

“QUE BÉ, *TU!* (« THAT’S GREAT, *YOU!* »)” : AN EMERGING EMPHATIC USE OF THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUN *TU (YOU)* IN SPOKEN CATALAN¹

Òscar Bladas and Neus Nogué

Abstract

The Catalan second person singular (2sg) pronoun *tu (you)* has acquired a wide range of pragmatic values in spoken registers that have received little or no attention from scholars in the field. The aim of the present article is to analyse a particular emerging use of the 2sg pronoun *tu* from a corpus-based perspective. In the light of Grammaticalisation Theory, it is argued that whereas in some contexts this pronoun maintains all or part of its referential function (e.g. as subject or as a vocative, respectively), in other contexts its use is very similar to that of an emphatic pragmatic marker. Data drawn from three spoken corpora suggest that the pronoun has consolidated this new use. Prosodic evidence is also provided to show the semantic and pragmatic changes undergone by the pronoun.

Keywords: Person deixis; Spoken corpora; Grammaticalisation; Pragmatic markers.

1. Introduction

A number of studies in the area of deixis have shown that some deictic forms have no referential function but have developed a range of new, non-deictic, usages (Stirling and Huddleston 2002: § 2.2.2.d; Payrató 2002/2008: § 3.2.1.2; Nogué 2005: § 3.8.12, § 6.1; Nogué 2008a: § 3.7.12, § 6.1; Nogué 2011). Probably the best known example of this particular evolution is the generic reading of the second person singular (2sg) pronoun (*you*), which has been observed in a variety of languages (Anderson and Keenan 1985: § 1.0; Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990; Helmbrecht 2015).

In this paper we look at another non-deictic usage developed by the 2sg pronoun. In particular, we analyse an emerging, non-deictic, usage of the 2sg pronoun (*tu*) in Catalan. In recent years, this pronoun has undergone a number of semantic and pragmatic changes which suggest that in some tokens it has lost its referential meaning and has evolved into a category distinct from a prototypical pronoun. Consider the example in (1), where *tu* is an instance of the canonical 2sg pronoun. In (2), in contrast,

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tu is an example of the emerging use that will be analysed in this paper. In the former case, *tu* is clearly deictic as it refers to the addressee and, in the latter case, *tu* seems to work as some sort of interjection emphasising the pragmatic meaning of the utterance (that is, positive evaluation) rather than as a pronoun referring to the addressee.

(1) ADR: *Tu m'havies dit que vale*
You told me it was OK (COR: PRIV 3)

(2) ALL: *Com que treballo al costat de casa...*
 As I work so close to home at the moment...
 RIA: *Ah, que bé, tu!*
 Oh, that's great, **you!**
 (COC: 10)

This paper focuses on this new, non-deictic, usage of the Catalan pronoun *tu*. First, we describe the canonical pronoun *tu* (see § 2) and we present the theoretical and methodological framework in which the emerging emphatic *tu* is analysed (see § 3). Second, we look at the emerging use of *tu* from a quantitative (see § 4) and a qualitative perspective (see § 5). The qualitative analysis pays special attention to the semantic, prosodic, syntactic and pragmatic features of the form. Finally, the main findings are summarised in the conclusion. This non-canonical, non-deictic, form of the pronoun will be labelled as 'emphatic *tu*' throughout the paper.

2. The personal pronoun *tu* in Catalan: A general description

Before analysing the emerging usage of *tu*, we briefly describe the canonical pronoun from a morphological and syntactic perspective. Catalan has a stressed nominative personal pronoun system which includes four singular forms and four plural forms, as represented in Table 1. *Tu* indicates second person singular and has no gender distinction. Its plural form is *vosaltres*.

Table 1. Stressed nominative personal pronoun system in Catalan.

	Catalan stressed nominative pronouns	English counterpart	Person and gender
Singular	<i>jo</i>	I	1st person
	<i>tu</i>	you (sg.)	2nd person
	<i>ell</i>	he	3rd person, masculine
	<i>ella</i>	she	3rd person, feminine
Plural	<i>nosaltres</i>	we	1st person
	<i>vosaltres</i>	you (pl.)	2nd person
	<i>ells</i>	they	3rd person, masculine
	<i>elles</i>	they	3rd person, feminine

As a deictic form, *tu* is used prototypically to refer to the “addressed recipient” as defined by Goffman (1981) (Nogué 2005: § 5.2.1; Nogué 2008a: § 5.2.1). Consider the example in (3), where *tu* refers to the addressed recipient of the utterance (a friend called Cesc) during a phone conversation. This basic referential content is found in a number of usages, including the generic reading, which has already been described by the literature for Catalan (Nogué 2005: § 6.1; Nogué 2008a: § 6.1; Nogué 2011).²

- (3) XFS: *Cesc. Bon dia. Què fas tu per Berga?*
 Cesc. Good morning. What are **you** doing in Berga? (COR: EMP2)

With regard to its syntactic features, the canonical *tu* is typically found in Noun Phrases (NP) carrying out the syntactic function of subject or in Prepositional Phrases working as verbal complements or adjuncts. Catalan, as a null subject language, usually omits subject pronouns. For this reason *tu* as a subject is only explicit when the speaker aims “to avoid real ambiguity” (Wheeler *et al.* 1999: § 11.5.1, § 25.2.1) or to express contrast or emphasis (López del Castillo 1999: § 3.5.1.1) (see also Vallduví 2002/2008: § 4.2.3). Consider the example in (4): in this excerpt the speaker admits that he behaved badly (by not having asked the addressed recipient whether or not to invite a common friend to a party) but he also stresses that the addressed recipient —*not* the speaker— behaved even worse (by not having turned up at the party).

- (4) ADR: *Jo m'ho vaig muntar malament, però tu més, tu t'ho vas muntar més malament*
 I behaved badly, but **you** more, **you** behaved even worse
 ‘I behaved badly, but **you** behaved even worse’ (COR: PRIV3)

As for its distribution within the sentence, the subject pronoun *tu* is typically located in a pre-verbal position, as (4) also shows. Yet it can also be located after the verb when *tu* is (part of) the new information or the contrastive focus of the sentence, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) MMA: *És veritat. Ho vas dir tu ahir.*
 That's true. This said **you** yesterday
 ‘That's true. *You* said this yesterday’ (COC: 01)

Also, *tu* can be found in a dislocated position either at the beginning (left-dislocation) or at the end (right-dislocation) of the sentence, particularly in spoken informal language. See (6) as an example of the former case and (7) as an example of the latter.

- (6) PUY: *Tu és que ets una santa, amor meu*
You, is that you are a saint my darling
 ‘**You**, you are a saint, my darling’ (COC: 05)
- (7) DIT: *[El braç li fa mal] i a més l'hi matxaques, tu*
 Her arm is sore and besides you hit [her arm] **you**

² The Catalan 2pl pronoun also admits a generic usage: “En casos així, *diríeu* que és millor fer-ho d'una altra manera” (‘In such cases, you may say that it is better to do it otherwise’, lit. ‘you (pl.) could say’) (Nogué 2005: § 6.2.1*b* and 2008a: § 6.2.1*b*). This usage is similar to the generic reading found in the French *vous*, which is more productive as a generalising strategy than its Catalan counterpart, as Catalan prefers the 2sg form.

[Her arm is sore] so don't hit her in the arm, **you** (COC: 01)

Finally, when located out of the sentence, *tu* is typically found as a parenthetical NP working as a vocative, as example (8) shows.

- (8) LAU: **Tu**, *Marta*, vols una patateta?
You, Marta, would you like a spud? (COC: 01)

As will be apparent throughout this paper, the emphatic *tu* has undergone a number of semantic and syntactic changes. As a result, it has evolved into a form which differs considerably from the canonical *tu* described above.

3. Theoretical and methodological framework

To our knowledge, no attention has been paid to the emerging use of the 2sg pronoun discussed herein: traditional or specialised grammars have not examined this use in detail. The only exceptions are the brief descriptions by Nogué (2005: § 3.8.12, 2008a: § 3.7.12) and Wheeler *et al.* (1999: § 24.1.1). The latter describe the phenomenon as follows:

“The second-person subject pronoun *tu!* often occurs as an interjection in colloquial expressions of admiration or surprise:

Va ser genial, tu!
 It was really brilliant

Han vingut molts més dels que ens pensàvem: una invasió, tu!
 Many more have turned up than we expected: we've been over-run!”
 (Wheeler *et al.* 1999: 455)

In fact, this usage of the pronoun *tu* seems to be relatively recent, which may explain why Catalan literature has paid so little attention to the phenomenon. The earliest tokens we found in the Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC) date from the late 1950s. Most of them appear in novel dialogues and children's magazines, mainly in excerpts imitating (informal) spoken language. Consider the two examples in (9) —the first one from a novel published in 1959, and the second one from a children's magazine published in 1965. This new usage of the pronoun might have started before the mid-twentieth century, as informal spoken phenomena like this usually take some time to appear in written discourse. Thus, the pronoun probably developed this new usage throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

- (9a) *L'Eusebi s'eixuga els llavis. Diu:* —*La guàrdia civil,* **tu**
 Eusebi dries his lips. He says: —The Guardia Civil [the Spanish police], **you**
 —*Mala cosa.*
 That's not good. (CTILC: *Combat de nit*, by J.M. Espinàs)

- (9b) *Dues hores després...* —*Ni un,* **tu!** *Quin fracàs!*
 Two hours later... —Not even one [mushroom], **you!** What a disaster!
 (CTILC: *Cavall Fort*)

At present this usage is typical of spoken language, in particular of informal registers (e.g. colloquial conversation). It has also been observed in written discourse reproducing spoken language, such as dialogues in novels and plays. This suggests that the pronoun has consolidated its new usage, which contrasts with the lack of academic studies devoted to it.

3.1. Other languages

From a typological point of view, the emphatic 2sg pronoun does not seem to be widespread. The only similar case we found in the literature is described in a paper by Biq (1991) devoted to the Mandarin 2sg pronoun *ni*.³ Biq analyses several uses of the Mandarin pronoun which deviate from its prototypical deictic function and relates such uses to the interactional roles of speaker and addressee. Of interest to us here is what he calls the “metalinguistic use” of *ni*, whereby the pronoun “serves as a vocative, calling the hearer’s attention [Biq’s emphasis] to the propositional content, and indicating the speaker’s emphasis on what s/he is saying” (p. 314). Biq also points out that this use of *ni* is only conversational and that the pronoun typically occurs at the initial position of the utterance. See (10) as an example (ASS standing for Associative Phrase Marker and M for Measure Word):

- (10) (F says that in the past peasants in China did not have good medical care. She goes on to give examples to explain this point.)

F: *ni birushuo, Zhongguo de guoqu jiu you zheige wenti;*
 2sg for-example China ASS past just have this-M problem

‘(Ni) for example, in the past China had this problem’

the peasants still basically [couldn’t get medical care,
 M: [Mmhmm.

F: especially in remote places.

(Biq 1991: 315)

Biq claims that in examples like (10) *ni* does have a referent, that is, the addressee of the utterance. Yet he also points out that some of the pronoun’s formal characteristics suggest that it does not have a canonical deictic function. First, the pronoun lacks stress and is followed by the utterance without a pause. Second, the pronoun is never found in

³ We have heard some uses of *du* (‘you’, sing.) in oral informal German that suggest the beginning of a grammaticalisation process similar to the one described in this article: *Das nervt mich, du* (‘It gets on my nerves, lit. you’) and *Das war aber eine tolle Reise, du!* (‘It was an incredible journey, lit. you!’). This seems to be a quite new use of *du* and it is found especially in young German speakers. As far as we know, it has not received the attention of the literature yet. We are very grateful to Bettina Kluge (Universität Hildesheim) and Alma Klein (Europa-Universität Viadrina) for their help in analyzing these examples.

its plural form (*nimen*) when used in a “metalinguistic” manner. This suggests, in Biq’s view, that *ni* is indexical but in a way that differs to the canonical use of the pronoun. In Biq’s words, *ni* “refers to the participant role of the intended recipient(s) rather than to the individual(s) in that role” (p. 317). In other words, *ni* is indexical but its referent is not the actual addressee, but the participant role of the addressee. In light of this analysis, Biq concludes that the Mandarin 2sg *ni*, in its “metalinguistic” use, has started to undergo a process of lexicalisation, regarded as “one form of grammaticization” (p. 318). The absence of the plural form *nimen* with this use and the loss of indexicality suggest, according to Biq, that the pronoun is undergoing decategorisation, which is one of the main “principles of grammaticization” (p. 319). Unfortunately, Biq’s analysis does not go any further. It remains unclear whether the pronoun is turning into a completely different form or not, and what kind of form this may be.

In fact, there are some important differences between the Mandarin *ni* and the Catalan *tu*. The most relevant ones are that the Catalan pronoun typically occurs at the end of the utterance, not at the beginning (see § 5.4.1), and that it is stressed. Such differences may suggest that no significant comparisons can be made between the two pronouns. Yet both forms have two interesting characteristics in common: First, both have developed a new non-prototypical use by which its referential function is partially or totally lost, and, second, both seem to be evolving into a totally different category.⁴

The most similar use we found in other languages is the Spanish 2sg pronoun *tú*. As the written example below shows (11), the Spanish pronoun *tú* can also be used in a non-referential way in order to emphasise the utterance’s pragmatic meaning. However, the phenomenon does not seem to be as widespread as it is in Catalan.

- (11) *Es barato, tú [...] No llega a trescientas por barba*
 [The meal] is cheap, (lit.) **you** Not even 300 [pesetas] each
 (from the novel *El disputado voto del señor Cayo*, cap. IV, 1978, by Miguel Delibes)

Indeed, the Spanish literature has not paid attention to this usage of the pronoun. Neither the prescriptive *DRAE* nor the descriptive *Clave* and *DUE* mention it. The descriptive *DEA* provides some examples similar to (11) but, quite ambiguously, it only states that the pronoun may be used as an “expletive vocative”. Finally, the specialised literature (e.g. the descriptive grammar *GDLE*) has not analysed the issue either.

3.2. Theoretical framework

In this paper the Catalan pronoun *tu* will be analysed from a broad cognitive-functional perspective (Cuenca 2000, 2002/2008; Fraser 1996, 1999, 2009a, 2009b; Norrick 2009) in order to describe and analyse its particular evolution. More precisely, it will be argued that *tu* is turning into a category distinct from personal pronouns on the basis of its formal and functional features. Some of the main concepts from Grammaticalisation Theory (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991; Hopper and

⁴ Also, both languages are reported to have a highly frequent generic use of the 2sg pronoun. For Catalan, cf. Nogué (2005: § 6.1), Nogué (2008a: § 6.1) and Nogué (2008b: § 5); for Mandarin, cf. Kuo (2003) and Yan and Siewierska (2011).

Traugott 1993; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Lehmann 1995) will be followed to account for the formal and functional changes undergone by the pronoun. Grammaticalisation Theory seeks to explain the linguistic change whereby some lexical forms advance “from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status” (Kuryłowicz 1965: 69). However, in this paper we do not claim that *tu* is evolving into a more grammatical item, but instead into a category which has enriched its pragmatic content as it turns into a form similar to a Pragmatic Marker (PM) as defined by Fraser (1996, 1999, 2009a, 2009b).⁵

3.3. Methodological framework

The only examples of the emerging use of *tu* we found in the literature are drawn from introspection (see the examples from Wheeler *et al.* 1999 in § 3). By contrast, our analysis is based on naturally occurring data, mainly on spoken data, as this specific use of the pronoun is typically found in informal spoken language. Some written materials have also been taken into account to complement the findings based on the spoken data.

3.3.1. Spoken data

The spoken data analysed in this paper come from three different sub-corpora contained in the Corpus de Català Contemporani de la Universitat de Barcelona (CCUB) and three sub-corpora contained in the Corpus Oral de Registres from the Universitat de Lleida (COR-Lleida).

1) The CCUB sub-corpora:

- a) Oral Corpus of Colloquial [Catalan] Conversation (COC): 282 minutes; 70,493 words; comprising 10 colloquial conversations (for further information on the corpus, see Payrató and Alturo, 2002)⁶
- b) Oral Corpus of [Catalan] Registers (COR): 700 minutes; 145,198 words; comprising 26 different discourse genres (formal meeting, trial, etc.) (see Alturo *et al.*, 2004)
- c) Oral Corpus of Social [Catalan] Varieties (COS): 25 interviews with working-class inhabitants of Barcelona; 89,757 words (see Boix-Fuster *et al.*, 2006)

2) The COR-Lleida sub-corpora:

- a) Working Corpus for Conversation Analysis: 7 short samples of (semi)colloquial conversation (for further information on the corpus, see COR-Lleida website).
- b) Teenager Oral Corpus: 30 short samples of teenage talk (see COR-Lleida website).

⁵ Other approaches to the development of PMs (particularly Pragmaticalisation Theory as defined by Erman and Kotsinas 1993; Dostie 2004; Aijmer 2002, 2007) are not taken into consideration in this paper, as Grammaticalisation Theory already predicts that any lexical or grammatical item can evolve into a form working at the discourse level, including PMs.

⁶ In the qualitative analysis we also took into account tokens from complementary conversations which are not included in the edited corpus. Example (27a) is one of them.

- c) Conversations: 27 short samples of different discourse genres (storytelling, recipes, etc.) (see COR-Lleida website).

The present study was conducted as follows. First, all tokens of the 2sg pronoun *tu* were isolated by means of the programme MonoConc (version 1.11) and analysed individually to identify tokens which exhibited the use described in this paper. Second, all tokens of *tu* in CCUB, whether prototypical or not, were quantified (see § 4). Data from COR-Lleida were not included in the quantitative analysis as only partial information about the corpus size was available at the time of the study. Finally, all tokens of the emphatic *tu* from both sets of corpora were analysed in relation to their semantic, prosodic, syntactic and pragmatic features.

3.3.2. *Written data*

Some written data were also analysed in order to complement the qualitative analysis of the spoken data. The written data consist of materials which imitate informal spoken language (e.g. plays) and of samples of informal written language (e.g. conversations from on-line chats). The materials included in the written data are the following:

- a) Theatre play *Sóc lletja*, by Belbel, Sànchez and Roig (1997)
- b) Novels *Primavera, estiu, etcètera*, by Rojals (2011), and *Jo confesso*, by Cabré (2011)
- c) TV series: *Estació d'enllaç* (1998-1999) and *Laberint d'ombres* (1998-99)
- d) Google searches in on-line Catalan chats (Racó Català, Flaix FM, etc.) from 3.1.2008 to 3.1.2011
- e) Miscellaneous written sources (newspaper articles, novels, etc.)

No reliable quantitative information (e.g. total number of words) was available for most of the written materials. For this reason these materials were only examined to complement the qualitative analysis of the spoken data.

4. Quantitative analysis

The distribution of the tokens of *tu* in our corpus, summarised in Table 2, is worth commenting on.

First, some comments on the content of the columns: Column 6, “Tokens of *tu* with other syntactic functions”, includes fixed expressions such as *tu mateix* (lit. ‘yourself’, often ‘you’ll see’) and the expressive *tu també* (lit. ‘you also’, often ‘needless to say’); column 7, “Unclear tokens of *tu*”, includes instances where the function of the form cannot be deduced, primarily because of the interruption of the utterance; finally, column 8, “Tokens of ambiguous emerging emphatic *tu*”, includes a number of cases that will be discussed below from a qualitative point of view.

Corpus (words)	Overall number of tokens of <i>tu</i>	Tokens of <i>tu</i> as subject	Tokens of <i>tu</i> as verbal complement	Tokens of vocative <i>tu</i>	Tokens of <i>tu</i> with other syntactic functions	Unclear tokens of <i>tu</i>	Tokens of ambiguous emerging emphatic <i>tu</i>	Tokens of emerging emphatic <i>tu</i>
COC (70,493)	250	179 (71.6%)	30 (12%)	11 (4.4%)	12 (4.8%)	6 (2.4%)	5 (2%)	7 (2.8%)
COR (145,198)	248	191 (77%)	38 (15.3%)	4 (1.6%)	6 (2.4%)	4 (1.6%)	3 (1.2%)	2 (0.8%)
COS (89,757)	104	72 (69.2%)	20 (19.2%)	0	5 (4.8%)	1 (0.9%)	1 (0.9%)	5 (4.8%)
TOTAL (305,448)	602	442 (73.4)	88 (14.6)	15 (2.5)	23 (3.8)	11 (1.8)	9 (1.5)	14 (2.3)

Table 2: Occurrences of the emerging emphatic *tu* in relation to total occurrences of *tu*.

The difference in the overall number of tokens of *tu* in the three sub-corpora is attributable to functional reasons: Colloquial contexts (COC) are more interactive than formal (most of the COR texts) or interview contexts (COS), and interactivity is a key factor for inducing the use of person deictic forms.⁷

At first glance, the number of tokens of the emerging emphatic *tu* could seem very low. But several circumstances should be taken into account. First, this usage of the pronoun seems to be quite recent, as we will see below. As such, it is unlikely to be deeply rooted in the active competence of all Catalan speakers, especially of its more elderly users. Second, the emphatic *tu* is typical of spoken language, and in particular of informal registers (e.g. colloquial conversation). Note that the number of occurrences in COR, the only sub-corpus of formal spoken language (e.g. parliamentary debate, lectures, etc.) in our data, is particularly low (0.8%). Furthermore, one of the only five tokens found in COR occurs in a private conversation during a very informal fish auction. Third, the emerging use of *tu* is as a highly emphatic marker (see section 5.5) and, as such, this use is more optional than other encoded uses of the pronoun, which contribute meaning to the propositional content of the utterance. And finally, to evaluate the significance of the appearance of the emphatic *tu* as a Catalan PM, it should be compared with the frequency of use of other PMs. Unfortunately, such a comparison is not possible since, to the best of our knowledge, a quantitative study on this subject is still lacking.

⁷ See Nogué (2008b) for a qualitative and quantitative analysis of person deixis in colloquial and oral and written academic texts.

5. Qualitative analysis

5.1. Semantics

From a semantic point of view, the most remarkable feature of the form analysed here is its loss of referentiality. The emphatic *tu* no longer contributes meaning to the propositional content of the utterance. Instead, it provides the addressed recipient with some pragmatic information about how to interpret the utterance. The clearest evidence of this semantic evolution is the morphological defectiveness of *tu* in this particular usage. The 2sg *tu* cannot be used in its plural form (*vosaltres*) when it carries out the new usage described here. Consider the utterances below. In (12a) the pronoun works as a vocative; in (13a), it is a right-dislocated subject. In canonical utterances like these, the singular form *tu* can be easily replaced by its plural form *vosaltres*, because the pronoun is referential (cf. 12b and 13b).

(12a) **Tu**, *allò de l'incendi, què has posat? Se sabien les causes o què?*
You (sg.), what have you written about the fire? Are the causes known?

(12b) **Vosaltres**, *allò de l'incendi, què heu posat? Se sabien les causes o què?*
You (pl.), what have you written about the fire? Are the causes known?
 (adapted from COR-Lleida: COE3A1)

(13a) *No fas gràcia,* **tu.** *Estigues quieta, ja*
 You (sg.) are not funny, **you** (sg.). Be quiet

(13b) *No feu gràcia,* **vosaltres.** *Estigueu quiets, ja*
 You (pl.) are not funny, **you** (pl.). Be quiet
 (adapted from COR-Lleida: COFB99)

This contrasts with utterances like (14), where *tu* cannot be used in its plural form *vosaltres*. *Tu* is not referential here and, consequently, it cannot be used in its plural form in utterances such as (14b), even if the addressed recipient is more than one person.

(14a) ALL: *Com que treballo al costat de casa...*
 As I work so close to home at the moment...

RIA: *Ah, que bé,* **tu!**
 Oh, that's great, **you** (sg.)!

(14b) ALL: *Com que treballem al costat de casa...*
 As we work so close to home at the moment...

RIA: *Ah, que bé,* ***vosaltres!**
 Oh, that's great, ***you** (pl.)!
 (adapted from COC: 10)

The lack of inflection of *tu* indicates that most of the pronoun's semantic meaning has been replaced with a pragmatic meaning and, thus, it can no longer be categorised as a

pronoun. Semantic evolution of this kind is not at all rare. As is well-known, Grammaticalisation Theory (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Lehmann 1995) has successfully shown that linguistic items may evolve into different categories over time. In particular, it has shown that language change may affect linguistic items of any kind, be they lexical or grammatical, and that they may evolve into a (more) grammatical item (e.g. the development of the Latin *cantare habeo* 'sing:INF + have:1SG.PRES' into the French *chanterai* 'sing:1SG.FUT') or into a discourse item (e.g. the development of English *I mean that...* into the discourse marker *I mean*). From this perspective, the semantic evolution of *tu* in this new usage is not different from that undergone by other lexical or grammatical items in Catalan. Consider the example in (15). In this excerpt, drawn from a politician's speech, the speaker expresses her sympathy for the audience (referred to through a 2pl unstressed pronoun, *us*) as they "suffer from" bad politicians. *Tu* does not refer to the audience here. Rather it emphasises the speaker's criticism of bad politicians alongside the secondary interjection *Mare meva!* ('Oh gosh', lit. 'my mother').

- (15) PPR: *Sentia abans l'Àngel Molina, que estan patint els Zaplanes i els Lizondos.*
I was listening to Àngel Molina before, [saying] that they are suffering from Zaplanes and Lizondos

<i>Mare meva,</i>	<i>tu!</i>	<i>Els que us han tocat eh!</i>
Oh gosh [lit. my mother]	you!	What awful politicians you (pl.) have!

(COR: POL1)

Note that in this example neither *tu* nor the interjection *Mare meva!* are interpreted literally. The pronoun does not refer to any particular person in the audience, and the noun phrase *mare meva* does not refer to the speaker's mother. While the NP *mave meva* has turned into an interjection which expresses surprise and a variety of other feelings (e.g. disappointment), the former pronoun *tu* has evolved into a form which puts emphasis on the actual utterance (see § 5.5). In terms of Grammaticalisation Theory, both items have encoded a pragmatic meaning and have grammaticalised into forms working at the discourse level.

In the case of *tu*, three major semantic changes associated with any grammaticalisation process (Traugott and Dasher 2002; Traugott 2010) support this claim. First, the pronoun has undergone decategorisation, i.e. it has shifted from one category to another. As seen above, its lack of inflection suggests that *tu* cannot be categorised as a pronoun in its emphatic use, but as an inflection-less form similar to a PM. Second, *tu* has undergone a bleaching process by which its semantic content has been weakened and replaced by a pragmatic meaning. In the usage described here, *tu* does not refer to the addressed recipient. Instead, it has developed a new meaning, a pragmatic meaning, by means of which it emphasises the utterance meaning (see § 5.5). And, third, *tu* has experienced subjectification as defined by Traugott and Dasher (2002) and Traugott (2010), that is, it encoded an emphatic meaning which highlights the speaker's attitude (e.g. positive or negative evaluation) towards the rest of the utterance. The canonical pronoun *tu* lacks this subjective element as its semantic meaning focuses on the reference to the addressed recipient, not on the speaker's subjectivity. Compare the following two examples. In (16a) the speaker is expressing a positive evaluation of

the interlocutor's news (namely, that she got a new job very near home); in (16b) the speaker is telling off the addressed recipient for hitting a relative in the arm.

(16a) ALL: *Com que treballo al costat de casa...*
As I work so close to home at the moment...

RIA: *Ah, que bé, tu!*
Oh, that's great, **you!** (COC: 10)

(16b) DIT: [*El braç li fa mal*] *i a més l'hi matxaques,* **tu**
Her arm is sore and besides you hit [her in the arm] **you**
[Her arm is sore] so don't hit her in the arm, **you** (COC: 01)

In (16a) *tu* does not refer to the addressed recipient; rather, it emphasises the positive evaluation expressed by the speaker. In contrast, in (16b) *tu* is a right-dislocated subject (see § 2) and, as such, it does refer to the addressed recipient. Mainly, it focuses on the predicate ('hit the arm') and puts the subject ('you'), as a thematic element, in the background, which is the main function of right-dislocation. Clearly, (16b) is also highly subjective, as the speaker is scolding the addressed recipient. However, the pronoun *per se* does not add any new subjective meaning to the utterance, it only adds referential meaning. Its prosodic contour is also different to that of (16a). Whereas in (16a) *tu* is highly emphatic, in (16b) *tu* exhibits a falling melodic contour.

All three semantic changes (namely, decategorisation, bleaching, and subjectification) suggest that the pronoun *tu* has started out on a grammaticalisation path. *Tu*, it appears, has developed a new pragmatic usage and has evolved into a form more similar to a PM than to a pronoun. Such a process of grammaticalisation is similar to that undergone by a number of nouns and other lexical items in Catalan (for example, see Cuenca and Torres (2008) for the evolution of the noun *home*, 'man', into an interjection). Nevertheless, this is the first time that a similar process has been observed in a Catalan pronoun.

5.2. Referential ambiguity

The semantic evolution of *tu* seems far from complete. Our data include a number of ambiguous occurrences which suggest that the grammaticalisation of *tu* is still in progress. For example, look at the following instance at the beginning of utterance (17). At first glance, this occurrence seems to be a vocative, as the speaker uses the pronoun to draw the addressed recipient's attention to some debts. However, the prosodic contour accompanying *tu* in this particular case is highly expressive (mainly, it conveys a complaint), which suggests that the pronoun is not working as a vocative solely. It may be argued that *tu* is uttered to express a subjective meaning which is already encoded in the pronoun's semantic meaning.

(17) MAG: **Tu!** *I els deutes que et tinc què?*
You! What about the money I owe you?

RIA: *Ja els trobarem*

Don't worry about that (COC: 10)

An example like (18) is more ambiguous. In this excerpt from a press conference, a member of the government is criticising the opposition for failing to act responsibly with regards to the country's economic stability. Here *tu* occurs after the fixed, highly subjective, expression *Escolta'm!* ('look', lit. 'listen to me'), commonly used to call the addressed recipient's attention and at the same time to express a variety of pragmatic meanings (e.g. complain, disagreement).

(18) AMG: *Ningú es pot treure, per entendre'ns, les puces de sobre, no?, dient,*
 Nobody should avoid taking responsibilities by saying:

Escolta'm tu! Això de l'estabilitat,
 "Look, **you!** This issue about the [economic] stability,

això és un problema del, del govern del senyor Pujol
 this is a problem, for Mr. Pujol's government" (COR: POL4)

However, it is not at all clear whether the pronoun is truly referential or not. On the one hand, it can be interpreted as a canonical pronoun referring to the addressed recipient (here an unspecified addressed recipient) and working as a vocative. On the other hand, it might be an instance of the use of *tu* described in this paper, that is, it can be interpreted as a non-referential form placing emphasis on the phatic expression *Escolta'm*.⁸ Both interpretations are possible. Examples such as (17) and particularly (18) indicate that the distinction between the canonical pronoun and the emphatic *tu* is not clear-cut. After all, any grammaticalisation process involves an evolution from one category to another and a number of fuzzy areas in between.

5.3. Prosody

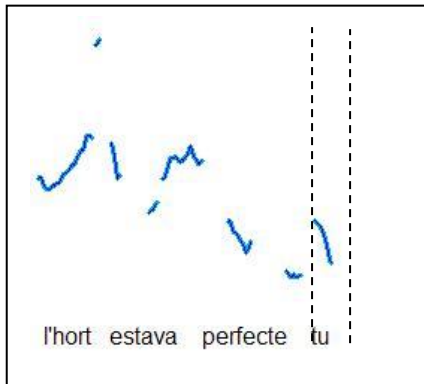
In this section we examine in detail some prosodic features of the emerging emphatic use of *tu* and how they affect the pragmatic interpretation of the whole utterance. First, this *tu* occurs as an independent intonation unit or as a small intonation unit (see Du Bois 1991, 1993; Du Bois *et al.* 1991), as the examples below illustrate. The pitch resets after *perfecte* in (19) and *cinta* in (20) clearly indicate that the emerging use of *tu* has its own melody contour and hence that it constitutes a single intonation unit.

⁸ *Escolta'm tu* can be labelled as a *conversational routine*, that is, as a fixed form which carries out a regular pragmatic function (Wray 2002; Bladas 2012). Interestingly, other ambiguous tokens of *tu* were found in conversational routines in our data. For instance, see the emphatic *Imagina't tu* (lit. 'IMAGINE:2sg.imp you') in (i), where the speaker describes a trip along the French canals.

(i) HER: **Imagina't tu,** [...] *hi han llocs,*
imagine:2sg.imp you [...] there are some places [near the French canals],
que pares a dormir, *que no és ni poble.*
 where you stay overnight, but they aren't villages at all (COS: HER)

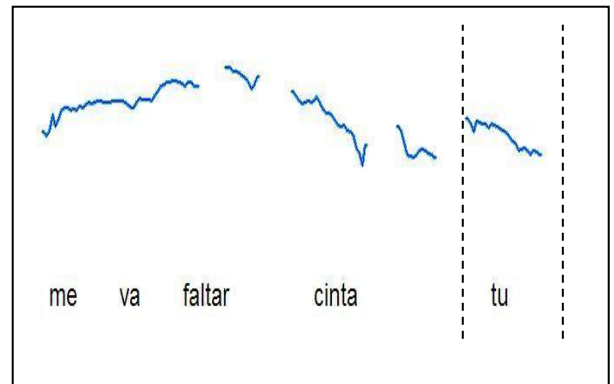
Again, this token of *tu* is highly ambiguous as it is not at all clear whether it works as a right-dislocated subject of the verb *imagina't* or as an emphatic form.

(19)



'the vegetable garden looked really tidy, **you**'
(COC: 03)

(20)

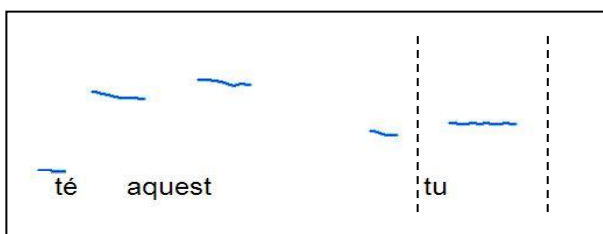


'I ran out of tape, **you**'
COR-Lleida: LR98_26)

In both examples, the emerging use of *tu* is located in final position and it shows a distinctive melodic contour consisting of a pitch reset and fall pitch movement. This prosodic contour contrasts with the declarative contour of the previous segment, consisting of an initial pitch rise followed by a gradual pitch fall. Such prosodic distinctiveness suggests that the former pronoun has turned into a parenthetical element with its own semantic and/or pragmatic content in a process similar to that undergone by a number of other PMs in Catalan (e.g. the polite form *sisplau*, 'please', see Alturo and Chodorowska-Pilch 2009).

Second, the emphatic *tu* displays a similar prosodic contour in all the instances analysed. As examples (19-20) also illustrate, this *tu* typically exhibits a pitch reset followed by a pitch fall movement. This becomes apparent when the emerging use of *tu* is compared with a vocative *tu* as in (21). Note here that the small reset after *aquest* indicates that this *tu* is also an independent intonation unit; however, its prosodic contour is not as distinctive as the prosodic contour of the emphatic *tu*. Comparing (19-20) with (21), it is easy to note that, while the prosodic contours in (19-20) are rather sharp, the prosodic contour in (21) is almost completely flat. Note also that both intonation groups are equally long (one syllable each), which indicates that in the case of the emphatic *tu* the pitch movement must be quite fast.

(21)



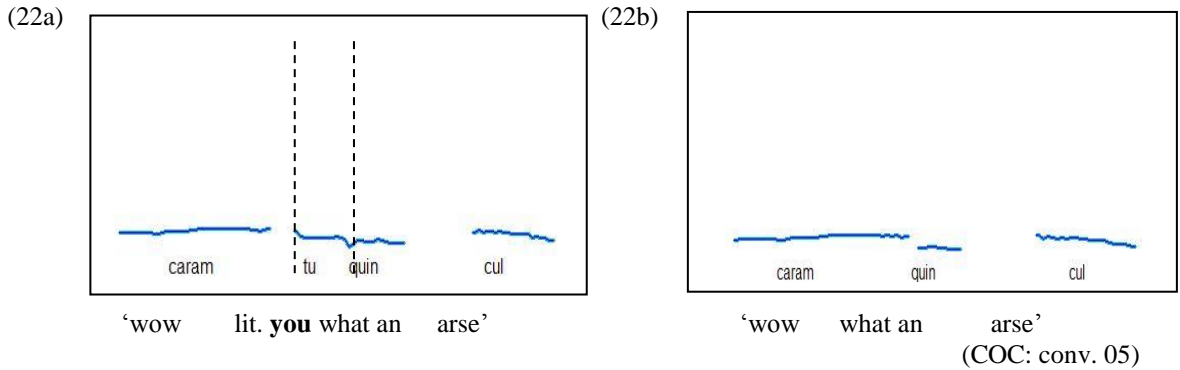
lit. take this
'here you are'

lit. **you**

(COR-Lleida: LR98_26)

How do the prosodic features of the emerging use of *tu* affect the interpretation of the whole utterance? The sharp pitch movement of this *tu* suggests that it is highly expressive and does have an effect on the pragmatic interpretation of the utterance. Compare, for example, the two utterances in (22). (22a) is drawn from a conversation

between male interlocutors talking about a female dancer appearing on TV. (22b) repeats the previous utterance, but the emphatic *tu* has been deleted. The contrast between the two utterances in terms of expressivity is clear.



Both utterances are expressive as both of them show the speaker's enthusiastic response; however, the left utterance is clearly more expressive than the one on the right. It seems that the presence of the emerging use of *tu* emphasises the expressivity of the utterance, and this obviously affects its pragmatic interpretation. Yet it is not an easy task to delimit what pragmatic meanings are associated with this emphatic usage of the former pronoun. The main reason for this is that such emphasis varies significantly from context to context, while it may also carry a number of different pragmatic meanings (see 5.5).

5.4. Syntax

That the emphatic *tu* needs to be considered as a category in its own right becomes apparent in view of the syntactic features of the form. To start with, this *tu* does not occur in the core syntactic positions of the sentence (that is, subject and predicate positions), but in a peripheral position. See in (23) that *tu* occupies the same positions as the sentence adverbial *evidentment* ('obviously'). Both items occur in a disjunct position, either at the end (23a,b) or in the middle (23c,d) of the utterance. This clearly indicates that the emerging use of *tu* is not a primary component of the sentence but rather a discourse element which plays a role mainly in the pragmatic interpretation of the utterance.

(23a) AMM: *L'hort estava perfecte,* **tu!**
The vegetable garden looked really tidy, **you!** (COC: 03)

(23b) *L'hort estava perfecte,* **evidentment!**
The vegetable garden looked really tidy, **obviously!**

(23c) JPA: *Lo que és això, am aquesta Barcelona,* **tu,**
This [these cheap flats], in Barcelona nowadays, **you,**
això no es tornarà a veure mai més a la vida...
this will never be seen again (COS: JPA)

- (23d) *Lo que és això, am aquesta Barcelona,* **evidentment,**
This [these cheap flats], in Barcelona nowadays, **obviously,**

això no es tornarà a veure mai més a la vida...
this will never be seen again

Importantly, this peripheral *tu* should not be confused with the subject *tu* situated in a right-dislocated position. As seen above (see § 2), the right-dislocated *tu* is part of the propositional content of the sentence and does work as a subject. Yet some ambiguous cases (see footnote 5) suggest that the distinction between these two kinds of *tu* may not be that straightforward.

5.4.1. Position

The emphatic *tu* typically occurs in a detached position at the end of the utterance, where it is delimited by an independent prosodic contour. The rest of the utterance may consist of a phrase, see (24a,b); an interjection, see (24c), or a sentence, see (24d). More rarely, the emerging use of *tu* is found in medial position, in particular between the topic (in example 24e, the subject and a sentence adjunct) and the rest of the utterance.

- (24a) ALL: *Com que treballo al costat de casa...*
As I work so close to home at the moment
RIA: *Ah, que bé tu!*
That's great, **you!** (COC: 10)
- (24b) C: *A veure, deixa-m'ho veure!*
Let me see
B: *Ui! Quines motos, tu!*
Wow! What funny bikes, lit. **you** (COR-Lleida: CO0C95)
- (24c) MJJ: *Caram tu! Quin cul!*
Wow **you** What an arse! (COC: 05)
- (24d) AMM: *L'hort estava perfecte,* **tu!**
The vegetable garden looked really tidy, **you!** (COC: 03)
- (24e) JPA: *Lo que és això, am aquesta Barcelona,* **tu,**
This [these cheap flats], in Barcelona nowadays, **you,**
això no es tornarà a veure mai més a la vida...
this will never be seen again (COS: JPA)

Whether in final or in medial position, the emphatic *tu* may combine with other elements which also occur at the periphery of the utterance. For instance, in our data the emerging use of *tu* was found in combination with the vocative *nena* (lit. 'girl') and the

primary interjection *eh* in the same utterance, see (25).⁹ In this excerpt the interviewer (MPA) asks the interviewee (JAB) whether her neighbourhood has changed over the years. JAB answers affirmatively and next she utters *Són molts anys* (lit. 'it have been many years') in order to support her opinion. Clearly, she implies that she has been living in the area for many years and hence she has good reasons to argue that the neighbourhood has gone through many changes. Here all three forms seem to emphasise the propositional meaning of the utterance in order to stress that the speaker has been living in the area for many years and thus her authority to speak competently on the subject.

(25) MPA: *Eh que sí hi ha hagut canvis?*

There have been many changes [in the neighbourhood], haven't they?
[...]

JAB: *Són molts anys,* *tu nena eh?*
[I've been living in this neighbourhood] for many years **you girl eh**

Són molts anys...
For many years

(COS: JAB)

As for the initial position, most tokens located at the beginning of the utterance are clearly deictic and work as vocatives, as the examples in (26) illustrate. In this position, *tu* refers to the addressed recipient and can be further specified by an adjacent proper name. This is the case in (26b) where the proper name *Marta* specifies who the addressed recipient of the utterance is, in order to identify her among several people sat around the table (in the context of a family dinner).

(26a) MAT: *Tu! Agafa'n un i acabem-se-la*

You Have the last [aubergine]

(COC: 04)

(26b) LAU: *Tu, Marta, vols una patateta?*

You Marta would you like a spud?

(COC: 01)

However, some tokens at the beginning of the utterance are somewhat ambiguous. See (27a,b). In both examples the plural verbal form *voleu* ('WANT:2pl.pres.ind.') indicates that both utterances are addressed to a number of interlocutors: (27a) is addressed to a group of friends who took the same English course the previous year, and (27b) is addressed to a group of friends who have told the blogger how much they miss her. Yet the pronoun *tu* is not used to select a particular interlocutor as the addressed recipient of the utterance —precisely the main pragmatic purpose of the 2sg pronoun when the potential addressed recipients are more than one. Clearly, *tu* is aiming to trigger an answer from the whole group of interlocutors, not just from one single interlocutor. (Furthermore, only the second plural [2pl] form *vosaltres* allows the speaker to address a group of interlocutors.)

⁹ See Ameka (1992) and Norrick (2009) for the definition of 'primary interjection', and Cuenca (2000) and Cuenca (2002/2008) for the Catalan interjection *eh*.

- (27a) PMC: **Tu!** *Voleu seguir?*
You (sg.)! Would you (pl.) like to continue [with the course]?

PCC: *A veure, és pasta.*
 Well, it's expensive.

(COC: CCAD1011)

- (27b) **Tuuuuu,** *que em voleu fer plorar o què???*
You (sg.), do you (pl.) want me to cry or what?

Ja sabeu que per la meva banda, sento el mateix.
 You (pl.) already know that I feel the same for you
 (from the chat website <http://www.fotolog.com>)

Thus it may be claimed that the pronoun's referential meaning is weakening. Yet it is not at all clear whether this *tu* is the same as the emphatic *tu* that we have seen in final position. In contrast with this *tu*, the *tu* in examples like (27) has a stronger "vocative" function than the one we find in medial or final position. It all suggests that we are perhaps dealing with two different forms here.

Finally, no tokens of the emphatic *tu* were found in complete isolation, that is, as a complete speech turn. This contrasts with the capacity of the prototypical pronoun to occur on its own, either as a subject (28), or as a vocative (29) (from a play).

- (28) REP: *Qui vol d'això? (ensenyant un plàtan)*
 Who wants one? (*showing a banana*)
 [...]
 (a MMA) **Tu!**
 (to MMA) **You!**

Tu?
You?

(COC: 01)

- (29) *¡Tu!* (*l'amenaça i fugen al foro, després tornen*)
You! (*he threatens him and they quit, later they return*)
 (CTILC: *La Sirena*, by Pin i Soler)

This particular syntactic feature indicates that the emerging use of *tu* differs significantly from prototypical interjections. As is well-known, interjections can occur as complete speech turns and carry out independent speech acts. In contrast, the emphatic *tu* never occurs on its own in our data. We are dealing, it seems, with a grammatical category which is neither a pronoun nor an interjection.

5.4.2. A new category?

As seen throughout this paper, the categorisation of the emerging use of *tu* is quite unclear. At first glance, there are some arguments that allow us to claim that *tu* has turned into an interjection (see Cuenca 2000, 2002/2008). First, the emphatic *tu* has replaced part of its referential content with a number of pragmatic meanings in a process similar to that undergone by prototypical interjections. Second, the distribution of the

emerging use of *tu* resembles that of interjections, as it also tends to appear at the periphery of the utterance. However, no clear occurrences of the emphatic *tu* were found either at the beginning of the utterance or in isolation. This strongly suggests that the non-prototypical pronoun cannot be categorised as an interjection, as interjections typically occur in such positions.

Instead, the data suggest that the emerging use of *tu* is turning into a PM as defined by Fraser (1996).¹⁰ Clearly, it exhibits most of the typical features of this category according to Fraser's description. First, the emphatic *tu* is not part of the propositional content of the utterance. Second, while not propositional, it contributes "conceptual information over and above that of the propositional meaning" (Fraser 1996: 171). As seen in section 5.1, the emerging use of *tu* is not referential but it adds some kind of subjective meaning to the utterance, which ultimately has an impact on its pragmatic interpretation. Finally, from a prosodic point of view, the emphatic *tu* is "set off" by a particular melodic contour (Fraser 1996: 170).

Yet it is not at all clear what type of PM the emerging use of *tu* is. Fraser's classification consists of four main types of PMs (see Fraser 1996, 2009b): Basic markers (e.g. mood and idioms such as *please*), commentary markers (e.g. *fortunately, it is claimed*), discourse markers (e.g. *but, instead, after all*), and discourse management markers (e.g. *in summary, in any case*). Given that the pronoun *tu* may work as a term of address in some contexts, it may be argued that the emphatic *tu* is a specific type of commentary marker, a *parallel marker* (e.g. vocative forms such as *boys, guys*). However, two arguments run against such an analysis. First, parallel markers, in Fraser's view, refer to the addressed recipient and hence are deictic. Yet, as seen throughout this paper, the emerging use of *tu* is not as referential as a vocative. Second, also in contrast to vocatives, the emphatic *tu* does not occur at the beginning of the utterance or in isolation as it tends to constitute an independent intonation unit in final position. Alternatively, the emerging use of *tu* can be classified as an emphasis marker, a type of marker (e.g. *indeed, really, on earth*) that Fraser also includes in the category of commentary markers. As will be apparent in the next section, the emphatic *tu* works essentially as an intensifier which emphasises the utterance's propositional content.

5.5. Pragmatics

From the analysis of the data available it becomes clear that the primary function of the emerging use of *tu* is to intensify the pragmatic meaning of the utterance. Look at the following example (30). In this excerpt the interviewer (MPA) and the interviewee (JAB) are talking about how much the interviewee's neighbourhood has changed over the years due to the arrival of mass tourism.

¹⁰ According to Fraser, PMs, "taken to be separate and distinct from the propositional content of the sentence, are the linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intentions" (1996: 168). More precisely, Fraser claims that PMs *a*) are not part of the propositional content of the sentence, *b*) have representational or procedural meaning, *c*) "signal messages that apply only to the direct basic message" of the utterance, not to any indirect message (1996: 170), *d*) tend to occur in initial position or, if they occur in medial or final position, are "set off by a comma intonation" (1996: 170), and *e*) are drawn from all grammatical categories.

- (30) MPA: *Sí que és veritat eh, que hi ha molta gent...*
 You are right. There are lots of people...

JAB: *Sí, molta gent...*
 Yes, lots of people

Ve molta gent, tu
 Lots of people come over, you (COS: JAB, 656-660)

JAB does not add any new information to the conversation as she only repeats what MPA has previously said. However, JAB does not merely repeat her interlocutor's words. From a pragmatic point of view, she displays her agreement with the interviewer. To do so, she repeats part of the interviewer's previous utterance (namely, *molta gent*, 'lots of people') and she frames her first utterance by use of a positive form *sí* ('yes') on the left and her second utterance by use of the emphatic *tu* on the right periphery. Neither of these particles contributes propositional content to the utterance, but they both intensify the speaker's agreement with the interlocutor.

In some occurrences the emerging use of *tu* also intensifies the argumentative function of the utterance. See (25) —here repeated as (31)— as an example. The interviewee (JAB) states that she has been living in the area for many years and hence she has the authority to claim that the neighbourhood has gone through many changes. To make her point even clearer, JAB emphasises the latter utterance by means of the emphatic *tu*, the vocative *nena* ('girl') and the tag question *eh?*, and she repeats the utterance in the following intonation unit.

- (31) MPA: *Eh que sí hi ha hagut canvis?*
 There have been many changes [in the neighbourhood], haven't they?
 [...]

JAB: *Ui, i tant i tant, i tant que x-*
 Oh, of course of course, of course x-

Són molts anys, tu nena eh?
 [I've been living in this neighbourhood] for many years, you girl eh?

Són molts anys...
 For many years... (COS: JAB)

Again, the function of *tu* here is not to provide the utterance with new propositional content, but to put emphasis on its pragmatic meaning. In this particular case, this form underlines the argumentative force of the utterance, and it does so alongside other PMs (namely, the vocative *nena* and the tag question *eh?*) and the repetition of the utterance. Probably the speaker would achieve a similar argumentative effect without using the emerging use of *tu* and the other PMs. However, her utterance would also lose much of its expressivity and its appeal to the addressed recipient.

Yet the emphatic *tu* seems to express something more than emphasis. See examples in (32) and (33). In (32) the participants are talking about how clean and tidy a relative's house was the last time they visited her. Apparently, they were all positively surprised as the house is usually a mess. In (33) the same participants criticise another

relative for paying all the expenses and not asking the other occupants of the house to pay too. In (32) *tu* expresses positive surprise and in (33) it expresses criticism. Examples like these suggest that the emphasis exhibited by the emerging use of *tu* usually combines with some sort of modal meaning.

(32) MER: *Carai! Quina netedat!*
Wow! How clean it was!

NAT: *Que encara està tan brut, el terrat?*
Is the terrace still so dirty?

AMM: *I l'hort, l'hort estava perfecte,* **tu!**
And the vegetable garden, the vegetable garden was perfect, **you** (COC: 03)

(33) AMM: *Que passa que en Pere fins ara pagava totes les despeses de la casa*
But Pere has paid all house expenses so far

Tot, **tu!**
Everything, **you!**

Tot!
Everything (COC: 03)

It remains unclear as to what kind of modal meaning this may be. Most occurrences indicate that the emphatic *tu* generally displays positive or negative evaluation, but a closer look at the data shows that this evaluation varies significantly from context to context. Consider the examples in (34) and (35). In (34) the speaker complains about having lost some female friends over the years. In (35) the speaker jokes at the obvious statement made earlier by the interlocutor. In both examples the emerging use of *tu* displays negative evaluation towards the propositional content of the utterance, but the evaluation in (34) is quite different from that in (35). Whereas in the former example the emphatic *tu* seems to express a complaint, in the latter it is clearly ironic.

(34) EUU: *Abans sí que érem molts.* *ra ja no som pas tants*
Before we were a big bunch of friends. Not so big now

MJJ: *Veus? Abans teníem un harem* **tu!**
You see. Before we had a harem **you** (COC: 05)

(35) C: *Ai!, ara no me'n recordo.*
Oh, I can't remember [where my mother is going in England]

Una ciutat que està..., bueno, que són tot anglesos, que està...
In a city which is... well, it's full of English people, [a city] which is...

- B: *No em diguis, tu!*. *Se'n va a Anglaterra i tot són anglesos!*
 lit. don't say, **you!** She goes to England and it's full of English people!
 'Really? She goes to England and it's full of English people?'
 (COR-Lleida: CONVER~4)

This variety of interpretations suggests that the modal meaning displayed by the emerging use of *tu* depends largely on the context in which the utterance occurs. In other words, the emphatic *tu* has not encoded any particular modal meaning, apart from some sort of general positive or negative evaluation. Rather its modal meaning seems to derive from the context in which the utterance is produced, including the previous discourse, the utterance's propositional content, and the utterance's prosodic contour—and possibly even the gestures combined with the utterance.

In addition, in some cases it is difficult to establish precisely this modal meaning. For instance, in (36) the participants in the conversation are talking about a relative (Antoni) who is accident prone. PPP asks MMM whether he broke his leg or foot last time. MMM's answer is the utterance *No ho sé tu* ('I don't know, you'), where the modal meaning of the emerging use of *tu* is unclear. It may express lack of interest (meaning 'He has broken his leg so many times I have stopped counting') or it may express disappointment or disapproval (meaning 'I don't know, but he should be more careful'). In fact, it may also express both modal meanings—lack of interest and disapproval—at the same time. In any case, the speaker does not only communicate that he does not know the answer, but he clearly adds some modal meaning to his utterance by using the emphatic *tu* alongside other communicative elements such as a particular prosodic contour and probably some particular gestures.

- (36) PPP: *A a l'Antoni que, que es va tren- que es va haver de xx aquella cama també.*
 To Antoni who, who also broke his leg
- MMM: *Hi*
 Yes
- PPP: *O el peu. Què era x allò?*
 Or the foot. What did he break?
- MMM: *No ho sé tu!*
 I don't know **you**
- Ja s'ha trencat tantes coses aquell!*
 He has broken so many bones already! (COC: 07)

In summary, our data clearly show that the emerging use of *tu* adds little, if any, propositional content to the utterance in which it occurs. Rather, the former pronoun emphasises the pragmatic meaning of the utterance, whatever that meaning is. In addition, the emphatic *tu* also carries some modal meaning as in most cases it evaluates the content of the utterance. Yet, as some of the examples seen above suggest, this modal meaning may vary significantly from context to context and it may even be quite ambiguous.

6. Conclusion

In this article we have provided evidence for the claim that the Catalan 2sg pronoun *tu* has developed a new, very specific, usage which seems to have affected both its semantic and formal features. In fact, *tu* appears to be evolving into a completely different category, namely, a PM, by means of a grammaticalisation process as defined by Grammaticalisation Theory. Several semantic changes support this claim. First of all, in its emerging use, *tu* cannot be replaced by the 2pl pronoun *vosaltres*. This indicates that *tu* is no longer a pronoun, but rather a PM which plays a role in the pragmatic—not in the semantic—interpretation of the utterance. And, second, *tu* appears to have increased the subjectivity of the utterance in which it occurs. Whereas the canonical pronoun has no associated modal meaning, the emphatic *tu* seems to display the speaker's stance (usually negative or positive evaluation) towards the utterance content. Some formal changes (e.g. the peripheral syntactic distribution and emphatic prosodic contour) also support this grammaticalisation process. As a result, what we find is not a canonical pronoun as defined by Catalan grammars and dictionaries, but a PM that emphasises the pragmatic meaning of the utterance.

It should be noted that the emerging use of *tu* is not replacing the canonical pronoun, as shown by the quantitative analysis in which the canonical use of the pronoun vastly outnumbered the emphatic *tu*. Rather, they are different forms working at different levels. Whereas the canonical pronoun is deictic and works at the semantic level, the emerging use of *tu* is non-deictic and works at the discourse level. The pronoun contributes to the semantic content of the utterance, whereas the emphatic *tu* contributes to the pragmatic interpretation of the utterance.

Yet a number of questions remain to be answered. To start with, the origin of the emerging use of *tu* is unclear. As an emphasis marker, this *tu* is notably phatic, which may at first suggest that it evolved from the vocative use of the pronoun. However, the syntactic distribution of the emphatic *tu* runs contrary to such a hypothesis: Almost all the tokens found in our data are situated in final position, not in initial position. If the vocative use were to have originated the emerging use described here, we would have expected to find more tokens in initial position. As the data show, this is not the case and so the origin of the emerging use of *tu* would appear to be considerably more complex.

The fact that most tokens found in our data are located at the end of the utterance suggests that the phenomenon originated there. This is a critical position as the pronoun *tu* carries out a number of syntactic and pragmatic functions in this particular location. When situated at the end of the utterance, the pronoun may be part of the informational focus—often with a contrastive function—or it may be a right-dislocated subject. Furthermore, without having the whole context, *tu* could be notably ambiguous in this position, as it could be interpreted as a vocative, as a right-dislocated subject or as an instance of the emphatic *tu*. This strongly contrasts with the tokens found at the beginning of the utterance. Initial-position tokens are rarely that ambiguous as they are clearly referential and work as vocatives. It seems, therefore, that the origin of the emerging use of *tu* lies in one, or more, of the pragmatic uses (including the vocative

use) exhibited by the pronoun at the end of the utterance. Interestingly, these theoretical difficulties contrast with the low level of ambiguity exhibited by *tu* in spoken language. None of the occurrences found in the data seem to cause any misunderstanding between the interlocutors (see Kluge in this volume).

Other important issues to be addressed are the chronological evolution of the phenomenon and its geographic distribution. In relation to the first issue, we have seen that the first instances of the emphatic *tu* date from the mid-twentieth century. Yet a more detailed study is needed to determine the origin and evolution of the grammaticalisation process undergone by the 2sg pronoun in Catalan. This is only possible with a larger amount of data from different periods of time. As for the second issue, it is not at all clear whether the emerging use of *tu* is used in all dialects of Catalan. All the occurrences analysed in this paper are drawn from central and north-western Catalan. It remains to be seen whether the phenomenon occurs in Valencian and Balearic Catalan, among other varieties.

In summary, the Catalan 2sg pronoun *tu* shows that pronouns can undergo a variety of semantic and pragmatic changes and evolve into a different category. This particular evolution of the pronoun involves replacing its referential meaning with a new meaning which plays a key role in the pragmatic interpretation of the utterance. Future research will determine whether this evolution of the pronoun is an idiosyncratic process or a more widespread phenomenon among other deictic elements.

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