

Grammaticalization degrees in Catalan *anar* vs. *estar* + adjective in the 19th and 20th centuries: A language contact, corpus- based distributional approach

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Abstract

The present study constitutes an exploratory analysis of the use of the Catalan constructions *anar* ('to go') + adjective and *estar* ('to be') + adjective in writing during the 19th and 20th centuries. In modern Catalan, *anar* and *estar* can be used before an adjective as copulas, with an identical or similar meaning (e.g., *en Joan va begut*, *en Joan està begut* 'John is drunk'). Both constructions show evidence of being highly grammaticalized and are apparently found in free variation rather than complementary distribution. However, a closer approach seems to reveal certain underlying linguistic factors that might be informing such contrast, specifically within the semantic-pragmatic sphere. This is here explored using the narrow theory of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 2003), a multistage process by which lexical (i.e., contextual) items eventually become functional (i.e., grammatical) over time. A corpus-based search was conducted using the electronic version of the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* (CTILC), which comprises literary and non-literary texts published between 1833 and 1988. *Anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective tokens were obtained from a sample of

texts, then sorted into four different groups corresponding to century halves. The search results from the corpus were randomly sorted in terms of genre and date and, from these, the top 250 tokens on the list of results for each construction were selected and subsequently analyzed. Whereas few instances of both constructions are found overall in the first half of the 19th century, *estar* already prevails over *anar* when followed by an adjective. During the first half of the 20th century, however, this trend starts to be reversed. This suggests the possibility that *anar* and *estar* might have traditionally been found in free variation in a number of contexts, with 19th century texts showing a clear preference for *estar*.

Keywords: grammaticalization; corpus linguistics; Romance languages; historical linguistics; language change; pragmatics.

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1. Introduction

The present study constitutes an exploratory analysis of the use of the Catalan constructions *anar* ('to go') + adjective and *estar* ('to be') + adjective in writing during the 19th and 20th centuries. In modern Catalan, *anar* and *estar* can be used before an adjective as copulas, with an identical or at least very similar meaning (e.g., *en Joan va begut*, *en Joan està begut* 'John is drunk'). Both constructions show evidence of being highly grammaticalized and are apparently found in free variation rather than complementary distribution. However, a closer approach seems to reveal certain underlying linguistic factors that might be informing such contrast, specifically within the semantic/pragmatic sphere. This is here explored using the grammaticalization theory as the overarching common thread.

Specifically, I adopt the usage-based definition of grammaticalization provided by Hopper and Traugott (2003: Ch. 1), according to which this phenomenon could be defined as the multistage process by which a lexical (i.e., context) item eventually becomes functional (i.e., *grammatical*) over time. According to this definition, interaction is key in promoting language change. Consequently, Hopper and Traugott (2003) approach grammaticalization from a diachronic perspective, as they focus on every potential factor underlying the conversion of the semantic substance into a—more—grammatical meaning. In such process, all changes within the language (i.e., at the semantic, functional, morphosyntactic, or phonological levels) appear to be consistently interrelated to some degree, which leads to diverse, salient outcomes such as—most commonly—generalizations of meaning (and, relatedly, semantic bleaching) and/or contexts of use, phonological reductions (either substantial or temporary), syntactic fixation, specialization (e.g., Eng. *will* vs. *shall*, Fr. *pas* vs. *point*), or an increase in frequency. By adopting this conception of grammaticalization—in which grammar is epiphenomenal; i.e., a byproduct of the circumstances

surrounding the communication¹—I am therefore keeping my distance from some studies that admit a broader scope of the phenomenon (e.g., by embracing certain instances of what other researchers have more precisely referred to as “pragmaticalization” or “discoursivization”).

1.1. Research goals

Even though—being a gradual process—grammaticalization is intrinsically diachronic, it has occasionally been referred to as “panchronic” in the sense that it admittedly requires to be studied from a comprehensive—both diachronic and synchronic—perspective. Taking this into account, in this study I will mostly focus on the outcomes of the grammaticalization process rather than the process itself.

As mentioned earlier, I expect this grammaticalization-based approach to assist me in paving the way for establishing relevant comparisons between the Catalan constructions *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective, which might in turn shed light on the degree of grammaticalization and distribution (i.e., free, complementary, or otherwise) of these forms—both synchronically and diachronically. Even though I am not tracing here the evolution of these expressions from their earliest documentation, I still expect to encounter some enlightening changes over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Consequently, my exploratory analysis pursues a threefold goal: (1) determine whether or not consistent variation can be found between the Catalan expressions *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective; (2) if so, tackle variation in terms of relative frequency and distributional patterns; (3) based on the previous goal, establish a series of linguistic (e.g., morphosyntactic, pragmatic) and/or sociolinguistic factors that appear to be playing a role in the aforementioned distributional patterns.

2. Literature review

Grammaticalization—both in Romance languages and otherwise—has received abundant and increasing scholarly attention over the course of the last two decades (Antolí 2012, Bisang 2017, Company Company 2004, Cuenca 2001, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Martines & Montserrat i Buendia 2014, Martínez 2018, Montserrat i Buendia 2004, Norde 2019, Sentí 2012). Some clues in the field of grammaticalization in Catalan may be found in literature as early as the 1950s (Rigau 1976; Roca i Pons 1958, 1978; Romà i Roura 1987). The study of this phenomenon has traditionally focused on the gradual development of a particular lexical item (e.g., noun or verb bearing a full semantic load) into a more functional, semantically deprived one (e.g., morph expressing futurity). The process in between can be explained based on a multistage cline whose delimitation is highly contingent on the researcher’s own theoretical framework,

¹ Even though this may be hard to prove, it might not be completely inconceivable that Pompeu Fabra’s standardization of Catalan (*Qüestions de gramàtica catalana*, 1911) had contributed to favor *anar* over *estar* in certain contexts in which the use of the latter was—either rightly or wrongfully—viewed as a result of language contact with Spanish. This might have led to a number of hypercorrected instances.

the availability of supporting evidence, or the unique characteristics of the specific process under study (Heine 2002, Montserrat i Buendia 2004, Pérez-Saldanya 1998). As a general trend, pragmatic factors (cf. metonymy, reanalysis), psychosocial characteristics of those involved (cf. subjectification; *vid.* Traugott 1995), as well as constant readjustments to new sociolinguistic demands all appear to play a significant role in both the development and the outcomes of the grammaticalization process.

As mentioned earlier (*vid.* 1), for the scope of this study only Hopper and Traugott's (2003) strict, narrow definition of grammaticalization is considered. However, I was able to locate a number of publications that, though differing to an extent from Hopper and Traugott's (2003) definition, provide potentially interesting theoretical and methodological insights into the matter. Among these, Alturo and Chodorowska-Pilch (2009) take a corpus-based, quantitative stance on how the Catalan original protasis *si us plau* (lit. *if it/that pleases you*) eventually becomes a discourse marker, which commonly undergoes articulatory reduction to *sisplau* 'please' in informal speech (however, the term *grammaticalization*, instead of *pragmaticalization*, is the one used to define this process). Along the same lines, and resorting to similar terminology, Cuenca and Massip (2005) investigate the cline followed by certain conjunctive phrases (in Catalan, the authors refer to these as *connectors*; e.g., *encara que* 'although') prior to reaching their current status. This whole process is usually explained in terms of syntactic reanalysis based on a need for higher degrees of subjectification or "intersubjectification" through pragmatic processes.

The study of grammaticalization in Catalan appears to have received significantly less scholarly attention than in some of the surrounding Romance languages (e.g., Spanish, French, Italian). There appears to be, however, one outstanding exception to the rule—the case of *anar* + infinitive specializing in the expression of the past perfective, which has received significant attention both at the Catalan studies level (Alturo 2017, Pérez-Saldanya & Hualde 2003, Segura 2012, Vallduví 1989) and more globally (Juge 2005). In this respect, Catalan appears to follow the path opposite to that in other Romance languages, in which the present tense of 'to go' + infinitive has eventually specialized to convey an idea of near and/or intentional future (cf. Sp. *voy a comer*, Fr. *je vais manger* 'I am going to eat' vs. Cat. *vaig menjar* 'I ate').

In order to explain the grammaticalization process of *anar* + infinitive, Alturo (2017) qualitatively compares different hypotheses that have to date been proposed within the sociolinguistics field (e.g., reanalysis, syncretism, contact with Occitan). Though acknowledging that extensive pragmatic research has been conducted on the matter, Juge (2005) finds some gaps in research that affect the morphological sphere, as well as certain inconsistencies in terms of diachrony. The author proposes that the present/preterit syncretism found in ancient Catalan in the first-person plural, *anam*—still preserved in the Balearic varieties of the language—at some point allowed for a reanalysis of the construction. This view contrasts with previous proposals that support an explanation along the lines of the so-called "narrative present" (Vallduví 1989). Pérez-Saldanya and Hualde (2003) hypothesize that the contexts in which the *anar* + infinitive construction is first attested might be key to understanding such apparently "highly anomalous" development. Based on an ad hoc literary corpus comprising narrative texts, the

authors conclude that all these contexts are actually narrative contexts in which the infinitive corresponds to a verb of accomplishment and, for this reason, there is a subsequent action expressed in the past tense.

Even though no previous research has been found on the relationship between *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective, the aforementioned references are undoubtedly useful to guide my methodology, enlighten the interpretation of my own results, enrich subsequent discussions, and shed light onto potential further implications and next steps related to my study. This holds especially true regarding the development of the grammaticalization process and—more specifically—its underpinnings, ranging from formal language factors (i.e., morphology, syntax) to more pragmatic or discourse-related ones (e.g., sociolinguistic, psychosocial components).

3. Research questions and hypotheses

Based on the literature reviewed, I decided to establish the following research questions, which are followed by my initial assumptions:

1. Can significant variation be found in terms of grammaticalization degrees in the use of *anar* + adjective vs. *estar* + adjective in written texts from the 19th and 20th centuries?

Based on the grammaticalization model proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003), not only do I expect these two highly grammaticalized expressions to differ synchronically in terms of grammaticalization—even when both show evidence of high grammaticalization—but I also expect these to show signs of change—both individually and relatively to each other—along the course of the two centuries.

2. If so, how can relative frequency and distributional patterns inform the above variation?

First and foremost, I anticipate that the expressions *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective will show a tendency to appear—at least to an extent—in complementary distribution. Additionally, I would initially expect to encounter inversely proportional frequencies between expressions.

3. Which linguistic (e.g., morphosyntactic, pragmatic) and sociolinguistic factors could be playing an active role in establishing the aforementioned distributional patterns?

Firstly, based on the reviewed literature, a tendency of these two expressions to appear in complementary distribution might be explained based on pragmatic factors (e.g., either verb might be showing a tendency to co-occur with adjectives that are semantically similar). Secondly, if found, inversely proportional frequencies between *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective might be helpful to shed some light onto the matter in terms of the sociolinguistic sphere—particularly in connection with the steadily increasing contact between Catalan and Spanish, which is well-documented for the 20th century.

4. Methodology

4.1. Materials and procedure

A corpus-based search was conducted using the electronic version of the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* (CTILC²), designed by the Institute for Catalan Studies³. This corpus comprises over 52 million words that were originally written in Catalan between 1833 and 1988. The corpus contains both literary (i.e., narrative, theater, poetry, essays) and non-literary texts (e.g., cross-disciplinary treatises/manuals, specialized and informative articles, legal texts, periodical publications, pamphlets).

Anar + adjective and *estar* + adjective tokens were obtained from a sample of texts⁴ and then sorted into four different groups, corresponding to the first (19a) and second (19b) halves of the 19th century, as well as the first (20a) and second (20b) halves of the 20th century. The search results from the corpus were randomly sorted in terms of genre and date and, from these, the top 250 tokens on the list of results for each construction were selected and subsequently analyzed.

Tokens in which the adjective was modified by a preceding adverb were included for further analysis:

- (1) Està ja revisat.
to be-3sPI already to revise-PPms
'It is already revised.'
(Pompeu Fabra, *Cartes a Joaquim Casas-Carbó*, 1910)
- (2) Anava molt més rerassagada.
to go-3sII much more to lag behind-PPfs
'She was way behind.'
(Josep Maria Poblet, *Aribau i abans i després*, 1963)

This equally applied to all adverb types, including the emphatic negative particle *pas*:

- (3) No estarà pas enlestida a temps.
not-AUX to be-3sF no way to get ready-PPfs in time
'There is no way she will be ready in time.'
(Pompeu Fabra, *Cartes a Joaquim Casas-Carbó i a J. Massó i Torrents*, 1911)

Also, some (rare) instances were found in which a subject pronoun is inserted between the verb and the adjective:

² The corpus can be accessed following the link <https://ctlc.iec.cat/>.

³ In Catalan, and officially, *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, which is the official institution in charge of the standardization of the language.

⁴ For the specific texts from which the samples were obtained, please refer to the breakdown table included in Appendix 1.

- (4) Estich jo malaltís.
to be-1sPI I unhealthy-ms
'I am feeling unwell.'
(Josep Yxart, *Cartes a Joan Sardà*, 1893)

Past participles preceded by *anar* or *estar* were considered functional adjectives and, consequently, also included for further analysis⁵:

- (5) [...] que vaigi acompanyat d'altres aliments necessaris.
that to go-3sPS to accompany-PPms of other-mp food-mp necessary-mp
'[...] that it is accompanied by other necessary foods.'
(*Andorra 7. Setmanari del Principat*, 1978)
- (6) i que estava anunciat oficialment
and that to be-3sII to announce-PPms officially
'and that it was officially announced'
(Josep Maria Llorens i Ventura, *Cartes a Amadeu Bernardó*, 1954)

On the other hand, exclusions mainly comprised instances in which the adjective appeared prior to the verb:

- (7) donat lo delicat que estic
to give-PPms the-ns delicate-ms that to be-3Spi
'given how weak I am feeling'
(Josep Yxart, *Cartes a Joan Sardà*, 1894)

Present participles were also excluded from the list of potential adjectives:

- (8) lo teló va arriantse magestuosament
the-ms curtain-ms to go-3sPI to lower-GER majestically
'the curtain is being lowered majestically'
(Fèlix Socias i Urgellés, *¡Ja hi han entrat!*, 1860)

4.2. Data management and analysis

Firstly, in order to comparatively track the evolution of *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective (and to be able to interpret this further in the light of pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors), raw frequencies for all tokens (N=500, 250 per construction) were obtained and sorted into one of the four time-period groups (i.e., 19a, 19b, 20a, 20b) along with their respective percentages. Secondly, every token for either construction was classified according to its particular degree of grammaticalization. Specifically, three degrees were established—non-grammaticalized (NG), semi-grammaticalized (SG)⁶, and grammaticalized (G).

⁵ In Catalan, as is the case in other world languages, it is commonplace to find instances of adjectives that originated in a past participle (e.g., *estic esgotat* 'I am exhausted'; *la noia està cansada* 'the girl is tired'; *vas vestit tot elegant* 'you are all dressed up').

⁶ The *semi-grammaticalized* label here is consistent with Heine's (2002) concept of "bridging context," since it appears to account for the transition from

In the case of *anar* ('to go'), tokens classified as non-grammaticalized were those in which verb internal arguments were other than the following adjectives:

- (9) anava sola a abeurar sos ulls
 to go-3sII alone-fs to to soak-INF POSS-mp eye-mp
 'she would go [somewhere] all by herself to soak her eyes'
 (Llorenç Riber i Campins, *Al sol alt*, 1931)

Semi-grammaticalized tokens were those in which, although the verb internal argument indicating the destination was not explicit (and, probably, also completely irrelevant), the idea of directionality and/or movement had been nonetheless preserved. Here, several different patterns were encountered, such as *anar vestit/-ida*, *anar nu/-a*, *anar coix/-a*, *anar junts*, *anar descalç/-a* (respectively and literally, 'to go dressed/naked/limping/together/barefoot'):

- (10) Els pagesos, quan van descalços, la temen molt.
 the-mp peasant-mp when-CONJ to go-3pPI barefoot-mp ACC-3sf to be afraid-3pPI a lot
 'When they go barefoot, peasants are very afraid of it.'
 (Josep Calicó, *Apunts de la flora medicinal de Catalunya*, 1921)

Finally, tokens classified as grammaticalized were those in which the notion of movement originally conveyed by *anar* was no longer a possible interpretation. In fact, in multiple instances of *anar* + adjective the association between the verb and the adjective is strong (both in terms of frequency and semantic bleaching). Additionally, the semantic characteristics of the adjective appear to prevent *anar* from deploying its original notion of movement (e.g., *anar errat/-ada* 'to be (lit. go) wrong,' *anar ple/-ena* 'to be (lit. go) full'):

- (11) Però, si no vaig molt errat, hom aconsella sovint [...]
 but if not-AUX to go-1sPI very wrong-ms someone to advise-3sPI often
 'But, unless I am too wrong, it is oftentimes advised [...]'
 (Joan F. Mira i Casterà, *A la recerca de la història cultural*, 1974)

On the other hand, for *estar* + adjective no instances were found of non-grammaticalization (i.e., the original meaning of the verb, 'to stand,' from the Latin etymon STARE⁷). However, if we consider the original meaning of the verb,

grammaticalized contexts to non-grammaticalized ones (*vid.* Heine, Bernd 2002: 83-101).

⁷ In the first entry of the lemma *estar*, the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (a purely descriptive lexicographical work accounting for most varieties of the language) provides the following information: "*Trobar-se dempeus i aturat (per oposició a anar o caminar)*" ['To stand still on one's feet (as opposed to going or walking)']. The example provided dates back to the 13th century (Ramon Llull, *Cont.*, 315, 22: "*S'esforsa... com pusca esser vertuós en son parlar e en son callar e en son anar e en son estar*" ['He strives to be virtuous not only when he speaks, but also when he is silent, when he walks, and when he stands']). This could be suggesting that *estar* completed its own grammaticalization process well before *anar*, which would in turn

occurrences appear to be considerably split between semi-grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized instances. The former group includes multiple occurrences of *estar* + past participle that seem to approach the notion of the so-called *middle voice* (or even, in some cases, the passive voice itself), in which the ‘verb + participle’ bigram appears to have undergone significant semantic bleaching and increased its strength in terms of mutual association (most likely through increased frequency):

- (12) Les botigues de segells de Madrid estan clausurades per la policia.
 the-fp store-fp of stamp-mp of Madrid to be-3pPI to close down-PPfp by the-fs police-fs
 ‘The stamp stores in Madrid have been closed down by police.’
 (Enric Puigferrat, *Carta a Ramon d’Areny-Plandolit* (16/IV/1956), 1956)
- (13) Vaig estar temptat de venir -vos a veure.
 to go-1sPI to be-INF to tempt-PPms of to come-INF ACC-2p to see- INF
 ‘I was tempted to come see you.’
 (Joan Sales, *Carta a Joan Oller i Rabassa* (27/XII/1957), 1957)

Other highly-frequent grammaticalized constructions from the corpus are *estar ben vist* (‘to be well thought of’), *estar content/-a de* (‘to be happy/glad to’), *estar decidit/-ida a* (‘to be determined to’), *estar pròxim/-a a* (‘to be about to’), all followed by an infinitive.⁸ Last but not least, distributional patterns were searched for every construction in order to support or reject the complementary distribution hypothesis.

5. Results

In connection with my first and second research questions, Table 1 below provides an overview of how constructions *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective quantitatively evolve over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries in written language. Whereas few instances of both constructions are found overall in the first half of the 19th century⁹, *estar* already prevails over *anar* when followed by an adjective. Such prevalence continues well into the second half of the 19th century—in which *estar* accounts for 70.18% of the tokens from both constructions. However, data from the first half of the 20th century shows that this

explain why no instances of non-grammaticalization were found in my own selection of the CTILC corpus for *estar* + adjective constructions during the 19th or 20th centuries.

⁸ However, it must be noted that the differentiation between grammaticalized and semi-grammaticalized is usually contingent, not on the ‘*estar* + adjective’ bigram, but on pragmatic and/or contextual factors. For instance, *estar content/-a* in the literal sense was considered as semi-grammaticalized, whereas *estar content/-a de* + infinitive was classified as grammaticalized (cf. Eng. *I am happy (because I won the lottery)* vs. *I am happy to inform you that you have been selected*).

⁹ In this respect, it might be relevant to emphasize that the earliest materials found in the CTILC corpus date back to 1833 (not 1800). Along the same lines, the most recent texts within the corpus belong to the year 1988 (not 1999).

trend starts to be reversed at this point. This becomes especially noticeable during the second half of the 20th century, with *estar* + adjective constructions only accounting for 37.50% of the total number of tokens.

The above-presented data suggests the possibility that *anar* and *estar* might have traditionally been found in free variation (at least in certain contexts), with 19th century texts showing a clear preference for *estar*. The figures for *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective eventually become virtually even—still with a slight precedence of *estar*—during the first half of the 19th century. Finally, during the second half of the 20th century the initial trend is reversed, with *anar* + adjective bigrams accounting for 62.50% of the total number of tokens. With Pompeu Fabra—considered the father of Catalan standardization—having published his most influential works by mid-20th century (relevantly, the *Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana*, 1932), the increase in the use of *anar* + adjective in written Catalan might—arguably—have presented some sort of connection with the clandestine standardization efforts in a time in which the language was being banned from the public sphere by the Francoist dictatorship¹⁰.

Table 1. Raw frequencies, relative frequencies, and percentages of *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective in the CTILC-based sample (1833-1988)

	19a (1833-1850)		19b (1851-1899)		20a (1900-1950)		20b (1951-1988)		TOTAL
	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	
raw/ rel. fr.	6 / 1.2	12 / 2.4	17 / 3.4	40 / 8	127 / 25.4	138 / 27.6	100 / 20	60 / 12	500
%	33.33	66.67	29.82	70.18	47.92	52.08	62.50	37.50	100
TOTAL raw/rel. fr.	18 / 3.6		57 / 11.4		265 / 53		160 / 32		
TOTAL %	3.60		11.40		53		32		

Source: Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC)

On the other hand—as earlier indicated and exemplified in Section 4.2 (‘Data management and analysis’)—every token of *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective was annotated according to the degree of grammaticalization shown within its own context. This information was summarized in a table for further analysis and comparison. Table 2 below contains both the raw frequencies and percentages accounting for the tokens of *anar/estar* + adjective in each time period, considering their respective degrees of grammaticalization.

¹⁰ Without the possibility of readily-available access to materials published in Catalan (e.g., literary works from previous centuries), some purist currents at the time would hold the belief that the most correct choices in terms of linguistic structures or lexical items were those most differing from their Spanish counterparts. According to some sources, Pompeu Fabra earned the reputation of being a purist, even in the words of some of his colleagues at the Institute for Catalan Studies (Gracia Alonso, F. (2011), *Pere Bosch Gimpera: Universidad, política, exilio*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 146).

Table 2. Raw frequencies and percentages of *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective from the corpus-based sample (1833-1988) according to the three degrees of grammaticalization (i.e., grammaticalized (G), semi-grammaticalized (SG), and non-grammaticalized (NG)).

		19a (1833-1850)		19b (1851-1899)		20a (1900-1950)		20b (1951-1988)		TOTAL
		<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	<i>anar</i>	<i>estar</i>	
G	f	6	7	15	14	85	48	77	30	282
	%	2.13	2.48	5.32	4.96	30.14	17.02	27.30	10.64	100
SG	f	0	5	2	26	33	90	17	30	203
	%	0	2.46	0.99	12.81	16.26	44.33	8.37	14.78	100
NG	f	0	0	0	0	9	0	6	0	15
	%	0	0	0	0	60	0	40	0	100
TOTAL f		6	12	17	40	127	138	100	60	500
TOTAL %		33.33	66.67	29.83	70.18	47.93	52.08	62.5	37.5	

Source: Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC)

Table 2 shows that, by the early 1800s, both *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective already appear to be highly grammaticalized. In fact, for the latter construction, no instances of non-grammaticalization are found, which indicates that the grammaticalization process had reached full completion well before the beginning of the 1800s¹¹. Non-grammaticalized tokens of *anar* (i.e., with the verb indicating movement toward an established destination) are actually widespread in Catalan. However, when non-grammaticalization is present, the *anar* + adjective structure is possible, yet not as common, since the internal argument of the verb is forced to appear after the adjective, not immediately following the verb (e.g., *en Joan va content a la feina* ‘John goes happily (lit. *happy*) to work’). On the other hand, tokens of semi-grammaticalized *estar* + adjective—in which *estar* basically represents a transient condition or state—remain stable through all the time periods studied, by far outnumbering their *anar* counterparts.

Now focusing on the grammaticalized occurrences of *anar* vs. *estar* + adjective, these appear to be virtually and consistently even throughout the 19th century, whereas grammaticalization instances of *anar* + adjective considerably outnumber their *estar* + adjective counterparts throughout the 20th century. This might align well with the 1900s trend of switching to *anar* in constructions (usually fixed expressions) that might traditionally have resorted to *estar* (e.g., *anar cansat/-ada* ‘to be (lit. *go*) tired’). As mentioned earlier, I believe that standardization efforts of the language within an adverse sociopolitical and sociolinguistic context should not be excluded as a possible factor. Additionally, in the instances analyzed of *anar* + adjective fewer examples of idiomatic expressions are found (e.g., *anar errat/-ada* ‘to be (lit. *go*) wrong’ (10 tokens)). Concurrently, these appear to be more frequent than in the case of *estar* +

¹¹ Like in Spanish, the original use of *estar* ‘to stand’ (< Lat. STARE) has not been preserved in Catalan.

adjective, in which variety consistently overcomes frequency (e.g., *estar cansat/-ada* ‘to be tired,’ *estar obligat/-ada* ‘to be obliged,’ *estar content/-a* ‘to be happy,’ *estar decidit/-ida* ‘to be determined,’ *estar segur/-a* ‘to be sure,’ *estar disposat/-ada* ‘to be willing’). This can be explained based on the fact that *estar*, unlike *anar*, shows evidence of having fully completed its grammaticalization process (or, at least, multiple uses appear to have been grammaticalized for considerably longer periods of time).

Finally, the answer to my third research question seems to involve greater complexity. On the one hand, given the fact that in many contexts the two constructions under study seem to appear in free variation (excluding idiomatic expressions such as the ones I mentioned earlier), there are necessarily certain factors—likely, language standardization efforts—that can explain the precedence of *anar* throughout the 1900s. This would also relate to the fact that *anar* emerges as being used in more grammaticalized contexts in the 1900s.

6. Conclusion and discussion

The results obtained are certainly interesting in the light of the theoretical framework proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003), as they undoubtedly appear to point to certain directions for prospective research. Still, more research is needed to refine and validate my results. For instance, it could be enlightening to conduct a follow-up study based on the contrastive analysis of *anar* vs. *estar* + adjective across both literary and non-literary genres (also with an emphasis in oral speech; *vid.* Romà i Roura 1987). Probably, a step in the right direction would be to explore how this is reflected in letters, which—despite obvious reservations—probably constitute the genre closest to popular, spontaneous speech. Should language standardization efforts have actually played an important role in the expansion of *anar* + adjective contexts, data from the CTILC corpus could be compared to spontaneous speech samples prior to venturing hurried assumptions on the matter. Another possibility consists in delving into the semi-linking (Cat. *semicopulatiu*) characteristics of *anar* and *estar*, as well as the divergences shown by these verbs to this respect (Bosque & Demonte 1999, RAE & ASALE 2009-2011, Solà 2002). A strict differentiation (whenever possible) of the nature of intervening factors (i.e., sociolinguistic vs. discourse-pragmatic factors) might also lead to supplementary insights into the matter. As mentioned earlier, a factor that is not to be completely dismissed lies in the influence of Pompeu Fabra’s standardization of the language, which might have been a potential contributor to accelerating the grammaticalization process of *anar* in those instances in which it was consistently preferred over *estar* (based on hypercorrection or otherwise).

Another interesting clue is the frequency vs. variety contrast that is clearly observed between grammaticalized samples of *anar* + adjective and *estar* + adjective, with the former being more frequent in 20th century writing, yet not presenting as many possible combinations as the latter. It would certainly be relevant to further explore these results in the light of the grammaticalization theory, since the fact that *estar* + adjective has been grammaticalized for longer seems to have allowed for a larger variety of combinations. In order to shed more

light onto the matter and help develop further perspectives, it is my belief that it could be really enlightening to trace the grammaticalization of *estar* and *anar* back to the earliest documentations of the language.

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APPENDIX. Reference texts used from the Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC)

time frame	year	author	work
19a	1833	Alsina, Anton	Documents notariais, I. Barcelona
	1834	Roca, F	Geografia
	1834	Lagrifa i de Bono, Ramon	Documents notariais, I. Girona
	1835	Bota, Josep	Documents notariais, I. Cassà de la Selva
	1838	Gual, Esteve	Documents notariais, II. La Seu d'Urgell
	1840	Tàpies, Ramon	Carta a Guillem d'Areny (11/X/1840)
	1843	Alíer i Romeu, Llorenç	Carta a Guillem de Plandolit i d'Areny
	1844	Tomàs i Cortada, Ramon	Documents notariais, I. La Bisbal
	1850	Gurri, Lluís	Documents notariais, I. Barcelona
1845	Prim, Josep	Documents notariais, I. Granadella	
19b	1854	Josep, Andreu	Documents notariais, V. Barcelona
	1855	Sala, Marià Josep	Documents notariais, III. Sant Feliu de Guíxols
	1860	Socias i Urgellés, Fèlix	¡Ja hi han entrat!
	1866	Balaguer, Víctor	Apuntaments y datos
	1874	Picó i Campamar, Ramon	Cartes a Tomàs Forteza (1874)
	1876	Pella i Forgas, Josep	Cartes a Josep Serra i Campdelacreu (1876)
		Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques	Álbum pintoresch-monumental de Catalunya: Montserrat
	1881	Sanpere i Miquel, Salvador	Aplicació del art á l'industria
	1882	Costa i Llobera, Miquel	Carta a Francesc Matheu (15/VI/1882)
	1884	Torres i Bages, Josep Maria	¿Qué es la masonería?
	1884	Suñol, Esteve	Carta a Francesc Matheu (3/V/1884)
	1886	Alcover, Antoni Maria	Carta a Marià Aguiló (26/VIII/1886)
	1888	Soler, Frederic	Carta a Àngel Guimerà (8/III/1888)
	1890	Alcover, Antoni Maria	Carta a Marià Aguiló (24/VIII/1890)
	1890	Bosch de la Trinxeria, Carles	Cartes a Josep Yxart (1890)
	1891	Carreras i Candi, Francesc	Argentona històrica
	1892	Bosch, Vicenç	Carta a Joaquim Areny de Plandolit
	1892	Jordana, A.	Carta a Joaquim Areny de Plandolit (1/III/1892)
	1893	Yxart, Josep	Cartes a Joan Sardà (1893)
	1894	Yxart, Josep	Cartes a Joan Sardà (1894)
	1895	Yxart, Josep	Carta a Joan Sardà (31/I/1895)
	1895	Yxart, Josep	Carta a Joan Sardà
1896	Nonell i Mas, Jaume	Análisis fonològich-ortogràfich de la llènga catalana antiga y moderna	
1897	Roure, Conrad	¡13!	
1899	Vayreda, Marià	Carta a Francesc Matheu	
20a	1901	Alcover, Antoni Maria	Cartes a l'arquebisbe de Tarragona (1901)
	1901	Sallent i Gotés, Llorenç	Cartes a Joaquim Areny de Plandolit (1901)
	1901	Casas Pallerol, Jaume	¡Novicis!
	1902	Querol i de Bofarull, Ferran de	Clichés
	1903	Aulet, Maria del Pilar	Carta a Francesc Matheu (1/VI/1903)
	1903	Codinach i Espinalt, Joan	Aplech de sentencies y pensaments de filosofhs insignes
	1903	Folch i Torres, Josep Maria	Antonia
	1904	Cavallé, Pere	Aubada i posta
	1904	Ors, Eugeni d'	Cartes a Amadeu Vives (1904)
	1904	Ruyra, Joaquim	Carta a Francesc Matheu (7/XII/1904)
	1905	Guimerà, Àngel	Andrònica

1906	Puig i Ferreter, Joan	Arrels mortes
1906	Maspons i Camarasa, Jaume	Agremiació agrícola
1908	Obrador Bennàssar, Mateu	Carta a Ernest Moliné i Brasés
1910	Romaní i Guerra, Amador	Cartes a Norbert Font i Sagué (1910)
1910	Fabra, Pompeu	Cartes a Joaquim Casas-Carbó (1910)
1910	Vinyes i Cluet, Ramon	Al florir dels pomers
1911	Fabra, Pompeu	Cartes a Joaquim Casas-Carbó i a J. Massó i Torrents (1911)
1912	Barnils, Pere	Cartes a Antoni Maria Alcover (1912)
1912	Fabra, Pompeu	Carta a Jaume Massó i Torrents (20/IV/1912)
1912	Vogel, Eberhard	Carta a Francesc Matheu (3/XI/1912)
1914	Carner, Josep	Auques i ventalls
1914	Vidal i Lluch, Antoni	Carta a Francesc Matheu (21/II/1914)
1915	Barnils, Pere	Cartes a Antoni Maria Alcover (1915)
1915	Rubió i Lluch, Anton	Carta a Francesc Matheu (26/V/1915)
1916	Costa i Llobera, Miquel	Carta a Francesc Matheu (29/XII/1916)
1916	Vallès, Emili	Apologia de la llengua catalana
1918	Vallès, Emili	Aritmètica mercantil
1918	Oller, Narcís	Al llapis y a la ploma
1920	Riba, Carles	Cartes a Josep Obiols (1920)
1920	Alcover, Joan	Carta a Francesc Matheu (8/IV/1920)
1921	Riba, Carles	Cartes a Josep Obiols (1921)
1921	Riba, Carles	Cartes a Josep Obiols
1921	Collell, Jaume	Carta a Francesc Matheu (18/VIII/1921)
1921	Calicó, Josep	Apunts de la flora medicinal de Catalunya
1922	Carner, Josep	Cartes a Jaume Bofill i Mates (1922)
1922	Mir, Josep	Carta a l'Honorable Comú (13/II/1922)
1922	Bofill i Mates, Jaume	Carta a Josep Carner (28/X/1922)
1923	Federació Catalana de Natació Amateur	Anuari 1923
1925	Fontserè, Eduard	Atlas elemental de núvols
1926	Balanzó i Pons, Llorenç	Camí
1927	Martínez i Martínez, Francesc	Carta a Joan Givanel i Mas (27/XI/1927)
1928	Nadal i Mallol, Hipòlit	Articles de contraban: 1923-1927
1929	Riber i Campins, Llorenç	Any cristià, I
1930	Millàs-Raurell, Josep Maria	Anna Christie
1931	Riber i Campins, Llorenç	Al sol alt
1932	Albert Paradís, Caterina	Carta a Tomàs Roig i Llop (1/VI/1932)
1933	Ruyra, Joaquim	Assaig crític sobre el teatre de Molière
1933	Martinell, Cèsar	Actuació de l'arquitecte als pobles i petites viles
1934	Albert Paradís, Caterina	Carta a Tomàs Roig i Llop (15/I/1934)
1934	Publicacions Periòdiques	Alt Pallars. Quinzenal portantveu del Centre Republicà Català, \$18, Sort, 1934.
1935	Albert Paradís, Caterina	Cartes a Tomàs Roig i Llop (1935)
1936	Oliver, Joan	Allò que tal vegada s'esdevingué
1937	Llovet Mont-Ros, Josep	Apunts d'economia agrícola
1937	Pous i Pagès, Josep	Al marge de la revolució i de la guerra
1938	Albert Paradís, Caterina	Carta a Tomàs Roig i Llop (XII/1938)
1938	Thió de Gibert, Maria de	Carta a Núria Matheu (17/XII/1938)
1938	Amades, Joan	Apunts d'imatgeria
1938	Rodoreda, Mercè	Aloma
1939	Camarasa, Rafaela	Carta a Montserrat i Núria Matheu (1/I/1939)
1946	Tarradelles, Josep	Cartes a Joan Comorera (1946)
1946	Albert Paradís, Caterina	Carta a Tomàs Roig i Llop (10/III/1946)
1946	Grifol i Foix, Andreu	Carta a Ramon d'Areny-Plandolit (16/11/1946)
1946	Sala i Jornet, Carles	Acte de fe
1946	Vinyes i Cluet, Ramon	A la boca dels núvols
1947	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Cartes a Amadeu Hurtado (1947)
1947	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (25/XI/1947)

	1947	Amades, Joan	Apunts d'imatgeria
	1948	Massip, Evarist	Cartes a Pau Rovira (1948)
	1948	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (9/I/1948)
			Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (26/VII/1948)
	1948	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (25/XI/1947)
	1948	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (18/III/1948)
	1948	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (1/XI/1948)
	1948	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado (7/VI/1948)
	1948	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado (3/V/1948)
	1948	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado (2/II/1948)
	1948	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado (11/VIII/1948)
	1948	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado
	1949	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (8/II/1949)
			Carta a Antoni Rovira i Virgili (31/VIII/1949)
	1949	Hurtado i Miró, Amadeu	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado (26/III/1949)
	1949	Rovira i Virgili, Antoni	Carta a Amadeu Hurtado (2/IX/1949)
	1950	Granier-Barrera, Emili	Cartes (1950)
	1950	Grifol i Foix, Andreu	Carta a Ramon d'Areny-Plandolit (8/II/1950)
			"Els orígens del coneixement" de Ramon Turró
	1950	Rosés i Lacoigne, Manuel	
	1951	Calvet, Agustí	Carta a Joan Oller i Rabassa (27/XII/1951)
	1951	Albert Paradís, Caterina	Carta a Tomàs Roig i Llop (VI/1951)
	1951	Grifol i Foix, Andreu	Cartes a Ramon d'Areny-Plandolit (1951)
	1952	Saltor, Octavi	Carta a Joan Oller i Rabassa (9/VII/1952)
	1952	Grifol i Foix, Andreu	Cartes a Ramon d'Areny-Plandolit (1952)
	1953	Janer i Vinyes, Joan	Carta a Joan Oller i Rabassa (26/VI/1953)
	1954	Ferran de Pol, Lluís	M'he quedat a 'Abans de l'alba'
	1954	Llorens i Ventura, Josep Maria	Cartes a Amadeu Bernadó (1954)
	1956	Soldevila, Ferran	Albert i Francina
			"Lo Verdader català". Primer òrgan periodístic de la Renaixença (1843)
	1956	Puigferrat, Enric	Carta a Ramon d'Areny-Plandolit (16/IV/1956)
	1957	Foix, Pere	Apòstols i mercaders
	1957	Sales, Joan	Carta a Joan Oller i Rabassa (27/XII/1957)
	1958	Camps i Reverter, Guiu Maria	Apocalipsi
			Amics de muntanya: excursionisme i plantes medicinals
	1961	Mascarell i Gosp, Josep	
	1962	Llorens i Ventura, Josep Maria	Cartes a Amadeu Bernadó (1962)
	1963	Poblet, Josep Maria	Aribau i abans i després
	1963	Fontana i Lázaro, Josep	Aribau i la indústria cotonera a Catalunya
	1964	Villalonga, Llorenç	Aquil·les o l'impossible
	1965	Berenguer Amenós, Jaume	Alexis Zorbàs
	1966	Llorens i Ventura, Josep Maria	Cartes a Amadeu Bernadó (1966)
	1968	Muñoz i Pujol, Josep Maria	Antígona
	1969	Capdevila i Vilallonga, Lluís	Cartes a Amadeu Bernadó (1969)
	1971	Poblet, Josep Maria	Aquell any 1917...
	1972	Llorens i Terol, J.	Antibiòtics en pediatria
	1974	Mira i Casterà, Joan Francesc	A la recerca de la història cultural
	1974	Riera Llorca, Vicenç	Cartes a Amadeu Bernadó (1974)
			¿Has vist, algun cop, Jordi Bonet, Ca N'Amat a l'ombra?
	1976	Bonet, Blai	
	1976	Publicacions Periòdiques	Arreu. Setmanari d'informació general de Catalunya, \$7, Barcelona, 1976.
	1978	Poblet, Josep Maria	1938, any de la davallada
	1978	Publicacions Periòdiques	Andorra 7. Setmanari del Principat, \$1, Andorra, 1978.
	1978	Pedrolo, Manuel de	Aquesta nit tanquem
	1980	Carandell, Josep Maria	A les 20 hores, futbol
	1980	Borrajo, Josep	Cartes a A. Planes (1980)

		Alhora. Fulls de Gandesa, \$\$3, Gandesa, 1982.
1982	Publicacions Periòdiques	
1982	Iglésies i Fort, Josep	Amb les cames i amb el cor
1983	Gaja i Molist, Esteve	Administració i gestió municipals
1983	Benguerel, Xavier	Apassionata
1983	Carner-Ribalta, Josep	Cartes a Emili Granier-Barrera (1983)
1985	Bastardas i Parera, Joan	Els camins del mar
	Xirau Vayreda, Maria; Vidal i Carou, Maria del Carmen	
1985	Maria del Carmen	Anàlisi química
1985	Arcarons, Melcior; Arqué, Maite	Aprofitament dels recursos marins
1985	Campillo, Maria; Gustà, Marina	"Mirall trencat" de Mercè Rodoreda