

## The Relationships between Grammaticalization, Lexicalization and Analogy in the Evolution of Latin

Michèle Fruyt (University of Paris 4 – Sorbonne)

When A. Meillet created the concept of ‘grammaticalization’ and the term itself: Fr. *grammaticalisation, se grammaticaliser*, he mentioned ‘analogy’ as a concept displaying opposite consequences on the evolution of languages. The term *grammaticalization*, as used by A. Meillet, had a much smaller extension than in the last twenty years, and A. Meillet did not mention ‘lexicalization’.

We would like to study the relationships between grammaticalization, lexicalization and analogy and show in which cases the three processes occur at the same time and in which cases they do not. The very long period during which Latin is attested in written documents, cumulated with the history of the various Romance languages, provides an exceptional field for such an investigation.

Analogy can be regarded as an efficient process in linguistic evolution. Its consequences are often the alignment of “abnormal” data on “normal” ones, that is to say on those which are perceived as “regular” by the speaker. Word formation in Latin provides a great number of instances of such analogical alignments.

In order to compare grammaticalization and lexicalization, we would also like to stress the existence of a productive word formation process: ‘agglutination’ (according to F. de Saussure’s terminology), which occurs when several “words” are joined together in their syntagmatic sequence in order to become one and a single new “word” or, more precisely, a new lexeme. This process can be illustrated by the French temporal adverbs: *au-jour-d’hui* “today” and *dorénavant* (< *d’ore en avant*), which are based on four or five words stuck together at various periods along the centuries from Latin to Modern French.

Any agglutination process is also a lexicalization process, since it freezes a previously free syntagm and creates a new lexeme: Lat. *res publica* “the state”, *agri-cultura* “agriculture”, Fr. *sécurité sociale* “social security”, *résidence secondaire*. Any agglutinated sequence could also be said to be grammaticalized, since it displays less freedom in its morphological variations and a downgrading in the hierarchy of linguistic units.

But we cannot say that, conversely, any lexicalization process is an agglutination one, since freezing may occur without agglutination: for example, Lat. *frugi*, previous dative sg. of *frux* “harvest” became an adjective deprived of any morphological variations with the meaning “good, useful”.

We cannot say either that any case of lexicalization is a grammaticalization process. The Latin adjective *\*manis, -e* “good” was lexicalized in the ablative-locative sg *mani* or *mane* as a temporal adverb meaning “in the morning”, according to a semantic evolution well attested in other languages and which could be, by itself, considered as a grammaticalization (Fr. *de bonne heure, de bon matin*, etc.). Later on, this form of the adverb was re-analyzed, by analogy, as the ablative-locative of a new noun meaning “morning” and some other inflected forms were created for this new lexeme.

Moreover, Latin provides many instances of cyclic renewals, from Indo-European to Latin, in Latin itself, and from Latin to the Romance languages. The best example is certainly the negation: Lat. *\*ne oinom* “not one” > *non* “not”, Lat. *\*ne hilum* “not (even) a tiny thing” > *nihil* “nothing”, Fr. *ne ...pas, ne ...point, ne ...goutte*, etc. But there are also examples of other grammatical lexemes and morphemes (causativity, etc.).

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