A surprise in the past : The historical origins of the Catalan go-past

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A Surprise in the Past: The Historical Origins of the Catalan *go*-past

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Abstract

Crosslinguistically, the development of the verb *go* into a future tense is a common path of grammaticalization. In contrast, the past meaning of the *go*-periphrasis in Catalan is unexpected. Detges (2004) claims that the process of grammaticalization of the Catalan periphrastic perfect went from inchoative to foregrounding to past. We compare data from the *Corpus informatitzat del Català antic* with modern Sicilian, where a similar *go*-periphrasis is used with a foregrounding function that resembles that of Old Catalan. This comparison confirms a foregrounding usage but fails to support the origin in an inchoative usage. We propose that the grammaticalization from movement to foregrounding does not require an intermediate inchoative stage, but that it rather results from a modal implicature of surprise and unexpectedness that was associated with the construction. Indeed, the function of *go* to foreground and express surprise or noteworthiness can be inferentially viewed as movement away from the speaker's expectations. Under this usage, Catalan *go*-periphrasis was employed to refer to 'surprising' events that took place in the past. Once this additional meaning was lost, the reference to the past was generalized beyond the implicature.

Keywords: grammaticalization; mirativity; motion verb; past perfective; Old Catalan; Sicilian

Resum. *Una sorpresa en Passat: els orígens històrics del català* anar-*passat*

El desenvolupament del verb de moviment *go* en un temps verbal de futur es un procés de gramaticalització comú des d'un punt de vista comparatiu. En canvi, es inesperat que en català la perifrasis amb el verb *go*+infinitiu adquireixi un sentit de temps passat. Segons Detges (2004) el procés de gramaticalització del passat perifràstic va començar amb un significat incoatiu, llavors va passar a ser usat per ressaltar o destacar esdeveniments i finalment va adquirir el significat de passat. Nosaltres comparem les dades del *Corpus informatitzat del Català antic* amb el sicilià modern, on s'usa una perifrasi del verb *go* amb una funció molt semblant a la del català antic com a eina per a ressaltar esdeveniments. La comparació així confirma l'ús de ressaltament però no aporta cap prova d'un origen en un ús incoatiu. Davant d'aquests fets, proposem que la gramaticalització de moviment a ressalt no requereix una etapa intermèdia d'incoatiu. Més aviat, creiem que aquesta gramaticalització resulta d'una implicatura modal de sorpresa que estava associada a la construcció. En efecte, la funció de *go* de ressaltar esdeveniments com a sorprenents o destacables es pot comprendre com a un moviment que s'allunya de les expectatives del parlant. En aquest

ús, la perifrasi catalana va ser emprada per a presentar esdeveniments sorprenents del passat. Un cop perdut aquest significat addicional de sorpresa, la referencia al passat es va generalitzar més enllà d'aquesta implicatura.

Paraules clau: gramaticalització; mirativitat; verb de moviment; perfet de passat; català antic; sicilià

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1. Introduction: The grammaticalization of movement meanings

Motion verbs are frequent sources of grammaticalization for constructions that have developed the function of aspectual or temporal markers (see, e.g., Bybee et al. 1994; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003; Squartini 1998). The motion verb *go* is also widespread as a future tense auxiliary, occurring in periphrastic futures in various Romance languages, as well as in English (e.g. *va a cantar* in Spanish, *vai cantar* in Portuguese, *il va chanter* in French, *he is going to sing* in English). In the future periphrases, which often co-exist with synthetic futures in the same languages, the motion verb *go* is inflected for tense, person, and number, and supports the main lexical verb in the infinitive; in some Romance languages (e.g. in Spanish), the infinitive is preceded by the preposition/complementizer *a* 'to'. The same periphrastic construction with *go* has not acquired a future-tense function in Italian, retaining a movement meaning. Along a less common path of grammaticalization, *go* develops into a passive auxiliary. This has occurred in Italian, where next to the general passive auxiliary *be*, we find the two motion verbs *venire* 'come' and *andare* 'go' as passive auxiliaries: the former as an unmarked form (*viene detto* 'it is said'), the latter with a special deontic meaning (*va detto* 'it must be said'; see Sansò & Giacalone Ramat 2016).

Even less common, cross-linguistically, is the grammaticalization of a motion verb into a past auxiliary. This is what we observe in Catalan, where the verb *anar* 'go' is used in the periphrastic preterite: *va cantar* '(s)he sang', *vaig comprar un llibre* 'I bought a book'.

An illustration of the use of the periphrasis in modern Catalan as a perfective past tense can be seen in (1). The periphrastic forms denote perfective events: the

specification *una bona estona* in *va estar una bona estona callat* 'he was silent for a good while' indicates that the time period is clearly delimited and concluded. *Va dir* 'he said' denotes a single, punctual event.

These instances contrast clearly with the verbs denoting descriptions (*era un home sol* 'he was a lonely man', *no sabia viure sol* 'he didn't know how to live alone') and intensions (*volia dir-me* 'he wanted to tell me') that are all inflected in imperfective past tense.

(1) I   volia   dir-me que era   un home sol   que no sabia
     and   want.IPFV tell-me that be.IPFV a   man   lonely that not knew.IPFV
     viure sol… I   va estar una bona estona callat i   va dir aixecant
     live alone and PRF be   a   good while silent and PRF say lifting
     el cap i   mirant-me   fort: em voldria   casar, però no
     the head and looking-at-me strongly me want.COND marry but   not
     puc   fundar una família…
     can.PRS found a   family
     'And he wanted to tell me that he was a lonely man that he didn't know how
     to live alone and he was silent for a good while and then, lifting his head and
     looking at me directly, said: I wanted to get married, but I cannot found a fam-
     ily…'. (Mercè Rodoreda, *La plaça del Diamant*, 1962, from *Corpus Textual
     Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana*)

The development of a future tense from a construction with the verb *go* constitutes a common path of grammaticalization. By contrast, the rise of a perfective past meaning in Catalan is somewhat unexpected. According to the scholars who have attempted to explain this atypical and exceptional process of grammaticalization, the trigger of the change is to be sought in a narrative strategy (Colón 1978a,b; Pérez Saldanya 1998; Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003, Detges 2004); some of them also claimed that this function was predated by a stage in which the construction had an inchoative meaning (Meyer-Lübke 1899; Detges 2004).

The main goal of this paper is to show that, even if it is unusual, the use of *go* in a construction with a temporal meaning other than future is the result of a canonical process of grammaticalization triggered by an implicature and an inferential change. With the help of contemporary data from Sicilian, where the triggering implicature is still available in combination with a periphrastic construction with the verb *go* but has not been grammaticalized into a past auxiliary, we will describe in more detail the semantics of Catalan *go* as "an (emphatic) narrative past marker", which has been considered an essential intermediate step in the grammaticalization path of Catalan *go*-past (see Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003). In the light of this evidence, we will argue that the development of the Catalan perfective past construction is not to be related to mere discourse-pragmatics and narrative strategies (see Detges 2004), but is rather the result of a standard process of change driven by the grammaticalization of a pragmatic implicature.

1.1. Factors of semantic change

Different factors are generally considered to be at the basis of language change, operating either separately or simultaneously. Pragmatic inference is of central importance among the triggering processes of grammaticalization, activating mechanisms such as reanalysis (Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003; Bybee et al. 1994; Traugott 1999, 2003; Levinson 2000; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Bybee 2002; Eckardt 2006). Pragmatic inferences are also involved in the semantic 'bleaching' that often occurs in grammaticalization. Indeed, the loss of lexical meaning and the enrichment of grammatical values are guided by inferences built on components of the source meaning.

According to Bybee et al. (1994: 268-269), the evolution of movement constructions into futures is a straightforward instance of inferential change. The allative component of movement denoting 'movement toward' is essential to understand this semantic derivation: the agent is moving towards a goal along a path, but movement in space shifts to movement in time. The temporal meaning is therefore already present in the construction as an inference associated with movement in space, but it becomes dominant once the major change takes place: the loss of the spatial meaning. What about the Catalan *go*-past? Can it also be viewed as the result of an inference causing semantic restructuring, lexical loss, and functional gains?

Both Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) and Detges (2004) relate the origins of the Catalan *go*-past to narrative contexts. According to Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003), the semantic change is associated with the discourse inference that the action denoted by the infinitive is accomplished and that a subsequent action, expressed in the past tense, follows. The inference of a complete action gradually becomes fixed, through a process of conventionalization that generalizes this meaning to contexts other than narrative and that simultaneously overrides the lexical meaning of the motion verb (see also Nagy 2010). Completive aspect is indeed one of the possible sources of the formation of perfectives and past tenses (Bybee at al. 1994). As also acknowledged by Bybee et al. (1994: 57), an additional semantic import associated with completives is the expression of emphasis or surprise. This value is also noted by Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003: 48), who define the Catalan *go*-past as an *emphatic* narrative strategy. This emphatic value is however not central in their analysis. For them, to understand the grammaticalization, the completive aspect associated with the infinitive is more relevant, which, according to the authors, is present since the beginnings of the grammaticalization process. If the construction had merely a movement meaning, oriented to a specific goal or purpose, the event expressed by the infinitive would not be presented as already accomplished. This analysis is based on an inferential semantic change, but tells apart the development of future and past meanings of the *go*-constructions as the "results of independent grammaticalizations in rather different contexts" (Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003: 48). This separation is even greater in Detges' (2004) account.

In his analysis of the historical development of the Catalan *go*-past, Detges (2004) claims that the process of grammaticalization is not driven by cognitive source concepts but, rather, by discourse-pragmatics and narrative strategies. He

proposes the following grammaticalization path, whereby Step 2 is the crucial discourse-pragmatic strategy that leads to the preterite function of Step 3:

(2)   Step 1:   *go*+Inf   =   inchoative aspect

     Step 2:   *go*+Inf   =   foregrounding strategy

     Step 3:   *go*+Inf   =   preterite tense marker

The starting point is the semantic change from movement in space to inchoative aspect (cf. Step 1), as already pointed out by Meyer-Lübke (1899) and Colón (1978b). When the speaker announces that an agent is moving to some place to carry out an action, she is also announcing her intention to do it and hence the beginning of the action itself. Movement and beginning are therefore closely related. Since an inchoative construction represents an incipient event, it turns out to be more appropriate to draw the attention of the listener or of the reader: "All other things being equal, incipient events are perceived as more dynamic and more spectacular than aspectually unspecified ones" (Detges 2004: 215). This construction then starts to be used as a rhetorical technique and a narrative strategy.

In Step 2, the construction is conventionalized as a procedure to structure the narrative text in the past tense and to foreground the 'turning-point' event or a particularly surprising or noteworthy action (cf. also Colón 1978a,b; Pérez Saldanya 1998; Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003). According to Detges, this development does not follow from the typical and common process of grammaticalization with a cognitive background or based on inferential changes, but it is rather the result of a grammatical procedure under the pressure of a discourse strategy. This account, thus, treats the development of the Catalan past construction differently from the evolution of the future meanings out of *go*-constructions, identifying a rhetorical and discourse strategy as the trigger of grammaticalization.

1.2. Moving away from expectations: The modal implicature

Unlike Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) and Detges (2004), we would like to propose an analysis of the rise of the Catalan *go*-past that is more in line with the pragmatic insights into grammaticalization processes. We claim that, just as motion verbs can grammaticalize from spatial to the temporal domain as future tense markers, they can also extend their meaning into a modal domain, giving rise to an implicature of surprise and unexpectedness. The verb *go* is generally interpreted as encoding motion towards a goal, but the lexical component exploited in the grammaticalization processes involving this verb is rather the idea of movement away from a deictic centre, which corresponds to the speaker's location in the case of the basic spatial movement. Movement in time, rather than in space, that is, movement away from the 'now' deictic centre explains the grammaticalization of the verb *go* into a future tense auxiliary; movement or distancing away from the speaker's expectations or beliefs is instead at the basis of the modal implicature which, following Cruschina & Bianchi (2021) and Cruschina (2022a),

will be called 'mirative implicature' in this paper (see also Ross 2016). In other words, a sudden or surprising event is encoded by the speaker as deviating from an expected course of events. As noted in the previous section, Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) discuss the emphatic or surprise value of the Catalan *go*-past, but do not attribute to it an important role in the semantic change. In our view, by contrast, the mirative implicature offers a plausible explanation behind the narrative strategy and constitutes the actual trigger of grammaticalization. We thus propose the grammaticalization path in (3).

(3)   Grammaticalization paths of *go*:
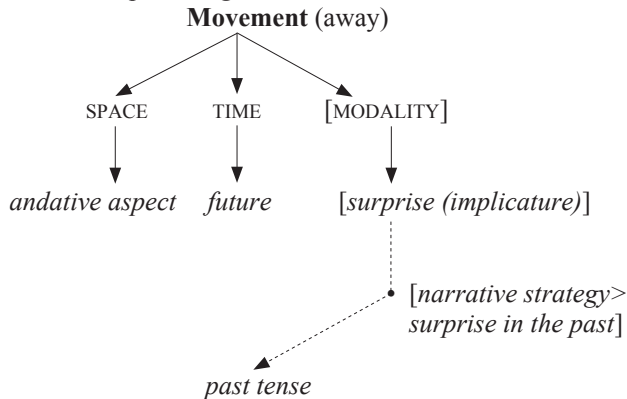
In the present paper, the modal implicature will be taken as the starting and crucial point in the reconstruction of the pragmatic inferences associated with the Catalan *go*-periphrasis in older stages of the language. Following Bybee et al. (1994: 285), we assume that "inference and implicature are two sides of the same coin. The speaker implies more than s/he asserts, and the hearer infers more than is asserted." In the relevant literature, more relevance has been given to the inferential processes in the hearer's mind as mechanism of change. On the contrary, we will focus on the production processes in the speaker's intentions and commitments that condition the semantic changes in question (cf. Traugott 1999; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Hansen & Waltereit 2009; Nagy 2010) and, hence, on the implicature as trigger of grammaticalization.

Our account relies on both synchronic and diachronic evidence. First of all, we searched for more evidence from synchrony showing that *go*-periphrases have acquired the semantic function of expressing surprise, especially in narrative contexts, in several languages such as in English, Spanish, Swedish, French (Wiklund 2009; Cruschina 2013; Tellier 2015; Dalrymple & Vincent 2015; Ross 2016, a.o.) (cf. §2). In particular, in §3, we will concentrate on a *go*-construction of Sicilian, in which the surprise import arises in reference to a past temporal frame. As for diachrony, in §4 we examined the data from a historical corpus of Catalan (*Corpus informatitzat del Català antic*) in search for empirical evidence for our hypothesis and to test the stages of grammaticalization proposed by Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) and

Detges (2004). Our results, both synchronic and diachronic, confirm the use of the periphrastic construction as a narrative strategy, but do not endorse the claim that the completive aspect of the lexical verb had a crucial role in the initial and preceding stages (*contra* Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003); nor do they support the hypothesis that an inchoative aspect is behind this development of this strategy (*contra* Detges 2004, cf. (2)). In our reformulation of the grammaticalization pathway, as outlined in (3), we argue that the narrative strategy is the stylistic reflex of a conventional implicature of surprise used within a past temporal frame (as found in modern Sicilian). The perfective past meaning obtains as soon as Catalan *go* generalizes its past function beyond the modal implicature, thus grammaticalizing into an ordinary past tense auxiliary.

2. Surprise and unexpectedness with functional *go*

Crosslinguistically, different types of constructions featuring the motion verb *go* can be used with a mirative function to mark an event as surprising or unexpected. In some languages, such as English, Swedish and Spanish, this construction includes a pseudo-coordination between the verbo *go* and the main lexical verb, but still refers to a single complex event (see De Vos 2005; Wiklund 2009; Josefsson 2014; Ross 2016; Cruschina 2022a: 134):[1]

(4) a. He went and hit me. (Carden & Pesetsky 1977: 89, cited in De Vos 2005: 47)

   b. Look at what he went and did this time! (Ross 2016: 2)

(5) Hon har   gått   och gift   sig.
   she have.PRS go.SUP and marry.SUP REFL
   'It so happens that she got married.' (*Swedish*, Josefsson 2014: 27)

(6) Ramón fue   y   se   cayó.
   Ramon went.3SG and REFL fell.3SG
   'Ramon unexpectedly fell.'
   (*Spanish*, Arnaiz & Camacho 1999: 318, cited in Ross 2016: 3)

   In the examples in (4), (5) and (6), the *go*-construction does not necessarily indicate or imply motion in space, showing that *go* has undergone semantic bleaching and has lost its original lexical properties. In other languages, the same mirative function can be realized by a *go*-construction with no pseudo-coordination and featuring an infinitival lexical verb, such as in colloquial French (7) and Italian (8):

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1. In mainland Scandinavian languages, as well as in other languages, the class of verbs that can be used in these constructions as the first element includes other verbs than just 'go' (see, e.g., De Vos 2005; Wiklund 2009; Josefsson 2014). Here, however, we are only considering the verb *go* as the first conjunct of the construction.

(7) Esther est allée s'   imaginer que tu   l'aimais.
     Esther is gone REFL imagine that you her=love.PRS.2SG
     'Esther had this crazy idea that you were in love with her.'
     (*French*, Tellier 2015: 159)

(8) Avevo   appena pulito per terra e   mi   va   a cadere la teiera.
     had.1SG just   cleaned for floor and on-me= goes to fell.INF the teapot
     'I had just cleaned the floor when the teapot fell down.'
     (*Italian*, Cruschina 2022a: 135)

A mirative value may also be expressed by constructions where *go* has a cona-
tive value, which simultaneously signals that the subject has attempted to perform
an action that is partially or fully unaccomplished and that this uncompleted action
is followed by a sudden and unexpected event expressed by the following clause.
In British English and in Sicilian, a complementizer occurs between the verb *go*
and the infinitival lexical verb: *to* in English (9) and *ppi* 'for' in Sicilian (10).
Importantly, in these languages, the conative construction shows the properties of a
monoclausal structure and of a single event interpretation that does not necessarily
imply movement (see Dalrymple & Vincent 2015; Cruschina 2018):[2]

(9) a. Swiftly, she went to change the subject – but he beat her to it.

     b. He went to answer her, but she shook her head dismissively.
         (*British English*, Dalrymple & Vincent 2015: 2-3)

(10) Vàiu   ppi mmuzzicari u   turruni, e   mi rruppi   u   renti.
     go.PRS.1SG for bite.INF   the nougat and me=break.PST.1SG the tooth
     'I was about to bite into the nougat, when I broke my tooth.'
     (*Sicilian*, Leone 1995: 44)

Despite the different morphosyntactic composition, all these *go*-constructions
share important properties. First of all, they all convey a mirative meaning, which
has been analysed in terms of a conventional implicature (cf. Wiklund 2009;
Dalrymple & Vincent 2015; Cruschina 2018, 2022a; Cruschina & Bianchi 2021).
In some cases, however, the implicature of surprise is associated directly with the
lexical verb of the construction, as in the examples from (4) to (8), while in oth-
ers it is related to a following event, as with the conative constructions in (9) and
(10). Secondly, all these constructions are typically used in a narrative context
to describe or comment on an unexpected event that happened in the past. From
a morphological viewpoint, moreover, the functional verb *go* is mostly used in
the past tense, but the narrative present is also possible, as in (8) and (10), where

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2. Curiously, the conative aspect of this construction appears to be the opposite of the completive
    aspect discussed in Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) for the Catalan *go*-past (cf. §1.1). Indeed,
    what is emphasized in the conative construction is that the action associated with the infinitive is
    left uncomplete and unaccomplished.

the verb *go* is morphologically present, but it still clearly has a past reference (we will return to this contrast in §4.1).

The previous historical accounts of the Catalan *go*-periphrasis have strongly highlighted the use of the construction in narrative contexts (see, e.g., Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Detges 2004, and references therein), including the morphological oscillation between present and past tense (see, in particular, Juge 2006), but they have neglected the mirative import. It is mentioned in Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003: 48), but only in passing. In our analysis, it is precisely this implicature that plays an essential role in the process of grammaticalization of the Catalan *go*-past. Before moving to the diachronic evidence from Catalan, however, let us turn to the synchronic *go*-construction that, in our view, can tell us the most about the earlier stages of the Catalan *go*-past: the Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction.

3. The mirative implicature of the *Doubly Inflected Construction* in Sicilian

The Sicilian *Doubly Inflected Construction* (DIC) is a motion-verb construction that displays multiple agreement. As the label suggests, the most striking formal characteristic of this construction is the double inflection, that is, DIC comprises of two inflected verbs, the first of which must be a motion verb (e.g. *jiri* 'go', *viniri* 'come', *passari* 'pass'), which are inflected for the same features and are connected by the element *a*, a pseudo-coordinator or a desemanticized linker, as shown in (11):[3]

(11) a. Vaju   a mangiu.
        go.PRS.1SG to eat.PRS.1SG
        'I go (to) eat.'/ 'I'm going to eat.'

     b. Veni   a mangia.
        come.PRS.3SG to eat.PRS.3SG
        'S/he comes (to) eat.' / 'S/he's coming to eat.'

Recent analyses have shown that DIC behaves like a monoclausal construction where the motion verb has become a functional verb (cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003; Cruschina 2013; Di Caro 2019a,b).[4] Even though the motion verb has

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3. The origins of the element *a* are still somewhat controversial. According to a long tradition of scholars, this element is to be viewed as the continuation of the Latin coordinating conjunction AC used in spoken and late Latin (see Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001; Ledgeway 2016; Di Caro 2019a,b). In most Sicilian and Italian varieties, however, this element is homophonous with the preposition/complementizer *a* 'to', from Latin preposition AD. As argued in Cruschina (2013: 271), the etymological origins of this connecting element are irrelevant for the synchronic analysis of DIC, insofar as *a* is now fully desemanticized and contributes no meaning to the construction. For the sake of simplicity, the element *a* is glossed as 'to' in the Sicilian examples.

4. Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003) use several tests to show that this analytic construction displays properties typical of monoclausal periphrastic structures whose first element is a functional verb, while the second element is a lexical verb. These properties include obligatory clitic climbing, 'single event' interpretation, indivisibility, incompatibility with the arguments and the adjuncts typically associated with motion verbs, and phonologically reduced or invariant forms of V1.

lost most of its lexical properties (e.g. the ability to select for arguments), semantically, DIC still preserves the meaning of movement and physical displacement in most cases, leading to the hypothesis that it has been grammaticalized to a functional marker of *andative* or *venitive* aspect (Cruschina 2013). The association with a mirative implicature only concerns a special use of DIC, which we will concentrate on here. This use is restricted to the verb *go* as first element of the construction and is typical of narrative contexts with a past reference, as illustrated in (12) and (13) from the Sicilian dialect of Mussomeli (Cruschina 2013: 279):

(12) Arrivammu   dda, nn'u ristoranti, e   mi   vannu   a
     arrive.PST.1PL there in-the restaurant and me.DAT= go.PRS.3PL to
     dunanu   na pizza accussì ladia!
     give.PRS.3PL a pizza so   ugly
     'We arrived there, at the restaurant, and they gave me such a bad pizza!'

(13) Cuannu u   vitti   ca   sunava   nna   banna, vaju
     when   him= see.PST.1SG that play.IMRF.PST.3SG in-the band   go.PRS.1SG
     a pruvu   na gioia!
     to feel.PRS.1SG a joy
     'When I saw him play in the band, I felt such a joy!'

In principle, when DIC features the motion verb *go* two readings should be possible. However, as discussed in Cruschina & Bianchi (2021: 96-98), andative DIC and mirative DIC differ with respect to a number of properties. First of all, unlike in andative DIC, the original movement meaning associated with *go* is lost with mirative DIC. This means that even inanimate subjects (14), weather predicates (15) and emotive predicates (cf. (13) above) are admitted with mirative DIC, while they are excluded from andative DIC. Because of its movement meaning, andative DIC is indeed limited to intentional agents that can perform a change in the position or location.

(14) Travasavu   u   vinu bùanu e   dopu un misi   mi va
     decant.PST.1SG the wine good and after a month me= go.PRS.3SG
     a fa   a   fezza.
     to do.PRS.3SG the sediment
     'I decanted the good wine and after a month the wine is made with the dregs.'

(15) Nni ddri momentu va   a   scattìa   nu temporali.
     in that moment go.PRS.3SG to break-out.PRS.3SG a storm
     'In that moment a storm broke out.'

Secondly, with andative DIC the present morphology can only refer to the present time or to an imminent future, as is generally possible with the present tense in many languages. Mirative DIC, by contrast, is only employed in narrative contexts to foreground an unexpected or surprising event that occurred in the past.

The action or the event are presented as complete, similarly to the perfect aspect of the Catalan *go*-past.[5] Indeed, in the examples in (12)-(14) of mirative DIC, all other verbs in the context are in the past tense.

Andative DIC and mirative DIC also differ with respect to their syntactic distribution: mirative DIC is mostly available in matrix clauses, while its availability in embedded clauses is much more constrained, in that it can only be embedded under verbs of saying, as exemplified in (16). No such restriction, by contrast, affects andative DIC which is freely available in embedded contexts:[6]

(16) *Cridiva   ca / Mi cuntà   ca cu   tuttu ca iddra aviva
     believe.IMPF.3SG that me= tell.PST.3SG that with all   that she   had
     studiatu notti e   jùarnu, all' ultimu a   professoressa ci   va
     studied night and day   at-the end   the professor   her= go.PRS.3SG
     a duna   nu votu tintu.
     to give.PRS.3SG a   mark bad
     'S/he believed that / told me that despite the fact that she had studied day and
     night, the professor gave her a bad mark.'

The distinctive properties of mirative DIC are direct consequences of its grammaticalization. The possibility for inanimate subjects and for stative and emotive predicates to enter the construction is the result of the loss of movement meaning and of the generalization of the new mirative function. The other two differences, that is, present tense with past interpretation and the limited availability in embedded clauses also depend on the conventionalized association with the mirative implicature. Let us start with the question of why the present tense is used even if the reference time is past.

We saw that in the *go*-constructions of other languages, the past tense is actually more frequent (cf. §2): this might suggest that these constructions are less grammaticalized than Sicilian mirative DIC. The hypothesis that the present tense could be due to a narrative strategy, that is, to the employment of the present tense to narrate past events, is problematic because within the relevant narrative unit only the *go*-construction is in the present, while all other verbs are in the past tense. A better explanation relates this property to the mirative implicature: the 'fake tense' is a clear case of shift of a modal parameter. The expectations on the basis of which the speaker assesses a past event as surprising and unexpected are anchored to the present time. In other words, the past situation is evaluated from the present perspective. Expectations do not necessarily change over time: in this case, past and present expectations coincide. However, when expectations undergo a change, the present anchor becomes evident.

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5. As a matter of fact, both in its andative and its mirative meaning, nowadays DIC exhibits a defective paradigm and can only be used in the present morphology (with the exclusion of the first and second person plural). See Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), Cruschina (2013), Cruschina & Calabrese (2021), and Cruschina (2022b).
6. Another difference concerns the 'competition' with a similar *go*-construction where the second verb is in the infinitive. This difference is, however, irrelevant for our present purposes and will not be discussed here. See Cruschina & Bianchi (2021).

Let us take the example in (15). It could well be that at the reference time, when the storm broke out, the speaker was not surprised. When narrating the event in a later moment, however, the speaker's expectations might have changed because of new events, considerations, or pieces of information that followed the storm outbreak. The speaker can then felicitously utter the sentence with mirative DIC on the basis of her current expectations.

The semantics of the mirative implicature is also able to account for the limited embeddability of mirative DIC. Being speaker's commitments, conventional implicatures cannot be embedded under the scope of intensional operators, such as attitude verbs (cf. *cridiva* 's/he believed' in (16)). Indeed, conventional implicatures belong to a dimension of meaning that is distinct from the at-issue dimension of intensional operators (Potts 2005).[7]

In the next section, we will make reference to these properties to test our hypothesis of the mirative implicature as a trigger of the grammaticalization of the Catalan *go*-past. Synchronically, the similarities between Sicilian mirative DIC and Catalan *go*-past are striking: from a morphological viewpoint, the *go* verb is in the present tense but has the function of marking a perfective past; semantically, no movement meaning is involved. However, the differences are also conspicuous, starting with the fact that mirative DIC is only available in combination with the mirative implicature, while Catalan *go*-past is a generalized past tense marker. We believe that Sicilian mirative DIC and its properties represent an earlier stage of the Catalan *go*-periphrasis in its path of grammaticalization. At the beginning of its use with a past temporal reference, the Catalan *go*-construction was also characterized by a mirative implicature. In a subsequent stage, the temporal function generalized beyond the modal interpretation and *go* grammaticalized into an ordinary past-tense auxiliary. Crucially, this last step along the grammaticalization path has not taken place in Sicilian.

4. Back to the past: Diachronic evidence from Catalan

The grammaticalization of the Catalan *go*-past has attracted the attention of many scholars, who have highlighted different aspects of the construction in its grammaticalization path (see Meyer-Lübke 1899; Colón 1978a, b; Pérez Saldanya 1998; Steinkrüger 1999; Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Detges 2004; Juge 2006; Nagy 2010; Jacobs 2011; and Wheeler 2018). On the one hand, some authors focused on specific properties of the Catalan *go*-past in the early stages of its evolution. Juge (2006) analyses morphological syncretism as a driving force of the grammaticalization. Jacobs (2011) deals with the role that language contact between Old Occitan and Old Catalan played in the development of the periphrasis. Segura-Llopes (2012) is concerned with the loss of the movement interpretation and the beginning of the grammaticalization as a past marker which he locates between the 13th and 14th century. Wheeler (2018) focuses on semantic and syntactic restrictions

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7. For a formal analysis of the mirative implicature and of the co-related fake tense and embeddability restriction, see Bianchi et al. (2016), Cruschina & Bianchi (2021) and Cruschina (2022a).

and takes their relaxation as an indication of the progressing grammaticalization of the periphrasis. Other scholars, on the other hand, have attempted to reconstruct the stages of grammaticalization in a diachronic perspective (see Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Detges 2004; Nagy 2010). There is general consensus that, before developing into a past marker, *go*+Inf functioned as a foregrounding marker. The individual accounts, however, differ in their assumptions about the stage that precedes the foregrounding function.

The distinctive feature of this stage is generally analysed as an aspectual characterization either of the whole construction or of the lexical verb alone. This aspectual characterization is viewed as an essential meaning component that leads to the following foregrounding stage, but for Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) and Nagy (2010) the relevant aspect is the completive aspect, while for Detges (2004) it is the inchoative aspect (cf. §1.1). Drawing parallels between the development of Catalan *go*+Inf and the properties of mirative DIC in modern Sicilian, we argue that there is no need to postulate that the foregrounding function derives from an aspectual characterization of the construction. The association with a surprise implicature, as found with the *go*-periphrasis in Sicilian (cf. §3), explains both the completive aspect and the foregrounding function. The hypothesis of an intermediate stage of inchoativity is neither confirmed by our corpus analysis nor is it needed from a cognitive perspective.

According to Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003), a completive reading of the action denoted by the lexical verb is an essential step in the course of the grammaticalization of *go*+Inf towards a past perfect. They propose that cases where *go* expresses a purpose – which is still understood as movement, but not movement in space – are the source of later development into a past or a future meaning. The grammaticalization into a past meaning starts when the action denoted by the lexical verb is not something that the agent intends to accomplish, but rather an event that is already accomplished. The completive meaning comes in the form of an inference. The conventionalization of this inference finally results in the grammaticalization of the past perfective meaning. A similar idea is proposed by Nagy (2010). Also for her the central aspect of meaning of functional *go* that finally leads to the grammaticalization is the expression of the intention to perform an action. This meaning can develop into a future (cf. §1) or into a past tense, as in Catalan. According to Nagy (2010), intentionality as an aspect of meaning of *go* is made salient by way of an inference. She builds on Juge (2006) who assumes that the past inflected version of *go*+Inf predates the present one. An intention in the past gives rise to an inference of a past action which leads the way to the grammaticalization as a past tense marker.

Completive aspect is a conceptually logical predecessor of perfective aspect and, thus, fits well into an explanation of how *go*+Inf developed into a past perfect, but it is also compatible with our account based on the modal surprise implicature. Indeed, it is accomplished events that are typically presented as being surprising. An association between completive and surprise has furthermore been drawn by Bybee et al. (1994: 57) based on cross-linguistic comparison. In other words, we are not arguing against the idea that the lexical verb of *go*+Inf was characterized

by a completive aspectual meaning, but we claim that this meaning does not belong to a preceding and preparatory stage, but developed with the mirative modal implicature as a coincident and accompanying property. Recall that in our analysis, the modal implicature, and hence the foregrounding strategy typical of the narrative written contexts, directly derives from the movement meaning, with no need of an intermediate stage.

Detges' (2004) description of the discourse and pragmatic characteristics associated with the foregrounding function includes elements of surprise and emphasis. He states that *go*+Inf is used to foreground "especially dramatic points of narrative sequences" or "turning point events" and "particularly surprising of noteworthy actions" (Detges 2004: 7-8). This description suggests a use of *go*+Inf in Old Catalan that is very similar to modern Sicilian mirative DIC. However, also Detges searches for a transition stage that could explain the rise of the foreground strategy. He identifies this preceding stage with inchoativity: according to him, an inchoative event is perceived as more dynamic and therefore lends itself naturally to develop into a pragmatic marker used to foreground events.

We argue, once again, that a direct development from the movement meaning of the verb *go* to encoding surprise is cognitively transparent. If surprise and unexpectedness can be conceived of as movement away from expectations or away from the normal course of events, as outlined in the grammaticalization pathway in (3), from a cognitive perspective the assumption of an intermediate stage of inchoativity is not necessary. We also want to point out here that, although Detges' conceptual argument appears sound, it lacks sufficient empirical support: the author himself discusses no examples demonstrating an inchoative usage of the periphrasis in Old Catalan. The results of our diachronic study also do not support the existence of such a stage. This is discussed in more detail in the next sections.

4.1. A corpus analysis from the early stages: The inchoative hypothesis

The present and the following section report an empirical investigation of the grammaticalization of *go*+Inf based on data from *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (CICA). The corpus consists of 414 texts from the 11th to the 18th century amounting to a total of 8,7 million tokens distributed across the centuries as follows: 11th = 4094, 12th = 23334, 13th = 937067, 14th = 2258970, 15th = 3360859, 16th = 1623953, 17th = 363289, 18th = 67105. The most reliable portion of the corpus is from the 11th-16th century, comprising of relatively large sub-corpora. The later centuries are documented more scarcely in this corpus. Our primary sample consists of all occurrences of an inflected form of the Catalan verb *anar* in present tense followed by an infinitive. This results in a total number of 369 occurrences from the 13th to the 18th century meaning that the periphrasis was not extremely frequent in these centuries.[8]

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8.   The size of the sample does not warrant the use of inferential statistics. We therefore analyse the data using descriptive statistics. We calculated Fisher's exact test on the data that are plotted in §4.1 and §4.2. In all of them, differences in frequency between the two compared groups across

This section provides an overview of the key properties of *go*+Inf since its first attestations, providing the empirical grounds to test Detges' proposal where an inchoative usage precedes the foregrounding usage against our own account where no such preceding stage is assumed. Finding objective measures to judge whether *go*+Inf had an inchoative meaning based on our historical data is not a trivial task. For this reason, we analysed several properties of the verbs occurring in the *go*+Inf construction, looking for clues – including indirect hints – in favour or against Detges' inchoative hypothesis. In particular, we looked at: (a) the types of verb occurring in the *go*+Inf construction, distinguishing between eventive and stative verbs, (b) the derivational morphology of the verbs, and (c) the temporal reference of these verbs, irrespective of the morphological tense.

Focusing on the verb type by comparing eventive versus stative verbs was not conclusive: all verbs are eventive and thus lend themselves to an inchoative reading. The exception is a few clearly stative attestations with the verb *estar* 'be' in the 16th century (for instance *va estar en aquestas tres valls* '[he] was in these three valleys', Il·lustracions dels comtats de Rosselló, Cerdanya y Conflent, 1586). The predominance of eventive verbs is also expected in the completive hypothesis explained above.

Table 1 illustrates the four most frequent verbs that appear in *go*+Inf in our sample. All of them denote dynamic, punctual actions.[9] There are more attestations in the 13th-15th centuries than in later centuries, which is also true for the overall (absolute) frequency of *go*+Inf in our data. As indicated above, however, the data for the 16th-18th century are not as reliable since these sub-corpora are smaller in size.

The data in Table 1, therefore, are not decisive with respect to the inchoative hypothesis: the most frequent verbs occurring in the *go*+Inf construction are eventive and allow for both an inchoative and a completive reading.

Table 1. Most frequent verbs in *go*+Inf in CICA

	total	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th
ferir 'strike'	61	24	36	1		
traure 'pull out, carry'	19			1		18
pendre 'grab'	15	1	13	1		
fer 'do'	12	1	8	3		

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the centuries are statistically significant. The compared groups are present vs. past context verbs in Figure 1, *go*+Inf vs. *go*+a+Inf with past inflected *anar* in Figure 2, *go*+Inf vs. no *go*+Inf in the context in Figure 3. Figure 2 below is based on a different sample of *go*+Inf with a form of *anar* inflected in past tense.

9.	The highly frequent combination of *go* and *ferir* 'to strike' leads Nagy (2010) to conclude that this was a fixed phrase. Although this cannot be excluded, the high frequency of this verb can also simply be due to the fact that a lot of the narrative texts are about heroic tales from wartime in which the moment of striking of an enemy is a quite natural event to foreground.

Another aspect we considered is derivational morphology: we find attestations of verbs prefixed with *a-*, which according to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) can denote inchoativity in Old Catalan for instance: *acostar* 'approach' (13th, 14th), *ajonollar* 'kneel down' (14th), *alansajar* 'strike by lance' (14th), *aparelar* 'appear' (13th), *aportar* 'carry/bring to the port'(16th), *aseure* 'sit down' (17th), *arremetre* 'attack' (17th). These attestations, however, are not concentrated in the earlier centuries, but span across all of them. Some of these *a-* verbs can have a durative reading and thus could in principle denote an incomplete action. However, even in their earliest attestations, the actions are presented as accomplished. In example (17), approaching the women, the action presented in *go*+Inf, is directly followed by the action of putting hands on the women's breasts, which presupposes that the action of approaching was complete.

(17) e aquests malvats ribauts **van-se acostar** a les dones e metien[IPFV] lurs mans
     a les mameles de les dones.
     'and these evil *Ribauts* [French paramilitary soldiers] **approached** the women
     and were putting their hands on the women's breasts.'10 (Homilies d'Organyà,
     13th century)

The last property we considered is the temporal frame in which *go*+Inf appears. In Detges' path of grammaticalization the inchoative usage develops directly from an andative, movement-in-space meaning. With the andative meaning, we assume that the periphrasis and the surrounding verbs are inflected in the same tense. This means that a present tense *go*+Inf should appear in a context with present tense verbs. Even though the inchoative usage is not necessarily restricted to a present tense context, given its direct development from the andative meaning, we would expect it to co-occur with verbs in both present and past. In turn, the foregrounding strategy as the last step before grammaticalizing into a past marker, just as in modern Sicilian, should be restricted to a past temporal frame marking exceptional and surprising events in the past.

Figure 1 plots the relative frequency of past versus present verbs in the context of *go*+Inf and *go*+a+Inf. The frequencies are relative to the token number for each century, which are given above. The solid black line shows the frequency of past verbs in the context. These are the cases where the periphrasis, grouping together *go*+Inf and *go*+a+Inf, appears in a past temporal frame and thus can be interpreted as referring to a past event itself. The dashed black line shows the frequencies of present verbs in the context, in which *go*+Inf and go+a+Inf appear in a present temporal frame and most likely denote a present event. The gray lines represent the proportion of cases in which *go*+Inf is intervened by the preposition *a*. The solid gray line shows *go*+a+Inf within all cases in a past temporal frame. The dashed gray line shows *go*+a+Inf within all cases in a present temporal frame. Based on our

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10. All translations are our own. When it is relevant to our argument, the tense of the verbs in the
    Catalan examples will be glossed between squared brackets. Obviously, these annotations do not
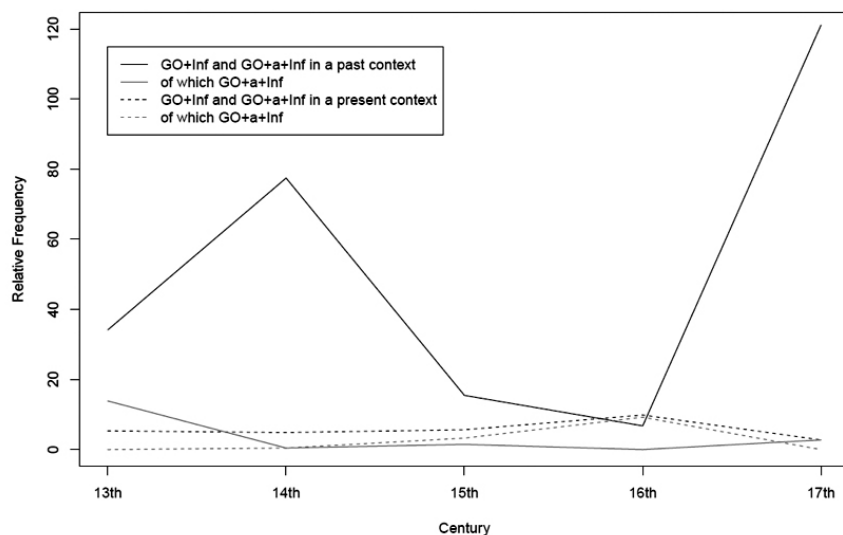   belong to the original text.

Figure 1. Relative frequency of past and present verbs in the context of *go*+Inf

reasoning that the inchoative use should in principle be found in a present temporal frame, the patterns we find in the data do not support the assumption that such a usage preceded the foregrounding function. *Go*+Inf is used predominantly in a past temporal frame from its first attestations on. The frequencies of cases where it appears in a present temporal frame are small across all centuries.

In addition to that, in 51% of the attestations in a present temporal frame, *go*+Inf features the intervening preposition *a* which makes an andative or future interpretation for these cases more likely than an inchoative or foregrounding one (see the dashed gray line in Figure 1). In merely 6% of the attestations in a past temporal frame, *go*+Inf is intervened by *a* (see the solid gray line in Figure 2). 70% of the cases of *go*+a+Inf in a past temporal frame stem from the 13th and 14th century, while 96% of the cases in a present temporal frame are from the 15th century and later. This suggests that by the 15th century the association of andative aspect and *go*+a+Inf is stabilized (see also Segura-Llopes 2012 who comes to a similar conclusion). Some examples of *go*+a+Inf are discussed below. Apart from a curious drop in the 15th and 16th century, there is an increase in use of *go*+Inf in a past temporal frame. We think that the low number of attestations in the 15th and 16th century results from normative pressure (cf. §4.3).

Further support for the stabilization of the association of the movement in space interpretation with the *go*+a+Inf periphrasis comes from cases where the verb *go* is inflected in past. In Figure 2 the relative frequency of *go*+a+Inf (solid line) is compared to the relative frequency of *go*+Inf (dashed line). In both cases *go* is inflected in past tense. The figure shows that around the 15th century the periphrasis that includes the preposition increased while its counterpart decreased.
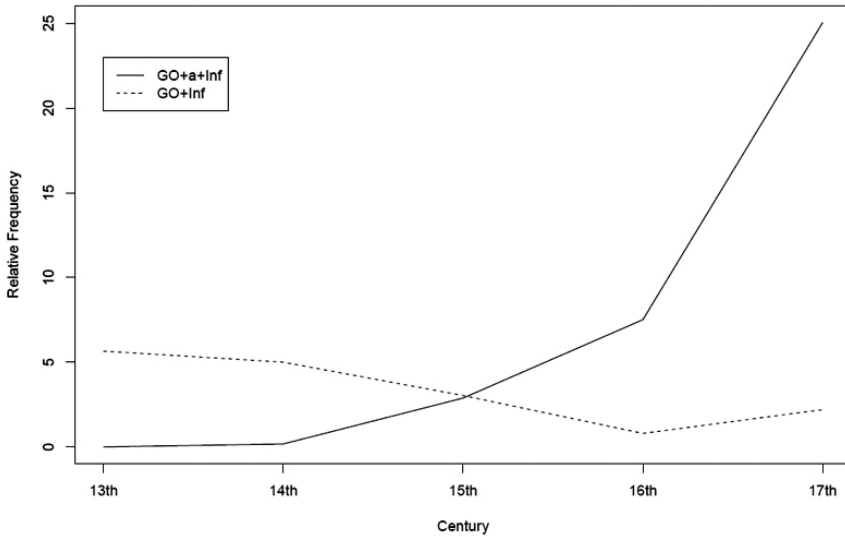
Figure 2. Relative frequency of *go*+a+Inf and *go*+Inf in past tense

This is precisely the point in time when we find evidence for a strengthening of the association of *go*+a+Inf with an andative interpretation in the present tensed data as well. It is also worth mentioning that there is no drop in attestations in the 15th and 16th century as the one that we saw in Figure 1.

In example (18) *go*+a+Inf appears in a present temporal context. The present tense is not used to describe a present scenario, but something that might happen in the future. This is evident from the parenthetical comments (*si haver-ne poden* 'in case they have one' and *si n'hi ha* 'if there is one'). We believe that in this example an andative reading is plausible. All the surrounding verbs denote movement (*cavalcar* 'ride', *anar a peu* 'walk on foot', *fer mostra* 'parade') and there is a locative PP *a la sglésia de Sanct Jordi* representing the goal of the movement.

(18) Cavalca[PRS] sobre un gran cavall tot blanch – si haver-ne poden[PRS] – e tota la altra gent van[PRS] a peu entorn d'ell. E axí van[PRS] per tota la ciutat fent mostra, e **van a fer** oració a la sglésia de Sanct Jordi si n'i ha[PRS], si no en altra
'He rides on a big horse that is all white - in case they have one - and all the other people walk on foot around him. And so they walk around the city parading and they **go to make** a prayer at the Saint Jordi church, if there is one, if not in another one.' (Joan Martorell, Tirant lo Blanch, 1490)

Example (19) is another attestation in a present context, but this time *go*+Inf does not include the preposition. An interpretation of movement in space still seems likely. We believe so because in the sentence following the one containing the periphrasis, the way in which the agents walk is further specified, suggesting that

the lexical meaning 'walk' is salient in the context. If the function of the periphrasis were inchoative or foregrounding, we would not expect 'walk' to be salient.

(19) e mengen[PRS] les bèsties que troben[PRS]; e con són[PRS] sadoles, **van beure** per los llums e per les fons que troben[PRS], e van[prs] molt suaument, per lo gran pes que han[prs] per la gravesa que han[PRS];
'and they eat the animals they find and when they are full, they **go to drink** from the streams and from the springs they find and they walk very softly, because of the big feet they have and because of the weight they have.'
(Viatges de Marco Polo, 14th century)

Turning to an example in a past context, in (20) a movement in space interpretation of *go*+a+Inf seems plausible. The example tells the adventures of Tirant lo Blanch and rey Scariano. The narrator frequently interrupts his storytelling by commentary in present tense. The periphrasis is used when the narrator returns to the story told in past tense. *Van a recobrar les terres* could either denote movement in a literal sense 'they went to regain the territories' or it could also be meant as purpose or intension 'they set out to regain the territories' (see Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003 and Nagy 2010 for this second meaning of *go*).

(20) […] per no tenir prolixitat, tornaré[FUT] a recitar los singulars actes del benaventurat príncep Tirant e del rey Scariano, qui **van a recobrar** les terres que solien[IPFV] ésser subjectes a l'Imperi Grech. Aprés la partida de l'egregi duch de Macedònia ab los altres seus companyons de la ciutat de Trapasonda, lo virtuós príncep Tirant féu[PRF] prest levar los dos camps e ordenà[PRF] e féu[PRF] ordenar al rey Scariano tota la gent, que cascun capità ab sa squadra partís[IPFV-SBJ].
'[…] And without further verbosity, I will come back to recite the singular acts of the fortunate Tirant and of king Scariano, who **went to regain** the territories that used to be subject of the Greek empire. After the departure distinguished duke of Macedonia and his company from the city of Trapasonda, the virtuous prince Tirant was quick to pick-up the two camps and ordered and made king Scariano order all the people so that every captain and his squad left.' (Joan Martorell, Tirant lo Blanch, 1490)

Finally, example (21) illustrates a case of *go*+Inf in a past temporal frame where an andative interpretation is not plausible and the periphrasis is used for pragmatic reasons to foreground an event.

(21) Diuhen[PRS] que estigué[PRF] lo més contentíssim home del món ý diuhen[PRS] que, rebut lo present, lo dit Matheu se **va traure** de la cinta una cèdula de quaranta mil ducats que la ciutat li offeria[COND].
'It is said that he was the most content man in the world and it is said that, upon receiving the present, this same Matheu **got** a certificate of 40 thousand ducats off his belt that the city was offering him.' (Pere Joan Porcar, Dietari, 1589 to 1628)

In (21) *se va traure de la cinta* 'got himself [a certificate] off his belt' is likely to mean that the belt was around the agent's waist and not somewhere he first had to move towards. This interpretation is furthermore supported by the presence of the reflexive *se* used with inalienable possession such as when referring to body parts. The action appears to be completive. We think *go*+Inf is used to indicate that this event is surprising and extraordinary in this context.

There are more reasons to believe that *go*+Inf in a past context was not associated with a movement interpretation from early on. One piece of evidence might be represented by the fact that lexical verbs that express movement actions that *go*+Inf was combined with as early as in the 13th century, which might appear redundant in some cases if *go* itself denoted movement: *acostar* 'approach' (13th, 14th), *anar* 'go' (15th), *caure* 'fall' (14th, 17th), *entrar* 'enter' (14th, 16th, 17th), *eixir* 'go out' (14th, 16th, 17th), *fugir* 'flee' (14th), *tornar* 'turn/return' (14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th), *venir* 'come/arrive' (14th) etc. A second piece of evidence is the fact that it combined with inanimate subjects such as 'the clouds' in example (22). This parallels what we find in modern Sicilian mirative DIC (cf. example (15) above).

(22) un núull se mès[prf] sobre nós, et **va'ns cobrir** tots d'aygua
     'a cloud descended on us and **covered** us all in water'
     (Crònica de Ramon Muntaner, 1325-1328)

We believe that the data from CICA do not support that *go*+Inf had a dominant use as an inchoative marker prior to developing into a foregrounding strategy as Detges (2004) proposes. It is not always easy to exclude an inchoative interpretation, but, on the whole, we believe that the patterns in our data, and in particular the almost exclusive use in a past temporal frame, are more suggestive of a foregrounding function than an inchoative usage. Furthermore, we have grounds to argue that an andative interpretation rarely arises when *go*+Inf is used in a past context, leading us to conclude that it was used as a foregrounding strategy from its early appearance in the 13th century on. To express movement in space, authors predominantly chose *go*+a+Inf with the functional *go* inflected in the tense corresponding to the temporal reference. This is further indirect evidence that the association of the foregrounding function and present tense *go*+Inf in a past context was fairly strong.

4.2. More on go+*Inf as a foregrounding strategy*

Detges (2004) treats *go*+Inf in Step 2 of his proposed grammaticalization path (cf. (2)) as a narrative strategy that was used once per narrative unit to foreground a particularly surprising, noteworthy, or turning-point event. To determine if the periphrasis is in fact used in the way Detges (2004) describes, we checked whether the occurrence of other instances of *go*+Inf within the same narrative unit was possible. Detges (2004) furthermore argues that an overuse of *go*+Inf finally led to the loss of the surprise import and gave way to a gram-
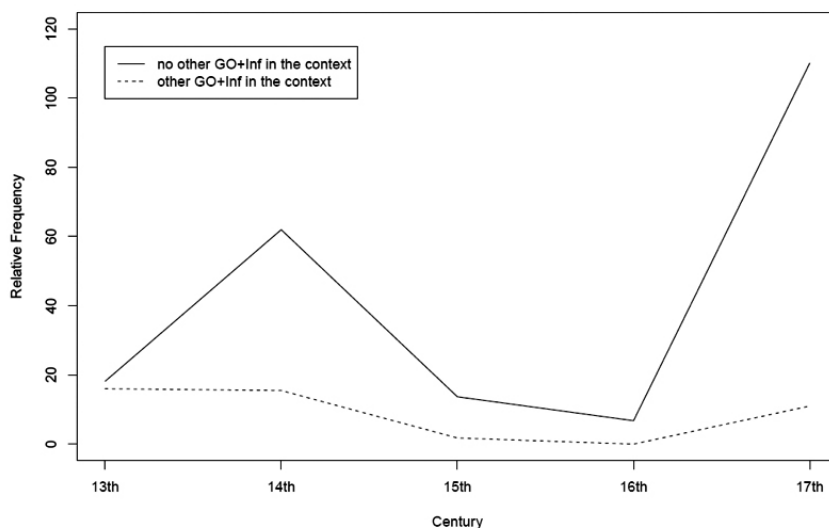
Figure 3. Relative frequency of *go*+Inf in the context vs its absence

maticalization as past tense marker. The patterns we expect to find are therefore a period of time where there appears only one *go*+Inf per narrative unit followed by a continuous increase of the cases with more than one *go*+Inf as a reflex of the transition from Detges' Step 2, as a foregrounding strategy, to Step 3, as a general past tense.

Figure 3 shows the relative frequencies of attestations of one single *go*+Inf in the context (solid line) and the relative frequencies of attestations of co-occurring *go*+Infs in the context (dashed line). The context consists of two sentences before and after the target sentence. For this analysis we only considered the 317 cases of *go*+Inf within a past temporal frame (cf. the discussion in §4.1). What the data show is that in most cases there is only one instance of *go*+Inf in the context. This shows that the periphrasis behaves as described by Detges (2004), and it is in line with our assumption that it was used as a pragmatic strategy across the centuries represented by our data from CICA. In these patterns we do not find evidence for a continuous overuse of *go*+Inf that presumably led to the loss of its pragmatic function in favor of the conventionalization of the past meaning. We conjecture that the final step of grammaticalization is only clearly reflected in the data after the 17th century, but could have taken place in spoken Catalan before that (see §4.3). In any case it extends the scope of CICA.

In (23) the event of a murder and the burial of the victim are narrated. The most remarkable and surprising event is the gruesome way in which the husband killed his wife: he beheaded her. This action is foregrounded by the use of *go*+Inf.

(23) Batiste Noguera matà[PRF] a sa muller sens per què: Disapte, a 30 de març
     1619, vespra de Pascua de Ressurectió, Batiste Noguera, nebot del vicecan-
     celler Roig, fill de germana, a miganit **va degollar** a sa muller, filla de una
     viuda que li dien[IPFV] la Peyrona. Aquest jove, per ser nebot del dit, s'és.prs
     inclinat a mal ý ha[PRS] fet grans insurts.
     'Batiste Noguera killed his wife without any reason: On Saturday, March 30th
     1619, the night before the Easter Resurrection, Batiste Noguera, nephew of
     vice-chancellor Roig, the son of his sister, **beheaded** his wife, the daughter
     of a widow people called Peyrona. This young man, for being the nephew of
     the mentioned, is inclined towards the evil and has brought great sorrow.'
     (Pere Joan Porcar, Dietari, 1589 to 1628)

Example (24) recounts the moment when Mary Magdalene recognizes Jesus
Christ after his resurrection. After recognizing him, she throws herself at his feet.
This prompt action can surely be interpreted as surprising and remarkable in the
context of the narration and thus the use of *go*+Inf, in our view, is motivated to
highlight this.

(24) E Jesuchrist, así com se girà[PRF], cridà-la[PRF] «Maria!», e ella conech-lo en
     la paraula e **va ·s gitar** als seus peus per besar -los -li […]
     'And Jesus Christ, as he turned around, called her "Maria!", and she recog-
     nized him in his words and **threw herself** to his feet to kiss them […]' (Sant
     Vincent Ferrer, Sermons, 1410-1415)

In (25) the story of a man is told who had been accused of treason against the
ruler. When he is summoned by the ruler to justify himself, the man strips naked
to show his battle wounds. This action, in the presence of the ruler nonetheless,
would of course strike anyone – not just in the 15th century but even today – as sur-
prising. We believe that the author therefore chose the periphery to emphasize the
astonishment this action provoked, deviating from the expected course of action.

(25) Veus[PRS] que aquell havia[IPFV] haüd grans batalles contra los enemichs,
     e depuix per envega acusaren-lo[PRF] ab l'emperador e l'emperador féu-
     lo·s[PRF] venir davant e dix-li[PRF] «Diu-se[PRS] que tu me vols[PRS] fer
     traÿció». «Yo?» dix[PRF] aquest. Diu[PRS] que **va·s despullar** tot nuu davant
     l'emperador e mostrà-li[PRF] los colps que havie[IPFV] rebuds, dient: «Senyor,
     aquest; colp, per amor de qui·l rebí[PRF]? E aquell?» etc. «No·ls rebí[PRF]
     per amor de vós?». «Sí». «E donchs, com podeu[PRS] pensar que yo fes[PRS]
     traÿció en vostra casa?»
     'You see, this man had fought great battles against the enemies and after that,
     out of envy he had been reported to the ruler and the ruler summoned him and
     said: "It is said that you want to betray me." "I?", said the man. It is said that
     he stripped naked in front of the ruler and showed him the wounds he had
     received saying, "Lord, this wound, out of love to whom have I received it?
     And this one?" etc. "Didn't I receive them out of love to you?". "Yes". "So,

how can you think that I want to betray your house?" (Sant Vincent Ferrer, Sermons, 1410-1415)

Example (26) is yet another death notice where two instances of *go*+Inf co-occur. Our impression is that this is not indicative of an overuse, but we rather think that the foregrounding of a surprising event motivates both uses. The author of the death notice narrates a heroic story from the deceased's life. A sequence of two particularly remarkable events (attacking a knight and pulling him off Saint Martí) are foregrounded by the use of the periphrasis.

(26) Mort de Pere Quebedo, de edad de més 136 añys: Dimecres, a 3 de febrer 1621, dia de sent Blay, soterraren[PRF] en Sent Francés, ab missa de cos present, a Pere Quebedo, velluter; home que en temps de la Germania ceny[i] a[IPFV] espasa ý **va arremetre** a un cavaller prop de Sent Martí, ý·l **va traure** de Sent Martí dels Cabesos. Ý dient lo cavaller que miràs.ipfv-sbjv que era[IPFV] cavaller, li dix[PRF] dit Quebedo que era[IPFV] tan bo com ell.
'Death of Pere Quebedo, of more than 136 years of age: Wednesday, February 3rd 1621, day of Saint Blay, they buried Pere Quebedo, the velvet maker/seller in Saint Francés, with a mass with the body of the deceased present. A man who, in the times of Germania [=Revolt of the Brotherhood] put on a sword and **attacked** a knight close to Saint Martí and he **pulled** him off Saint Martí dels Cabesos. And the knight said that he should look out because he was a knight. To which Quebedo said that he was as good as him.' (Pere Joan Porcar, Dietari, 1589 to 1628)

In its foregrounding use, *go*+Inf shows parallel behaviour to Sicilian mirative DIC: both constructions have a past reference despite their present morphology, they do not have an andative interpretation (cf. §3 and §4.1), and they permit inanimate subjects (see example (15) in §3 and example (22) in §4.1). Finally, just as Sicilian mirative DIC, *go*+Inf in Old Catalan mostly occurs in matrix clauses and embedded under verbs of saying, as shown in (27).[11] As expected, we did not find cases of *go*+Inf embedded under an intensional verb, which would be at odds with the mirative implicature (see §3).

(27) Diu[PRS] que **va fugir** envers la ciutat.
'He says that he **fled** in direction of the city.'
(Crònica de Ramon Muntaner, 1325-1328)

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11. We found a few cases of *go*+Inf in appositive and restrictive relatives (e.g. *per los qui van adorar en la Iglésia [...]* 'for those who worship in church', El sinode del bisbe Bacallar 16th century), as well as one case of *go*+Inf in a (rhetorical) question embedded under a negated factive mental verb (*No t recordes lo que m vas dir [...]?* 'Don't you remember what you told me?', La llengua dels processos de crims a la Lleida del segle XVI, 16th century). Although these are certainly interesting examples that warrant further investigation, these data do not per se contradict our assumption, namely that *go*+Inf was used to foreground events and was associated with a surprise implicature in Old Catalan.

The data we reviewed in the past two sections allow us to conclude that from the 13th till the 17th century *go*+Inf in a past temporal frame was used as a pragmatic strategy to foreground noteworthy events. Although we cannot test or reconstruct its precise nature in the historical data, the similarities that we observe lead us to propose that we are dealing with a surprise implicature similar to the one in modern Sicilian.

4.3. Normative pressure

Before closing this section we want to address the peculiar decrease of *go*+Inf in the 15th and 16th century that we saw in Figures 1 and 2. We believe that the scarce use during these two centuries could be owed to normative pressure, as already pointed out by Colón (1978a: 128) and Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003: 56f). At the end of the 15th century the *Regles d'esquivar vocables o mots grossers o pagesívols* (1492-1497) was published. This book comprises short norms of "good" use of Catalan, it criticizes dialectal and "vulgar" forms and promotes the use of cultured, often Latinized forms as more prestigious (see Badia 1950). It consists in part of commentary and in part of a list of corrections similar to the *Appendix Probi*. In this book the *go*+Inf is criticized in the following way:

(28) aquests vocables de vaig anar a misser Hierony Pau ne a mi, Miquel Carbonell, no par sian bons vocables. Més val dir: anam, venguem; no: vam etc.
'these form like *vaig anar* didn't seem like good forms to Mister Hierony Pau, nor to me, Miquel Carbonell [two of the authors]. It is better to say: *anam*, *venguem*; not: *vam* etc.' (Badia 1950: 7)

(29) vaig anar e vaig venir per aní e venguí, e semblants
'*vaig anar* and *vaig venir* instead of *aní* and *venguí*, and similar cases' (Badia 1950: 7)

We do not necessarily think that the impact of the book was so considerable as to lead authors to stop using the periphrasis. However, we do believe that it represents a general sentiment in the educated class that *go*+Inf was considered less prestigious and should therefore be avoided. Note that the periphrasis is paralleled and corrected with the synthetic past, which the periphrasis ends up substituting in modern Catalan, and not with a specialized form to indicate inchoativity, surprise or foregrounding. This suggests that *go*+Inf must have already been more frequent and possible further grammaticalized in spoken language than what the relative moderate number of attestations in the texts in CICA might lead us to conclude. Further evidence that the decrease in use can be pinned to external factors rather than internal ones stems from the fact that the *go*+a+Inf continued to increase in frequency even in the period of time where *go*+Inf drastically decreased (compare Figure 3 with Figures 1 and 2). *Go*+a+Inf is not mentioned, and let alone criticized, in the *Regles de esquivar vocables*.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we used the synchronic evidence coming from modern Sicilian as a window to the past, in an attempt to reconstruct the path of grammaticalization that characterized the emergence and development of Catalan *go*-past. This comparison not only shows striking parallels between the two constructions, but provides us with some guiding tools and hypotheses to be tested against the data gathered in our diachronic study. On the basis of synchronic and the diachronic evidence, we argue that the foreground function typical of the *go*-past in Old Catalan can be viewed as the textual employment of a modal mirative implicature of surprise and unexpectedness. The use of this pragmatic strategy to express surprise in the past is the source from which the grammaticalization and generalization of *go*+Inf into a past tense marker developed; this development and generalization never took place in Sicilian. This generalization does not emerge in our Catalan corpus data, indicating that this final and crucial change, while it might have happened before, is possibly only registered in the corpus data after the 17th century.

The completive aspect of the lexical verb (Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Nagy 2010; Segura-Llopes 2012) is a plausible conceptual source for the perfective aspect that characterizes the periphrasis in modern Catalan. We argued, however, that this aspectual meaning should be seen as concomitant to the modal implicature, rather than as a cause or trigger of change. Detges' (2004) scenario is plausible in which the periphrasis was overused leading to the loss of its special pragmatic function and to a conventionalization of the past meaning. It is possible that in this development external factors also played a role. From the 16th to the 19th century Spanish was the official written language in Catalonia. Colón (1978a,b) suggests that the lack of a written norm for Catalan might have accelerated the spread of *go*+Inf in place of the synthetic past. In the 19th century new Catalan standards were promoted. By this time, *go*+Inf appears to have already lost its implicature and was used as a regular past tense. This finds support in Pompeu Fabra's *Ensayo de gramática del catalán moderno* (1891) where *go*+Inf is presented as a periphrastic preterit and is described as the only used form in spoken language. Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003) and Juge (2006) also point at morphological issues within the paradigm of the synthetic past in Old Catalan that could have provoked its decline. In particular, Pérez Saldanya & Hualde (2003: 57) mention a number of problems for morphological naturalness (lack of uniformity, homophony between present and past first person plural, inconsistencies with other verbal paradigms, fusion of grammatical markers and empty morphs). In fact, in the varieties of Catalan that maintained the synthetic past perfect, this paradigm has been altered significantly. The inconsistencies in the old paradigm along with the availability of a competing form, they hypothesize, could be an explanation for the substitution of the synthetic past perfect with the *go*+Inf periphrasis in most Catalan varieties.

Corpora

Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA): <http://www.cica.cat/>
Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC): <https://ctilc.iec.cat/>

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