticalization of the future and conditional tenses in Old Catalan in comparison with other Western languages of the Iberian Peninsula.

Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo, in her article titled "On (Apparently) Synonymous Affixes: A Contrastive Analysis of Catalan *des-* and *es-*", focuses on the interface of semantics and morphosyntax. She presents a case study of two verbal prefixes attached to change of state verbs: *des-* and *es-*. She argues that, in spite of the common conception that these are synonymous prefixes, they actually contribute a different meaning that warrants different analyses. Her argument is built on the observation that *es-* can express ingressive meaning but *des-* can not. The empirical differences are captured by Gibert-Sotelo in a nanosyntactic analysis, showing that each of the prefixes lexicalizes a different tree: *des-* lexicalizes a Source Path, *es-* lexicalizes a Goal Path and a lexical root. The article also contributes to the discussion on how semantically similar morphemes compete for insertion.

Anna Pineda and Michelle Sheehan's paper "When Restructuring and Clause Union Meet in Catalan and Beyond" investigates the interesting case in which a causative verb (giving rise to a configuration of clause union) is combined with a complement including a restructuring verb. The authors show that the case alternation of the causee (accusative or dative) depends on the transitivity of the embedded verb. The authors investigate in detail how the case alternation, transitivity of the embedded predicate and phenomena typically related to clause union and restructuring, such as clitic climbing and *se* deletion, interact. Beside focusing on Catalan, the paper integrates comparative data from French and Italian.

Peter Herbeck, in his article entitled "Variable First Person Singular Subject Expression in Spoken Valencian Catalan", investigates the distribution of null and overt first person singular (1sg) subject pronouns in spoken Valencian Catalan analyzing interviews from the *Parlars* corpus. The analysis is not only quantitative and qualitative, but it also relies on statistical tools to better understand the data and offers, in the last part, a possible syntactic interpretation of the whole phenomenon. The main factors that seem to influence the presence of overt 1sg subject pronouns are morphological syncretism and the type of verb. The nature of the discourse and the type of data also play a role in the 1sg subject expression. The variety under investigation also shows a different behavior with respect to peninsular Spanish, where high frequency of 1sg pronoun expression is strongly related to verbs of cognition, but it seems to resemble peninsular Portuguese in which high overt 1sg subject pronoun frequencies have been observed to occur with verbs of saying in previous studies on the phenomenon. Through a precise analysis of different contexts, the author sheds light on the possibility that, with epistemic verb forms and with verbs of communication in spoken Valencian Catalan, in many cases the use

of overt first person singular subject pronouns is the result of a perspectival, rather than referential or topic shift.

In their article “A Surprise in the Past: The Historical Origins of the Catalan *go*-past”, Silvio Cruschina and Anna Kocher try to unveil the grammaticalization process behind one of the most puzzling verbal periphrasis of Catalan: the so called “*go*-past”. Catalan is the only Romance language in which the motion verb “*go*” is found as a default past tense auxiliary. Comparing data from the CICA corpus and Modern Sicilian, where a similar *go*-periphrasis can be found, the authors analyze the semantic-pragmatic development of this grammaticalization process. They demonstrate that it is not necessary to assume an intermediate stage of inchoative reading – proposed in the cited literature – between movement to foregrounding, but this function, proper of Modern Sicilian, can be directly derived by a modal mirative implicature of surprise and unexpectedness. Used mostly to express “surprising” events that took place in the past, when the additional mirative meaning was lost, the *go*-past grammaticalized as a past tense periphrasis in Catalan.

Clitics and their morphosyntactic behavior are one of the central points in the paper by Alex Alsina, “The Morphological and Syntactic Status of the Analytic and Synthetic Future in Medieval Catalan”, in which the nature of two different forms of future tense in medieval Catalan are investigated. Alsina argues that both the synthetic and the analytic future should be analyzed as words rather than phrases and, although they seem to share the same structure, they are actually the result of two different morphological processes. What differentiates the two forms is the fact that the synthetic future can be seen as a stem combined with other inflectional suffixes, while the analytic future maintains the underlying structure of the compound – Latin INF + *habeo* – from which both forms derive. Considering the fact that analytic forms include a sequence of one or more clitics between the descendent of the Latin infinitive and the *habeo* conjugation – whereas the synthetic form does not – the author argues that these clitics have to be considered as affixes intervening in the compound process. By relying on the medieval data from the CICA corpus, the author shows the coexistence of the two different forms used in specific morphosyntactic contexts, where the analytic form has to be considered as an instance of compounding used in inflection to derive a particular form in the verbal paradigm.