

Changes in Meaning and Function

*Studies in historical linguistics
with a focus on Spanish*

EDITED BY

Jorge Fernández Jaén

and Herminia Provencio Garrigós

IVITRA Research in Linguistics and Literature

25

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Changes in Meaning and Function

IVITRA Research in Linguistics and Literature Studies, Editions and Translations

ISSN 2211-5412

This series aims to publish materials from the IVITRA Research Project. IVITRA carries out research on literary, linguistic and historical-cultural studies, and on history of literature and translation, specially those related to the Crown of Aragon in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The materials in the series will consist of research monographs and collections, text editions and translations, within these thematic frames: Romance Philology; Catalan Philology; Translation and Translatology; Crown of Aragon Classics Translated; Diachronic Linguistics; Corpus Linguistics; Pragmatics & Sociolinguistics; Literary and historical-cultural studies; and E-Learning and IST applications.

A complete list of titles in this series can be found on benjamins.com/catalog/ivitra

Editor

Vicent Martines Peres

Universitat d'Alacant / IEC / RABLB

International Scientific Committee

Ignacio Aguaded

Carlos Alvar

Robert Archer

Concepción Company Company

Adelaida Cortijo

Antonio Cortijo

Ricardo Silveira Da Costa

Ramon Ruiz Guardiola

Antoni Ferrando

Sara Poot Herrera

Dominic Keown

Coman Lupu

Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda

Isidor Marí

Giuseppe Mazzocchi†

Juan Francisco Mesa

Joan Miralles

Josep Maria Nadal

Veronica Orazi

Maria Àngels Fuster Ortuño

Akio Ozaki

José Antonio Pascual

Hans-Ingo Radatz

Rosabel Roig-Vila

Vicent Salvador

Francisco Franco Sánchez

Ko Tazawa

Joan Veny

Curt Wittlin†

Volume 25

Changes in Meaning and Function

Studies in historical linguistics with a focus on Spanish

Edited by Jorge Fernández Jaén and Herminia Provencio Garrigós

Changes in Meaning and Function

Studies in historical linguistics
with a focus on Spanish

Edited by

Jorge Fernández Jaén

University of Alicante

Herminia Provencio Garrigós

University of Murcia

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.



www.ivitra.ua.es
ISIC/2012/022



GENERALITAT VALENCIANA
CONSELLERIA D'EDUCACIÓ, CULTURA I ESPORT

Semántica cognitiva diacrónica: aplicación de las últimas tendencias a la lengua española (GV/2015/113)



Universitat d'Alacant
Universidad de Alicante

Semántica cognitiva histórica: aplicación de las últimas tendencias al español (GRE14-08)

DOI 10.1075/ivitra.25

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:

LCCN 2019056159 (PRINT) / 2019056160 (E-BOOK)

ISBN 978 90 272 0536 0 (HB)

ISBN 978 90 272 6138 0 (E-BOOK)

© 2020 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Company · <https://benjamins.com>

Table of contents

Preface	VII
<i>Jorge Fernández Jaén and Herminia Provencio Garrigós</i>	
Nouns and labelling: The advance of nominalization in Spanish	1
<i>Javier Elvira</i>	
Causative and inchoative constructions with <i>poner</i> and <i>meter</i> ('to put') in Spanish: A diachronic constructional approach	21
<i>Renata Enghels and Marie Comer</i>	
Auditory verbs in the Spanish language: A historical and cognitive approach	47
<i>Jorge Fernández Jaén</i>	
From semantics to grammar: Lexical substitution in the evolution of verbal periphrases <i>haber/tener</i> + infinitive	77
<i>Mar Garachana Camarero and Axel Hernández Díaz</i>	
A note on the relative diachronic productivity of metaphor and metonymy	109
<i>Dirk Geeraerts and Lisbeth De Laet</i>	
A cognitive approach to the grammaticalization of the epistemic marker <i>fijo</i>	117
<i>Ruth M. Lavale-Ortiz</i>	
The future tense in Spanish: An enactive approach	159
<i>Ángel López García</i>	
Form and meaning in the development of verbal polysemy	173
<i>Chantal Melis</i>	
Something seems to have changed: Diachronic evidence for the semantic shift of <i>parecer</i> + infinitive	195
<i>Dorien Nieuwenhuijsen</i>	
<i>In substance</i> , they came from above: On the acquisition of discourse particles in Medieval Spanish	221
<i>Lola Pons Rodríguez</i>	

Grammaticalization of <i>en vías de</i> : A multidimensional linguistic change <i>Herminia Provencio Garrigós</i>	237
On the importance of a diachronic approach to phraseology <i>Elena Sánchez López</i>	299
Index	331

Preface

Jorge Fernández Jaén and Herminia Provencio Garrigós

University of Alicante / University of Murcia

Historical linguistics has experienced an intense development during the last few decades. After a long period characterized by the tendency to interpret the language in an essentially synchronic manner (a period represented above all by the paradigms of structuralism and generative grammar), the diachronic perspective of analysis has currently been shown in linguistic studies as a suitable way to describe natural languages. Thus, thanks to disciplines and theoretical models such as cognitive linguistics, the grammaticalization theory, historical pragmatics or the discursive traditions hypothesis, the research works undertaken in the context of language science have reached very interesting theoretical and empirical outcomes which reveal the extent to which it becomes essential to consider evolutionary factors when it comes to studying any aspect of a language. We could even say that this revival of the diachronic perspective – occurred during the last decades of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century – does nothing but confirm certain postulates already defended by nineteenth-century philologists by virtue of which historical interpretation was thought to be the only possible way to fully understand the operation of language.

This book has been conceived as an academic tool meant to take one step further in this new orientation of linguistic studies. Making a collective effort, we managed to bring together outstanding researchers for the purpose of compiling a set of scientific studies which can show some of the courses that diachronic linguistics is taking at present. The result is an eclectic and original volume which hosts contributions marked by a diversity which comes not only from the theoretical approach chosen in each case but also from the – more deductive or more inductive – methodology adopted. In any case, the twelve works collected in this book share as their driving force and common denominator a desire to provide new data and reflections on the nature of language and its evolution mechanisms.

The first chapter, entitled “Nouns and labelling: The advance of nominalization in Spanish,” is authored by Javier Elvira, who analyzes the relationship between the noun and verb grammatical categories and human cognition, additionally highlighting the fundamental importance of nouns in scientific discourse, given the

ability of nouns to create stable realities and concepts. Javier Elvira exemplifies the categorizing behavior of nouns taking as a reference the study of nominalization processes (morphological creation of a noun from an adjective or a verb) in the indexes of scientific books corresponding to different periods of Castilian. This analysis has made it possible to prove that, since the Middle Ages and until the present day, the indexes of books have gradually evolved from a description of contents based on sentences with a conjugated verb to a description carried out with nouns, which in turn allows indexes to become more accurate and concise.

The researchers Renata Enghels and Marie Comer are responsible for the second chapter – “Causative and Inchoative Constructions with *poner* and *meter* (‘to put’) in Spanish: A Diachronic Constructional Approach.” Enghels and Comer’s analysis focuses on the diachronic evolution of causative and inchoative constructions built with the verbs *poner* and *meter* in Spanish, on the basis of a broad document corpus which brings together textual examples ranging from the 13th to the 21st century. The study undertaken by these researchers has a markedly constructional nature and reveals the evolutionary similarities and differences existing between the constructions of both verbs, ultimately proving that both causative and inchoative constructions come from a more elementary common schema, the schema of caused movement. Such a schema would therefore act as a general macro-construction which would eventually give rise to more specific constructional sub-schemata.

Jorge Fernández Jaén, who authors the third chapter, entitled “Auditory verbs in the Spanish language: a historical and cognitive approach,” examines the auditory verbs of Spanish (above all *sentir* and *escuchar*) using the theoretical parameters of cognitive historical semantics. His work shows that the syntactic and semantic behavior of these verbs cannot be understood without taking into account how the human ear works. Thus, the restrictions imposed by the hearing sense – a more or less voluntary capture of the sound waves which travel through space and exist only during a specific period of time – modulate the form and content of auditory verbs, which provides evidence in favor of the cognitivist hypothesis that human language is corporeized (corporeization theory). Fernández Jaén’s paper empirically proves as well that the meaning of ‘obedience’ developed by the verb *escuchar* arose in a specific cultural and discursive context of a religious nature. Indeed, in situations where the faithful ask their gods for things or in which gods specify the rules of conduct through their prophets, listening to God’s word by default means obeying it, an inference which gave rise to the subsequent meaning of ‘obedience.’

Mar Garachana Camarero and Axel Hernández Díaz are responsible for this volume’s fourth chapter – “From semantics to grammar. Lexical substitutions in the evolution of the verbal periphrases *haber/tener* + *infinitive*” – which uses a document corpus to investigate the syntactic-semantic evolution of the verbal

periphrases *haber de* + infinitive, *haber que* + infinitive, *tener de* + infinitive, and *tener que* + infinitive. Their work inductively shows that the syntactic evolution of these constructions is not only governed by the grammaticalization principles; analogy plays a decisive role too. Periphrases with the verb *haber* consequently work as a support construction on which periphrases with *tener* are later formed. The article additionally proves that semantic factors largely determine grammatical changes as well, insofar as the analogical change exemplified by these periphrases would have never been possible were it not by the synonymy that characterized the verbs *haber* and *tener* in old Spanish; therefore, the meaning of ‘possession’ shared by both verbs served as a connecting link and made it possible for the change process to begin.

The fifth work, entitled “A note on the relative diachronic productivity of metaphor and metonymy” and authored by the researchers Dirk Geeraerts and Lisbeth De Laet from the University of Leuven, carries out an empirical analysis of a hypothesis, namely: the theory developed by Vladimir V. Glebkin about the influence exerted by culture and abstract thinking on semantic change. Based on the distinction drawn by the psychologist L. Vygotsky between complex and abstract thinking, Glebkin postulates in several works the theoretical prediction according to which the more one culture progresses, the more abstract thinking capacity grows in that culture, a situation which in turn increases the use of metaphor in language. Seeking to verify if Glebkin’s hypothesis is correct, Geeraerts and De Laet perform a statistical study about a selection of terms obtained from Carl D. Buck’s *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the principal Indo-European Languages* which covers a wide range of linguistic families, such as the Baltic, the Slavic, the Celtic, the Latin, the Indo-Iranian or the Greek. The data collected by these scholars show that metaphor and metonymy have a much more similar level of use than we could imagine, which means that the increased utilization of metaphor which would be expected if Glebkin’s theory were correct does not actually take place. Geeraerts and De Laet’s work accordingly highlights the need to polish and improve Glebkin’s original hypothesis, since the data seem to suggest that the evolution of culture does not necessarily imply the growth of metaphor as a conceptualization tool in language.

In this book’s sixth chapter – “A cognitive approach to the grammaticalization of the epistemic marker *fijo*” – Ruth M. Lavale studies the diachronic evolution of the adjective *fijo* (and of its variations *de fijo que*, *de fijo*, and *a punto fijo/fijo*) using the cognitive metaphor theory and the grammaticalization postulates. From a corpus study, Lavale describes the evolutionary process through which the adjective *fijo* has gradually generated other grammatical and discursive values – including adverbial, conjunctive and discourse marker uses – from its etymological meaning ‘firm, stable.’ Lavale provides a particularly accurate depiction of the values that *fijo* has as an epistemic and evidential marker, additionally proving that the whole

diachronic process undergone by this term directly stems from the original etymological meaning, which determines the subsequent evolution because it never disappears completely (semantic persistence).

Professor Ángel López García is the author of this volume's seventh chapter, entitled "The Future Tense in Spanish: an enactive approach." López García applies the biological theory of enaction to analyze the expression of the future in Spanish. More precisely, he examines four ways to express the future in Spanish: the periphrastic form (*voy a amar*); the synthetic form (*amaré*); the conditional form (*amaría*); and the form in subjunctive (*amare*). According to the enaction theory, language is managed in two different brain areas depending on the linguistic level at work; thus, the limbic system deals with grammatical relationships – old and stable in cognition – whereas the brain cortex assumes control over lexis, which is much more dynamic. In López García's view, the different options to express the future in the Spanish language result from various instantiations of information between the limbic system and the cortex information. This would explain why the same etymological components – the expression of the future in Latin, in this case – have diachronically led to divergent results in different languages which, in any case, have to do with the common link stably channeled by the limbic system.

The eighth chapter of this book, entitled "Form and meaning in the development of verbal polysemy" and authored by Chantal Melis, offers an insight into the relationship established between form and meaning in linguistic change processes. The most widespread opinion among linguists, particularly among cognitive ones, is that linguistic changes start at meaning and eventually end up modifying the grammatical form; i.e. the formal change comes as a consequence of a previous semantic change. Professor Melis argues in this paper that a language evolution going from form to meaning is also possible. She draws this conclusion after examining the Spanish verb *alcanzar* and empirically checking that two of its meanings exemplify the two possible change trends. The meaning 'understand' developed by this verb has thus evolved from meaning to grammatical form, whereas the meaning 'being sufficient' arose from form. This work consequently provides a new line of research related to the underlying order that exists in linguistic change processes.

Dorien Nieuwenhuijsen is the author of chapter number nine: "Something seems to have changed: diachronic evidence for the semantic shift of *parecer* + infinitive." Her work focuses on the diachronic evolution of the periphrastic construction formed by the verb *parecer* followed by infinitive, taking the etymology of *parecer* and the ways to express the same content of this periphrasis in Latin as a starting point. The data obtained from a corpus study allow Nieuwenhuijsen to verify that, in the origins of its use, the periphrasis *parecer* + infinitive conveyed a value of 'physical appearance' which evolved until it gave rise to more abstract

meanings, e.g. epistemic and evidential contents. This author also shows that the gradual abstraction experienced by this periphrasis has made it possible for its syntactic subject to be expressed in any grammatical person (including the first person singular), which provides clear evidence that the structure, rather than becoming desemantized over time, has undergone a process of semantic generalization.

The volume's tenth work written by Professor Lola Pons Rodríguez under the title of "*In substance*, they came from above: on the acquisition of discourse particles in Medieval Spanish" offers a reflection on the evolutionary processes through which discursive particles arise in languages and claims that not all particles are the result of grammaticalization processes which go from the lexical to the discursive sphere. In effect, according to Pons Rodríguez – whose arguments find support in a solid bibliography – other procedures exist which explain the origin of particles and are not based on grammaticalization processes, but rather on social, cultural, and discursive tradition mechanisms which take into consideration the everyday communicative context where speakers move. The author illustrates this standpoint with the study of the discursive particle *en sustancia* and shows that this discursive element directly stems from the textual tradition inherent to medieval Latin.

Herminia Provencio Garrigós is the author of chapter eleven in this book: "Grammaticalization of *en vías de*: a multidimensional linguistic change." She uses a large – diachronic as well as synchronic – corpus to study the grammaticalization of the Spanish prepositional locution *en vías de*, and stresses that the development of this locution can only be understood considering various factors of a semantic-pragmatic, morphological, syntactic and textual nature. *En vías de* thus arises from semantic change processes originated in the Latin term *vía*, spreads through different contexts, becomes gradually routinized, and acquires a formal fixation over time. Finally, the study of data makes it clear that this locution has a well-defined discursive and textual origin, more specifically the medical treatises which were translated in the Middle Ages. The work written by Provencio Garrigós neatly shows that certain linguistic changes can only be understood in a multidimensional way, due to the multiple factors which influence their development.

Last but not least, the twelfth paper included in this book is authored by Professor Elena Sánchez-López and entitled "On the importance of a diachronic approach to phraseology." Sánchez-López reflects on the need to undertake a diachronic study of phraseological units, insofar as historical evolution may reveal the clues needed to explain how these elements are fixed. More specifically, this author argues that numerous factors – both structural and semantic as well as pragmatic – must be taken into account in order to properly understand how phraseological units become grammaticalized. This new, innovative approach to the diachronic study of phraseological units is exemplified in the article written by Sánchez-López with an analysis focused on the Spanish expression *con pelos y señales*.

We cannot finish without thanking all the authors who have collaborated in this book for their kindness and availability, and especially Professor Vicent Martines for his ongoing support, without which putting this volume together would have been impossible. And of course, our gratitude also goes to Professor Víctor Manuel Pina Medina, who carried out essential translation tasks for some of its authors. Finally, it only remains for us to highlight that this book was prepared within the framework of two emergent research projects directed by Dr. Jorge Fernández Jaén, namely: *Semántica cognitiva diacrónica: aplicación de las últimas tendencias a la lengua española* [Diachronic cognitive semantics: application of the last trends to the Spanish language] (GV/2015/113), financed by the Valencian Regional Government; and *Semántica cognitiva histórica: aplicación de las últimas tendencias al español* [Historical cognitive semantics: application of the last trends to Spanish] (GRE14-08), financed by the University of Alicante.

Nouns and labelling

The advance of nominalization in Spanish

Javier Elvira

Autonomous University of Madrid

Beyond its communicative function, language plays a key role in the labelling of things and events of reality, which has significant cognitive effects. Whereas the verb performs an essentially predicative function, the labelling task is carried out by the noun and is the reason why nouns are the essential protagonists in science and doctrinal texts of all ages. This very fact allows us to understand that nominalization is especially abundant in these types of texts. This paper proposes (or “uses”) an historical approach to the increasing extension of the processes of nominalization of verbs and adjectives through a survey of some of the tables of contents of science books from Renaissance times.

Keywords: nouns, verbs, labelling, nominalization

1. Noun vs. verb: Asymmetric categories

Most parts of speech (adverbs, articles, prepositions, etc.) are not universal. Strange as it may seem, there are languages that do not have conjunctions or prepositions. However, for many years it has been taken for granted that all the world’s languages have, at least, the categories of noun and verb. This idea is expressed by classical authors of linguistics such as Sapir (1921: 56), who wrote: “No language wholly fails to distinguish noun and verb, though in some cases the nature of the distinction may be an elusive one.”

This traditional view fits well with a widespread intuition in linguistics today, according to which the existence of nouns and verbs as basic grammatical categories of our languages has an easy cognitive accommodation which corresponds to a view of reality clearly perceptible by the senses. This immediate reality shows basically two types of facts: things or entities, on the one hand, and events or actions performed by those entities, on the other. But this purely semantic or referential criterion does not help us justify the existence of nouns and verbs as

basic categories. The existence of nouns of action in many or all languages makes it difficult to establish a radical boundary between both categories based on their referential properties.

From the point of view of some particular languages (Spanish, for example), it may be easy to identify and distinguish these two basic categories, because both show clearly defined morphosyntactic properties. In Spanish, in particular, there are some features and grammatical distinctions that are specifically associated with nouns (gender, number, case, quantifiers, determiners, etc.) and other features that are directly associated with the verb (tense, mode, aspect, person, etc.).

But the identification of nouns and verbs is much more complicated from a broader typological perspective since there are no universal properties (morphological, syntactical, phonological) that help identify these categories. In some languages the noun and verb opposition is manifested at some specific level through certain traits, while in other languages it is manifested at another level through others.

In some languages, such as English, it is not always easy to deduce the nominal or verbal category of certain parts of speech when they are viewed in isolation. This happens, for example, with such words as *cook*, *fear*, *hammer*, *love* and *sleep*. If we want to recognize their category, we need to insert them into the appropriate syntactic structure (i.e., *the cook*, *I cook*). Only a limited number of English words exhibit different accentuation patterns depending on their use as nouns or as verbs (*affect* vs. *afféct*, etc.). It has even been suggested that the noun/verb distinction is absent in some languages (especially in some of North America), but this is currently a controversial issue (Dixon 2010).

The diachronic perspective does not enable us to easily confirm the existence of two basic categories. The recent theory of grammaticalization has revealed that the ultimate source for all parts of speech lies in the so-called lexical categories, that is, nouns and verbs, and to a lesser extent, adjectives, which have a more hybrid typological status. However, in an attempt to reconstruct the temporal primacy of the different categories, Heine and Kuteva (2007: 111) suggest a chronological priority of nouns over verbs and assume an even more primitive stage in which there were only nouns. This very same idea is contained in the work of Toyota (2012).

Probably beyond the possible typological and diachronic differences partially separating the noun and the verb there is another difference of a functional character that allows us to separate both categories in a more precise way: nouns have a labelling function that verbs lack.

Indeed, language has an essentially communicative potential. In this function of communication, the combination of a noun and a verb forms the essential and basic unit of every statement. The two constituent elements of this smallest unit play different roles: the noun mentions or refers to a reality (of any kind), and the verb predicates about that reality, that is, it tells us something about what is referred by

the noun. The idea that designation and predication are essential to establish the opposition between noun and verb is not new and has already been formulated earlier by several authors from different perspectives (Hopper and Thompson 1984; Simone 2003).

2. Cognitive effects of labelling

Beyond linguistic communication, nouns are mental symbolic objects that can play an important and useful task of mapping reality. This task has essential effects on simplifying the description and understanding of reality, and also other advantages of a cognitive character; among others, the following:

a. Development and acquisition of concepts

There is a capacity in the human mind that allows us to link or identify many realities as similar or belonging to the same type, class, or category by the fact that these realities share some traits or characteristics. The notion of concept, coined from philosophy and also used in psychology and cognitive science, is also related to this categorization ability of the human mind.

Many concepts are associated with a linguistic label, but the ability to create and process concepts is not necessarily associated with language. People perceive that many sensory stimuli (sounds, events, objects, etc.) make up a category, but they do not apply a verbal label to them in all cases. We know, for example, that all human beings are able to identify the green colour. In some sense they have the concept of 'green' in their mind. But not all languages have a word that refers to that specific colour. Some languages use the word 'blue' for this function (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014: 81). This well-known fact is an eloquent proof that at least certain concepts and categories do not need an associated label to be perceived and processed by the mind.

However, some researchers have defended the idea that categorical representations with a verbal correlate are different in nature. In fact, for some authors, the term "concept" refers only to labelled categorical representations. For example, Wacewicz (2015: 121) considers that a category is the mental representation of objects that share common features and qualities and restricts the term "concept" to those representations that are associated with certain labels. A similar approach is present in Bermúdez (2003) in which the author finds a very complex cognitive activity in beings without language, but defends what he calls a Priority Principle, according to which language proficiency is a prerequisite for the mastery of certain concepts.

There are many non-linguistic creatures with cognitive systems that we are tempted to describe as conceptual, but these systems have a fundamentally different nature, which does not mean that they are not systems with a significant cognitive power. Some primates, for example, may have abstract representations without language (Aguilera 2010). What is more controversial is whether these mental representations should be called “concepts”. There are very complex operations without language that the mind is able to carry out, but minds operating with nouns in language have a qualitatively different cognitive flexibility.

Verbal tags may work as a kind of catalyst that facilitate and accelerate the formation of concepts (Lupyan 2012). The repeated use of a label to mark certain aspects of reality reinforces the possibility that in many cases the individual perceives what is common among these facts. Objects receiving the same label are seen as more similar to each other than those who do not share a label (Tolins and Colunga 2015: 221). By the same token, tagged concepts facilitate a type of learning that does not depend on personal experience only. In fact, the acquisition of concepts and cognitive performance by the child increase when working with speech labels (Zelazo *et al.* 2007).

Some psycholinguistic experiments seem to confirm that there is some feedback between perceptions and labelling, such that speakers who have certain nouns in their memory might be willing to perceive corresponding perceptions to a greater extent. This might mean that labelled perceptions show better identification and isolation than those that have not been previously named. At the same time, nouns associated with nuanced differences between similar perceptions can help reinforce the perception of these differences and nuances (Lupyan 2012: 255). Wine tasters know this well when they rely on nouns to distinguish the different flavours and aromas. These differences are very subtle and not everyone is prepared to grasp them. But the names we apply to these nuances are clearly differentiated themselves and their use and knowledge helps us separate and distinguish the differences of flavour.

It has been argued that the use of lexical terms speeds the formation of categories which would otherwise be slower to acquire or perhaps never be formed. Certain abstract categories cannot be easily acquired through the mere observation of an object. If we want to teach a child what a dog is, we only need to show a real dog or a picture of one. But if we want to teach a child what a ‘mammal’ is, showing a photo of a dog or a tiger will not be enough. We must resort to language to express certain abstract characteristics that are not easily transmissible by image alone. Likewise, certain culturally acquired concepts, such as those related to religion, kinship systems (*second cousin*), and social roles (*justice of the peace*, *treasurer*) cannot be obtained without language (Pinker and Jackendoff 2005: 206).

b. Reformatting representations and cognitive availability

Human beings are evolutionarily prepared to the learning and processing of sensory-motor representation. That is, they easily process images and sounds, and mimic instructions that are iconic in nature. These representations are extremely variable. We can, for example, perceive rain in different ways: when it falls on the head, because we hear it falling on the roof, when we see the wet car window, etc. All these events have a sensory character and they give us a very specific version of rain closely linked to context; specific situations, its frequency, and our personal experience. These sensory representations easily changeable and unstable and have, according to some, a connectionist character (Dennett 1994).

But there is another type of mental object: symbols, that is, representations associated with a label (of a verbal character or otherwise). If someone simply says, “It’s raining”, we create a more abstract and stable representation which is not necessarily exhaustive and may be deprived of some specific sensory data. To the extent that it simplifies the representations associated with each category, labelling of perceptions favours categorization and therefore abstraction.

This association allows the symbol to have a more stable condition. It also makes storage of the symbol in our memory possible and be subsequently used “off-line”, in the absence of the reality and sensory stimuli to which it is associated. By converting a representation into a stable and symbolic mental object, our thinking becomes able to make further manipulations and mental operations with this object which may then be the starting point for new thoughts. We can, for example, carry out operations of recognition (*this is a dog*), learning (*collagen is a protein*), or classification (*the dog is a mammal*). Partnership operations become possible that include other symbols which establish some kind of relationship of semantic opposition, contrast, and phonetic similarity (*male>female, white>black, rich>poor*, etc.).

Some words can be relatively poorly defined or not fully understood, but we can nevertheless carry out operations with them (Dennett 1996: 150–151). This view refers ultimately to the philosopher Locke and has been recently retaken by Jackendoff (1996).

c. Meta-representation

The cognitive object that we have created through symbolic labelling may refer to sensory representations but can also refer to relationships between other words or labels that allows access to higher and more flexible cognitive levels of abstraction. This means that the level of representation is raised and some concepts are created that cannot be understood without language.

Beings without language cannot perform such second-level operations. A dog, for example, certainly has in its mind a category *cat*, even if it does not have a verbal label associated to that category. But a dog cannot wonder, for example, if a dog is an animal, i.e., it cannot perform cognitive operations that affect more than one category with an associated label. The cognitive operation associated with the idea ‘a dog is an animal’ is at the bottom of an operation of symbols. If we wonder if a dog is an animal, we are basically wondering if a specimen to which we apply the tag *dog* can also be assigned the label *animal*. Likewise, saying that whales are mammals is tantamount to saying that the members of the category labelled with the word *whale* can also be labelled with the noun *mammal*.

A relational concept can receive a perceptually simple tag, for example, the relationship that the term *son* mentions. But this new cognitive object can in turn establish new relationships: son of your brother. This relationship can in turn receive a perceptually simple label (*nephew*). In the new domain, what used to be complex becomes now perceptually simple – and the process can be repeated, of course.

Language has what some have called “cognitive properties of second order” (Clark 1998: 173; 2008: 44–60). This means that words are like fixed points of thought that attract new processes of reflection. This enables us to return to our own thoughts and modify, specify, and extend them, etc.

3. Nominalization

We can find a good example of meta-representation in the structures arising from the processes of nominalization. In many grammatical treatises, the concept of nominalization applies more broadly to any derivational process that permits the formation of a noun from a word that belongs to another grammatical category without substantially changing its meaning. Nominalization in Spanish frequently occurs with verbs and adjectives:

- (1) a. *La lluvia cae* > *la caída de la lluvia*
 The rain fall.3SG the fall of the rain
 ‘the rain falls > the fall of rain’
- b. *Pedro es alto* > *la altura de Pedro*
 Pedro is.3SG tall the height of Pedro
 ‘Pedro is tall > the height of Pedro.’

In this process, the verb loses the grammatical marks that characterize it as a verb (tense, mood, aspect, person agreement, combination with adverbs, etc.) and acquires those of a noun (definite and indefinite determination, number, quantification, combination with adjectives, etc.).

Nominalization is a wide-spread mechanism in the world's languages, including those of the Indo-European and Romance families in the past and present. In Spanish, nominalization was obtained from ancient times through morphological procedures. The most used nominalizing suffix is *-ción*, which is employed with verbs. It is, according to Pharies (2002), a literary suffix that is present in more than 2000 terms in Spanish and indicates an action (vgr., *activación* 'activation') and also the result of an action (vgr., *acumulación de gente* 'accumulation of people', which may refer to the effect or outcome of accumulating people somewhere). There are also some other inherited suffixes, such as *-miento* (*alzamiento* 'uprising', *movimiento* 'movement', etc.), *-aje* (*aterrizaje* 'landing', *viraje* 'turning', etc.), as well as nominalizations in *-a*, *-e*, *-o* (*purga* 'blowdown', *cierre* 'closure', etc.). For the nominalization of adjectives, several inherited suffixes are available: *-dad* (*densidad* 'density', *solidaridad* 'solidarity', etc.), *-eza* (*rareza* 'oddity', *extrañeza* 'strangeness', etc.), *-ura* (*hermosura* 'beauty'), etc.

Many nominalizations in Spanish are learned words, that is, they are formations that have been recovered from Latin in more or less recent centuries: *defensa* 'defense', *fusión* 'fusion', *presión* 'pressure', *tensión* 'tension, stress', etc., are examples of literary deverbal nominalization, and *distancia* 'distance', *longitud* 'longitude', *latitud* 'latitude', etc. are good examples of nominalization of adjectives. It is not surprising to find that many of these nouns have a formal equivalent in English, as this language has also received a significant amount of words of foreign origin.

Nominalization is more than a categorical reorganization; it is also a functional modification. It represents a functional reuse of the verb and adjective, whose essential function is to predicate (as we have shown above) and now become purely referential elements, that is, reality taggers. In other words, we convert a predicate into a label.

If we say *los gatos se protegen arañando* 'cats protect themselves by clawing', we refer to a real or frequent fact that is scientifically verifiable and linguistically communicable. But if we simply say *la protección de los gatos mediante arañazos* 'the protection of cats by clawing', we refer to an event through an expression that is not communicable by itself in Spanish. This expression acquires another linguistic function different from communication, which is the labelling of facts, objects, events and states of reality. For this expression to be effectively communicable, we need to add a new predicate: for example, *la protección de los gatos mediante arañazos es un peligro para sus dueños* 'the protection of cats through by clawing is a danger to their owners'. This new sentence could theoretically undergo nominalization again and be combined with a new predicate: *el peligro para sus dueños de la protección de los gatos mediante arañazos tiene difícil solución* 'the danger for owners of the protection of cats through scratches is difficult to solve'. We are facing what could be called a potential semiotic loop. Nominalization has therefore a strong power for

recursive thinking, that is, the thinking that arises from the combination of other units of simpler thought.

In Spanish and other European languages today, complex thought is expressed through embedded or subordinate clauses. However, sentence subordination is not the only possible way to express complex ideas. Indeed, when the Indo-European linguists try to reconstruct the past of the languages of this family, they encounter some difficulties in the proto-language when trying to find some evidence of sentence embedding. Does this mean that there were no phenomena of sentence embedding in the grammar of the Proto-Indo-European languages? This today is a controversial issue. More than the evidence against the existence of embedding, we have indications that the primitive complex sentences in Proto-Indo-European had a paratactic character (see Hock 2015, Section 3).

At the same time, there are signs that in Indo-European languages and other languages from other families, nominalization had an essential role as a method of expressing notional subordination and recursion (Harris and Campbell 1995: 310–313; Deutscher 2009). The syntax of Latin largely confirms this idea because the oldest method of forming completive sentences in that language was not to resort to conjunctions but the use of the so-called completive infinitive sentence, which, as suggested by its own name, used the infinitive, which was an early type of deverbal nominalization.

Nominalization is a form of labelling, but it is something more than a labelling of the real world or of our perceptions. It is also a labelling of our own language. This type of labelling allows our subjective experiences to be considered at a higher level of consciousness (Zelazo *et al.* 2007: 425).

4. The advance nominalization in the past

We have noted that nominalization has undeniable cognitive effects. No wonder, therefore, that it plays an essential role in the language of Science. Indeed, the nominalization processes increased in European languages when, for cultural and scientific reasons, more specialized terminology was needed, requiring an increase in its lexicon. This growth was made with the collaboration of grammar, through the available morphological methods, but also via Latin, by recovery of learned lexicon.

In the history of English, this model of scientific discourse emerges in the 18th century and has been well-studied by Halliday (1988: 153–154) and Banks (2005a and b). These authors find that nominalization in scientific language underwent a breakthrough in English in the 17th century, due mainly to the influence of Newton,

author of essential works in the history of science, such as *Optics* (1670–1680, but published in 1704) and *Principia Mathematica*, which exerted a strong influence on other scientific texts of the time and marked the beginning of scientific language in English. It should be noted that Newton knew and wrote in Latin.

The linguistic renewal in science is related to several motivations. One of these is the need to create taxonomies and nomenclatures. When an object or phenomenon is assigned a tag, it can be described and classified, assimilated into and opposed to others that are similar to or of the same order. The noun is the part of speech best prepared for this task which defines a semiotic domain when other grammatical categories are absent or have a minor role. As expected, experimental sciences and human disciplines are the domain in which this classificatory task is done more thoroughly.

Scientific texts provide the appropriate context for the creation of a special type of taxonomy: indexes and tables of contents facilitate the management and exploration of the contents of scientific texts. At present, not only scientific texts, but also historical, philosophical, and even literary essays provide a description or ‘map’ of their contents at the end or beginning of the volumes. Also, the texts of the past orient the reader through the use of indexes and tables of contents. But the presence of nominalization in these types of tables has not always been the same throughout history.

Without going into an exploration of more technical and specialized texts, we simply need to observe the index of words or subjects (of subject words) of a present-day history book to ascertain the absolute predominance of nouns and the almost complete absence of verbs and other categories in the performance of these tasks.

Note, in this regard, the index reproduced in Figure 1. Observe the absolute predominance of nouns, many of which have a deverbal character (*agradecimiento* ‘thanks’, *comienzo* ‘start’, *exterminio* ‘extermination’). There are also some nouns coming from adjectives (*inminencia* ‘imminence’, from *imminente* ‘imminent’). Others, in turn, are eventive names, as the book’s title itself (*holocausto* ‘sacrifice’). Some are abstract in nature (*terror* ‘terror’, *consecuencias* ‘consequences’). There are, in general, action and situation nouns, which is not surprising in a history book.

The presence of indexes and tables of contents in scientific, narrative, and doctrinal works is old in the history of the Spanish language. In the books of the Spanish Middle Ages, the insertion of these tables was customary and usually included a list of chapters and sections. However, the model of formulation and verbalization of contents was not homogeneous in medieval books and manuscripts. In those volumes the recourse to nominalization was not yet frequent. In this respect, however, three types of situations can be identified:

Índice	
AGRADECIMIENTOS	11
PRÓLOGO.	17
PRIMERA PARTE	
LOS ORÍGENES DEL ODIO Y DE LA VIOLENCIA	
1. Los comienzos de la guerra social: 1931-1933	29
2. Los teóricos del exterminio.	71
3. La ofensiva de la derecha: 1933-1934	93
4. La inminencia de la guerra: 1934-1936.	139
SEGUNDA PARTE	
CONSECUENCIAS DEL GOLPE DE ESTADO I: VIOLENCIA INSTITUCIONALIZADA EN LA ZONA REBELDE	
5. El terror de Queipo: las purgas de Andalucía.	193
6. El terror de Mola: las purgas de Navarra, Galicia, Castilla la Vieja y León.	253

Figure 1. Paul Preston. *El holocausto español*. Madrid: Debate, 2011

- a. In historical books one can find a type of table in which the contents of each section or chapter are described through a formula based on indirect speech. The title of each section used to be initiated with the expression *de cómo* 'on how' or similar (*de la manera* 'on the way', etc.), which presupposes an unexpressed verb of speech (vgr. *Este capítulo habla sobre.../ trata de...* 'This chapter talks about ... / deals with ...', etc.). This way of presenting the content is very common in narrative texts, even after the Middle Ages.

The extract of the table of contents reproduced in Figure 2 allows us to witness the overwhelming use of the indirect interrogative expression *de cómo* 'on how' to introduce the contents of each chapter. Nominalization attempts are rare. In this table we can find only two cases: *muerte* 'death' (Chapter 2) and *respuesta* 'answer' (Chapter 18). It should also be mentioned that *muerte*

and *respuesta* are patrimonial words that existed in Castile since the origins of Spanish and had therefore no literary character. Elsewhere in the same table, but not included in Figure 2, we observe the word *manera* ‘way, mode’, which is also an old term, inherited from Latin, but is present today in the formula *de la manera* ‘about the way’.

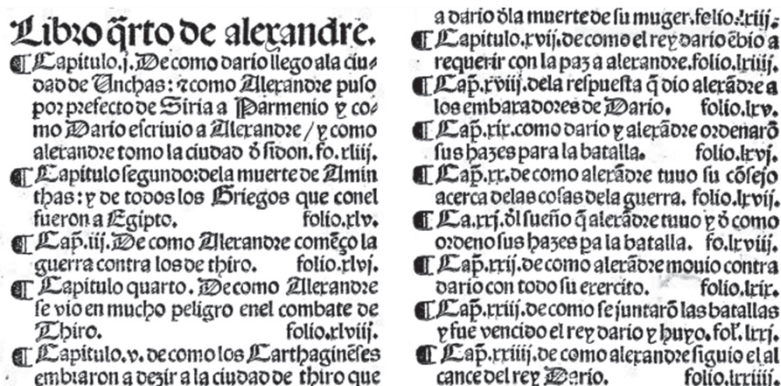


Figure 2. Curcio Rufo, Quinto, *De los hechos del Magno Alexandre rey de Macedonia*, Sevilla, ed. by Juan Cromberger, 1534

- b. Another expressive possibility is the use of infinitives as a nominalization procedure. The infinitive is a verbal noun which shares syntactic features with other nouns (such as the use of determiners; vgr. *el ir y venir* ‘coming and going’, etc.). However, the nominalizing task of the infinitive has never been much rooted in the present or in the past in Spanish. Some grammarians have noted that nominal infinitives are much more common in literary language than in other linguistic records (RAE 2009: 1967). This is probably due to the fact that many of these categorical infinitives have a heterogeneous nature and combine in varying degrees traits of noun and of verb. Many of them cannot be used in plural (i.e. we can say *los cantares* ‘the songs, the chansons’, but not **los ires y venires* ‘the comings and goings’, etc.). They also retain strong features of verbality, such as the ability to be used in the perfect aspect: *el haber llegado tarde me preocupa* ‘that he has arrived late worries me’, etc.

Nevertheless, the infinitive was present in the tables of contents of many technical books of the 16th century, as shown in Figure 3, which reproduces a section of the index in a book of geometry.

SUMMARIO DE LOS	
Capitulos y Articulos deste libro tercero	
de Geometria, que trata de Planimetria.	
<p>CAPITULO primero. Dize q^e es Planimetria, y que es el intento del medir Areas.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 2. En que se dize, que es potencia de vna linea.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 3. Muestra hazer vn instrumento para medir tierras.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 4. Muestra medir Areas de quadrados, o de parallelogramos.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 5. Muestra cosas pertenecientes al medir triangulos. Tiene 8 articulos.</p> <p>Articulo primero. Trata de las diferencias que ay de triangulos, en quanto a sus angulos y lados.</p> <p>Articulo. 2. Trata de triángulo Orthogonio, y del saber sus lados, por noticia de los de otro.</p> <p>Articulo. 3. Muestra medir triangulos rectangulos, y por su area, y vn lado de los del recto, saber los otros lados.</p> <p>Articulo. 4. Trata regla para que có el lado de vn triangulo hallar otros dos, que sean todos racionales.</p> <p>Articulo. 5. Muestra medir triangulos equilateros, y facar su perpendicular.</p> <p>Articulo. 6. Muestra medir triangulos de dos lados y guals, y de facar su perpendicular.</p> <p>Articulo. 7. Muestra medir triangulos Ambigonios, y facar su per</p>	<p>¶ Capitulo. 7. Muestra medir Rhomboides y figuras similes a la Helmuaym.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 8. Muestra medir figuras Trapezias, o Helmuarifo.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 9. Muestra medir figuras de mas de quatro lados.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 10. Muestra medir exágonos.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 11. Muestra medir figuras circulares.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 12. Muestra medir Areas de medios circulos.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 13. Muestra medir Sectores de circulos.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 14. Muestra medir Porciones de circulos. Tiene scys articulos.</p> <p>Articu. 1. Muestra facar el diametro entero de vna Sagita, de vna porcion.</p> <p>Articulo. 2. Muestra saber la Sagita de vn arco de circulo, sabiendo el diametro de todo el circulo, y la Corda del arco.</p> <p>Articulo. 3. Muestra facar la Corda, sabiendo la Sagita, y Diametro, de todo el circulo.</p> <p>Articulo. 4. Muestra medir porciones menores.</p> <p>Articulo. 5. Muestra medir porciones mayores.</p> <p>Articulo. 6. Muestra medir lo que ay entre dos cordas.</p> <p>¶ Cap. 15. Muestra medir figuras Léctulares, o Mixtas.</p>

Figure 3. *Tratado de Geometría Práctica y Especulativa*, Bachiller Juan Pérez de Moya, Alcalá, 1573

In the index shown in Figure 3, very similar to other scientific texts of the time, we repeatedly find the verbal form *muestra* ‘it shows’, followed by a governed infinitive that indicates the content of each section (vgr. *muestra hazer* ‘it shows how to do’, in Chapter 3; *muestra medir* ‘it shows how to measure’, in Chapter 4; *muestra saber* ‘it shows how to know’ in Chapter 14.2: *muestra sacar* ‘it shows how to take out/calculate’, in Chapter 14, articles 1 and 3, etc.) and, more sporadically, the equivalent verbal forms *trata de* ‘it deals with’ (Chapter 5, articles 2 and 3) and *se dice que* ‘it is said that’ (Chapter 2).

Other indices of that time can do without the recourse to the governed infinitive by showing this verbal form in a direct and isolated manner. Observe some of the chapters listed in the table shown in Figure 4 which present their content through an infinitive not governed by any verb, particularly those in first, second and fourth place (*abreviar* ‘abbreviate’) and fifth place (*acercentar* ‘increase’).

<p>TABLA DE LAS cosas mas memorables de- stetradado, por el or- den del A.B.C.</p> <p>A</p>	
Abreuiar particio- nes para partir con menor numero. lib. 2. fol. 72.	Aedades del mundo; lib. 8. fol. 319.
Abreuiar quebrados a menor denominaci6 lib. 2. fo. 69. 71. 72.	Areolus como se figu- ra lib. 8. fo. 318. vale tanto como As.
Abos que quiere dezir en numeros quebra- dos. lib. 2. fo. 66.	AEquinoctium de do- se dize libro. 8. fol. 321.
Abreuiar caracteres en la regla de la co- sa. lib. 7. fo. 258.	AEuo q tiempo finifi- que lib. 8. fo. 320.
Acrecentar quebrados en denominaci6. lib. 2. fo. 73.	AEs cris. significa va- rias cosas li. 8. fo. 310.
Acetabulum es quarta parte de la emina. lib. octauo fol. 317. 318. 319.	Algebra. lib. 7. fo. 219.
	Almucabala. lib. 7. fol. 219.
	Ambilgonia figura de geometria. lib. 4. fol. 152.
	Amphora li. 8. fol. 317.
	Ana, es de do. fo. dize libr.

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 4. Juan Pérez de Moya (1598) *Aritmética práctica y especulativa*

- c. There is, finally, a third type of table showing a much more determined nominalizing method, but these texts frequently use lexical Latinisms, and not many derivational procedures productive in the grammar of the time. Note the sample provided in Figure 5: In this table it is possible to observe the presence of different deverbal formations, most of them are learned words: *distinción* ‘distinction’ (Chapter I); *division* ‘division’ (Chapter IV), *definición* ‘definition’ (chaps. II and III). There are also some literary nouns derived from adjectives: *inmutabilidad* ‘immutability’ (Chapter VI), *longitud* ‘length’ (Chapter XVII), *latitud* ‘latitude’ (Chapter XVII.). The derivative formations without that do not come from learned words are very rare: *redondez* ‘roundness’ (Chapter VII.).

Tabla	fo. v.
<p>¶ La primera parte del compendio trata de la cõpo- sicion del mundo y de los principios vniuersales q̃ para el arte dela nauegacion se requieren.</p>	
Capitulo primero de la distincion general delas cri- turas.	fo. ix.
Capitulo. ij. dela diffinicion del mundo	fo. ix.
Capitulo. iij. dela diffinicion dela sphaera.	fo. x.
Capitulo. iiij. dela diuision del mundo.	fo. x.
Capitulo. v. del numero orden y propiedad de los elementos y cielos.	fo. xj.
Capitulo. vi. dela inmutabilidad dela tierra.	fo. xiiij.
Capitulo. viij. de la redondez de la tierra y agua.	fo. xiiij.
Ca. viij. del mouimiento de los cielos y elementos.	fo. xv.
Ca. ix. de la diuision de la sphaera en tres formales	fo. xv.
Capitulo. x. del circulo equinoccial.	fo. xvj.
Capitulo. xj. del circulo zodiaco.	fo. xvij.
Capitulo. xij. de los circulos coluros.	fo. xvij.
Capitulo. xiiij. del circulo meridiano.	fo. xvij.
Capitulo. xiiij. del circulo oriente.	fo. xix.
Capitulo. xv. de los. iiij. circulos menores.	fo. xx.
Capitulo. xvi. de las cinco zonas.	fo. xx.
Capitulo. xvij. de la longitud y latitud y de la propor- cion que tienen los circulos menores a los circulos mayores.	fo. xxij.
Capitulo. xvij. del ambito de la tierra y agua.	fo. xxij.
Capitulo. xix. de los siete climas.	fo. xxij.
Capitulo. xx. de algunos principios q̃ se supone sa- ber para esta sciencia.	fo. xxv.

Figure 5. Martín Cortés Albácar, *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar: Con nuevos instrumentos y reglas, exemplificado con muy subtiles demonstraciones*, Sevilla, 1551

5. The Latin precedents: Isidore of Seville

It is very likely that the model for this nominalizing preference was in other Latin texts of that period and showed an advanced tendency for nominalization. Observe the table of contents of a Latin book of metaphysics reproduced in Figure 6, very similar in style to other texts of the same period. In many of the titles in this table, nouns have a verbal origin (*univocatio* ‘homonym’, from *unus* ‘one’ + *vocare* ‘to call’; *equivocation* ‘mistake’, *determination* ‘determination’, *conclusionone* ‘conclusion’, *subiectio* ‘supposition’, *subordinationone* ‘subordination’, *praexistentia* ‘preexistence’, *divisione* ‘division’, *contractione* ‘contraction’, *durationis* ‘duration’, etc.). There are some nouns resulting from the nominalization of an adjective (*diversitate* ‘diversity’, *differentia* ‘difference’, etc.).

De uniuocatione & equiuocatione.	Ca.xxii.
De ortu naturalium uirtutum.	Ca.xxiii.
De determinatiōe uniuocationis & equocationis entis.	Ca.xxiiii.
De conclusione prime partis.	Ca.xxv.
De secunda parte primi preambuli uidelicet de subie cto materiali metaphisices.	Ca.xxvi.
¶ Secundum preambulū continet capitula nouem.	
De diuersitate subiectorum in phia naturali.	Ca.i.
De sufficiency subiecto phie naturalis.	Ca.ii.
De subordinatione graduū ī pticularib⁹.	Ca.iii.
De realium ulium preexistētia.	Ca.iiii.
De uniuersalibus post rem.	Ca.v.
De diuisione durationis.	Ca.vi.
De cōtractione qñ.	Ca.vii.
De tpe.	Ca.viii.
De formali & materiali temporis.	Ca.ix.
¶ Tertium preambulū continet capitula uiginti.	
De subordinatione terminorum logicalium.	Ca.i.
De categorica ppositione.	Ca.ii.
De ipotetica ppositione.	Ca.iii.
De equipollētiis.	Ca.iiii.
De uniuersali ante rem.	Ca.v.
De quinque predicabilibus: & primo de gene / re.	Ca.vi.
De spē.	Ca.vii.
De differentia.	Ca.viii.
De proprio	Ca.ix.

Figure 6. *Liber formalitatum, Metaphysica nominatus De differentia*, Pere Degui, impens. Johannis Montiserrati, 1500

An essential precedent for this nominalizing task in Latin can be found in the work of Isidore of Seville (6th and 7th centuries), author of the famous *Etymologies*, an early precursor of the medieval concern for nomenclatures and encyclopaedias which intended to gather the knowledge accumulated in different matters of science and humanities. They are repertoires relative to some specific field of knowledge that became abundant in Europe during the Middle Ages. In Castilian they were common from the 15th century (Alvar Ezquerro 2003). They usually do not show alphabetical order, but are organized by other criteria (Garcia Aranda 2003). In medieval nomenclatures, certain nouns predominate and verbs are scarce (Alvar Ezquerro 2003: 27).

In this line, Isidore of Seville collected all the wisdom of her time regarding the seven liberal arts (grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy), as well as history, science and medicine. Interestingly, the *Etymologies*

of Isidore of Seville received its name from the contents of book, or Chapter X, entitled *De Vocabulis*, which is specifically dedicated to the etymology of words. Etymology, incidentally, receives particular attention based on the view that there is a natural relationship between things and their names, such that knowledge of etymology allows a better understanding of things. This vision, as opposed to the arbitrary view of the sign that predominates in today's semantics, has its precedents in Plato and led Isidore to apply etymologies that would be in many cases surprising, shocking, or even picturesque when viewed from contemporary etymological science (Villaseñor Cuspinera 2003: 115). Isidore proposes, for example, that *rege* 'king' is so called because he acts *recte* 'correctly', which is, incidentally, the reverse of the derivative relation between these words.

But beyond the particular etymological criterion used by Isidore, it is interesting that Book X does not pay attention to verbs. The author *himself* at the beginning of the chapter announces that it will deal with the origin of nouns. We soon find that he is referring not only to nouns, but also to adjectives and only slightly to other categories, such as the indefinite; *nemo* 'no one', *nihil* 'nothing' or *nullus* 'nothing'.

In the table of contents of *Etymologies*, we see a remarkable presence of nominalizations. Figure 7 shows an excerpt from the table of contents of Book III: *Mathematica*. Nominalizations of a verbal origin are marked with capitals (*cursu* 'route, path', *effectu* 'execution', *remotione* 'departure') and those from adjectives are underlined (*vicinitate* 'vicinity', *differentia* 'difference' *praecedentia* 'reverse motion', *antegradatione* 'march forward):

De EFECTU solis	De stellarum situ
De itinere solis	De stellarum CURSU
De lumine lunae	De vario CURSU stellarum
De formis lunae	De stellarum intervallis
De interlunio lunae	De circulari numero stellarum
De CURSU lunae	De stellis planetis
De <u>vicinitate</u> lunae ad terras	De <u>praecedentia et antegradatione</u> stellarum.
De eclipsi solis	De REMOTIONE vel <u>retrogradatione</u> stellarum
De eclipsi lunae	
De <u>differentia</u> stellarum, siderum, et astrorum	
De lumine stellarum	

Figure 7. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies (or Origins)* Extract of Table of Contents. Book III, *De Mathematica*

Despite the wealth of nominalizations in the text, there are still some residues of labelling through sentential mention. The same table of contents shows, among others, the following examples:

<i>Quid sit numerus</i>	‘what are the numbers’
<i>Quid praesent numeri</i>	‘what are the numbers for’
<i>Quot infiniti existunt numeri</i>	‘how many infinite numbers exist’

6. Concluding remarks

It seems reasonable to say that the labelling function is the feature that essentially distinguishes essentially the noun from the verb. This feature goes beyond the communicative role and has also, as we have seen, some relevant cognitive effects. The phenomenon of nominalization, which has already been well-described and studied in grammatical theory, acquires a special relevance from the perspective of the labelling function of nouns.

Nominalization does not have the same presence in all registers and levels of language. Its activity has not been the same at every moment of history and it also does not have the same presence in all registers and levels of language. In Spanish it acquired a growing vitality at the end of the Middle Ages, at a time when humanistic and scientific treatises proliferated in Spain and other European countries.

Indexes and tables of contents have scarcely been explored by linguistic research, but they are an ideal place to check the intensity of nominalization at a certain time. Their interest lies in the fact that verbs are often excluded in such summaries and authors are forced to implement different mechanisms for content description. Among these we can find the indirect style, subordinate infinitives and other mechanisms that would appear dense, ponderous and unsophisticated in any present-day narrative or doctrinal book.

The testimony of these tables and indices in some works of the late medieval Castilian science shows that the process of nominalization had not yet come to fully take root and that Latin provides a vital precedent for the nominalizing task. The testimony of Isidore of Seville is particularly innovative. It has been particularly relevant to show the differences between Latin and Castilian scientific and doctrinal works of the same period in relation to the vitality of nominalization. These data confirm the importance that Latin had in shaping scientific language in Spain, as in other European languages.

References

- Aguilera, Graziela. 2010. "Animales sin lenguaje en el espacio de los conceptos." *Teorema* 29 (2): 23–58.
- Alvar Ezquerro, Manuel. 2003. *Las nomenclaturas del español. Siglos XVI y XVII*. Madrid: Liceus.
- Banks, Donald. 2005a. "Emerging scientific discourse in the late seventeenth century." *Functions of Language* 12(1): 65–86. <https://doi.org/10.1075/fol.12.1.o4ban>
- Banks, Donald. 2005b. "On the historical origins of nominalized process in scientific text." *English for Specific Purposes* 24(3): 347–357. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2004.08.002>
- Bermúdez, José Luis. 2003. *Thinking without Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195159691.001.0001>
- Clark, Andy. 1998. "Magic Words: How Language Augments Human Computation." In *Language and Thought: Interdisciplinary Themes*, ed. by P. Carruthers, and J. Boucher, 162–183. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511597909.011>
- Clark, Andy. 2008. *Supersizing the Mind. Embodiment, Action, and Cognitive Extension*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195333213.001.0001>
- Dennett, Daniel. 1994. "Labelling and learning (commentary on A. Clark and A. Karmiloff-Smith, "The Cognizer's Innards")." *Mind and Language* 8(4): 540–547. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0017.1993.tb00302.x>
- Dennett, Daniel. 1996. *Kinds of Mind. Toward an Understanding of Consciousness*. New York: Basic Books.
- Deutscher, Guy. 2009. "Nominalization and the origin of subordination." In *Syntactic Complexity. Diachrony, acquisition, neuro-cognition, evolution*, ed. by T. Givón, and M. Shibatani, 199–214. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.85.o8nom>
- Dixon, R. M. W. 2010. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Vol. 2: Grammatical Topics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- García Aranda, M.^a de los Ángeles. 2003. *Un capítulo de la lexicografía didáctica del español: las nomenclaturas hispanolatinas (1492–1575)*, Doctoral Thesis. Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- Goddard, Cliff, and Anna Wierzbicka. 2014. *Words and Meanings. Lexical Semantics across Domains, Languages, and Cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1988. "On the language of Physical science." In *The Language of Science*, ed. by M. A. K. Halliday, 140–158. London: Continuum.
- Harris, Alice C., and Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620553>
- Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2007. *The Genesis of Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hock, Hans Heinrich. 2015. "Proto-Indo-European verb-finality. Reconstruction, typology, validation." In *Proto-Indo-European Syntax and its Development*, ed. by Leonid Kulikov, and Nikolaos Lavidas, 51–78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/bct.75.o4hoc>
- Hopper, Paul, and Sandra Thompson. 1984. "The Discourse Basis for Lexical Categories in Universal Grammar." *Language* 60: 703–752. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1984.0020>
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1996. "How language helps us think." *Language and Cognition* 4(1): 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.4.1.o3jac>
- Lupyan, Gary. 2012. "Linguistically Modulated Perception and Cognition: The Label-Feedback Hypothesis." *Frontiers in Psychology* 3(54): 1–13.
- Pharies, David. 2002. *Diccionario etimológico de los sufijos españoles*. Madrid: Gredos.

- Pinker, Steven, and Ray Jackendoff. 2005. "The faculty of language: what's special about it?" *Cognition* 95: 201–236. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2004.08.004>
- RAE. 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Manual*. Madrid: Real Academia Española, Asociación de academias de la lengua española.
- Sapir, Edward. 1921. *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and company.
- Simone, Raffaele. 2003. "Masdar, 'ismu al-marrati et la frontière verbe/nom." In *Estudios ofrecidos al Profesor José Jesús de Bustos Tovar*, ed. by J. L. Girón Alconchel, J. Herrero, S. Iglesias, and A. Narbona, 901–918. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.
- Tolins, Jackson, and Eliana Colunga. 2015. "How words anchor categorization: conceptual flexibility with labeled and unlabeled categories." *Language and Cognition* 8: 219–238. <https://doi.org/10.1017/langcog.2014.26>
- Toyota, Junichi. 2012. "On binary features in the evolution of language." *Theoria et Historia Scientiarum* 9: 99–113. <https://doi.org/10.12775/v10235-011-0006-1>
- Villaseñor Cuspinera, Patricia. 2003. "Natura et arbitrium: en torno a la etimología y a la significación de las palabras en Isidoro de Sevilla." *Acta Poetica* 24: 113–125.
- Waciewicz, Słomowir. 2015. *Concepts as Correlates of Lexical Labels. A Cognitive Perspective*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-05287-9>
- Zelazo, Philip David, Helena Hong Gao, and Rebecca Todd. 2007. "The Development of Consciousness." In *Consciousness*, ed. by Ph. L. Zelazo, 405–432. Cambridge, CUP.

Causative and inchoative constructions with *poner* and *meter* ('to put') in Spanish

A diachronic constructional approach

Renata Enghels and Marie Comer
Ghent University

This article documents the historical evolution of the causative and inchoative constructions with the put verbs *poner* and *meter* in Spanish. The aim of this case study is to determine how both constructions developed out of the more general abstract caused-motion schema. The analysis is based on a large historical corpus, and traces their semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics from the 13th to the 21st century. The empirical observations are accounted for within the grammatical constructionalization framework. By adopting a network approach we argue that four micro-constructions emerged simultaneously, but that their constructionalization process has been completed to a varying extent. Individual differences are traced back to the upwards strength of the core semantics of the nucleus verb, and the sideward impact of other members in the network.

Keywords: inchoative construction, causative construction, put verbs, Spanish, constructionalization, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

As prototypical put verbs, *poner* and *meter* (both meaning 'to put') basically express a caused-motion event involving an object or theme's change of location to a new location in space. Syntactically this event is rendered by a four-slot locative construction [NP₁ + V + NP₂ + LOCATIVE COMPL] (1) (Cifuentes Honrubia 1999; Ibarretxe 2012). Apart from these standard locative constructions, *poner* and *meter* also appear in the ditransitive construction with a direct object (DO) and an indirect object (IO), extending their polysemy toward the domain of transfer (2). Both verbs can also be used in a semi-copulative construction (3) (Comer, Enghels & Vanderschueren 2015).

- (1) a. *poner el mantel en la mesa* ‘to put the table cloth on the table’
b. *meterse un chupete en la boca* ‘to put a pacifier in one’s mouth’
- (2) a. *poner una multa a alguien* ‘to give a fine to someone’
b. *meter muchos deberes a alguien* ‘to give a lot of homework to someone’
- (3) a. *ponerse nervioso* ‘to get nervous’
b. *meterse monja* ‘to become a nun’

The present study compares the diachronic evolution of the causative [$NP_1 + V + NP_2 + (a + INF)$] and the inchoative construction [$NP_1 + V_{pron} + (a + INF)$] with *poner* and *meter*. In these constructions, both verbs function as phonologically substantive elements and occupy a fixed auxiliary slot [V].¹ They are accompanied by three schematic positions or ‘open’ slots: a subject [NP_1], an object [NP_2], and an infinitive slot composed of the preposition *a* (‘to’) and an infinitive [INF]. In the causative construction, the subject [NP_1] semantically ‘forces’ or ‘incites’ the object [NP_2] to perform the event expressed by the infinitive in the [INF] slot (4). In the inchoative construction, *poner* and *meter* are used as pronominal verbs (with the clitic *se* attached), and semantically the subject [NP_1] forces or incites him/her or itself to carry out the event expressed by the infinitive complement (5).

- (4) a. *poner a alguien a cantar* ‘to make someone sing’
b. *meter a alguien a trabajar* ‘to make someone work’
- (5) a. *ponerse a bailar* ‘to start to dance’
b. *meterse a dormir* ‘to start/go to sleep’

From a syntactic but also a semantic point of view, both constructions are clearly related: the notion of causation implies an inchoative aspect, and vice versa. However, in this article, they are analyzed as different (but related) constructions, due to their association with the periphrastic causative (or factitive) construction (e.g., *hacer/dejar a alguien cantar* ‘to make/let someone sing’) (e.g., Enghels & Roegiest 2014 and the references there cited) and the inchoative periphrasis (e.g., *empezar a/comenzar a bailar* ‘to start to dance’) (Gómez Torrego 1988). Moreover, they each constitute a different form/meaning pairing, for which the use of the term ‘construction’ is appropriate (Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001). From a taxonomic point of view, the constructions with *poner* and *meter* thus clearly relate to – but are situated at a lower level than – the more general causative and inchoative schemas. To date, no studies have been dedicated to the inception and evolution of the causative and

1. In this article the notion of ‘auxiliary verb’ is used to refer to this functioning of *poner* and *meter*, following Fernández Leborans (1999: 2201). Other authors, however, prefer to use the terms ‘semi-auxiliary’ or ‘quasi-auxiliary’ in order to make an explicit distinction with full auxiliary verbs such as *haber* (‘to have’) (Borillo 2005).

inchoative constructions in Spanish, and their relation with the intricate polysemy and argument structure of put verbs.

However, interestingly, in a previous study on the French locative verb *mettre* 'to put', Verroens (2011) reconstructs the grammaticalization process of the verb which, just as its Spanish cognates *poner* and *meter*, functions as an auxiliary verb in similar causative and inchoative constructions. This reconstruction is based on Heine's (2002) four-step grammaticalization model,² and proposes a six-stage scenario:

1. In an initial stage *mettre* occurs with its source meaning in the locative construction [NP₁ + V + NP₂ + LOC]: an agent displaces a theme to another location in space.
2. In an intermediate stage, the theme can be an animate being without control or willfulness.
3. In the bridging context, *mettre* enters a construction which simultaneously encloses a locative complement slot and an infinitive slot [NP₁ + V + NP₂ + LOC + (a + INF)]. This context gives rise to a certain ambiguity: the agent causes a theme to move from one place to another, but at the same time, s/he makes him/her start an activity or an event (expressed by the infinitive).
4. In the next stage, the locative slot becomes superfluous, originating the causative construction [NP₁ + V + NP₂ + (a + INF)] (e.g., *mettre quelqu'un à faire quelque chose* 'to make s.o. do sth.').
5. In the switch context, the verb is used pronominally [NP₁ + Vpron + (a + INF)]. The clitic *se* undergoes reanalysis: it loses its autonomy and becomes an integral part of the verb. As a consequence, the ambiguous reading is ruled out: the construction can no longer be interpreted as locative but only as inchoative (e.g., *se mettre à pleurer* 'to start to cry').
6. Finally, the construction *se mettre à* + *inf* conventionalizes and a locative and inchoative construction can co-occur.

Although this model offers a plausible explanation for the grammaticalization of a lexical put verb into an aspectual marker, for now it still remains a hypothetical design for Spanish. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to empirically verify the validity of this working model for the Spanish cognates on the basis of diachronic data. The main question that will guide the analysis is whether the causative and

2. This model subsumes four stages: (1) the initial stage in which a linguistic expression has its (original, non grammaticalized) source meaning; (2) the bridging contexts which are ambiguous between the source and target meaning: rather than the source meaning, a new (target) meaning offers a more plausible interpretation of the utterance concerned; (3) the switch contexts in which the target meaning of the linguistic expression offers the only possible interpretation: the source meaning is ruled out and ambiguous readings disappear; and (4) the stage of conventionalization including extensions toward new contexts of use.

inchoative constructions with *poner* and *meter* as auxiliary verbs are related to the prototypical locative construction. If this is in fact the case, then our next question is how and when these constructions evolved out of the locative construction.

This article joins the recent trend in historical linguistics to interpret the findings from grammaticalization research in the light of the theoretical framework of construction grammar (Coussé 2018; Hilpert 2008, 2013; Trousdale 2008; Traugott & Trousdale 2013 among others). In concrete, the question is addressed whether the emergence and evolution of the causative and inchoative constructions can be defined in terms of grammaticalization and/or constructionalization (Bergs & Diewald 2008; Trousdale 2008, 2010; Gisborne & Patten 2011; Traugott & Trousdale 2013). The tradition of grammaticalization looks into the processes by which grammar is created (as defined for instance by Croft 2006), and how lexical items develop into grammatical markers. Building upon the foundations led by grammaticalization research, the recent models of constructionalization explore how new constructions come into being and gradually develop new functions. As opposed to the former tradition, the latter defines “the language system as a network of conventionalized pairings of form and meaning, in which specific micro-constructions inherit properties from more general schemas” (Trousdale 2014: 557), and looks for an alignment of grammaticalization studies and the rise and development of constructions.

The notion of grammatical constructionalization offers an appropriate framework for the present case study, given that the emergence of causative and inchoative constructions with put verbs involves the creation of new nodes in the network. However, we also believe that sufficient attention needs to be paid to the evolution of individual instances of a more general construction, viz. in the present case study, the micro-constructions with *poner* and *meter*.³ Indeed, previous analyses (Comer, Enghels & Vanderschueren 2015) have shown that the two near-synonymous verbs *poner* and *meter* have semantically specialized in different domains, even if, at first glance, they share a similar locative meaning. The verb *meter*, for instance, is preferably used for internally directed (concrete or abstract) movements (e.g., *meterse/*ponerse en la vida de alguien*, lit. ‘to put oneself in a person’s life’), whereas *poner* mostly refers to vertical placements on a horizontal surface (e.g., *poner/*meter los platos sobre la mesa*, ‘to put the plates on the table’). Moreover, compared to *poner*, *meter* has been shown to be strongly associated with its locative core meaning, whereas the use of *poner* more frequently extends toward other, more grammaticalized, domains (e.g., the pseudo-copulative one as

3. Without going into the current debate on how to define the right level of abstraction at which particular constructions are to be situated (see for instance Hilpert 2013), in this article, the term micro-construction is used whenever we want to distinguish higher-level from lower-level schemas.

illustrated in (3)). It is thus interesting to ask whether the semantics of the lexical items filling the verb slots have an impact on the morphosyntactic and semantic evolution of the constructions under scrutiny. Therefore, by comparing the four micro-constructions (inchoative_{meter}, inchoative_{poner}, causative_{meter}, causative_{poner}), the present case study also aims at offering further insight into the relationship between constructionalization and, at the level of the individual lexical items, grammaticalization models.

2. Materials and methods

In order to answer the above-mentioned research questions, we will outline the constructional and functional development of the causative and inchoative constructions with both *poner* and *meter* between the 13th and the 21st century. The analysis conducted in this article is fundamentally usage-based and relies on a large historical corpus of the two Spanish put verbs. For the compilation of this corpus, all causative and inchoative constructions of *poner* and *meter* were extracted from the CORDE (*Corpus Diacrónico del Español*, RAE) and CORPES XXI (*Corpus of the 21st century*, RAE) databases and arranged into five time periods: the 13th, 15th, 17th, 19th, and 21st centuries. In total, as can be seen in Table 1, 6072 tokens were retrieved for both constructions with *poner*, and 505 with *meter*.⁴

Table 1. Absolute frequencies

	Causative _{poner}	Inchoative _{poner}	Total	Causative _{meter}	Inchoative _{meter}	Total
13	19	7	26	35	43	78
15	127	115	242	31	33	64
17	273	648	921	34	86	120
19	326	1066	1392	15	144	159
21	562	2929	3491	12	72	84
total	1307	4765	6072	127	378	505

In order to trace the semantic and morphosyntactic development of both constructions, the examples of each period were tagged for a wide variety of parameters, which can be identified as functional and formal diagnostics of the process of grammaticalization and/or constructionalization. These parameters, listed in order of analysis, are the following:

4. For a more detailed information on the advantages of distinguishing different chronological cross-sections, see Jansegers (2015: 219–220) and Vergara Wilson (2009: 278; 286). Please also note that the constructions with *poner* very clearly outnumber the ones with *meter*. This difference is described and analyzed in more detail in Section 5.

- the prepositions that both constructions attract to introduce the INF slot, and consequently, the degree of formal fixation of both constructions with each verb;
- the possibility of intercalating lexical elements between the auxiliary verb slot and the INF slot, in order to measure the degree of syntactic incorporation of the constructions;
- the relative frequency of the causative and inchoative construction with both verbs over time, as a first indication of their degree of productivity;
- the lexical nature of the infinitive (e.g. physical vs. mental vs. communication verb).

For each of these parameters, both verbs will be extensively compared, both in the causative and the inchoative construction. The remaining part of this article comprises four main parts. Section 3 reconstructs the constructional changes (i.e. prepositional variants) and semantic evolution (i.e. metaphorical extensions) that both causative and inchoative constructions underwent, starting from the general locative construction. Section 4 then further examines to what extent the inchoative_{meter}, inchoative_{poner}, causative_{meter} and causative_{poner} micro-constructions attest to a similar increase in schematicity and decrease in compositionality. Section 5 compares the productivity of the four micro-constructions and looks into the development of their relative frequencies, as well as possible cases of host-class expansion. A discussion of the results is presented in Section 6.

3. Constructional changes and semantic evolution: Prepositional use as an indication of a metaphorical extension

A first parameter to be addressed is the extent to which the micro-constructions provide evidence of constructional changes, and possibly of a gradual fixation of form. To this end, it is interesting to see which prepositions introduce the subordinate infinitive complement. Strikingly, the CORDE-corpus not only documents cases where the INF slot is preceded by the preposition *a* ('to'), but also other cases where the tokens are attested with the preposition *en* ('in'). This is illustrated by the minimal pairs of the causative (6) and inchoative construction (7).⁵ Sometimes, the constructions are formed without any preposition at all (8).

5. For reasons of space, it is not possible to illustrate each different type through an example. Nevertheless, we have strived to provide a well-balanced representation of the different phenomena. All examples cited in this article are selected from the CORDE and CORPES XXI corpora. More detailed bibliographical information for each case can easily be retrieved in these databases and is, for practical reasons, not reproduced in the text.

- (6) a. “Señor,” rrespondyó el cantor, “es la más mala persona del mundo, y no tyene cabe sy syno ladrones y rrufyanes y gente que le ponga en hazer mal, y en muchas desonestydades. (CORDE, 15th c.)
 ‘Sir’ answered the singer, ‘it is the worst person of the world, and he has only at his side thieves, scoundrels and people who *make him do wrong* (lit. who *put him in doing wrong*), and in many indecencies.’
- b. [...] que osadía ha sido poner a hacer esto delante de quien tantas voces mejores que la mía habría oído”. (CORDE, 17th c.)
 ‘[...] what a nerve was it *to make me do this* (lit. to *put to do* this) in front of who would have heard so many voices better than mine.’
- (7) a. no se meta en escreuir letras amorosas ni plazenteras [...]. (CORDE, 15th c.)
 ‘Don’t start to write (lit. *put yourself into writing*) love letters nor jokes.’
- b. Palabras, en que muestra la poca noticia que tenia de esta materia, vicio en que pecan de ordinario los que se meten á escribir lo que no es de su facultad, por doctos que sean. (CORDE, 17th c.)
 ‘Words, by which he shows how little he knew about this matter, an error usually committed by those who *start to write* (lit. who *put themselves to write*) about what they do not know about, no matter how intelligent they are.’
- (8) a. Aguardé buen rato, quitéme la capa y sombrero, y poniéndolo sobre una silla, muy despacio me puse considerar las desdichas a de algunos hombres. (CORDE, 17th c.)
 ‘I waited for quite a while, I took off my cape and hat, and while I put them on a chair, very slowly *I started to consider* (lit. *I put myself consider*) the misery of some men.’
- b. Et quando eillos se son Rendidos eillos los matan todos & de pues les tallan las oreillas & las meten cozer & las comen ala verde salsa (CORDE, 15thc.)
 ‘And when they surrendered, they kill them all and then they cut off their ears and they *make them boil* (lit. *put them boil*) and they eat them with a green sauce.’

A closer inspection of the relative frequency of the three alternative prepositions over time generates the results provided in Table 2. At the left side of the table, the constructions with *poner* display a gradual increase in the number of tokens with *a*, paralleled with a marginalization and loss of the variants with *en*, both in the causative and the inchoative construction. Similarly, the constructions in which the infinitive is not introduced by a preposition (marked as ☐) have also fallen out of use. As a consequence, in present-day Spanish the preposition *a* has generalized in both constructions with *poner*. Yet, the evolution of the prepositions in the

constructions with *meter*, at the right side of Table 2, is rather different. The constructions with the preposition *en*, both the causative and inchoative one, seem to gradually expand and reach a culmination point in the 17th century. In this period, the examples with *en* and *a* are almost equally distributed in the corpus, both in the causative and the inchoative construction. The frequencies of *en* only start to decrease (rather rapidly) from the 17th century onward, in favor of *a*, the preposition which has now become the prototypical one, just as with *poner*. As opposed to what is observed with *poner*, still a few cases of the inchoative_{*meter*} construction with preposition *en* arise in the corpus (see Example (10) below) in the 21st century.⁶

Table 2. Constructional changes: Relative frequency (%) of prepositions*

Causative _{poner}				Inchoative _{poner}			Causative _{meter}			Inchoative _{meter}		
en	a	∅		en	a	∅	en	a	∅	en	a	∅
13	15.8	68.4	15.8	57.1	42.9	–	17.1	77.1	5.7	4.7	93	2.3
15	7.1	86.6	6.3	10.4	88.7	0.9	22.6	71	6.5	15.2	84.8	–
17	2.2	97.1	0.7	7.4	92.4	0.2	47.1	52.9	–	44.2	55.8	–
19	0.3	99.4	0.3	–	100	–	33.3	66.7	–	14.6	85.4	–
21	–	100	–	–	99.9	0.1	–	100	–	4.2	95.8	–

* Note that from this point on, the tables reproduce only relative frequencies or percentages.

In sum, as far as the preposition is concerned, the causative and inchoative constructions have undergone a somewhat parallel evolution, despite some notable differences between the micro-constructions. In particular, from a constructional point of view, there was more morphosyntactic variation in Medieval and Classical Spanish. For *poner*, this syntactic variability is mostly attested in the 13th and 15th centuries, whereas with *meter* it persists until the 17th or even 19th century. However, the evolution of both constructions with both verbs is characterized by a gradual predominance of *a*, by which the constructions have become formally more fixed.

The above-mentioned observations seemingly confirm the hypothesis that both the causative and the inchoative constructions derive from the higher level caused-motion schema. According to this basic schema, illustrated in Figure 1,

6. The 21st-century corpus documents three examples of the inchoative_{poner} construction without a preposition. However, native speakers are not tempted to consider these examples as normative or grammatical. It is possible that they have been produced under the influence of the phenomenon of *fonética sintáctica* ('syntactic phonetics'): in informal, often spoken, language, speakers are inclined to drop the preposition for reasons of economicity ('*se ponía a pensar*' 's/he starts to think' is then pronounced as '*se ponía pensar*' and '*Va a pensar*' 's/he's going to think' sounds like '*Va pensar*'). The examples in the corpus, also in other time periods, might be symptomatic of the same phenomenon.

an agent (SUBJ) causes a theme (OBJ) to move to another place (namely, the goal, expressed by a locative complement (OBL) and prototypically introduced by the preposition *en* in Spanish).

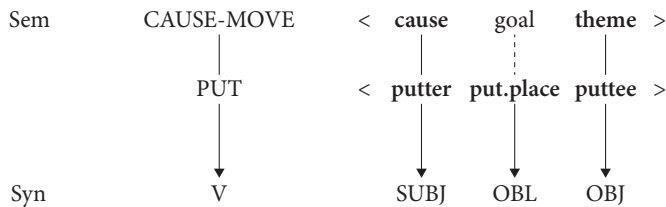


Figure 1. Caused-motion schema applied to *put* (Goldberg 1995: 52)

We saw that in examples like (6a) and (7a), the infinitive complement is introduced by the same preposition *en*. Hence, it seems that those examples with *en* arouse by means of a metaphorical extension of the original caused-motion schema. That is, instead of putting a participant in a concrete place, the agent or cause can ‘put’ a theme in an abstract place (i.e. event, an activity or a state of doing something), corresponding to the process expressed by the INF slot. This way, the diachronic evolution of both constructions might be schematized as follows: (A) PONER/METER EN UN LUGAR CONCRETO ‘TO PUT IN A CONCRETE PLACE’ > (B) PONER/METER EN UN LUGAR ABSTRACTO ‘TO PUT IN AN ABSTRACT PLACE’ > (C) PONER/METER EN UN EVENTO/ACTIVIDAD ‘TO PUT IN AN EVENT/ACTIVITY’. In other words, we hypothesize that a metaphorical extension, derived from the original caused-motion schema, forms the basis for the development of the causative and inchoative infinitive constructions with *poner* and *meter* in contemporary Spanish. This metaphorical extension is corroborated by examples which reinforce the competition between *en* and *a*, such as (6a) and (9), in which an infinitive complement is collocated with an (abstract) locative complement (*en muchas desonestidades* ‘in many indecencies’ in (6a) and *en mis cosas* ‘in my business’ in (9)).

- (9) ¿Quién te mete a ti en mis cosas y en averiguar si soy discreto o majadero?
(CORDE, 17th c.)

'Who makes you interfere in my business and verify (lit. who puts you in my business and in verifying) whether I am discrete or stupid.'

Moreover, the quantitative results suggest that, both for the expression of causative and inchoative meaning, there has been a period of competition between three micro-constructions: one with a locative preposition (*en*), one with a goal-oriented preposition (*a*), and (to a minor extent) one without preposition. Finally, the micro-construction with the preposition *a* became more entrenched, as it appears to be

the most suitable one. Indeed, its goal-oriented meaning is most compatible with the semantics of the causative and inchoative constructions, which is to obtain a goal in the immediate future (starting an activity or making someone do something). This has most probably occurred through an analogical link with other micro-constructions of the causative and inchoative subschemas, which are all construed with the preposition *a* (see the examples cited above: *hacer/dejar a alguien cantar* ‘to make/let someone sing’; *empezar a/comenzar a bailar* ‘to start to dance’). Put differently, it could also be argued that the micro-constructions_{meter/poner} have been sanctioned by the more general causative and inchoative schematic constructions.

There is thus a combination of change in form as well as in meaning, a striking fact that requires a proper analysis in constructionalization terms. As a consequence, the micro-constructions present a reduced compositionality and increased schematicity. In present-day Spanish (and already before that), the meaning of the whole construction is no longer a simple combination of the meaning of the individual lexical parts. When using constructions such as *meter a alguien a trabajar* or *ponerse a bailar*, a speaker no longer establishes a link with the locative construction meanings ‘putting someone in the event of working’ and ‘putting oneself in the event of dancing’, respectively.

However, it remains hard to determine at what point exactly the constructionalization has taken place. Moreover, the quantitatively wider and diachronically longer expansion of the micro-construction with *en* and the verb *meter* does not come as a surprise. As mentioned above, examples with *meterse en* even appear – albeit rarely – in the contemporary corpus. In fact, as opposed to *poner*, *meter* has shown to be strongly associated with its locative core meaning, which has become specialized for internally directed movements. This prototypical meaning covers about 80% of its contexts of use (Comer, Enghels & Vanderschueren 2015: 366), and possibly contains the evolution of the micro-constructions in which the verb appears.

4. Decrease in compositionality and syntactic reanalysis:

On the auxiliary status of *poner* and *meter*

The data presented in Section 3 confirm the role of the metaphor CONCRETE > ABSTRACT as motor of linguistic change (e.g. Traugott & Dasher 2002; Jansegers & Enghels 2013). The question arises whether besides the expansion of the goal-oriented micro-construction, further constructional changes have taken place. The starting point of the analysis is that a decrease in compositionality of the construction coincides with a categorical reanalysis of the verb, which acquires the status of an auxiliary verb as a consequence of bonding and univerbation. Thus,

when *poner* and *meter* acquire the status of auxiliary verb in the inchoative and causative construction (as suggested by the model presented in Section 1), they should gradually become more incorporated with the infinitive complement that follows.⁷ As a consequence, no other lexical elements can appear between both fused verbs (Engiels 2007: 150). In other words, for auxiliaries to develop, there should at least be adjacency between the main verb and the infinitival complement (see also Fischer 2007: 193). This definition leads to the following working hypothesis: the more lexical items appear between *poner/meter* and their infinitive slot in the constructs, the lower the degree of syntactic incorporation within the construction (and the less there is an indication of the auxiliary status of *poner/meter* within a bonded structure). Conversely, a lack of intercalation implies a higher degree of incorporation and thus the formation of a complex predicate.

In order to investigate this parameter, all tokens were tagged as to whether there is intercalation (10) or not (11) of lexical elements within the unit [V + (a/en + INF)]. The intercalation may concern adverbs (e.g., adverbs of time such as *muchas vezes* 'often') or adverbs of place such as *por las casas* ('in/through the houses'), a subject NP₁ (e.g., *el padre* 'the father'), a theme NP₂ (e.g., *sus doctas manos* 'his erudite hands'), or a combination of these.

- (10) a. *puso muchas vezes sus doctas manos a scriuir* el verso heliconio
(CORDE, 15th c.)
'he often made his erudite hands write (lit. he put often his erudite hands to write) the verse of Helicon'
- b. E los moros frieron e mataron muchos christianos que *se metían por las casas a robar*.
(CORDE, 15th c.)
'And the Moors injured and killed many Christians who *started to steal in the houses* (lit. put themselves in the houses to steal).'
- c. Badiza era fijo de estrellero & *pusol el padre a leer* como diximos
(CORDE, 13th c.)
'Badiza was the son of an astrologer & his father made him read (lit. put him the father to read) like we said.'
- (11) *Pondrán a leer al discípulo*, diciéndole que vaya nombrando las letras aprisa.
(CORDE, 17th c.)
'They will make read the pupil (lit. they will put to read the pupil), telling him to name the letters quickly.'

Table 3 details the variation between constructs with or without intercalation of a lexical item between the V and INF slot.

7. Syntactic incorporation is defined as the junction of a main verb with a subordinate verb into a complex predicate (Fauconnier 1983).

Table 3. Intercalation of lexical items in [V + (a/en + INF)] (%)

	Causative _{poner}		Inchoative _{poner}		Causative _{meter}		Inchoative _{meter}	
	+ Intercal	– Intercal	+ Intercal	– Intercal	+ Intercal	– Intercal	+ Intercal	– Intercal
13	47.4	52.6	28.6	71.4	51.4	48.6	32.6	67.4
15	44.1	55.9	12.2	87.8	54.8	45.2	15.2	84.8
17	59.3	40.7	11.6	88.4	41.2	58.8	16.3	83.7
19	18.7	81.3	8.8	91.2	26.7	73.3	15.3	84.7
21	31.7	68.3	3.4	96.6	58.3	41.7	52.8	47.2

The data clearly show that for all four micro-constructions, the phenomenon of bonding and univertation culminates in the 19th-century corpus. For three out of four micro-constructions, causative_{poner}, causative_{meter}, inchoative_{meter}, this tendency is reversed in contemporary Spanish. Only the inchoative construction with *poner* presents a non-interrupted tendency toward less intercalation of lexical elements, and thus toward a higher degree of incorporation of the main verb and the infinitive complement. In present-day Spanish, intercalation of elements between the unit [*ponerse* + (a/en + INF)] has become highly exceptional (3.4%). This clearly points to a higher auxiliary status of *poner* in the inchoative construction. On the other hand, in the causative construction with *poner*, the number of examples with intercalation has not marginalized to the same extent: in the contemporary corpus still 31.7% of the examples show intercalation. The frequency of intercalation is even more pronounced in the causative and inchoative constructions with *meter*: more than 50% of the examples in the present-day corpus show intercalated linguistic items between the main verb and the infinitive slot, with an important increase between the 19th and 21st century. This result suggests a less advanced stage in the process of incorporation and auxiliarization of *meter*. Furthermore, it is striking that, considering the overall evolution, in each period under investigation, the causative construction presents a higher frequency of intercalation than its inchoative counterpart. These observations indicate a higher auxiliary status of *poner* and *meter* in the inchoative constructions compared to the causative ones. Thus, the four micro-constructions do not seem to have developed in a parallel way, possibly under the influence of the semantics of the nucleus verb in each construction.

As an intermediate conclusion from the analyses in Sections 3 and 4, we can state that all four micro-constructions appear to have developed out of the locative construction, and have gone through a constructionalization process, albeit at a different pace and to a varying degree. The causative micro-constructions appear to be less constructionalized than the inchoative ones; and within each group the micro-constructions with *meter* display a less schematic and more compositional behavior than the ones with *poner*. The next section examines to what extent these findings are confirmed by productivity measurements.

5. Productivity measurements

It has been argued that, if a construction obtains a higher degree of grammaticalization (AKA grammatical constructionalization), its productivity will also increase (Traugott & Trousdale 2013), meaning that there will be a rise in the construction type frequency (Barðdal 2008; Perek 2016) or a host-class expansion at the construction-internal level (Himmelmann 2004).⁸ In order to verify this assumption, the following sections will examine the vitality of the four micro-constructions in more detail and will determine to what extent new instances have been created over time. Section 5.1 first zooms in on the development of the relativized frequencies of the micro-constructions. In Section 5.2, we proceed to an in-depth lexical study of the verbs in the INF slot.

5.1 Development of token frequency

To begin with, in both grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]) and constructionalization (Traugott & Trousdale 2013) analyses, a rise in token frequency has been associated with a higher degree attained in both processes. The more a linguistic element is subjected to a process of semantic bleaching, the more it enters in an expanded range of different contexts, and, consequently, the more its text frequency can grow. A process of constructionalization or the creation of a new form-meaning pairing would thus coincide with a frequency rise (Rostila 2004; Noël 2007; Traugott & Trousdale 2013). In this perspective, Table 4 summarizes the evolution of the relative token frequencies of the four micro-constructions, calculated per 10,000 occurrences of the verbs *meter* and *poner* in the corpora. Figure 2 visualizes the outcome.

Table 4. Relative token frequencies (per 10,000 words)

	Causative _{poner}	Inchoative _{poner}	Causative _{meter}	Inchoative _{meter}
13	19	7	69	85
15	30	27	61	64
17	47	112	45	115
19	85	277	28	269
21	98	509	11	64

8. The notion of productivity has been operationalized in very different ways (see for instance Zeldes 2012 for an overview). Unfortunately, a discussion of this highly interesting concept falls beyond the scope of the present study, so it will be applied in its basic meaning.

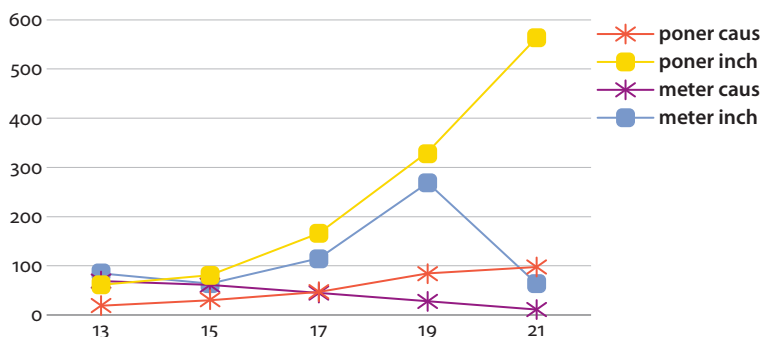


Figure 2. Evolution of relative frequencies per micro-construction

The quantitative data permit the following interesting conclusions. First, all four micro-constructions are attested in the 13th century. Second, in the 13th century, the causative and inchoative constructions attracted the verb *meter* more frequently than the verb *poner* (although the frequency differences were rather limited). In present-day Spanish, the situation is very different, as the relative frequency of the inchoative construction with *poner* outranges the frequency of the other three types. Indeed, with *poner* the inchoative construction exhibits a strong and systematic increase over time, whereas the frequency of the causative construction increases at a much slower pace. This suggests that the inchoative construction has undergone a higher degree of constructional grammaticalization compared to the causative one.

The evolution of both constructions with *meter* is somewhat different, in the sense that the frequency of the inchoative construction reaches a culmination point in the 19th century, after having evolved in a very parallel way to the construction with *poner*, which shows a remarkable drop in the 21st-century corpus. The use of the causative construction with *meter* gradually decreases over time and has now become obsolete. Contrary to the results of *poner*, the frequency of the causative construction with *meter* not only shows an uninterrupted downward tendency, but it also remains quantitatively subordinated to the frequency of the inchoative construction at each moment in time, even in the 13th century. The inchoative construction of *meter* therefore seems to be more grammaticalized than its causative counterpart. However, given the decline of inchoative contexts with *meter* in the 21st century, the grammaticalization process of *meterse* does not persist in present-day Spanish. This way, the following cline can be established for the token frequency: inchoative_{poner} >>> causative_{poner} > inchoative_{meter} >> causative_{meter}. The next section examines to what extent this cline is confirmed by a second productivity measurement.

5.2 Host-class expansion: Lexical analysis of the INF slot

The second phase of the productivity count starts from the idea that the more schematic and productive a construction is, the more different types can occupy an open slot (e.g. Bybee & Cacoullos 2009: 189; Himmelman 2004). To investigate this, all tokens were tagged for the lexical infinitive type that enters the INF slot.⁹ Table 5 and Figure 3 give an overview of the frequencies of unique lexical infinitives in the corpus.

Table 5. Absolute frequencies lexical infinitive types

	Causative _{poner}	Inchoative _{poner}	Causative _{meter}	Inchoative _{meter}
13	13	5	22	27
15	59	75	20	24
17	51	208	26	51
19	65	299	13	96
21	118	499	10	56

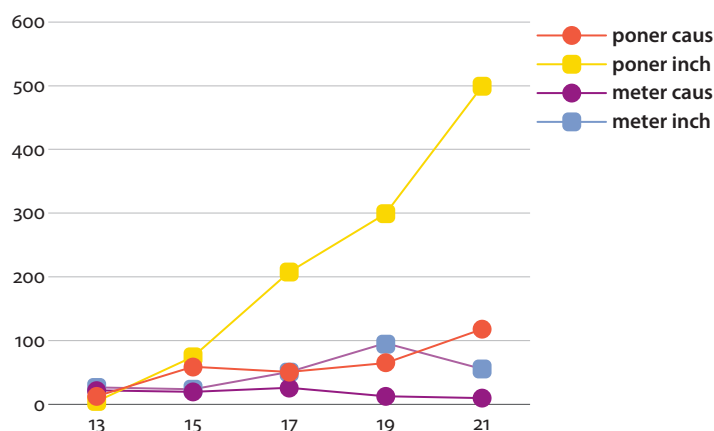


Figure 3. Absolute frequencies lexical infinitive types

At first sight, the number of different infinitives selected by the causative constructions in each of the five periods shows that, while the number with *poner* almost multiplies by ten between the 13th and the 21st century, the number of infinitives with *meter* is halved. As regards the inchoative constructions, one might deduce

9. The infinitives were tagged according to their normative present-day spelling. So instances of a verb like 'to do', despite having more than one spelling variant in Old Spanish (e.g., *hacer* and *fazer*), were tagged in the corpus as the present-day lexeme *hacer*.

that a tremendous semantic expansion has taken place with *ponerse* while observing its diachronic evolution in Figure 3: the range of unique infinitives in combination with *ponerse* increases strikingly, so that the number of infinitives in the 21st century is almost a hundredfold of that of the 13th century. The construction therefore does seem to gain productivity over time, as more different infinitives are attracted to the INF slot. A similar first conclusion can be drawn for the inchoative_{meter} construction: the range of different infinitives increases over time, but less spectacularly than with *poner*, and showing a culmination point in the 19th century.

However, a closer look at the type-token ratios of the infinitives in our corpus shows a rather contradictory result. In Table 6 below, the ratios of both constructions with *poner* tend to drop considerably over time. In contrast, the ratios of *meter(se)* slightly increase.

Table 6. Type-token ratio

	Causative _{poner}	Inchoative _{poner}	Causative _{meter}	Inchoative _{meter}
13	68%	71%	63%	63%
15	46%	65%	65%	73%
17	19%	32%	76%	59%
19	20%	28%	87%	67%
21	21%	17%	83%	78%

This seems to suggest that the constructions with *poner* are not as productive as they first appeared to be on the basis of Table 5 and Figure 3. Although it is true that more different infinitives are attracted to the INF slot of the *poner* constructions over time, the attested token numbers of *poner(se)* in our corpus also increase drastically over time (cf. *supra* Table 1), which explains why the ratio is gradually slinking. On the contrary, the number of tokens attested with *meter* increases at a much slower pace (inchoative) or even drops back over time (causative) (cf. *supra* Table 1), which explains why their ratios present a growing tendency in Table 6.

A more in-depth analysis of the lexical nature of the infinitives that enter the INF slot also yields some interesting results. Following the general verb classification of ADESSE (García Miguel 2010), all infinitive complements can be divided into six categories (including several subcategories):¹⁰

- type 1: mental verbs (sensation, perception, cognition)
- type 2: material verbs (space, change, behavior, other)
- type 3: verbal verbs (communication, valorization, sound production)

10. See <http://adesse.uvigo.es/data/clases.php> for a more detailed overview of the verb classification.

- type 4: relational verbs (attribution, possession)
- type 5: modulation verbs (causation, disposition, acceptance, light verbs)
- type 6: existential verbs (existence, phase-time)

Note that we included a seventh category for verbs that can belong to two types at once. For example, the verb *escribir* ('write') can be assigned to type 4 ('communication') but also belongs to type 2 ('creation', as a subtype of 'change'). Other verbs in this category are those that can be assigned to more than one type depending on the context in which they are used (e.g. *contar* 'tell' = type 3 ('communication'); *contar* 'count' = type 1 ('cognition') + type 2 ('activity', as a subtype of the category 'other'). Table 7 presents the results of the lexical analysis of [INF] in the causative construction.

Table 7. Lexical analysis INF slot: Causative construction (%)

	Causative _{poner}							Causative _{meter}						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	52.6	31.6	15.8	–	–	–	–	8.6	80	11.4	–	–	–	–
15	11	74	1.6	9.4	2.4	0.8	0.8	16.1	61.3	9.7	9.7	–	3.2	–
17	4	92.3	0.4	2.2	–	0.7	0.4	11.8	58.8	11.8	8.8	–	–	8.8
19	2.1	93.3	0.9	0.3	0.3	1.5	1.5	26.7	26.7	20	6.7	13.3	–	6.7
21	2.5	87.7	2.7	–	1.8	1.2	4.1	8.3	91.7	–	–	–	–	–

The data show that the second category is highly dominant in almost all periods under investigation, both with causative_{poner} and causative_{meter}. This material verb class does not only contain verbs of space, location and/or (manner of) movement (12a), but also verbs of change, including the creation, destruction or modification of an entity (12b) as well as verbs of behavior (12c).

- (12) a. Además, *pondrá a patrullar* a 1.500 policías y 2.500 guardias civiles que ahora hacen tareas burocráticas, sustituyéndolos por funcionarios.
(CORPES XXI)
'Moreover, *he will make patrol* (lit. *he will put to patrol*) 1500 policemen and 2500 military forces who are now doing bureaucratic tasks, replacing them by officials.'
- b. Empieza con gran prisa a dar voces "que encienda lumbre y *ponga agua a calentar*"
(CORDE, 17th c.)
'She starts in a great hurry to shout "that he should turn on the light and *make some water boil* (lit. *put water to warm*)'
- c. ¿Quién la *mete en castigar* las almas de los herejes [...]? (CORDE, 17th c.)
'Who *makes her punish* (lit. who *puts her to punish*) the heretic's souls [...]?'

In the modern data, *meter* seems to be more restricted than *poner*, allowing only two lexical types in its [INF] slot (material and mental verbs), whereas the infinitives that combine with *poner* belong to a much broader range of lexical categories – only relational verbs do not appear in the present-day corpus – even though the material verb category largely predominates.

The same analysis has been conducted for the inchoative construction, and its results are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Lexical analysis INF slot: Inchoative construction (%)

Inchoative _{poner}								Inchoative _{meter}						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	28.6	42.9	28.6	–	–	–	–	9.3	51.2	11.6	9.3	18.6	–	–
15	23.5	35.7	8.7	10.4	9.6	4.3	7.8	6.1	39.4	15.2	15.2	18.2	3	3
17	33.6	31	18.2	4.8	4.6	2.6	5.1	16.3	32.6	25.6	14.0	7.0	1.2	3.5
19	25.6	37.8	22.9	2	1.5	1.4	8.8	30.6	31.3	20.8	6.3	2.8	2.8	5.6
21	20.7	48.8	19	1.5	2.2	0.5	7.3	22.2	58.3	5.6	4.2	–	8.3	1.4

In the 13th-century corpus, in accordance with its higher token frequency in that period, the infinitives combining with *meterse* represent more lexical fields than those combining with *ponerse*. From the 15th century onward, however, *ponerse* allows infinitives of each of all seven types that were distinguished. In the contemporary corpus, *meterse* as an inchoative auxiliary verb selects a greater range of different infinitives compared to its causative construction (Table 6), suggesting that it displays a greater host-class expansion of its [INF] slot than its causative counterpart. In its turn, the inchoative_{poner} construction also exhibits a stronger host-class expansion than the causative_{poner} construction: in the 21st century of Table 7, all seven types are represented with *ponerse* and, contrary to what is observed in Table 6, their distribution is less concentrated on the second type. Concretely, *ponerse* seems to have three application fields in contemporary Spanish, as it mostly appears with material, mental and verbal infinitives (13a). In that sense, the verb differs from *meterse*, which only seems to select two preferred lexical domains: material and mental verbs (13b).

- (13) a. [...] *se puso a contar*les un cuento de antes de dormir. (CORPES XXI)
‘He started to tell (lit. *he put himself to tell*) them a story before going to sleep.’
- b. E como cada vno *se metio a aprender* çiençia & letras. (CORDE, 15th c.)
‘And like everybode *he started to learn* (lit. *he put himself to learn*) sciences and letters.’

As an intermediate conclusion, it can be stated that all constructions have become more productive over time, but that the increase in type frequency and the host-class expansion of the [INF] slot have been more important

- a. with the inchoative construction than with the causative construction of both verbs: more lexical types are represented in the inchoative [INF] slot, with a more scattered distribution than in the causative [INF] slot.
- b. with *poner* than with *meter*: in general, *poner(se)* presents more lexical application fields than *meter(se)*, as well as a broader range of infinitive types.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The empirical results allow us to verify the validity of the most important implications of the hypothetical working model proposed in Section 1. A first implication of the model is that the causative construction should have originated *before* the inchoative construction. This is, however, not confirmed by the data: all four micro-constructions are attested in the early 13th century, which suggests that they have developed in a parallel rather than a sequential way. A second implication concerns the preposition preceding the infinitive complement, which would be *a* according to the model. This is not confirmed either, as the data show that there has been a period of competition between several micro-constructions, viz. with the preposition *a*, *en* and without a prepositional slot. Third, the model is based on the prototypical semantic schema, implying a human NP₁, a human NP₂ and a transitive dynamic infinitive. However, the data suggest that the constructions have gradually expanded, to a smaller or greater extent, to incorporate less prototypical lexical types. In general, constructions with *poner* display a higher lexical expansion than *meter*, and the inchoative construction is more productive than the causative one.

A fourth and last implication is that the bridging context consists of a construction in which a locative complement slot and an infinitive slot are collocated: [V] + [NP₂] + [en LOC] + [a INF]. As shown by Table 9, these bridging contexts are in fact documented in the corpus, but a striking difference between the two verbs can be observed: whereas there is only a very limited number of bridging contexts with *poner* (83/6072 or 1.4% of the total corpus), these so-called bridging contexts are notably more frequently attested with *meter* (76/505 or 15% of the corpus).

Table 9. Frequency of bridging context: V + NP₂ + [en Loc] + [a INF]

	Poner			Meter		
	#	Total #	%	#	Total #	%
13	2	26	7.7	8	78	10.3
15	17	242	7.0	4	64	6.3
17	25	921	2.7	13	120	10.8
19	17	1392	1.2	14	159	8.8
21	22	3491	0.6	37	84	44

Every time period provides examples of these bridging contexts in both constructions and with both verbs (14). With *poner*, the frequencies of these bridging contexts decline considerably over time, although they are still attested in the 21st century (15a). In contrast, with *meter* they reach a maximum rate of 44% in present-day Spanish (15b).

- (14) a. si *ponen* y a *guardar* algun pez assado de qual natura quier que sea
(CORDE, 13th c.)
'if they *put there* to store some fried fish of whatever kind it might be'
- b. [...] e los *avían metido en los rreynos de Castilla* a *fazer* todo mal e daño.
(CORDE, 15th c.)
'[...] and they had *put them in the kingdoms of Castilla* to harm them all.'
- c. *Se puso en un lugar alto* a ver la batalla. (CORDE, 17th c.)
'He *put himself in a high place* to see the battle.'
- d. *Se metían también en las iglesias* a oír sermones y ver las beatas y oír cantorios y salmodias. (CORDE, 19th c.)
'They *put themselves in the churches too* to hear sermons and to see the beguines and to hear hummings and psalmodies.'
- (15) a. Para sacudirme el aburrimiento, *me ponía delante de un parking* a ver entrar y salir coches. (CORPES XXI)
'To dispose of the boredom, I *put myself in front of a parking* to see cars entering and leaving.'
- b. [...] mariscos y pescados que uno puede soñar echar a unas brasas o *meter en un horno a asar*." (CORPES XXI)
'[...] crustaceans and fishes that one can dream of throwing in the fire or *putting in an oven to fry*.'

This way, the fourth implication of the model is only partially corroborated for *poner*: contexts combining an adjacent locative and infinitive complement are attested in the corpus, but are so uncommon that it is unlikely that they have triggered the emergence of *poner*'s infinitive constructions. With *meter*, the so-called bridging contexts are by far more frequent in the corpus. However, this naturally follows out of the core meaning of the verb, which, as we already know, is strongly associated with the full locative meaning. In this sense, the higher attestation of intercalations of a LOC complement between the auxiliary *meter* and the INF complement does not come as a surprise, and neither does the attestation of contemporary examples of *meter* with the locative preposition *en*. Thus, the last implication of the model is, for *meter* too, only partially corroborated.¹¹

11. See also Bybee and Torres Cacoullos (2009) for a comparable analysis of the correlation between co-occurring locatives and grammaticalization theory.

Finally, the only remaining argument that could plead in favor of the model presented above is that contexts of conventionalization should only appear in later centuries and never in the early ones (13th or 15th c.). This is confirmed by the data: before the 17th, there are no contexts in which *poner* (16a) and *meter* (16b) have consolidated as auxiliary verbs but co-occur with their basic locative use (concrete or abstract).

- (16) a. Y yo le dije: “¡Señor! ¡Son las gallinas señor!... *¡se han puesto a poner* como locas!... ¡cinco docenas de huevos!...” (CORPES XXI)
 ‘And I said: “Sir! It are the chickens sir!... *They’ve started to lay* (lit. *they have put themselves to lay*) as fools!... five dozen of eggs!...’
- b. Si este Vives *se metiese á meter* en música La vida es sueño...! (CORDE, 19th c.)
 ‘If only this (person) Vives would *start to set* (lit. *put himself to set*) to music *La vida es sueño*!’

Given the above-cited objections, an alternative model is proposed in Figure 4. The model is built on the idea that both subschemas, the causative and the inchoative one, have developed in a parallel rather than a consecutive way. *Poner* and *meter* are originally part of a locative construction with three arguments, in which NP₂ can be an inanimate (Stage 1a) or an animate (Stage 1b) participant. The first, crucial phase in the constructionalization process is the creation of the bridging context, in which the [LOC] slot, through a metaphorical extension of the basic caused-motion schema, may be interpreted as an abstract location. This abstract location may be an event or an activity in which the theme or subordinated subject (in the causative subschema) or the main subject or agent (in the inchoative subschema) can metaphorically ‘put’ himself (Stage 1c). After this stage, there is a period of competition between different micro-constructions: one with a locative-eventive interpretation of the infinitive complement (introduced by the preposition *en*), and one with a goal-oriented interpretation (formalized by the preposition *a*). In a third phase, the construction with the goal-oriented infinitive complement becomes more entrenched (probably due to analogy with other micro-constructions of the causative/inchoative subschema), and ends up overruling the construction with *en*. In the last stage of conventionalization, both the causative and the inchoative constructions expand to other contexts, albeit to a different degree.

At a more theoretical level, this study has clearly shown the advantages of a constructionalization approach and has demonstrated the existence of the following network: the caused-motion schema acts as a macro-construction, from which causative and inchoative constructions are subschemas. At the micro-constructional level, two causative and two inchoative constructions can be distinguished in which the verbal nucleus is *poner* and *meter*, respectively. The micro-constructions are

		Causative Cx	Inchoative Cx
Stage 1 a b c (bridging context)	$NP_1 + V + NP_2 + [en \text{ locative complement}]$		
		'to put something somewhere'	–
		'to put someone somewhere'	'to put oneself somewhere'
	$[en + INF]_{loc}$	'to put someone in an activity/event'	'to put oneself in an activity/event'
Stage 2	competition $[en + Inf]_{loc} / [a+INF]_{meta} / [\infty + INF]$		
Stage 3 (switch context/ constructionalization)	$[a + Inf]$ overcomes + extinction of $[en + Inf] / [\infty + INF]$		
	$[a+INF]_{goal}$	'to make someone do something'	'to start to do something'
Stage 4 conventionalization	Expansion of the construction to other contexts		
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lower frequency – lower productivity – less incorporated – lower degree of grammaticalization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – higher frequency – higher productivity – more incorporated – higher degree of grammaticalization

Figure 4. Evolution of causative and inchoative Cx:
An alternative construction-based model

clearly linked to each other and to the more general schemas. This idea of a whole network is crucial to understand how some constructions could gradually align with others in the network. This realignment is possible because there is an inheritance link between the caused-motion schema and the causative/inchoative construction, which originated through a polysemous extension of the locative construction (attested by the micro-constructions with the *en* + INF slot). By analogy with other constructions, the micro-constructions with the goal preposition *a* became more prominent and were fully sanctioned by the causative and inchoative subschemas. It would be impossible to arrive at these insightful conclusions and obtain this kind of broad overview by means of a traditional grammaticalization account that focuses exclusively on the behavior of a particular verb within a particular construction.

However, at a methodological level, this case study has foregrounded the importance of studying the process of constructional change at the micro-constructional level. Despite the apparently simultaneous emergence and parallel maintenance of the constructions, important differences between the four micro-constructions have been observed. The highest degree of constructionalization, coinciding with the highest degree of productivity, seems to be attained by the inchoative_{poner}

construction, whereas the inchoative_{meter} construction has marginalized. In general terms, the causative constructions are situated at a still lower level, and their continuing moderate productivity could be explained by the high frequency of the factitive causative constructions with *hacer* 'to make' and *dejar* 'to let'. This shows that, despite important similarities at the constructional level, the impact of the core lexical items on the evolution of a construction cannot be underestimated. Especially the semantic input of the collocational verbs *poner* and *meter* themselves can help us understand divergent behavior in the data. Since *poner* is the semantically most vague member of the quasi-synonymous verb pair, it attains the status of auxiliary verb more easily and is thus more grammaticalized than the more semantically specialized *meter*. This fact, in its turn, has a series of effects at the constructional level.

References

- ADESSE corpus: <http://adesse.uvigo.es/>. Base de datos de verbos, alternancias de diátesis y esquemas sintáctico semánticos del español [ADESSE]).
- Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2008. *Productivity: Evidence from case and argument structure in Icelandic*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.8>
- Bergs, Alexander, and Gabriele Diewald (eds). 2008. *Constructions and language change*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110211757>
- Borillo, André. 2005. "Peut-on identifier et caractériser les formes lexicales de l'aspect en français?" In *Les Périphrases Verbales*, ed. by Hava Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot, and Nicole Le Querler, 83–102. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lis.25.08bor>
- Bybee, Joan, and Rena Torres Cacoullos. 2009. "The role of prefabs in grammaticization." In *Formulaic Language*, ed. by Roberta Corrigan et al., 187–217. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.82.09the>
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José L. 1999. *Sintaxis y semántica del movimiento*. Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert.
- Comer, Marie, Renata Enghels, and Clara Vanderschueren. 2015. "De verbos de colocación a pseudocopulativos: procesos de gramaticalización en los cuasi-sinónimos *poner/meter* y *pôr/meter* en español y en portugués." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 131(2): 355–382. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zrp-2015-0023>
- Coussé, Evie. 2018. "Grammaticalization, host-class expansion and category change." In *Category change from a construction grammar perspective*, ed. by Muriel Norde et al. 93–118. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.20.04cou>
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical construction grammar: syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198299554.001.0001>
- Croft, William. 2006. "Typology." In *The handbook of linguistics*, ed. by Mark Aronoff, and Janie Rees-Miller, 337–368. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Enghels, Renata. 2007. *Les Modalités De Perception Visuelle Et Auditive: Différences Conceptuelles Et Répercussions Sémantico-syntaxiques En Espagnol Et En Français*. Tübingen, Allemagne: Max Niemeyer.

- Enghels, Renata, and Eugeen Roegiest. 2014. "Contrasting the syntax and semantics of negative causation. The apparent similarity of Spanish and Portuguese." *Languages in Contrast* 14(2): 278–306. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lic.14.2.05eng>
- Fauconnier, Gilles. 1983. "Generalized Union." In *Problems in syntax*, ed. by Liliane Tasmowski, and Dominique Willems, 195–229. Gent: Plenum. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-2727-1_9
- Fernández Leborans, María J. 1999. "La predicación. Las oraciones copulativas." In *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque, and Violeta Demonte, 2357–2460. Madrid: Espasa.
- Fischer, Olga. 2007. *Morphosyntactic change. Functional and Formal Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- García-Miguel, José M. et al. 2010. "ADESSE. A Database with Syntactic and Semantic Annotation of a Corpus of Spanish." In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC)*, ed. by Nicoletta Calzolari et al. http://www.lrec-conf.org/proceedings/lrec2010/pdf/859_Paper.pdf
- Gisborne, Nikolas, and Amanda Patten. 2011. "Constructions and grammaticalization." In *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, ed. by Heiko Narrog, and Bernd Heine, 92–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldberg, Adele. 1995. *Constructions: a construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gómez Torrego, Leonardo. 1988. *Perífrasis verbales*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. "On the role of context in grammaticalization." In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, ed. by Ilse Wischer, and Gabriele Diewald, 83–102. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.08hei>
- Hilpert, Martin. 2008. *Germanic Future Constructions. A usage-based approach to language change*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.7>
- Hilpert, Martin. 2013. *Constructional Change in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139004206>
- Himmelmann, Nicolaus. 2004. "Lexicalization and grammaticalization: opposite or orthogonal?" In *What Makes Grammaticalization – A Look from its Fringes and Its Components*, ed. by Walter Bisang et al., 19–40. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hopper, Paul, and Elizabeth Traugott (eds). 2003 [1993]. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139165525>
- Ibarretxe, Iraide. 2012. "Placement and removal events in Basque and Spanish." In *Events of putting and taking: A crosslinguistic perspective*, ed. by Anetta Kopecka, and Bhuvana Narasimhan, 123–143. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.100.10ant>
- Jansegers, Marlies, and Renata Enghels. 2013. "De verbo de percepción a marcador de disculpa: la evolución diacrónica del verbo sentir en español." *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 77(305): 139–166.
- Jansegers, Marlies. 2015. *Hacia un enfoque múltiple de la polisemia. Un estudio empírico del verbo multimodal 'sentir' desde una perspectiva sincrónica y diacrónica*. Gent: Universiteit Gent.
- Noël, Dirk. 2007. "Diachronic construction grammar and grammaticalization theory." *Functions of language* 14(2): 177–202. <https://doi.org/10.1075/fol.14.2.04noe>
- Perek, Florent. 2016. "Using distributional semantics to study syntactic productivity in diachrony: A case study." *Linguistics* 54(1): 149–188.
- Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORDE) [en línea]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>>

- Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORPES XXI) [en línea]. *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES)*. <<http://web.frl.es/CORPES/view/inicioExterno.view>>
- Rostila, Jouni. 2004. "Lexicalization as a way to grammaticalization." In *Proceedings of the 20th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, ed. by Fred Karlsson. <http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/kielitiede/20scl/Rostila.pdf>
- Traugott, Elizabeth, and Richard Dasher (eds). 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth, and Graeme Trousdale (eds). 2013. *Constructionalization and constructional change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199679898.001.0001>
- Trousdale, Graeme. 2008. "Constructions in grammaticalization and lexicalization. Evidence from the history of a composite predicate construction in English." In *Constructional approaches to English grammar*, ed. by Graeme Trousdale, and Nikolas Gisborne, 33–67. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110199178.1.33>
- Trousdale, Graeme. 2010. "Issues in constructional approaches to grammaticalization in English." In *Grammaticalization. Current views and issues*, ed. by Katherina Stathi, Elke Gehweiler, and Ekkehard König, 51–72. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.119.05tro>
- Trousdale, Graeme. 2014. "On the relationship between grammaticalization and constructionalization." *Folia Linguistica* 48(2): 557–577. <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.2014.018>
- Vergara Wilson, Damián. 2009. "From 'remaining' to 'becoming' in Spanish: The role of prefabs in the development of the construction 'quedar(se) + adjective.'" In *Formulaic Language*, ed. by Roberta Corrigan et al., 273–295. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.82.13fro>
- Verroens, Filip. 2011. *La construction inchoative se mettre à: syntaxe, sémantique et grammaticalisation*. Gent: Universiteit Gent.
- Zeldes, Amir. 2012. *Productivity in Argument Selection. From Morphology to Syntax*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110303919>

Auditory verbs in the Spanish language

A historical and cognitive approach

Jorge Fernández Jaén
University of Alicante

The present paper has as its aim to offer an analysis about the most important auditory verbs in the Spanish language from a historical and cognitive-functional approach. Evidence will be offered that the patterns for semantic development and syntactic functioning shown by auditory verbs are iconically motivated by the physiological particularities of the human ear. It will also be demonstrated, following the hypothesis about classical Greek and Hebrew proposed by Sweetser (1990) and Viejo Sánchez (2004), that the abstract meaning of OBEDECER [TO OBEY] developed by the Spanish verb *escuchar* [to listen] finds its cultural motivation in certain recurrent contexts coming from religious language. In short, this research work not only provides new evidence supporting the hypothesis of language corporeization but also supplies data confirming that linguistic change processes are connected to cultural and anthropological aspects.

Keywords: auditory verbs, historical semantics, cognitive linguistics

1. Theoretical approach and framework

Ever since cognitive semantics was formulated in the 1980s and 1990s, numerous linguists have carried out diachronic applications of this theoretical model. As opposed to the essentially synchronic approaches of previous semantic theories such as structural semantics or the formal semantics inspired by generativism the paradigm of cognitive semantics has emerged as a highly operational theoretical framework to describe and explain not only the way in which the meaning of natural languages is shaped but also how it changes and why. The main reason for this shift towards historical aspects operated in the studies about meaning performed in the context of cognitive semantics directly stems from the axiomatic principles upheld by this school. According to cognitive-functional linguistics, language is a social product formed with pragmatic usage; hence why everything in language, from

syntax to morphology, and even including phonetics, is influenced by meaning. Semantic content thus pervades human language as a whole, forcing languages to reach a suitable development so that they can express such content. The acceptance of this premise makes it easier to understand the renewed interest in the study of semantic change (Fernández Jaén 2014); if the language is a tool to communicate and verbalize reality, and if human reality has an intrinsically changing nature, it seems logical to assume that meaning will be an ever-transforming phenomenon.

This paper presents an analysis about several auditory verbs in the Spanish language mainly *sentir* [to feel] and *escuchar* [to listen] undertaken from the theoretical postulates of cognitive semantics (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Sweetser 1990; Geeraerts 1997) with the aim of providing a robust scientific interpretation which can explain the behavior of these verbs and the reason for their historical evolution. A special effort will additionally be made to offer a predictive, reproducible interpretation suited to be applied to the auditory verbs of other languages.¹

Auditory perception verbs can be defined as the ones responsible for linguistically coding the sense of hearing. They consequently belong to the general category of physical perception verbs and, despite their undeniable theoretical interest and even though they are frequently utilized verbs, their study has not reached a broad development yet. Indeed, as opposed to visual verbs, which have received much more attention from linguists, auditory verbs are studied to a much lesser extent.² It deserves to be highlighted, though, that a variety of works have appeared during the last few years, the focus of which is placed on analyzing these verbs in languages such as Spanish (García Martín 1992; Enghels 2007; Enghels & Roegiest 2004; Fernández Jaén 2012; De la Ossa de la Torre 2014), French (Picoche 1990; Blumenthal 2002; Piron 2002; Enghels 2007; Enghels & Roegiest 2004), Catalan (Antolí Martínez 2015, 2016, 2017), and even Latin (García Hernández 1977). Our proposal will be developed on the following pages, starting with the description of the semantic and syntactic properties that characterize these verbs (Section 2) and continuing with a specific study of the verbs *sentir* [to feel] and *escuchar* [to listen] in relation to *oír* [to hear] (Sections 3 and 4). Finally, a summary of our conclusions will be offered in Section 5.

1. A more detailed analysis can be found in Fernández Jaén (2012), available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10045/26481>. All the examples included in our corpus are drawn from the Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE) of the Spanish Royal Academy of the Language.

2. For an exhaustive state of the art regarding the issue of perception verbs in all their modalities (visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile and gustatory) see Fernández Jaén (2012).

2. Semantic and syntactic properties of hearing

The Spanish language has used verbs such as *sentir* [to feel], *oír* [to hear], *entender* [to understand] and *escuchar* [to listen] to express auditory perception.³ Amongst those verbs, the most productive ones have been *oír* and *escuchar*, which are also the most often used at present too. As will be seen, *sentir* has had a more limited auditory use, whereas *entender* only kept its auditory meaning during the Middle Ages especially in Aragón and León to subsequently develop the epistemic contents that it has nowadays (García Martín 1992: 467).

In accordance with the cognitive metaphor theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), lexical categories change meaning because conceptual associations are projected from their original content (source domain) towards a figurative or notional domain (target domain), so that words can expand their referential scope and thus express more abstract notions. From this point of view, it has been observed, above all from the classic work of Sweetser (1990), that auditory verbs tend to generate two kinds of abstract content in Indo-European languages based on metaphorical projections: one meaning of an epistemic nature by virtue of which the verb comes close to the content CONOCER [TO KNOW], and another meaning close to OBEDECER [TO OBEY].

The first semantic change makes a lot of sense considering that hearing frequently constitutes a valuable source of information; speakers often acquire knowledge by listening, whether it is the discourse or the message coming from a more informed person or a sound in the environment which permits to collect valuable data or reach a specific conclusion. In fact, many terms belonging to European languages which mean things such as CUENTO [tale], INFORME [report], NOTICIAS [news] (i.e. forms of knowledge which are listened to) or even FAMA [fame] (positive information about someone's feats) etymologically stem from older auditory verbs (Sweetser 1990: 35). All of the above makes it possible to postulate the existence of the cognitive metaphor CONOCER ES OÍR [TO KNOW IS TO HEAR], of which testimonies can be found in Spanish since medieval times. It must be remembered that, both during the Middle Ages and, in general, during all the periods prior to the invention of the printing press, orality was an essential means of knowledge and also that, even today, numerous societies e.g. a number of cultures in Oceania resort to oral transmission as a way to preserve their literature and their culture as a whole (cf. Evans & Wilkins 2000).

3. De la Ossa de la Torre (2014) includes the verb *atender* in the list of Spanish auditory verbs because, even though this verb essentially means PRESTAR ATENCIÓN [TO PAY ATTENTION], it referred to the act of listening to a work read aloud during the Middle Ages.

In this respect, De la Ossa de la Torre (2014) investigated the use of the verb *oír* as well as other auditory verbs in medieval texts, checking that these verbs frequently appear in texts within the framework of discursive formulas such as *según habéis oído antes* [as you heard before] or *como oiréis más adelante* [as you will hear later]; such formulas refer back to the physical act of reading and are addressed to the illiterate audience that was listening. According to De la Ossa de la Torre, these formulas gradually started to be replaced by others constructed with visual verbs (*como ya hemos visto* [as we have already seen], *ahora veamos* [now let us see]) from the 15th century onwards,⁴ even though their predominance during medieval times when referring to the different parts of the texts being read proves that hearing was the most important source of information for a vast majority of the population.

How do auditory verbs work when they have an epistemic meaning? Two examples from our corpus are offered below:⁵

- (1) E después que el mançebo oyo estas cosas, non deseo fablar ninguna otra cosa
[As soon as the boy heard those things, he wished to say nothing else
(Anónimo, *Barlaam e Josafat* (manuscrito S), 1400)
- (2) E luego, los dichos Juan de Música, dicho Vlayar, e Juan Alos dyxeron que lo oyan e que consentían e consentyeron en la dicha sentençia [And then, the already mentioned Juan de Música, Vlayar, and Juan Alox said that they heard it and that they agreed, and they accepted the sentence]
(Anónimo, *Actos de jurisdicción e apeamiento*, 1498)

These two occurrences are representative of the intellectual nuances that a verb such as *oír* may acquire. The first thing that needs to be highlighted is that the metaphor TO KNOW IS TO HEAR does not remove the auditory meaning of the verb, which remains unaltered; the subjects in these texts therefore really capture sounds through hearing. What happens is that a cognitive consequence almost automatically derives from that capture: the understanding of an event or the

4. In the opinion of De la Ossa de la Torre (2014: 229), this change from the auditory to the visual is due to a reduction of the readings in public and to an increase of individual reading; the text thus stops being conceptualized as a readable entity and comes to be conceived as an object which is seen.

5. It should be noted that, despite their diachronic affiliation to the expression of the epistemic, auditory verbs rarely tend to evolve towards cognitive contents requiring a strong agentivity (Evans & Wilkins 2000; Vanhove 2008; Guerrero 2010). A content like *COMPRENDER* [TO UNDERSTAND] denotes the ability to understand something, but not necessarily the ability to do something (active and instrumental knowledge), and auditory verbs are usually linked above all to passive forms of knowledge rather than to active ones.

collection of previously unknown data.⁶ Evidence of this is provided by the fact that, in both cases, auditory perception gives rise to an immediate consequence: not to wish to say anything else (1) and to agree with or to accept a sentence (2). As can be seen, the subjects of these sentences act in a particular way because they understand something that they have just heard, which proves that rather than hearing itself, *oír* codes an epistemic meaning in these contexts. It must be added that, when auditory verbs activate the content TO KNOW IS TO HEAR, they very often have an indefinite and hardly specific phrase as their direct object (such as the objects *estas cosas* [these things] and the clitic *lo* [it] in the examples mentioned above), which would find its justification in the need to refer to a whole previous discourse rather than to a specific sound.

The close conceptual connection established between hearing and epistemic comprehension is reflected in metaphorical and lexicalization processes which can be found in many languages around the world, a semantic phenomenon favored by the fact that hearing plays an active role in numerous aspects of human cognition, including the functioning of oral language. Ackerman (1992: 209) offers several interesting examples in this regard. In the Arabic language, the term used to point out that something is absurd and has no logic literally means INCAPAZ DE OÍR [UNABLE TO HEAR]. In fact, the word *sordo* [deaf] and its lexical cognates have nuances close to the idea of absence of logic or intelligence. In English, *surd* refers to some mathematical nonsense, whereas the Spanish adjective *absurdo* [absurd] derived from Latin *surdus* (SORDO [DEAF], MUDO [DUMB]) is actually a translation of the Arabic expression *jadr asamm*, which means RAÍZ SORDA [DEAF ROOT], which in turn translates classical Greek *ἄλογος* (MUDO [DEAF], INEFABLE [INEFFABLE], IRRACIONAL [IRRATIONAL]). Also paradigmatic is the case of the numerous languages spoken in Australia where auditory verbs have developed such a strong epistemic meaning that their visual verbs have been unable to develop it (Evans & Wilkins 2000), something which did not happen in western languages (Sweetser 1990; Fernández Jaén 2012). We can even mention certain expressions which denote that, the same as COMPRENDER ES OÍR [TO UNDERSTAND IS TO HEAR], NO TENER LÓGICA O NO ENTENDER ES NO OÍR [NOT TO HAVE LOGIC OR NOT TO

6. As we can see, the link between hearing and intellectual comprehension is so close that it can occasionally prove difficult to distinguish both processes. The Kambaata language, spoken in southern Ethiopia, provides a highly illustrative case in this respect. This African language uses the verb *maccoo*, which conveys the meanings of *oír* [TO HEAR] and *escuchar* [TO LISTEN], in structures where European languages usually prefer to utilize epistemic verbs such as *conocer* [to know], *saber* [to know] or *entender* [to understand]. Hence why an interrogative sentence like *Kambaatiss-áta maccoo-tán?*, despite literally meaning *¿tú oyes kambaata?* [do you hear Kambaata?], must be interpreted as a question about whether one knows or understands that language or not (Treis 2007, 2010).

UNDERSTAND IS NOT TO HEAR]; a clear example of the latter can be found in the idiomatic expression *hacer oídos sordos* [to turn a deaf ear], the meaning of which is IGNORAR DELIBERADAMENTE CONSEJOS AJENOS [to ignore other people's pieces of advice].

As for the idea of OBEDIENCIA [obedience], it is a highly frequent semantic extension which has its origin in the metonymy PRECONDITION BY RESULT (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999: 72); carefully listening to something not only tends to trigger an intellectual process we understand what we listen to but also usually entails a specific reaction on the part of the person who listens and understands what has been listened to (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2002; Viejo Sánchez 2004). This pragmatic chaining (HEARING → COMPREHENSION → REACTION) makes it possible for auditory verbs to frequently work with meanings such as OBEDECER [TO OBEY] or RESPONDER [TO ANSWER/RESPOND]. In (3), for example, we can see how the subject states that, despite having received a good piece of advice, he has not followed it, since he *has* only *listened* (metaphorically, HAS OBEYED) to his own *passion*:

- (3) Tan saludable era este consejo como yo poco cuerdo para seguirle, pues sólo escuché a mi pasión [As healthy was this piece of advice as I was crazy enough not to follow it, since I only listened to my passion]

(Mariano Antonio Collado, *Traducción de las aventuras de Telémaco seguidas de las de Aristonoo de Fénelon*, 1843)

This metaphorical and metonymic capacity of auditory verbs can be traced in etymology too. One of the most striking examples of such a semantic change took place in Latin. In this language, the verb *audio*, evolved from the Indo-European root **au-*, which generically conveyed the idea of PERCIBIR [TO PERCEIVE] (Roberts & Pastor 1996), meant OÍR [TO HEAR] and ESCUCHAR [TO LISTEN], although it could also develop other perceptive meanings such as that of VER [TO SEE]. Of course, for the reason that we have been explaining, *audio* was only used to express the idea of OBEDIENCE, to such an extent that the verb *oboedio* which specifically means OBEDECER [TO OBEY] and constitutes the origin of Romance verbs such as the Spanish *obedecer* or the French *obéir* was formed from it (Viejo Sánchez 2004). Something similar happens in Danish; the verb which conveys the meaning TO OBEY in this Nordic language is *lystre*, which stems from the Indo-European root **klei-*, from which also arose verbs with an auditory meaning such as *κλύω* (TO HEAR, TO LISTEN) in classical Greek (Sweetser 1990: 34–35). Furthermore, *lystre* is a cognate of the English verb *listen*. On the other hand, the Greek verb *ακούω* (TO HEAR, TO LISTEN) eventually gave rise to *υπακούω* (TO OBEY) (García Hernández 1977: 118), a verb related to the noun *υπακοή* (OBEDIENCE, SUBMISSION).

Apart from the proneness to metaphorical expansions that has just been commented upon, auditory verbs the same as all the other verbs of perception are

also characterized for having two elements within their conceptual framework: the PERCEIVER and the PERCEPT i.e. what is perceived (Hanegreefs 2008; Fernández Jaén 2012). On the whole, the PERCEIVER has to do with the entity experiencing the physical and psychological process of hearing, whereas the PERCEPT corresponds to the stimulus perceived through the ear. It must be highlighted that the syntactic-semantic nature of both notions is highly flexible. The PERCEIVER can therefore be represented by a usually human entity with a variable level of agentivity in the event denoted by the verb. The PERCEIVER would thus appear either as a highly agentive subject or as a gradually more passive subject which may even become an involuntary capturer of sounds. In relation to the latter, it must be borne in mind that the ears are open organs permanently at work, which is why we can easily perceive the sounds around us in an involuntary way.

For its part, the PERCEPT admits a high degree of syntactic elaboration in the Spanish language. Depending on the speaker's communicative needs, the PERCEPT may be built with a simple noun phrase or alternatively appear in much more complex configurations. Below can be found a number of examples with the verb *oír* [to hear] which show the various syntactic possibilities of the PERCEPT in a gradual way, from a mere noun phrase ((4a) and (4b)) to increasingly complex options such as event structures with an infinitive or a gerund ((4c), (4d), (4e) and (4f)) or subordinate clauses ((4g) and (4h)):

- (4) a. He oído una melodía. [I have heard a melody]
- b. He oído al músico. [I have heard the musician]
- c. He oído llover. [I have heard the rain (fall/falling)]
- d. He oído cantar a un niño. [I have heard a boy sing]
- e. He oído a un niño cantar. [I have heard a boy sing]
- f. He oído a un niño cantando. [I have heard a boy singing]
- g. He oído que un niño cantaba. [I have heard that a boy was singing]
- h. He oído que va a haber huelga mañana. [I have heard that there is going to be a strike tomorrow]

In accordance with several cognitivist studies (Achard 1996; Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000; Hanegreefs 2008; Fernández Jaén 2012), the examples suggested show direct objects that is, instances of the PERCEPT gradually more elaborate and, therefore, increasingly independent from the main verb. The PERCEPT is represented by a noun phrase in (4a) and (4b); this noun phrase consequently summarizes and specifies what has been heard (a melody and a musician). Nevertheless, from (4c), the conceptualizer wants to be more meticulous when describing the auditory event; that is why he resorts to broader PERCEPTS. In (4c), the PERCEPT is the impersonal event *llover* [to rain]; the speaker accordingly states that he heard a natural phenomenon while it was happening. The event heard expressed by means of an

infinitive sometimes has an agent involved, as exemplified in (4d) and (4e).⁷ When this happens, the PERCEPT becomes more complex, since it comes to consist of a noun phrase (the AGENT who performs the audible action) and an infinitive (the action carried out). Whenever the PERCEPT has this configuration, auditory perception is considered direct, which means that the event heard (*un niño cantar*, for instance) occurs at the same time as the act of perceiving it.

It occasionally happens that such a configuration is built with the verb in the gerund rather than in the infinitive, as is happens in (4f). The perceptive action thus appears as even closer to the event, and more concentrated, insofar as the gerund, because of its aspectually durative nature, presents the event dynamically, while it develops. This increased proximity to the event denoted by the gerund is what Verhaert (2008) calls the *zoom effect*.

Finally, the PERCEPT can express an indirect perception of a cognitive nature; this happens when it is shaped by a noun clause with the conjugated verb. In those cases, it is considered that, rather than hearing itself, the sentential direct object represents an event comprised within a mental level. For example, text (4g) does not only indicate that a specific event has been heard (the child's signing once again) but this hearing is also placed within a context of epistemic comprehension; the speaker expresses in this way that he had access to a broader event perhaps related to a concert or a party through one of its parts, the specific singing of a child who was taking part in that event. It is worth highlighting that the noun clause sometimes does not convey a cognitive comprehension by the speaker, but the reception of some information collected through an external means. According to Dik and Hengeveld (1991), a sentence like that in (4h) shows that some information has been obtained through an oral source; accordingly, the noun clause in (4h) represents the source of information (what people say, what is heard) and not a mental perception of the conceptualizer. All of this implies that the information obtained the possible strike comes from the others rather than from the speaker's individual and subjective understanding.⁸

7. Note that the noun phrase which represents the AGENT (*el niño*, in our examples) may be placed before or after the infinitive in these cases. Such a variation is neither random nor irrelevant since, by virtue of the iconic value that corresponds to the order of elements in the sentential sequence, what appears first has more semantic prominence than what comes later (cf. Achard 1996; Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000; Hanegreets 2008; Fernández Jaén 2012). Therefore, when the agent is postposed, as in (4d), the infinitive acquires more informative relevance; instead, when the agent precedes the infinitive, as in (4e), the subject of the event received more emphasis.

8. The alternation suggested by Dik and Hengeveld (1991) between mental perception and the perception of a propositional content stemming from a speech act (what others say, what is written somewhere) when a verb of perception has a noun clause as its PERCEPT, it can be related to the inferred evidence and the referred evidence postulated by the Theory of Evidentiality (cf.

It must be added to the above that, when the main verb in the construction is an auditory one and it has a simple noun phrase as its object, a variation takes place which does not occur, for example, in the case of visual verbs: with auditory verbs, the noun object may allude both to the sound and to whoever causes it by means of the metonymy SOUND FOR PRODUCER. This alternation consequently makes it possible to refer both to what is heard (as the melody in (4a)) and to who generates what is heard (the musician in (4b)). As said above, this possibility does not exist in the case of visual verbs. Evidence thereof is provided by the following contrast:⁹

- (5) a. Oigo el motor. [I hear the engine]
- b. Oigo el ruido del motor. [I hear the noise of the engine]
- (6) a. Veo el cuadro. [I see the painting]
- b. ??Veo la imagen del cuadro. [I see the image of the painting]

As shown above, whereas the verb *oír* [to hear] can refer either to the sound or to the element which produces the sound, the verb *ver* [to see] seemingly lacks that capacity. The reason explaining this different syntactic-semantic behavior lies in the physical and physiological features which distinguish sight from hearing. The images that we see with our eyes are presented to us as a simultaneous whole a three-dimensional object which is only perceived for its presence within the field of vision. Hearing does not work in the same way, though; the sounds that we perceive reach us more tangibly because they are formed by air particle waves. Furthermore, unlike images, which exist indefinitely while they are looked at, sounds have a limited duration, since they only exist during the length of time that it takes the sound wave to stop vibrating. This implies that auditory perception remains intrinsically anchored to the passage of time: sounds have a finite duration determined by how long the vibration producing them lasts.

Therefore, visual PERCEPTS and those related to sound are substantially different; visual PERCEPTS represent objectual phenomena, that is to say, three-dimensional entities located in the observable space, whereas auditory PERCEPTS correspond to processual phenomena, or expressed differently, monodimensional entities linked to the passage of time (cf. Jonas 1954; Roegiest 2003; Enghels 2007; Enghels &

González Vázquez 2006). For a study of the link between evidentiality and verbs of auditory perception, see the works of Fernández Jaén (2012) and Antolí Martínez (2015, 2016, 2017).

9. This alternation does take place in olfactory verbs, since the latter, the same as auditory verbs, conceptualize the capture of PERCEPTS associated with a SOURCE OR ORIGIN (Miller 2008; Fernández Jaén 2012); thus, a verb like *oler* [to smell] can easily refer to the source from which the smell emanates (1a) or to the smell itself, specifying or not where it comes from (1b):

- (1) a. Huelo el pastel. [I smell the cake]
- b. Huelo el olor (del pastel). [I smell the smell (of the cake)]

Roegiest 2004). To this key difference must be added another one; while visual objects exist by themselves, auditory processes exclusively take place when a cause produces them; this means that there is sound only when an external element hits an elastic object and generates a sound wave as a result of that impact. This second entity involved by default in the generation of any sound explains the alternation shown in (5) and (6); a verb such as *oír* allows us to verbalize both who and what causes the sound (*el motor* in this case), as well as the actual sound. Nonetheless, when we express the visual capture of something as a *cuadro*, it does not make sense to state explicitly that we are recording an image of that something; after all, the object cannot possibly be dissociated from its perceptible nature.

The differences described above between visual objects and auditory processes equally explain, in our view, another decisive between visual and auditory verbs: the difficulty to exchange visual verbs within a specific context as opposed to the relative ease with which auditory verbs overlap in identical contexts. Indeed, Spanish verbs such as *ver* [to see] and *mirar* [to look at] or English verbs like *see* and *look at* present clear distinctions regarding their semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic operation which, despite being visual verbs, prevent them from overlapping. Instead, the vaguer nature of hearing justifies why auditory verbs have often admitted both throughout their historical evolution and nowadays in languages like Spanish the possibility of being exchanged with one another to express the same notions.

In the light of the explanations above, visual objects exist in space for an indefinite period, which means that speakers are able to perceive them for a long time, in different ways and for manifold purposes. This circumstance explains the rich lexicalization of visual verbs which the languages spoken around the world usually have. By way of example, present-day Spanish has numerous visual verbs, amongst which stand out the following: *ver* [to see], *mirar* [to look at], *escrutar* [to scrutinize], *acechar* [to stalk], *atisbar* [to make out], *espiar* [to spy], *observar* [to observe], *contemplar* [to watch], and *otear* [to scan]. Hanegreefs (2008) studied all these verbs together with others in detail from a cognitive point of view, proving that each one of them evokes a particular and different way to conceptualize sight. For example, *ver* denotes a broader and more passive vision than *mirar*, which focuses to a larger extent on the PERCEIVER and on the TRAJECTORY of the look. *Acechar* and *espiar* have to do with visual actions of a negative nature, whether they are aimed at observing the prey within a hunting context or to see somebody without being seen; instead, *observar* and *contemplar* activate a deferred and calm vision which seeks either to reach a scientific or intellectual conclusion (*observar*) or an esthetic or transcendent enjoyment (*contemplar*). In short, depending on the PERCEIVER's attitude, on the type of PERCEPT and on the aims pursued by the PERCEIVER, the speaker of Spanish will be able to choose one visual verb or another.

This remarkable lexical constellation cannot be found in the context of auditory perception, insofar as languages frequently fill that domain with one or two

fundamental verbs.¹⁰ In the specific case of Spanish, as anticipated above, it is relatively easy for these verbs to be exchanged with one another on some occasions, a semantic process which requires an explanation. In our opinion, and following our inductive observations (Fernández Jaén 2012), the reason for this behavior lies in the monodimensional and temporary nature of the auditory experience.

As already explained, a sound propagates when a body is hit by another body and it generates a vibration in the air particles that becomes a sound wave. That wave expands through space and disappears at the moment when the particles return to their state of rest. Obviously, according to the nature of the sound source, sound waves will have a longer or shorter duration. Bearing this in mind, the auditory process may be broken down into four successive stages which iconically reproduce the time and cause relationships thanks to which auditory verbs reach their meaning. Logically, depending on how long each sound emission lasts, there will be greater or fewer chances of covering a greater part of these stages. It must additionally be remembered that such stages are always unidirectional and inclusive, which means that reaching a specific stage always implies that the preceding stages have been reached as well. Well, in our opinion, hearing comprises a maximum of four stages which can be described as follows:

- Stage A: It has to do with the actual start of a sound emission or with very short sounds. Linguistically, if a verb codes this stage, it only expresses the momentary capture of that sound.
- Stage B: The sound lasts long enough for the person perceiving it to be able to pay attention to it.
- Stage C: After a minimal period of time or not so minimal, depending on the conceptual nature of the sound listeners can understand or interpret what they have heard.
- Stage D: Once the previous stages have taken place, a final stage can be reached: the reactive stage; if someone has heard something that lasts for long, has had the chance to pay attention to it and has managed to understand it, that person can finally act in a certain way with regard to that new information that he or she has collected.

10. In relation to the sharp contrast between the lexis of sight and that of hearing, the following reflection made by Ullmann (1952: 298) can prove highly illuminating: “La vue dispose de ressources inépuisables en termes descriptifs, comparaisons et images. Le domaine acoustique, au contraire, est relativement pauvre à cet égard; force nous est donc de faire appel à des sensations disparates pour évoquer et nuancer des impressions de son ». According to Ullmann, speakers permanently need to use multimodal metaphors and synesthesia so that they can express auditory sensations; this happens because such sensations do not often have enough semantic depth to be expressed using only auditory lexis.

According to our hypothesis, it is only possible to understand the functioning of *sentir*, *oír* and *escuchar* if all three verbs are projected over the time dimension of the auditory process in order to describe which of its stages can be lexicalized. The scheme below shows the timeline (*t*) with its four successive stages and different dotted lines which represent the stage or stages which these three verbs can prototypically cover:

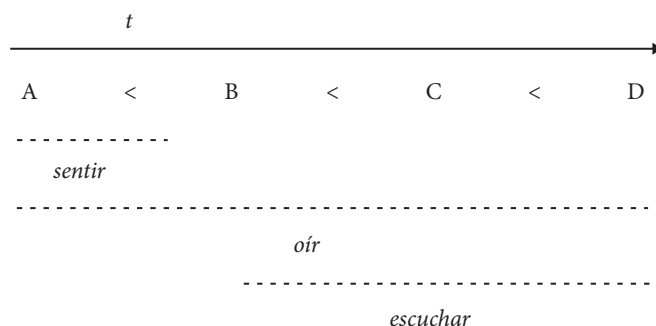


Figure 1. Auditory continuum

This schematic idealization is based on our own empirical analyses. *Sentir* tends to introduce fleeting, momentary perceptions corresponding to achievements in aspectual terms. *Oír*, the most elementary of these three verbs, is likely to cover the whole continuum, from the mere auditory accomplishments to the epistemic contents reached in stage C or the reactive values (of which the most representative example would be the meaning TO OBEY) typical of stage D. As for *escuchar*, this verb permits to verbalize practically the whole continuum, even though it most commonly covers stages B, C, and especially D.

Taking this continuum into account, one can easily understand the reason why auditory verbs in the Spanish language can be exchanged with one another; the reason lies in the fact that no discreet limits exist between auditory stages, which is why one verb can cover any of the stages with relative ease. However, this does not mean that these verbs do not have a more or less recurrent basic behavior. *Oír* is by far the most polyvalent one, since, as said above, it expresses all the auditory meanings. It additionally has a high degree of flexibility at a syntactic level, because it can configure its PERCEPT in every possible way, as can be checked in the sequence of examples provided above in (4). In contrast to this behavior of *oír*, *sentir* and *escuchar* do have more restrictions. Attention will be paid to these two verbs in the following sections with the aim of observing how they work and identifying their peculiarities from a diachronic and syntactic-semantic point of view.

3. Auditory uses in the history of *sentir* [to feel]

The verb of perception *sentir* has its etymological root in the Latin verb *sentīō*, which in term comes from the Indo-European root *sent-, which meant GOING IN ONE DIRECTION, HEADING FOR ONE PLACE¹¹ (Roberts & Pastor 1996: 155). The verb *sentir* is a multimodal verb in Spanish, since it can potentially express any physical sensation. It has also been regarded as a proprioceptive verb, i.e. a verb which can simply express the mere awareness of the body or the experience of vague sensations, such as pain, hunger or thirst (Fernández Jaén 2012, 2016). A number of examples can be found below which illustrate these possibilities:

- (7) y cuanto más se acercan los navíos a estas tierras tanto mayor sientes la templanza y suavidad de los aires y claridad de los cielos y amenidad de olores que salen de las arboledas y florestas dellas [and the closer ships come to these lands, the more you feel the temperance and the mildness of the airs and the clarity of the skies and the variety of agreeable smells which come from their groves and forests]

(Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1527–1561)

- (8) Pero si el torneo mucho más durara, los cavalleros rezién venidos lo libran mal, que no pudieran sino morir, porque ya andavan muy cansados, tanto que todos sentían ya su flaqueza [However, if the tournament should last for much longer, the newly-arrived knights would have difficulties to fight, and they would be likely to die because they were already so tired]

(Feliciano de Silva, *Lisuarte de Grecia*, 1514)

- (9) Podrá el muchacho no saberlo decir, pero bien lo verá o, por lo menos, sentirá el frío que le acomete cuando le quitan la ropa [Perhaps the boy does not know how to express it, but he will see it very well or, at least, he will feel the cold that hits him when he is stripped of his clothes]

(San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, *Errores en el gobierno y en la dirección de almas*, 1609–1610)

In the text of Example (7), *sentir* is complemented by three direct objects of a tactile, visual, and olfactory nature, respectively; occurrences like this one confirm the semantic polyvalence of *sentir* as a verb of perception. Instead, the verb in (8) and (9) is not associated with any perceptive modality in particular, since it basically expresses bodily and visceral sensations. Thus, the multiple subject of Example (8) feels his

11. The semantic link between the notion of MOVEMENT and the expression of PERCEPTION is very close, as shown by the frequent etymological connection between both domains. For a study of that connection exemplified with verbs of perception belonging to all modalities (sight, hearing, touch...) see Fernández Jaén (2012).

flaqueza, or expressed differently, his physical exhaustion. In turn, (9) portrays a use where *sentir* only brings in the perception of a body feeling, of cold in this case.

And what about auditory meanings? In accordance with the data contained in our corpus, *sentir* has expressed auditory perception in Spanish ever since the Middle Ages and until the present day, even though they were quite limited and discontinuous uses. Indeed, unlike what happens in other Romance languages such as Catalan or Italian, where the verbs *sentir* and *sentire* do specialize in auditory perception (Enghels & Jansegers 2012; Fernández Jaén 2012), *sentir* in Spanish activates auditory meanings much more sporadically, although it deserves to be highlighted that its usage frequency grows slightly during the 19th century (perhaps because some writers from that period used that meaning on a regular basis).

As anticipated earlier, when *sentir* means TO PERCEIVE WITH THE EAR, it tends to express stage A in the auditory continuum; *sentir* thus introduces the capture of ephemeral and vague sounds, which results in sentences where the verb behaves as an accomplishment and where direct objects are usually represented by general and hardly specific phrases. Below can be found some examples:

- (10) Y hiciéronlo así y, en haciéndolo, sintieron un gran ruido y restrallido con que desapareció, huyendo [And they did so, and while they did, they felt a strong noise and burst with which he disappeared, fleeing]
(Juan de Arce de Otárola, *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, 1550)
- (11) Un día que en la corte caballeros della fazian gran fiesta, y fecho de armas, sintieron en el çielo vn gran estampido [One day on which the knights were having a great celebration with weapons, they felt a loud burst in the sky]
(Jerónimo de Urrea, *Primera parte del libro del invencible caballero don Clarisel de las Flores*, 1574)
- (12) Como ya fue de día, levantóse y preguntó á otros enfermos (que dormían en la sala, cada uno en su alcoba), si habían sentido aquella noche alguna cosa [At daylight, he got up and asked other patients (who were sleeping in the room, each one of them in their own bedroom), if they had felt something during that night]
(Juan Valladares de Valdelomar, *Caballero venturoso*, 1617)
- (13) De improviso los dos se estremecieron y se miraron, porque habían sentido pasos [Suddenly, they both shuddered and looked at each other, because they had felt steps]
(Benito Pérez Galdós, *Gloria*, 1876–1877)

All these fragments constitute a highly illustrative sample of the prototypical uses of *sentir* as an auditory verb. It most frequently introduces the perception of hardly specific sounds, such as noises, murmurs, bursts or steps. Indefinite phrases are sometimes used to represent the direct object, such as the phrase *alguna cosa* in (12). Furthermore, they are often short sounds instantaneously captured, which explains why the verb adopts the behavior of an aspectual accomplishment. Sound

capture consequently takes place at a specific point in time which lacks development, the reason why *sentir* usually appears in perfective past forms, simple past or preterit as in (10) and (11) being one of the most common. The instantaneous nature of sounds also explains why the sentence sometimes contains elements highlighting that the auditory event is unexpected; an example thereof is the adjunct *de improviso*, which appears in (13).

This behavior of *sentir* as an auditory verb provides clear evidence that this verb has specialized in coding the perception of stage A in the auditory continuum the one which includes ephemeral and vague sounds characterized by their shortness. Such usual shortness in the PERCEPTS of *sentir* justifies why this verb does not often have events (whether they are expressed in the infinitive or in the gerund) or sentential complements as its direct objects. As explained in the previous section, such PERCEPTS denote the hearing of events which take place during a specific period of time, long enough for them to be heard (as it happens in infinitive and gerund structures with a logical subject) or for them to be cognitively heard and understood (as is the case with sentential complements). Because it has diachronically specialized in capturing stage A the one in which there is still no temporal development *sentir* is not often complemented by these more complex objects. Even so, taking into account that no closed limits exist between the different stages of the auditory continuum, *sentir* with the meaning of PERCEIVING THROUGH THE EAR does appear with these complements on some occasions, infrequent as this situation may be. Some cases with infinitive and gerund structures are provided below:

- (14) Corrió hacia ella, porque la había sentido gemir... [He ran towards her, because he had heard her moaning] (Benito Pérez Galdós, *Tormento*, 1884)
- (15) Justina se ponía trás ellos, sin que la hubiesen sentido venir [Justina stood behind them, without them having felt her coming] (Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio, *El Jarama*, 1956)
- (16) Mi hermana misma, que es la más diplomática, fue a abrir. Entonces sentimos a Juan despotricando y mi cuñado frunció el ceño porque no le gustan las historias sentimentales [My sister herself, who is the most diplomatic one, went to open the door. Then we heard Juan ranting and my brother-in-law frowned because he does not like sentimental stories] (Carmen Laforet, *Nada*, 1945)

It becomes clear in these three texts that the usual context of *sentir* hearing short or surprising sounds remains unchanged to a certain extent. In Example (14), the subject runs towards a woman because he has heard her moaning, something that could hardly be expected in principle. The auditory event in (15) has to do with the stealthy action of a woman; we thus find ourselves before a hidden sound rather than an unforeseen one in this case. Lastly, (16) shows an event unexpectedly discovered after opening a door, an instant discovery reinforced by the adverb

entonces. Nonetheless, the duration of the auditory events included in these examples is sufficiently long to be directly perceived while it happens, regardless of whether the PERCEPT appears in the infinitive, as in (14) and (15), or in the gerund, as in (16). Note that the already mentioned theory of Verhaert (2008) about the *zoom effect* activated by the gerund when used to refer to events like these is confirmed in Example (16). Not in vain, in that case, since we deal with the hearing of an event which is in full development, it seems preferable to utilize the gerund (*despotricando*) to stress that the action was being performed (by the logical subject *Juan*) exactly at the time when it was discovered.

If infinitive and gerund PERCEPTS are very peripheral when *sentir* behaves as an auditory verb, sentential PERCEPTS are even more peripheral, since they start becoming lexicalized when sounds have a certain time duration which reaches the last stages of the auditory continuum, a duration which becomes essential for the audible object to be attentively listened to and eventually understood. In any case, *sentir* very sporadically has sentential objects. When this happens, *sentir* adopts highly interesting cognitive and epistemic nuances which can even bring the verb closer to the domain of evidentiality. See the occurrences below:

- (17) Cuenta Valerio que un ombre que avia nombre Oportuno era muy fermosso además e ahun que era casto. E sintiendo que las mugieres avian temptaçion por su hermosura, e los parientes dellas avian sospecha e celos del, e fizose llagar con una lançeta ña cara todo en manera que la fizo muy fea. [Valerio tells that a man named Oportuno was very handsome and very chaste too. And feeling that women were tempted by his beauty and that their relatives were suspicious and jealous of him, he had his face scarred with a lancet, in such a way that he made it very ugly] (Clemente Sánchez de Verdial, *Libro de los exemplos por A. B. C.*, 1400–1421)
- (18) Ya habrás sentido / que mi hermana ha pretendido / verse esta noche en sus brazos [You will have already felt / that my sister wanted / to see herself in your arms tonight] (Lope de Vega Carpio, *El maestro de danzar*, 1594)
- (19) – No hay hueso en su cuerpo que no esté hecho polvo. ¿No has sentido cómo rodó por la escalera? [There is not a bone in his body which is not shattered. Didn't you hear how he fell down the stairs?] (José de Espronceda, *Sancho Saldaña o El Castellano de Cuellar*, 1834)
- (20) Disponíase Pío Cid a emprender la ascensión, cuando el tío Rentero le retuvo, diciéndole que él no se quedaba solo ni tampoco le dejaba ir, pues había sentido que les rondaban los lobos [Pío Cid was getting ready to start the climb when uncle Rentero stopped him saying that he neither was going to stay alone nor allowed him to go, since he had felt/heard that wolves were stalking them] (Ángel Ganivet, *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid*, 1898)

All these examples contain sentential complements with *sentir* that add some information which not only has been heard but also understood. What is more, some of these uses of *sentir* work as evidentials. Three types of evidence i.e. sources of information exist according to the Theory of Evidentiality (cf. González Vázquez 2006): direct evidence, which arises when the information is directly captured through the senses; referred or citative evidence, where the information is transmitted by other people or by folk knowledge; and inferred evidence, in which the collection of information takes place after some logical reasoning or a deduction. It consequently becomes obvious that *sentir* can express all these possibilities when it has a sentential PERCEPT. Thus, in Example (19), someone asks somebody else if he felt that is, if he perceived through the ear how a man fell down the stairs; if the answer is yes, *sentir* and its sentential complement will be acting as direct evidence, because that event was sensorially recorded.

However, there are occasions on which hearing alone does not lead to knowledge acquisition, but is only the vehicle to reach other types of evidence. By way of example, (18) presents a passage from a theater play fragment where *sentir* introduces some referred evidence; in this way, the information about the sister's plans meeting his lover were achieved through the intervention of third parties, who are the ones who transmitted her intention. A similar situation takes place in (17). It is suggested in that fragment that a young man learned that he aroused passions (amongst women) and suspicion (amongst their relatives) in the same proportion. The text is not completely clear, but it seems to us that the idea of this information being received through the testimony of some witnesses prevails. It must additionally be borne in mind that (17) belongs to a medieval play of the early 15th century, a period in which orality still constituted a relevant source of information.

Finally, *sentir* has the capacity to lexicalize inferred evidence too, as can be seen in (20). In that text, some men are climbing a mountain and one of them expresses his fear and his wish not to move because he has felt/heard that wolves are stalking them. Such a statement naturally comes from hearing certain noises which permit to reach the conclusion that wolves are lying in wait.

In short, the verb *sentir* in Spanish has not developed its auditory semantic values to such an extent as some close languages, e.g. Catalan and Italian, even though it has actually assumed a number of relatively stable functional patterns; amongst them stands out above all the capacity to express short, uncontrolled, and hardly specific noises (stage A in the continuum), while simultaneously giving rise to more complex uses throughout its evolutionary history, not only with infinitive and gerund PERCEPTS but also with sentential PERCEPTS.¹²

12. This means that *sentir* can potentially cover stages A, B, and C of the auditory continuum. The only one which it is apparently unable to cover is stage D; in other words, the reactive stage. *Sentir* shows a particular incapacity to develop the meaning TO OBEY which, as will be explained in the analysis of *escuchar*, is closely linked to stage D of the auditory continuum.

4. Evolution of *escuchar* [to listen]

The verb *escuchar* focuses on capturing the last stages of the auditory continuum; its semantic prototype thus concentrates on the exact opposite of *sentir*. For that reason, *escuchar* tends to introduce the perception of elaborate sounds sustained over time which are important for the subject. In fact, the verb *escuchar* places so much emphasis on the subjects' wish to perceive the sound that they actually become the most important element in the scene. Therefore, *escuchar* can be described as an auditory verb which, instead of being oriented to the PERCEPT (what is perceived), is oriented to the PERCEIVERS themselves, the same as *mirar* in the context of visual verbs (Hanegreefs 2008). This fact implies that *escuchar*, unlike *sentir* and even *oír*, is a much more agentive and controlled verb, which has interesting semantic and syntactic implications, as will be explained below.

The actual etymology of *escuchar* refers us back to that voluntary nature. This verb results from the phonetic adaptation of the old *ascuchar*,¹³ a form derived from Vulgar Latin **ascūltare*, coming from Latin *auscultō*, which meant both TO LISTEN CAREFULLY and TO OBEY (Corominas & Pascual 1980–1991). Most interestingly, it can be checked that the semantic motivation of the Latin verb is present in its Indo-European origin, since the lexical unit *auscultō* results from the fusion of the form **ous-* (EAR) and the root **klei-* (TO LEAN). That is how we obtain the etymon **aus-klit-ō-*, which literally meant TO KEEP THE EAR LEANED (Roberts & Pastor 1996: 86). Consequently, Latin transformed that image into the auditory content TO LISTEN CAREFULLY, because the ear “is leaned” voluntarily for some purpose.¹⁴

Due to its preference for focusing on the PERCEIVER, the verb *escuchar* prototypically tends to have nominal direct objects which represent the focus of attention i.e. what raises the interest of the subject in a summarized way. Hence why *escuchar* usually refers to consciously and attentively listening to melodies, news, speeches and, in general, anything that may be relevant to the PERCEIVER the central element in the scene. Instead, infinitive and gerund PERCEPTS, as well as sentential ones, are highly unusual with this verb, insofar as they have their own development, which is more elaborate and independent from the PERCEIVER.

Furthermore, the verb *escuchar* is very often based to such an extent on the PERCEIVER and on his wish to perceive through the ear that it eventually comes to

13. García Martín (1992: 465) observed that the form *ascuchar* was preferred in León, whereas the central and eastern regions of the Iberian Peninsula favored *escuchar* at an earlier stage.

14. Note that the original image of physically leaning the ear in order to listen to something carefully still remains transparent in the medical verb *auscultar* [to auscultate], also evolved from *auscultō* and a cognate of *escuchar*. Thus, when a doctor auscultates a patient with the stethoscope, he literally leans forward onto him trying to perceive a sound of the heart, for instance in as much detail as possible.

denote the subject's state of attention rather than an auditory event strictly speaking; hence why its meaning changes into simply PAYING ATTENTION WITH THE EAR. When *escuchar* behaves in that way, a number of syntactic elements sometimes appear (such as adjuncts or predicative complements) which describe the subject's state of prolonged attention, while the verb simultaneously becomes non-resultative, since no guarantees exist that the hearing or the intellectual comprehension of what has been listened to will be successfully achieved. Let us see some examples:

- (21) Et dixieron los vieios et todo el pueblo non escuches ni otorgues [And the elders and the whole town said: do not listen or consent]
(Anónimo, *Biblia. Escorial I.j.8*, 1300)
- (22) Paridos que quiero scuchar,¹⁵ sepamos qué es lo que había aqueste loco de / atar [I do want to listen, for God's sake, let us know what this raving mad man had]
(Jaime de Huete, *Comedia Vidriana*, 1535)
- (23) En qué manera los que hablaban en lenguas no eran entendidos de los que escuchaban, entendiéndose ellos á sí mesmos [In what way those who spoke in languages were not understood by those who listened, they being able to understand themselves] (Juan de Valdés, *Comentario o declaración familiar y compendiosa sobre la primera epístola de san Pablo apóstol*, 1557)
- (24) que el acólito, como de ordinario es novicio y le han enseñado a no scuchar ni hablar, en esto hacen mill faltas y dejan muchas personas desconsoladas [that the altar server, since he is often a novice and has been taught not to listen and not to speak, they make thousands of mistakes in this and leave many people in distress]
(San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, *De los oficios más comunes*, 1607)
- (25) Como ha tan poco que estás / en mi servicio, no sabes / mi tormento y penas graves / Pues escucha y las sabrás [As you have been in my service for such a short time, you don't know about my torment and my great sorrows / Well, listen and you will know them]
(Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, *El mayorazgo figura*, 1637)
- (26) Un aplauso general salió del grupo de los niños, como un grito de entusiasta asentimiento. Los grandes no aplaudían; con el alma en los ojos y las lágrimas en éstos, escuchaban inmóviles [A general round of applause came from the group of children, like a shout to express enthusiastic approval. The grown-ups did not applaud; with the soul in their eyes and tears in them, they were listening motionless]
(Luis Coloma, *Pequeñeces*, 1891)

15. The form *scuchar* is an apheresis of the verb *escuchar*; in other words, it is a variant where the initial sound has disappeared.

When someone listens to something carefully, they usually adopt a very active attitude; they must momentarily suspend other activities in order to be able to focus their attention on the sound, because the latter is not a repetitive wave and can thus be captured only once; the subjects consequently need to make an effort to perceive what is of interest to them. As explained above, this attitude leads to a change of orientation in the conceptualization of the verb, which is now oriented to the PERCEIVER and not to the PERCEPT, which in turn explains why explicit direct objects do not often appear in these cases.

The examples shown confirm the existence of this underlying framework. For instance, (26) shows the adjective *inmóviles* acting as a predicative complement of the subject. For the reasons that have just been explained, this syntactic element activates some additional information of an attributive nature which specifies the state of the subject while the latter is listening (of stillness, seeking to concentrate better). Moreover, the fact that *escuchar* with the meaning of PAYING ATTENTION WITH THE EAR constitutes an action in itself becomes obvious in an example like (24), where it is stated that some individuals have been taught *a no escuchar*. It can easily be seen in this case that the verb not only has its perceptive value but is also immersed in the semantic field typical of this 'maximum attention' meaning. For this reason, the state of attention (together with the actions and behaviors that it usually entails, such as being still and focused) can be conceptualized as an action that it is possible to learn: needless to say, one cannot learn to perceive sounds through the ear, but it is indeed possible to adopt receptive attitudes towards what other people say.

The non-resultative nature of this meaning becomes clear in Example (23), where some subjects are listening with interest, but even so they cannot understand anything. Therefore, the verb expresses an attitude rather than an outcome in this case. Conversely, speakers are sometimes aware of the fact that they will obtain some information if they pay attention. This can be seen in Examples (22) and (25), where the act of listening is immediately followed by an epistemic consequence: reaching some knowledge. In both cases, the verb *saber* appears after *escuchar* as a way to express the consequence derived from paying attention (learning something). As can be seen, these occurrences provide evidence that the auditory continuum does not alter the logical sequence of its stages: first, you pay attention; and then, you understand what has been listened to.

Finally, the medieval example that we have in (21) shows the auditory continuum in its entirety. That fragment contains a piece of advice that *los viejos* give to the population: *no escuches ni otorgues*. Breaking down that sequence in an analytical manner allows us to retrieve all four stages of the auditory continuum. What the elderly recommend is not to pay attention to certain individuals. Paying auditory attention is only possible if we hear what the other says, the emission of the latter

being a sound which begins at a particular moment (stage A). Then, if the emission continues and is not transformed into a simple isolated sound, one needs to pay attention (stage B) so that what was listened to can be subsequently understood (stage C). Finally, we can reach stage D, which consists in reacting in some way to what has just been heard, essentially obeying what was previously uttered. However, this text requests that the whole process not take place, including the final reaction stage. Hence why the verb *otorgar* [to consent] which precisely means to answer yes or to be condescending with something is used after *escuchar* [to listen]. That verb consequently represents the reactive response to which *escuchar* might eventually lead.

As highlighted above, it is extremely unusual for *escuchar* to be complemented by complex PERCEPTS, insofar as, being specialized in the conscious and prolonged attention to a highly specific sound, this verb tends to succinctly code the PERCEPT using a noun phrase that represents what we pay attention to. In other words, *escuchar* focuses more on what is listened to (a concert, a lecture...) than on the dynamic situation or the nature of the event which comprises what was previously heard, nuances which are expressed by means of the infinitive and gerund objects along with the sentential ones. In short, as evidenced by our corpus (Fernández Jaén 2012: 415), *escuchar* has three prototypical configuration options. On the one hand, and according to the metonymy SOUND FOR PRODUCER, *escuchar* can have as its direct object both noun phrases representing the sound listened to (the concert or the lecture) and objects acting as the AGENT of that sound (the musician or the professor). Both options are equally frequent, which makes it clear that the conceptualizer uses *escuchar* to focus especially on elaborate sounds typically produced by human beings, which is why he can choose to refer to the sound or to the person making it without that implying significant semantic differences. The third option, somewhat less common in absolute terms, is the one in which, as we have just explained, *escuchar* minimizes its transitivity and comes to acquire the meaning TO PAY ATTENTION WITH THE EAR.

The fact that the PERCEPT of *escuchar* is very often a person directly connects with the last meaning that this verb can convey: TO OBEY. As we already highlighted at the beginning of the present paper, auditory verbs usually end up developing a meaning associated with the notion of OBEDIENCE; it thus comes as no surprise that a verb which tends to indicate that someone listens carefully either to people or to what people say should be prone to the meaning TO OBEY; after all, orders and commands are always formulated by others. The fact that PERCEPTS with *escuchar* are on many occasions human does not completely explain why a semantic link exists between hearing and obedience, though; there must consequently be a deeper cognitive motivation.

Sweetser (1990) and Viejo Sánchez (2004) offer an explanation for the high regularity in the semantic change HEARING > OBEDIENCE. Sweetser noticed in *The*

Iliad that the Greek auditory verb κλύω (TO HEAR, TO LISTEN) constantly appears in contexts where it really means TO BE RECEPTIVE TO SOMETHING OR TO TAKE SOMETHING INTO ACCOUNT. By way of example, in some passages, the priest Chryses pleads with God Apollo to favor him, and he expresses such pleadings with the verb κλύω in the imperative, this being a verb which, apart from auditory attention, introduces a pleading in the hope that it will be obeyed. In turn, Sweetser also found out the Hebrew auditory verbs are usually translated by verbs meaning TO UNDERSTAND and TO OBEY in the English versions of the Old Testament.

This same idea has also been verified by Viejo Sánchez in her analysis of the translation of the *Old Testament* into Spanish. This researcher has checked that it is inappropriate to translate Hebrew auditory verbs such as *ʾzn*, *qšb* or *šm* with the verb *escuchar*, since those verbs are utilized in situations where it is divine commands that individuals listen to, especially when the people of Israel are asked to obey the provisions of Yahweh and to recognize him as their only god. As pointed out by Viejo Sánchez (2004: 281), these contexts not only reflect a request for auditory attention, it is also expected that the listener will obey the requests heard; within a religious environment, the voice of divinity transmitted either directly or through apostles, rabbis or preachers is not a mere voice; it must be considered as an intrinsic command. In the light of all the above, translating these verbs by means of an auditory verb is likely to conceal part of the pragmatic information.

The analyses undertaken by Sweetser and Viejo Sánchez highlight that the semantic extension of HEARING towards OBEDIENCE is automatically generated when the direct object of the auditory verb introduces the voice of a deity that must be revered or the voice of a mortal who is asking his god for a certain grace. We accordingly find ourselves before a theological context that imposes a hierarchy: the deity not only imposes his laws on men laws which must be obeyed but can also work any miracle from his omnipotence. In this way, listening to the deity activates the pragmatic inference that what is said by the deity must be obeyed and, moreover, verbally requesting something from the deity in the form of a plea inferentially implies that such grace is required from the deity because it can only be granted by him. The connection between HEARING and OBEDIENCE finds its origin and motivation in this religious context; hearing implies obeying because situations exist in which the word uttered is inherently a command, due to the existence of an underlying hierarchy.

The semantic study carried out by Sweetser and Viejo Sánchez described above helps us understand how the verb *escuchar* works when it means TO OBEY. In accordance with our corpus examination, *escuchar* has been able to activate the meaning of OBEDIENCE since the 13th century. Interestingly, though, the verb *escuchar* almost exclusively appears in religious texts when it means TO OBEY during the Middle Ages (and even in subsequent centuries). Several examples can be found below:

- (27) E dixo Abraham: Si a Moysen e a los prophetas no escuchan, no escucharan al que resucitare de muert a uida [And Abraham said: if they do not listen to Moysen and to the prophets, then they will not listen to the one who rose from the dead to (new) life]
(Anónimo, *El Nuevo Testamento según el manuscrito escurialense I-j-6*, 1260)
- (28) Et leuo salmanasar los fijos de israel atierra de sur et poblo los en ela & en abor Ryos de gozan enlas çiudades delos medos porque non escucharon la palabra de su seynnor dios. No fizieron las cosas que les auia mandado moisés sieruo de dios nin las escucharon [And Shalmaneser took the children of Israel to the land of the south, and he installed them there, and they feel the fears in the cities because they did not listen to the word of their lord, God. They did not do the things that Moses servant of God had told them to do, nor did they listen to those things]
(Anónimo, *Biblia. Escorial I-j.8*, 1300)
- (29) Asy dize Adonai el tu dios que te ensseño para aproue(e)char que te encamjino por la uja que deues ssegujr. quesý tu escuchases los mjs mandamientos seria commo el rrio la tu pax & la tu justicia commo las hondas del mar [Thus speaks Adonai, your god, the one who taught you to be a worthy man, the one who got you on the right track (that you must follow). If you listened to his commandments, your peace would be like the river, and your justice like the sea waves]
(Anónimo, *Biblia romanceada. Real Academia de la Historia*, 87, 1400)
- (30) & yo he uso fablado maytinando & hablando & non me oystes [...] & habjtaredes en la tierra que dy a uso & a uuestros padres. & non jnclynastes los uuestros oydos njn me escuchastes [And I have spoken and spoken, and you did not hear me [...] and you dwelled in the land that I gave to you and your parents, and you neither leaned your ears nor listened to me]
(Anónimo, *Biblia romanceada. Real Academia de la Historia*, 87, 1400)
- (31) Et ende le puso fuero e juicio, e ende lo prouo. Et dixo: sy obedecer obedesçietes el mandado del Señor tu Dios, e el derecho çerca del fizieres, e escuchares preçeptos e guardares todos sus fueros; alguna delas dolencias que puso en Egipto non porne sobre ty [And then, during the trial, he told him: if you obeyed the command of the Lord, your god, and you did the law near him, and if you listened to his precepts and obeyed all his rules, some of the ills that he placed upon Egypt, he would not place them upon you]
(Anónimo, *Biblia Escorial I-j-4: Pentateuco*, 1400)
- (32) Así ha dicho Jehová de los ejércitos: Volveos ahora de vuestros malos caminos, y de vuestras malas obras: y no atendieron, ni me escucharon, dice Jehová [Thus spoke Jehovah about armies: Come back now from your evil ways, and from your evil deeds: and they did not pay attention, nor did they listen to me, Jehovah says]
(Anónimo, *Biblia Reina-Valera*, 1909)

These texts are fragments of religious translations and sacred works belonging to Christianity. The verb *escuchar* (and even *oír* in (30)) clearly conveys the meaning TO OBEY in all of them. The divine message which has to be obeyed may adopt many forms, namely: as *la palabra de dios* (28), as *preceptos divinos* (31) or as *lo que dicen los profetas* (27); we find ourselves before audible PERCEPTS in every case. It is often highlighted in this type of discourse that the servants who are supposed to respect and obey the divine provisions do not act as they should. Indeed, these examples show the instructive nature typical of religious texts, since they frequently refer to the negative consequences of not following commandments, thus becoming moral warnings. Even so, a kinder version of the religious dogma can be found in some cases, as it happens in (29); the verb *escuchar* in that fragment appears within a conditional protasis, and the apodosis shows the benefits in terms of peace and justice that will be received by whoever follows divinity.

A particularly interesting example is offered in (30). The expression *inclinare los oídos* [to lean the ears], immediately followed by the verb *escuchar*, appears in this fourteenth century text. As explained above, the Indo-European etymon of *escuchar* is the hypothetical form **aus-klit-ō-*, which meant TO LEAN THE EAR. However, it is all the same surprising to check that this medieval text uses the analytical structure *inclinare los oídos* precisely to express the notion TO LISTEN. Therefore, first we “lean our ears” (i.e. we listen carefully) and then, following the causal order, “we listen” (or expressed differently, we obey). In our view, this case not only constitutes a clear example of the semantic change that goes from HEARING to OBEDIENCE but can also be regarded as an evidentiary text for the cognitive semantics of a diachronic nature. The fact that the same schematic ‘ear leaning’ image was used once again to lexicalize the same meaning after some millennia had elapsed since the disappearance of the prehistoric language in which **aus-klit-ō-* was used proves that the mental images and conceptual motivations promoted by them are not mere theoretical abstractions posed by cognitive semantics; they actually constitute psychological realities.

What is more, this case might be seen as an example of *semantic polygenesis*. According to Geeraerts (1997), *semantic polygenesis* takes place when a word loses one of its meanings always a peripheral or unimportant one and spontaneously re-develops it some decades or centuries later. Such a revival happens because speakers once again activate the semantic motivations which first made the meaning appear when they need it. To put it in another way, one meaning may exist during a specific period of time, may subsequently disappear because it stops being useful from a communicative point of view, and may ultimately reappear a long time later if speakers generate it once again from the original metaphorical and metonymical mechanisms. That is exactly what can be seen in Example (30);

we find a return to the original lexical formation (*inclinarse los oídos*) to express the same auditory meaning TO LISTEN *ex novo*.

Summing up, the meaning of OBEDIENCE developed by *escuchar* has its origin in a religious and mythological context which imposes a hierarchical vision about the relationships between deities and men. In that hierarchy, the god imposes his laws through his word, and mortals must listen to those laws and obey them; this situation explains the easy passage from auditory attention and comprehension (stages B and C of the auditory continuum) to obedience (reaction, already in stage D), to the extent that *escuchar*, as a verb which implies voluntary attention, has ended up developing the meaning TO OBEY. At present, *escuchar* only has this meaning in a general way unrelated to the religious context; as a result, the starting motivation has become generalized, why is why we currently listen to (i.e. obey) a wide variety of laws and impositions (the commands of the boss, of the doctor, of the mayor, etc.). Nevertheless, this verb only managed to reach this generalization after undergoing a historical process which began within a religious context that served as a *source bridge* (Heine 2002) between the AUDITORY meaning and that of OBEDIENCE.

The meanings of *escuchar* described here represent the prototype of this verb, that is, its most essential and basic syntactic-semantic functioning framework. However, according to our hypothesis about the auditory continuum, since no clear limits exist between the different stages of hearing, the verb *escuchar* may occasionally lexicalize parts of the continuum which are normally covered by *sentir* [to feel] and *oír* [to hear]: this means, as already said above, that Spanish auditory verbs can be exchanged when it comes to lexicalizing the various stages of the continuum. Look at the following example:

- (33) La alabanza exige un foro, un público, una asamblea. Está sobrentendido que se realiza delante de un grupo que escucha, oye, entiende el elogio hecho de alguien o de algo [Praise requires a forum, an audience, an assembly. It is understood that it takes place before a group who listen, hear, understand the praise of someone or something] (Luis Maldonado, *La plegaria eucarística. Estudio de teología bíblica y litúrgica sobre la misa*, 1967)

This fragment presents the verbs *oír*, *escuchar* and *entender* in a linear arrangement that iconically reproduces the first three stages of the auditory continuum, from the mere sound capture to auditory attention and epistemic comprehension. Interestingly, *escuchar* precedes *oír* in that causal organization, which suggests that *escuchar* codes mere hearing and *oír* deals with conscious and attentive listening. Finally, *entender* [to understand] (let us not forget that this was originally an auditory verb as well) refers to the stage of understanding what has been listened to.

On other occasions, *escuchar* appears in contexts which suggest that it only introduces stage A of the continuum. When this happens, *escuchar* carries ephemeral and hardly specific PERCEPTS and usually behaves as an accomplishment, exactly the same as *sentir*. Below can be found three examples:

- (34) Dales vna señal para que luego / que el son escuchen, juntos acometan / al Abisinio, Maronita, y Griego / y que à cuchillo sus escuadras metan [Give them a sign so that, when they hear the sound, they will jointly attack the Abyssinian, the Maronite, and the Greek, and so that they can put their squads to the sword]
(Lope de Vega, *Jerusalén conquistada*, 1609)
- (35) ¿No escucháis la bolina y la algazara / que suena dentro desta casa? [Can't you hear the sound of racket inside this house?]
(Miguel de Cervantes, *Comedia famosa intitulada La gran sultana, doña Catalina de Oviedo*, 1615)
- (36) -¿No habéis escuchado? – preguntó uno- [Didn't you hear it? one of them asked]
(Rosalía de Castro, *La hija del mar*, 1859)

Example (34) is framed within a war context. In former days, soldiers used to sound instruments such as bells or trumpets to tell the troop what they had to do. These acoustic signals were short; hence why *escuchar* behaves as an aspectual accomplishment in this text, since it only refers to hearing a sound at a specific point in time. It also became evident during the analysis of our corpus that, in markedly oral situations (dialogues, regardless of whether they come from theater plays or from novels), *escuchar* tends to appear in interrogative sentences where it comes to denote the hearing of very short and vague sounds. This can be seen in (35) and (36); without a doubt, those examples are not asking about whether attention has been paid to a complex sound that lasts for some time; the aim sought is actually to know if someone has momentarily perceived a specific, unknown sound.

To sum up, the auditory verb *escuchar* has historically specialized in the idea of voluntarily, consciously and attentively listening to informatively relevant sounds (melodies, speeches, news, etc.) uttered by human beings. At a notional level, it has also developed the meaning TO OBEY from a theological context. Nevertheless, and albeit the significance and prevalence of these meanings, the verb *escuchar* has also served to express any auditory notion because, the same as the other auditory verbs in Spanish, it can lexicalize any moment of the auditory continuum with relative ease.

5. Conclusions

This paper has presented an analysis about some auditory verbs in the Spanish language from a cognitive and historical approach, ultimately verifying that the syntactic-semantic behavior of these verbs is determined by two complementary causes: on the one hand, the existence of certain restrictions imposed by the physiological and anatomical particularities of the human ear and, on the other, by cultural motivation.

With regard to the first aspect, the peculiarities of the human ear and those of the waves that compose the sounds explain why auditory verbs admit a greater degree of flexibility and commutability than visual verbs; thus, auditory PERCEPTS may interchangeably refer to the sounds or to the source of those sounds. Moreover, the fact that sound waves are necessarily associated with the unidirectional passage of time justifies the existence of an auditory continuum shaped by four successive stages between which no clearly defined boundaries are established. Auditory verbs consequently tend to lexicalize a part of that continuum, even though they may also slide towards the expression of other stages due to the aforementioned difficulty to establish limits between them. It seems to us that our conception about the idea of an auditory continuum can prove operational from a theoretical point of view as well as useful for the study of auditory verbs in any language; it suffices to describe which parts of the continuum are covered by the verbs to acquire a clear understanding about how these verbs work.

As for the second cause, fully understanding the semantics of auditory verbs undoubtedly requires taking into consideration the conceptual motivations from which they originate, as well as the contexts where they appear. We have seen that auditory verbs can generally develop meanings related to the notion of KNOWLEDGE, something which can be explained considering the importance that hearing has when it comes to obtaining information. The epistemic value of hearing acquired special importance during the Middle Ages, because the word uttered (and read) by the authorized individuals represented a knowledge source of paramount importance during that period. To this must be added that the meaning of OBEEDIENCE also very frequent usually developed by auditory verbs finds its original context in religious texts, due to the fact that carefully listening to divine precepts is related by default with the willingness to obey them.

In sum, the present research work has provided new data and theoretical interpretations proving that linguistic evolution never develops in an arbitrary or whimsical way; the characteristics which define human anatomy and the cognitive processing mechanisms (whether they have to do with hearing or with other neuro-anatomical processes), along with the cultural and anthropological pressures

exerted by society (through religious or any other types of patterns) limit the evolutionary possibilities of languages and offer the right clues to explain their historical development.

Funding

This research work is framed within two emergent research projects: Diachronic cognitive semantics: application of the latest trends to the Spanish language (GV/2015/113), financed by the Generalitat Valenciana (Spain), and Historical cognitive semantics: application of the latest trends to the Spanish language (GRE14-08), financed by the University of Alicante.

References

- Achard, Michel. 1996. "Two Causation / Perception Constructions in French." *Cognitive Linguistics* 7: 315–357. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.1996.7.4.315>
- Ackerman, Diane. 1992. *Una historia natural de los sentidos*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- Antolí Martínez, Jordi M. 2015. *L'evidencialitat en català antic: estudi de corpus i acostament segons la gramàtica cognitiva*. Universidad de Alicante: Tesis doctoral.
- Antolí Martínez, Jordi M. 2016. "De l'expressió de la percepció sensorial auditiva a l'expressió del discurs reportat. El verb *sentir* en català medieval (s. XIII–XVI)." *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* 29: 167–190.
- Antolí Martínez, Jordi M. 2017. *Els verbs de percepció en català antic. Els verbs veure, sentir, oir i entendre en els segles XIII–XVI*. Barcelona: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana i Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Blumenthal, Peter. 2002. "Oùir et entendre." In *Parties du discours: sémantique, perception, cognition. Le domaine de l'audible. Actes d'Eurosem 2000*, ed. by Hiltraud Dupuy-Engelhardt, and Marie-Jeanne Montibus, 33–47. Reims: Presses Universitaires de Reims.
- Corominas, Joan, and José Antonio Pascual. 1980–1991. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos.
- De la Ossa de la Torre, Raquel. 2014. "Verbos de percepción auditiva en procesos discursivos medievales." In *Con una letra joven. Avances en el estudio de la Historiografía e Historia de la Lengua Española*, coord. by Clara Grande López, Leyre Martín Aizpuru, and Soraya Salicio Bravo, 223–230. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Dik, Simon C., and Kees Hengeveld. 1991. "The hierarchical structure of the clause and the typology of perception verb complements." *Linguistics* 29 (2) : 231–259. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1991.29.2.231>
- Engghels, Renata. 2007. *Les modalités de perception visuelle et auditive. Différences conceptuelles et répercussions sémantico-syntaxiques en espagnol et en français*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110944884>
- Engghels, Renata, and Eugene Roegiest. 2004. "Percepción visual y percepción auditiva: la naturaleza del objeto." In *Cognición y percepción lingüísticas*, ed. by Enrique Serra, and Gerd Wotjak, 47–59. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia / Universität Leipzig.

- Enghels, Renata, and Marlies Jansegers. 2012. "Sentir: un verbo en la intersección de las lenguas románicas." In *XXVIe congrès international de linguistique et de philologie Romanes*, ed. by Cesáreo Calvo Rigual, 99–110. Tübingen: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas, and David Wilkins. 2000. "In the mind's ear: the semantic extensions of perception verbs in Australian languages." *Language* 76 (3): 546–592. <https://doi.org/10.2307/417135>
- Fernández Jaén, Jorge. 2012. *Semántica cognitiva diacrónica de los verbos de percepción física del español*. Universidad de Alicante: Tesis doctoral.
- Fernández Jaén, Jorge. 2014. *Principios fundamentales de semántica histórica*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Fernández Jaén, Jorge. 2016. "Usos modales y epistémicos del verbo sentir." *Revista de investigación lingüística* 19: 199–226.
- García Hernández, Benjamín. 1977. "El campo semántico de 'oír' en la lengua latina. Estudio estructural." *Revista española de lingüística* 7 (1): 115–136.
- García Martín, José María. 1992. "Características funcionales y semánticas de los verbos de percepción auditiva en español medieval (hasta 1400)." In *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, ed. by Manuel Ariza et al., 463–478. Madrid: Pabellón de España.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. 1997. *Diachronic Prototype Semantics. A contribution to Historical Lexicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- González Vázquez, Mercedes. 2006. *Las fuentes de la información. Tipología, semántica y pragmática de la evidencialidad*. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo.
- Guerrero, Lilián. 2010. "El amor no surge de los ojos sino de los oídos: Asociaciones semánticas en lenguas yuto-aztecas." *Onomázein* 21 (1): 47–69.
- Hanegreefs, Hilde. 2008. *Los verbos de percepción visual. Un análisis de corpus en un marco cognitivo*. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven: Tesis doctoral.
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. "On the Role of Context in Grammaticalization." In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, ed. by Ilse Wischer, and Gabriele Diewald, 83–101. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.08hei>
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide. 1999. Polysemy and metaphor in perception verbs: A cross-linguistic study. University of Edinburgh: PhD Thesis.
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide. 2002. "Mind-as-body as a cross-linguistic conceptual metaphor." *Miscelánea. A Journal of English and American Studies* 25: 93–119.
- Jonas, Hans. 1954. "The Nobility of Sight." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 14 (4): 507–519. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2103230>
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, Philip. 2008. "Prédication et évidentialité: de l'emploi copule des verbes de perception en anglais." *Faits de langue* 31–32 : 253–263.
- Picoche, Jacqueline. 1990. "Oùir, entendre, comprendre, Une vue psychomécanique sur le renouvellement du lexique." In *Historical Linguistics 1987. Papers from the 8th International conference on Historical Linguistics, Lille, August 30–September 4, 1987*, ed. by Henning Andersen, and E. F. K. Koerner, 375–385. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.66.26pic>
- Piron, Sophie. 2002. "Évolution sémantique des verbes de perception en français: une approche lexicale." In *Actes des XVIe Journées de Linguistique, 15–16 mars, AEDILL*. Québec: Université Laval.

- Roberts, Edward, and Bárbara Pastor. 1996. *Diccionario etimológico indoeuropeo de la lengua española*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Rodríguez Espiñeira, María José. 2000. "Percepción directa e indirecta en español. Diferencias semánticas y formales." *Verba* 27: 33–85.
- Sweetser, Eve. 1990. *From etymology to pragmatics. Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620904>
- Treis, Yvonne. 2007. "Perception Verbs in Kambaata." *Paper presented at the Conference "Perception of the Invisible"*. Nov. 14–17 2007.
- Treis, Yvonne. 2010. "Perception Verbs and Taste Adjectives in Kambaata and Beyond". *Perception of the Invisible. Religión, Historical Semantics and the Role of perceptive Verbs, Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 21: 313–346.
- Ullmann, Stephen. 1952. *Précis de sémantique française*. Berne: Editions Francke Berne.
- Vanhove, Martine. 2008. "Semantic associations between sensory modalities, prehension and mental perceptions: A crosslinguistic perspective." In *From Polysemy to Semantic Change. Towards a typology of lexical semantic associations*, ed. by Martine Vanhove, 341–370. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.106.17van>
- Verhaert, Anne. 2008. *El gerundio no perifrástico del español. Cómo no ser demasiado explícito ni demasiado implícito*. Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401205733>
- Viejo Sánchez, Mª Luisa. 2004. "Algunas precisiones sobre la traducción de los procesos OÍR, ESCUCHAR y OBEDECER en las lenguas hebrea, latina y española." *Lingüística diacrónica contrastiva. Quaderns de Filologia, Estudis Lingüístics* IX: 279–292.

From semantics to grammar

Lexical substitution in the evolution of verbal periphrases *haber/tener* + infinitive

Mar Garachana Camarero and Axel Hernández Díaz

University of Barcelona / National Autonomous University of México

The main aim of this paper is to analyze the rise of the Spanish verbal periphrases *tener de/que* + INF and investigate the relevance of analogy and lexical semantics for these changes. We demonstrate that the constructions *haber de/que* + INF acted as *supporting constructions* motivating the rise of the synonymous pair *tener de/que* + INF (De Smet & Fischer 2017). The analogical process between the two constructions was due to the synonymy between the lexical verbs *haber* and *tener* expressing possessive meanings.

Keywords: historical syntax, construction grammar, verbal periphrases, supporting constructions, analogy

1. Introduction: Objectives and hypothesis

Semantic changes that accompany grammatical evolution have been extensively studied in a number of different works in the field of historical syntax. Early on in the field, semantic pressure has even been cited as being a trigger in grammatical change (Paul 1891). In modern studies on grammaticalization, emphasis has been placed on the semantic aspects of these changes, characterized by cognitive processes that result from metaphor or metonymy (for a general introduction on this topic, see, for example, Hopper & Traugott 2003; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Narrog & Heine 2011). Along similar lines, greater importance has been placed on semantic ambiguity as a force behind changes in grammar: before a new grammatical component or construction is established, there is a stage during which said element can be interpreted in a number of ways. These contexts which carry a double semantic interpretation are known as ‘bridging contexts’ (Evans & Wilkins 1998: 5, see also Heine 2002: 84 and Company 2009). It is also important to recall that grammaticalization is frequently likened to semantic change (this is commonly

seen in studies of verbal periphrases, which usually identify consolidation of the periphrasis as a grammatical construction with the desemantization of the auxiliary verb (for more information see Garachana 2017a).

However, certain aspects of grammatical change having significant semantic implications have been scarcely explored, namely those which are closely associated with lexical semantics. For instance, only a few works have discussed the close relationship between the morphosyntactic context in which a word appears and the evolution of the grammar of a language (see De Smet & Fischer 2017). Even if diachronic construction grammar and grammaticalization theory stress that the construction itself is the context where change occurs, little thought has been given to the fact that at times the construction itself acts as a centripetal force that attracts other constructions or favours the creation of new structures that imitate the original structure. In this work we will try to show that the constructions *haber de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive motivated the rise of the synonymous pair *tener de* + infinitive-*tener que* + infinitive. In particular, the hypothesis of this paper is that the development of the verbal periphrases *tener de/que* + infinitive was possible thanks to the prior existence of the forms *haber de/que* + infinitive, which acted as ‘supporting constructions’ to use the term coined by De Smet & Fisher (2017).

There has also been scant attention paid to the importance of synonymy existing between words as the cause of certain grammatical changes (see Garachana 2011, 2017; Garachana & Rosemeyer 2011; Rosemeyer 2013). In this study, we will try to show how the synonymous verbs *haber* and *tener* which denote possession were decisive in the development of the verbal periphrases *tener de* + infinitive and *tener que* + infinitive.

Finally, few studies have explored the potential influence of a polysemic word on the evolution of constructions of which it is a part. In this paper, we will study how the semantic change experienced by the verb *haber*, in particular its specialized use as an existential verb in presentational structures (see Hernández Díaz 2007, 2014; Suñer 1982) may have served as a catalyst in the consolidation of *haber que* + infinitive as an impersonal verbal periphrasis, and in relegating *haber de* + infinitive to very specific discursive contexts in light of Rosemeyer’s (2015) study on the persistence of dying constructions in conservative texts.

In summary, in this paper we will focus on a few grammatical changes involving a particular set words and their associated constructions; these changes cannot be fully explained by the process of semantic broadening, but represent analogical changes activated by way of synonymy and polysemy. To illustrate our hypothesis, we will study the evolution of a set of Spanish verbal periphrases containing the auxiliaries *haber* and *tener*.

This paper is structured as follows: after this introduction, in Section 2 we provide a description of the corpus used in this study. In Section 3 we will offer a

brief summary of the role of analogy and ‘supporting constructions’ in language change. Section 4 provides a diachronic survey of *haber* and *tener* as lexical verbs and in Section 5 we chart the evolution of the verbal periphrases associated to both of these verbs. Our conclusions will be provided in Section 6.

2. Corpus

The verbal periphrases employed in this study were extracted from the *Gradia* multimodal corpus (<http://gradiadiacronia.wixsite.com/gradia/corpus-gradia>), which contains Spanish texts from the twelfth to the twenty-first centuries. A variety of genres are represented here (legal, notary and administrative texts; historiographic texts; technical and narrative texts; essays; letters; novels; wisdom literature; political speeches; Renaissance dialogues; written press; oral texts and plays) with an aim to providing texts that would represent the entire history of the Spanish language and not just one discursive tradition in particular (on this idea, see Jacob & Kabatek 2001; Kabatek 2005, and others). This will help us ensure – as much as possible – that the analyzed data are not characteristic of one text genre that has been socially established in the production of discourse. By ensuring textual diversity we have tried to bring together a data set that is representative of historical language as a single unified cultural space (see Jacob & Kabatek 2001:VIII); assuming that a historical language is constituted by generalization as a means for communication in any communicative situation, including written language, which means that it is able to develop via precise discursive techniques in all genres and situations. Given that this process could be considered a factor causing change in a language, special attention was paid in this regard and therefore texts from a variety of sources were included in our sample.

The corpus used in this study is made up of a total of 17,346,427 words. Additional examples have been taken from the diachronic corpora CORDE and CDH, as well as grammars, dictionaries and other works cited in the relevant section in the bibliography, in their printed version, which provided supplementary information on the semantic behaviour of the verbs *haber* and *tener*. Nevertheless, the examples extracted from these additional corpora were not included in the statistical analysis contained in this work, the aim being to restrict comparison among verbal periphrases to a single corpus and thus obtain significant results.

The obtained data are distributed as follows: Verbal periphrases using the verb *haber*: (1) 7912 occurrences of *haber de* + infinitive and (2) 373 instances of *haber que* + infinitive. The results for the verbal periphrases using *tener* are based on the analysis of 73,907 sentences from our corpus which contained the verb *tener*; of these, 240 contained the formula *tener de* + infinitive and 2415 contained the

periphrasis *tener que* + infinitive. Tables 1 and 2 show the frequency of these constructions per million words, as well as their overall frequency in the study corpus.

Table 1. Number of words, frequency and frequency per million words in each century for *haber de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive

Century	Total number of words	<i>Haber de</i> + infinitive	Frequency per million words	<i>Haber que</i> + infinitive	Frequency per million words
13th	2,745,347	311	113	–	–
14th	1,653,131	292	177	16	1.2
15th	1,466,863	579	395	7	1.36
16th	3,603,987	1.642	456	14	2.77
17th	2,108,281	2.465	1.169	38	16.12
18th	1,309,491	912	969	7	5.34
19th	1,916,754	1.472	768	109	56.86
20th–21st	2,542,573	239	94	129	50.73

Table 2. Number of words, frequency and frequency per million words in each century for *tener de* + infinitive and *tener que* + infinitive

Century	Total number of words	Frequency of <i>tener de</i> + infinitive	Frequency per million words	Frequency of <i>tener que</i> + infinitive	Frequency per million words
13th	2,745,347	4	1.45	–	–
14th	1,653,131	9	5.44	–	–
15th	1,466,863	14	9.5	2	1.36
16th	3,603,987	124	35.23	47	13
17th	2,108,281	70	33.2	38	15.65
18th	1,309,491	9	6.1	75	54.98
19th	1,916,754	10	5.2	520	271.81
20th–21st	2,542,573	–	–	1.757	683.55

3. The role of analogy in diachronic change

Much has been said regarding the role of analogy in language change; in particular, it has been associated to paradigmatic changes at the syntactic level. The first examples and explanations for this phenomenon involve irregular paradigms that are regularized via the generation of regular forms created following the model of another construction that is analogous in some way but usually analogous in form. In Meillet’s view of analogy (1912), a very specific and restricted definition and set of criteria were proposed. This interpretation was a simple one which was almost

always based on morphological aspects; at this early stage, analogy was defined as a process by which irregularities in grammar, especially those at the morphological level, can become regular.¹ This mechanism was illustrated by way of a proportion or equation, where analogies arise in imitation of regular forms. Then, if we use the example of regular verbs and their tense forms, *amar* → *amé* (simple past), *temer* → *temo* (present indicative), analogous forms such as *andar* → *andé* (simple past), *caber* → *cabo* (present indicative) are created, instead of the correct irregular forms of *anduve* and *quepo*.

According to De Smet and Fisher (2017), in recent years the role of analogy has attracted greater interest in cognitive science, semiotics and also corpus linguistics. These studies have deepened our understanding of language patterns and distribution in terms of frequency, two points that are essential to furthering our understanding of transfer resulting from analogy. Traditionally, because scholars used analogy to explain language changes arising as a means to preserve paradigmatic homogeneity, their approaches served to establish regularities within paradigms. Today, however, the focus is different. In contrast to early research claiming that the principal aim of analogy was formal renewal but did not lead to systemic changes (see Elvira 2009: 154), recent work has shown that analogy can also bring about grammatical change (see Fischer 2010, and also Croft 2001; Goldberg 1995, 2006).

These and other authors emphasize that analogy involves a combination of both form and meaning. To illustrate this, De Smet and Fischer (2017) cited an example of a change seen in a certain type of verb in the Dutch language. Here, younger speakers have made certain verbs reflexive that weren't originally; this change is based on the semantic similarity that these verbs hold with some psychological verbs that require a reflexive pronoun, akin the Spanish verb *acordarse* 'to remember'. In this case, the analogy goes beyond semantic similarity and extends into the syntactic sphere as these verbs also appear in causative constructions. That is, semantic similarity as well as the fact that these verb forms appear in the same type of syntactic structures, activated an analogical process in which some of these forms took on the reflexive construction of other similar verbs that served as a model.

This analogy went beyond semantic similarity and extended into the language because these verbs appear in causative constructions; the resulting network of

1. Still, analogy should not be restricted to grammar, since processes involving analogy are observed in the lexical sphere. For example, the names given to the days of the week in Spanish should be *lune* 'Monday' (< DIEM LUNAE), *martes* 'Tuesday' (< DIEM MARTIS), *miércoles* 'Wednesday' (< DIEM MERCURII), *jueves* 'Thursday' (< DIEM IOVIS) and *viernes* 'Friday' (< DIEM VENERIS), yet the forms without -s were regularized by way of analogy, following the forms ending in -s. Thus, in modern Spanish the names of the days of the week have become *lunes*, *martes*, *miércoles*, *jueves*, and *viernes*.

analogies involves both causative verbs and psychological verbs or verbs associated to thinking. This means that the analogy occurs at a semantic level, but also at the syntactic level due to the structural similarity of the sentences in which they appear. This kind of analogy occurs because there is a ‘supporting construction’, and therefore this change isn’t the result of semantic similarity alone but is also due to the similarity between the syntactic patterns that characterize the verbs involved. We follow, then, the work of De Smet & Fischer (2017), Fischer (2010), Anttila (2003), and Itkonen (2005), and others, who showed that in Construction Grammar it is stressed that analogical change involves form and meaning.

In the Dutch example, conditions facilitate the appearance of an innovative form because the components that create it were already well-rooted in the language. This means that the new form has an advantage over others: these components act as a ‘supporting construction’ thereby facilitating their establishment in the language (De Smet & Fischer 2017). This innovation therefore does not sound ‘awkward’ to speakers, because they recognize a similar pre-existing structure. Therefore, feasibility, frequency, diffusion and establishment of a form become possible due to other forms.

The process of change through analogy is also observed in Spanish in the evolution of the verbal periphrases using *haber* and in the emergence of the verbal constructions containing *tener*. In effect, as proposed by this more recent perspective in the field of language change and analogy, the evolution of these verbal periphrases involves changes which arise through the reinterpretation of a lexical item based on the similarity it shares with another, either structurally or semantically (cf. De Smet & Fischer 2017).

The hypothesis we will try to prove is that the evolution of the verbal periphrases using *haber* and the emergence of constructions with *tener* can be explained as analogical processes triggered by the polysemic nature of the verb *haber* and the synonymy existing between *tener* and *haber* as possessive verbs. As the possessive use of the verb *haber* declined, its polysemic nature seemed to have favoured a process in which its existential meaning permeated the periphrastic construction, helping it take on a meaning with a more impersonal or lower deontic value. In the case of *tener de* + infinitive and *tener que* + infinitive, the synonymy between *haber* and *tener* would have created a decisive motivating basis for the emergence of the new forms that appeared in the wake of *haber de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive, which served as supporting constructions. This means that the evolution of the grammar rests on the network of semantic values found in the Spanish verbs *haber* and *tener* in medieval and sixteenth-century Spanish. This will be covered in the next section.

4. *Haber* and *tener* as lexical verbs

According to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Glare 1982/1996: s.v. *habeō*, henceforth *OLD*), in Latin, one of the definitions of *habeo* is that of ‘to have’, ‘to own’ ‘to possess’ (1a), ‘to take possession of’; and also ‘to possess physical characteristics or attributes (referring to people and things)’ (1b). The *OLD* includes twenty-seven meanings for the semantically versatile *habeo*, whose meaning varies according to the context where it is used, the syntactic constructions in which it appears and the kind of complements it takes. Later on, in Medieval Latin a more innovative use can be tentatively observed, with a sporadic meaning denoting ‘to exist’, as it does today (1c). Soon after, its function extended to other spheres, such as that of auxiliary (1d). Finally, the sporadic existential meaning of *haber* became its first sense (1e).

- (1) a. ego vectigalia magna divitiasque **habeo**
 I income-ACC.PL vast wealth-and-ACC.P have-PRS.1SG
 ‘I **have** vast income and wealth’
 (Horacio, *Sermones* II, v. 100, Blázquez 2012:s.v. *hābēō*)
- b. edition **habebit** omnia
 edition-NOM.SG contain-FUT.3SG everything-NOM.PL
 ‘The edition will **contain** everything’
 (Quintiliano, *apud* Blázquez 2012:s.v. *hābēō*)
- c. **habet** in biblioteca Vlpia librum
 have-PRS.3SG in library-ABL.SG Ulpia-ABL.SG book-ACC.SG
 elephantinum
 ivory-ACC.SG
 ‘**There is** an ivory book in the Ulpia library’ (Original written in medieval Latin, ca. 8th century, attributed to Tácito by Väänänen 1968: 227)
- d. llamo al Rey e mostrol cuemo
 call-PST.3SG the King and show-PST.3SG-him that
auie acabado e abrio el canno e dexo
 finish-PRF-INF.3SG and open-PST.3SG the canal and left-PST.3SG
 uenir ell agua a la uilla
 flow-INF the water into the city
 ‘he called the King and showed him that he **had finished** and opened the canal to let the water flow into the city’
 (Alfonso X, *Estoria de España*, 13th Century, CORDE)

- e. mas trabaja el omne en mejorar su fazienda por
 more strive-PRS.3SG the man in improve-INF his homestead because
 que aya lugar de fazer plazer a sus amigos et
 there is-PRS-SVJB.3SG place for do-INF pleasure to his friends and
 el contrario a sus enemigos
 the opposite to his enemies
 ‘man strives to improve his homestead so that **there is** a chance for him to
 pleasure his friends but not his enemies’

(Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, 13th Century, CORDE)

In Old Spanish, the verb *haber* appears both in sentences expressing central or prototypical possessive relations in which the possessor is [+animate, +human, +agentive, +volitive] and the possessed entity carries the opposing traits [–animate, –human, –agentive, –volitive] (2a)² and in constructions having a weak, marked or non-prototypical possessive sense (2b), that is, in sentences where neither the possessor nor the possessed hold these characteristics. This is also observed in set expressions where no clear possessive meaning is readily observable (2c).

- (2) a. las gentes suyas non podian aver viandas ni
 people his-3PL NEG could-PST-IPFV-3PL have-INF meads neither
 mantenimientos
 sustenance
 ‘[among] his people there could not **have** any meads or sustenance’
 (Pero Lopez de Ayala, *Crónica del rey Don Pedro*, 14th Century, GRADIA)
- b. nunca como esta vez ove miedo de morir
 never as this time have-PST.1SG fear to die
 ‘Never like this time I **was afraid** to die’

(Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, 15th Century, GRADIA)

2. For a more in-depth discussion on the distinction between prototypical and non-prototypical relations, see Heine (1997); Stassen (2009); Hernández Díaz (2006 and 2017a, b). In general, the first has been characterized as a semantic notion that express the link between an element which has control over another entity that it controls, usually an object. Thus, it is based on an asymmetric relationship between the participating entities, i.e. the possessor and the possessed. The greater the asymmetry between them, the greater the degree of prototypicality of the expressed possession. In contrast, when the differences between the two participating entities are more diluted, the possessive relations expressed are non-prototypical, as in the expression of attributes (*Arlen tiene el cabello lacio* ‘Arlen has her hair limp’), feelings (*Ellos tenían mucho miedo de ser despedidos*/ ‘They had a great fear they would be fired’), states (*No tiene razón en lo que dice*/ ‘He/ She has no reason in what he/she says’), relationships (*Mi abuela tuvo ocho hijos y un solo marido*/ ‘My grandmother had eight children and only one husband’).

- c. alzaron los ojos y vieron que el techo
 look up-PST.3PL the eyes and see-PRS.3PL that the ceiling
 era algo más bajo de lo que **habían**
 be-PST-IPFV-3SG some more lower than what have-PST-IPFV-3PL
menester para su obra
 necessity for their-3PL work
 ‘they looked up, and seeing that the ceiling was somewhat lower than what
 they **required** for their work’
 (Miguel de Cervantes, *El Quijote*, 17th Century, GRADIA)

If the variety of meanings conveyed by this verb as described here were insufficient to attenuate the verb’s possessive sense, its work as an auxiliary verb in the formation of compound tenses and the verbal periphrases under study, namely, *haber de/haber que* + infinitive, along with their growing existential value would allow the verb *tener* to begin competing with the former in the realm of possession. Studies on the process by which one verb replaces another have demonstrated that the changes in the verb *haber* were due to a number of factors, but were primarily attributable to its polysemy from the proto-romance period until the twenty-first century (see Benveniste 1971; Chevalier 1977; Del Barrio de la Rosa 2007, 2016; Gallarín 2002; Garachana 1994, 1997 and 2017; Hernández 2006 and 2017a, b; Pountain 1985; Pulgram 1978; Seifert 1930). The predicate’s extending into the category of auxiliary (Company 1983; Dubsky 1963) and its increasing use as an existential verb (Hernández 2003 and 2006) would also cause it to lose its sense as a possessive verb, given that it was performing a growing number of functions.

As *haber* lost its transitive verb status, *tener* took on a possessive meaning and competed with *haber* for a fairly extensive period starting with the advent of the Spanish language up until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The emergence of *tener* as a possessive verb can be explained by the meanings expressed by its Latin antecedent *TENĒRE*, which mean ‘to hold in the hand or some other part of the body’, ‘to grasp’ (OLD 1982/1996: s.v. *teneō*) (3a). Following the logic of the semantic evolution of many other predicates, whose meaning evolved from expressing physical sensations such as movement to expressing abstract sensations such as verb tense (see Melis 2006), the path taken by *tener* was from physical possession ‘to hold something in the hand’ (3b), to the expression of prototypical possessive relationships that did not involve direct physical contact between possessor and the possessed (3c). Its use gradually invaded other contexts to express not only prototypical possessive relations but also those that were non-prototypical (3d) (on these concepts, see footnote 3, *supra*).

- (3) a. Alcesimarchum non uides? Ferrum tenet
 Alcesimarchus-NOM.SG neg see-PST-2SG sword-ACC.SG have-PRS3SG
 ‘Don’t you see Alcesimarchus? He’s **grasping** a sword’
 (Plauto, *Cistellaria* 642, *apud* OLD 1982/1996:s.v. *teneō*)
- b. uio un uaron que estaua de cara contra ell,
 see-PST3SG a man who be-PST-IPFV-3SG from face against he,
 e **tenie** en la mano una espada sacada
 and have-PST-IPFV-3SG in the hand a sword drawn
 ‘he saw a man who was facing him, and in his hand he **held** a drawn sword’
 (Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Segunda Parte I*, 13th Century, GRADIA)
- c. preguntol si **tenie** todas las cosas que él le
 ask-PST3SG if have-PST-IPFV-3SG all the things that he to him
 diera por escrito
 give-PRS-SVJB.3SG by written
 ‘[he] asked if he **had** all the things he gave him in writing’
 (Don Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, 14th Century)
- d. **Tenía** en su casa una ama que pasaba
 have-PST-IPFV-3SG in his house a housekeeper that overtake
 de los cuarenta y una sobrina que no llegaba
 the forty and a niece that neg reach-PST-IPFV-3SG
 a los veinte
 to twenty
 ‘He **had** in his house a housekeeper past forty, a niece under twenty’
 (Miguel de Cervantes, *El Quijote*, 17th Century, GRADIA)
- (4) a. O vieja Celestina, ¿vas alegre? Sábeta que la meytad
 Oh old Celestina, go-PRS.2SG happy? Know that the half [of things]
 está hecha quando **tienen** buen principio las cosas
 be-PRS.3SG done when have-PRS.3PL good start the things
 ‘Thou old Celestina, Are you happy?’
 Think with thyself; that things are half ended, when they **are** well begun!’
 (Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, 15th Century, GRADIA)
- b. se concordo [...] que por espaço de dos años el rey
 PASS agree-PST.3SL that for space of two years the King
tuviese las fortalezas de Aguilar de Campos
 have-PST-IPFV-SVJB.3SG the fortress of Aguilar of Campos
 e Palençuela
 and Palençuela
 ‘It was agreed [...] that for a period of two years the king **would have** the
 fortresses of Aguilar de Campos and Palençuela’
 (Anonymous, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, 15th Century, GRADIA)

Along with these senses, in medieval Spanish there are examples in which *tener* preserves its etymological meaning, which still exists in modern Spanish, in sentences such as *tenme esto un momento* ‘hold this for me for a moment’; *ten estas monedas para que pagues el autobús* ‘take these coins to pay for the bus’.

As the use of *haber* as a possessive verb declined, the utilization of this verb in its existential sense began to increase (5) (see Hernández Díaz 2006 and 2007). More importantly, in these examples where *haber* takes on an existential sense, this existence is always associated to a place, in italics in (5), which is expressed by way of an adverb or adverbial phrase as a circumstantial complement.

- (5) a. Et *avía* *en aquella tierra* muchas liebres
 And have-PST-IPFV-3SG in that land many hares
 ‘And **there were**, in that land, many hares’
 (Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, 13th Century, CORDE)
- b. Otras islas *y* *a* menores, que son de
 Other islands there have-PRS.3SG minors which be-PRS.3SG of
 la pertenencia de Europa
 the belonging of Europe
 ‘**There were** other minor islands, which belong to Europe’
 (Alfonso X, *Crónica General*, 13th Century, GRADIA)
- c. *adonde ay* mayor entendimiento ay
 where have-PRS.3SG-ther greater wisdom have-PRS.3SG-ther
 menor fortuna
 lesser fortune
 ‘where **there is** greater wisdom, there is lesser fortune’
 (Fernando de Rojas, *Celestina*, 15th Century, GRADIA)

The connection between possession, existence and location³ enabled the change from the possessive use of *haber* to its existential use; this was also favoured by the fact that possessive clauses offered flexibility in the expression of both prototypical and non-prototypical possessive relations like those mentioned above (see footnote 4 *supra*). Therefore, in the history of the Spanish language, the existential reading of *haber* predominates when it appears in the same context as a potential possessor or the agent responsible for the event that is syntactically diluted or coded in a formally new manner, such as a locative which functions as a circumstantial complement, in italics below (6):

3. On the relationship between possession, existence and location, see Lyons (1967); Kuno (1971); Heine (1997); Breivik (1983, 1997 & 2003); Cifuentes & Llopis (1996), Baron et al. (2001), and others. From a typology-based standpoint, see Clark (1978) and Stassen (2009).

- (6) a. *en este ffecho auye* siete bienes por qué
in this deed have-PST-IPFV-3SG seven goods for him
se mouyera a fazerlo
move-PST-IPFV-SVJB to do-INF-it
'in this deed **there were** seven benefits good hat moved him to do it'
(Alfonso X, *Setenario*, 13th Century, CORDE)
- b. *Nobleza de coração auye* *en él* muy grande para
nobility of heart have-PST-IPFV-3SG in him very large for
desdennar e despreciar las cosas malas e viles e de
scorn-INF and spurn-INF the things despicable and evil and from
pagarse de onrrar las nobles
pay-INF of honor-INF the noble
'The nobility of heart **existing** within him was too great, causing him to
scorn and spurn away evil and despicable things and satisfy himself with
honouring what was noble' (Alfonso X, *Setenario*, 13th Century, CORDE)

5. From semantics to grammar by way of analogy

In this section we will deal with the development of the verbal periphrases using *haber* and *tener* in medieval and sixteenth-century Spanish. As indicated earlier, the aim here is to emphasise that the evolution of these verbal constructions cannot simply be reduced to processes of change through grammaticalization.

5.1 The evolution of *haber de* + infinitive

As is well known, *haber de* + infinitive arose from a Latin possessive construction where the verbal nucleus *habeo* subcategorizes a DO and an infinitive, as in clause in (7). Here, *hoc* is the DO of a possessive verb, upon which the infinitive *quaerere* is also dependent.

- (7) *Item in multis hoc rebus dicere habemus*
 “And thus we have to say the same thing in various cases”
 “And thus we can say the same thing in various cases” (Lucr. *Nat. deor.* 6.711)

Although the construction *haber de* + infinitive arises from the Latin transitive meaning of verb *habeo*, its evolution in Spanish is marked by diachronic semantic change of *haber* as a full verb whose sense changed from possessive to existential (Hernández Díaz 2006). This semantic evolution involved the syntactic and semantic transformation of structures that were initially transitive into single-argument intransitive constructions.

In addition to the syntactic and semantic changes in clauses where *haber* is used as an auxiliary, its grammaticalization resulted in changes linked to its original possessive sense. One other change took place: in addition to expressing obligation (8a), when used in the third person singular and because it is nearly always used with stative verbs in the infinitive, it began to also take on a new value, as can be seen in (8b), (8c) and (8d) which are prospective.

- (8) a. Ningun fijo dalgo nin Rico omne nin otro ninguno non pueda
 ADJ-NEG nobleman or rich man or any otherman NEG can
 auer encomienda en el abbadengo en castiella saluo el rey
 have-INF income in the abbacy in Castilla save the king
 por que lo ha de guardar & defender
 because it have-PRS.3SG to protect-INF and defend-INF
 assi commo Rey
 as king
 ‘No nobleman or rich man or any other man can govern the abbacy in Castilla save for the king, for it is he who **has to protect and defend** it as King’ (Anonymous, *Ordenamiento de Alcalá*, 14th Century, GRADIA)
- b. Saban ellos que son como los que han
 know-PRS-SVJB.3PL they who be-PRS.3PL like those have-PRS.3PL
 de seer, que yo Maria Gil fago carta de uendicion a uos
 to be-INF that I Maria Gil do-PRS.1SG letter of sale to you
 don Bortolome
 don Bortolome
 ‘Know by all men present and those **to come**, that I, Maria Gil issue this contract of sale to you, Don Bortolome’ (*Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Carriazo*, 13th Century, GRADIA)
- c. ¿Quién es el que me ha de quitar mi gloria,
 Who is the one how me have-PRS.3SG to remove-INF my glory
 quién apartarme mis plazerés?
 who withdraw-INF.me my pleasure?
 ‘Who is he that **can remove** me from my glory? Who can withdraw me from my pleasure?’
 (Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, 15th Century, GRADIA)
- d. han de tener ustedes la paciencia de oírme,
 have-PRS.3PL to have-INF you-3PL the patient to hear-INF.me
 porque no les ha de disgustar
 because NEG to them have-PRS.3SG to displace-INF
 ‘You must be patient and hear me, for it **will not displease** you’
 (José Francisco de Isla, *Fray Gerundio de Campazas*, 18th Century, GRADIA)

Sentences such as those in (8b), (8c) and (8d) refer not to an action, but to a state that will occur after the moment of utterance, that is, they are used in their prospective sense, and are not deontic in nature. For example, the first refers to those who are present and those who will be (*los que han de ser* ‘those who will be here’) where no trace of obligation remains. The second doesn’t mean that someone ‘is obligated to remove me from my glory’, but that someone ‘will remove it’ and the third does not refer to something that ‘does not have to displease you’, but that ‘it will not displease you’. The superposition of the prospective sense of the verbal periphrases and the existential sense of *haber*, together with the stative sense of the infinitives of the periphrases served as a bridge, with *haber de* + infinitive meaning that what was said will happen at a time after the moment of utterance, due to the inherent circumstances or those surrounding the situation described in the statement.⁴

The depersonalization that occurred in the verb *haber* as it acquired the senses ‘to exist’, ‘to happen’, ‘to occur’ underlies the sense of the verbal periphrases of *haber de* + infinitive. This is in line with the results of a larger study on this construction (Hernández 2017), which showed that out of a total of 2.670 proportionally representative examples⁵ randomly selected from a total number of 7.912 instances, on average, around 18% (482/2.670) corresponds to the first or second person, singular or plural, while 82% (2.188/2.670) corresponds to the third person, indicative of the depersonalization or impersonalization referred to above (see Table 3).

Table 3. Grammatical person in *haber de* + infinitive

Person	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th–21st
1st & 2nd	6% (12/194)	15% (9/60)	5% (12/251)	18% (100/552)	18% (93/508)	17% (67/397)	29% (148/508)	20% (41/200)
3rd	94% (182/194)	85% (51/60)	95% (239/251)	82% (452/552)	82% (415/508)	83% (330/397)	71% (360/508)	80% (159/200)

After describing the process of depersonalization of these constructions, we move on to the semantic analysis of third person subjects, establishing a classification between human and non-human subjects. These results have been summarized in Table 4. The table shows that as early as the thirteenth century, non-human subjects

4. We should add here, that, along with superposition of senses referred to above, another decisive factor in the process of grammaticalization of the auxiliary *haber* in the verbal periphrases *haber de/que* + infinitive is the fact that *haber* became the auxiliary used in compound tenses, which contributed to its desementization (*habíamos comprado*; *han llegado*, etc. see Moreno de Alba 2006: § 1.5.4 for further discussion on this subject).

5. Occurrences were randomly selected, using the R statistical programming package, which restricted the total number of hits per textual genre and century proportionally.

- b. Y como hay una profecía que dize Merlín que
 and as have-PRS.3SG a prophecy that say-PRS-3SG Merlin that
ha de tornar cada cosa a su lugar, como aquéllos al
 have-PRS.3SG to return-INF each thing to its place like those to
 cufro de la mujer,...
 the cunt from the woman
 ‘As in the prophecy of Merlin which states that each thing **must return** to
 its place – like those who return to a woman’s cunt,...’
 (Francisco Delicado, *La lozana andaluza*, 16th Century, GRADIA)
- c. El de la segunda ya necesita otra educación
 The one from the second already need-PRS.3SG another education
 para desempeñar los empleos que **ha de ocupar** con
 to carry out-INF the work that have-PRS to occupy-INF with
 el tiempo
 the time
 ‘The second one needs another education in order to carry out the work
he/she must occupy in the future’
 (Cadalso, *Cartas marruecas*, 18th century, GRADIA)

5.2 The evolution of *haber que* + infinitive

A few examples of the use of *haber que* + infinitive with a purely deontic sense are documented in Spanish in the fourteenth century but it wasn’t until the nineteenth century that it is documented with significant frequency. Its origins date back to the Late Latin structure *Habeo quod dicerem* ‘*tengo algo que diga*’ (‘I have something that I say’), which evolved into *Habeo quod dicere* ‘I have something to say’. In Latin, however, the construction does not carry a deontic meaning; this seems to be an innovation particular to Spanish. The initial senses of *haber que* + infinitive were connected to obligation in general, which meant that it could appear with animate and specific subjects (10); in medieval Spanish, *haber que* + infinitive was not a specialized deontic verbal periphrasis used for expressing impersonal meanings. As shown below in Table 5, this semantic drift towards the impersonal sense was activated in the sixteenth century, which also coincided with the loss of the possessive meaning of *haber* and with its specialization as an existential verb. From that moment onwards, there is an increasing trend to conjugate the verbal periphrasis *haber que* + infinitive in third person singular (11) and, as a result its use in impersonal sentences was favoured: the process was the same as the one we have described for *haber de* + infinitive (for more information see Garachana 2016; Hernández 2017 and López Izquierdo 2008).

- (10) Pero nuestro sennor Dios coração & esfuërço les dio &
 But our Lord God heart and effort to them give-PST.3SG and
 dixieron que los uençrien & que non
 say-PST.3PL that to them vanquish-COND.3PL and that NEG
 auien que temer
 have-PST-IPFV-3PL to fear-INF
 ‘But our Lord God gave them the courage and strength and they told them
 they would vanquish and they **had nothing to fear**’
 (Anonymous, *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, 13th Century, GRADIA)
- (11) No **había** que pensar que nuestro Gerundio
 neg have-PST-IPFV-3SG to think that our Gerundio
 volviese la cabeza a un lado ni a otro, como
 turn-PST-IPFV-SVJB.3SG the head to one side neither to the other as
 veleta de campanario
 weather-vane of bell-tower
 ‘One did **not have to think** that the head of our Gerundio turned from side to
 side like a weather-vane on the bell-tower’
 (José Francisco de Isla, *Fray Gerundio de Campazas*, 18th Century, GRADIA)

Table 5. Grammatical person in the verbal periphrasis *haber que* + infinitive

	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th–21st
2nd p. plural	–	50% (1/2)	–	–	–	–	–	–
3rd p. plural	–	50% (1/2)	50% (1/2)	10% (1/10)	3% (1/34)	–	–	–
3rd p. singular	–	–	50% (1/2)	90% (9/10)	97% (33/34)	100% (7/7)	100% (109/109)	100% (129/129)

The data in Table 5 show that *haber que* + infinitive does not appear in the second person singular and, in the Gradia corpus, it is scarcely used in the second person plural – there is just one example found in the fourteenth century, reproduced here (12). The scant presence of this verbal periphrasis in contexts referring to the addressee may be attributable to the characteristics of the corpus, which consists of written texts which do not normally appeal to a listener. *Haber que* + infinitive was also rarely employed in the third person plural (13) and although it has been documented in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, examples of *haber que* + infinitive in third person plural do not exceed a total of four examples. Moreover, the absence of this periphrasis in the first person singular and plural highlights the affinity of *haber que* + infinitive for the third person singular, especially from the eighteenth century onwards (14). Indeed, since the eighteenth

century this verbal periphrasis is restricted to uses in the third person singular – a context that it had practically specialized in since the sixteenth century, coinciding with the expansion of the existential meaning of *haber* when used with nominal and non-nominal complements (14).

- (12) *sabet que toda greçia avedes que destruyr ante que segura vida*
 podades fazer know-IMP.2PL that all Greece have-PFV.2PL PTCL destroy-INF
 before safe life can-PFV.2PL do-INF
 ‘You need to know that you will have to destroy all of Greece before you can have a safe life’

(Anonymous, *Sumas de la historia troyana*, 14th Century, GRADIA)

- (13) *por que si el Rey de Castiella perdie su tierra mas aurien que fazer el et ellos*
 de defender et maten la suya que non auien la ora
 because if the King of Castile lost-IPFV.3PL his land more have-COND.3PL PTCL
 do-INF he and they to defend and maintain the theirs than NEG have-IPFV.3PL
 IT-ACC now
 ‘if the King of Castile loses his land he and they **have to do** more to defend and maintain theirs than they have to do now’ (Juan Fernández de Heredia,

Crónica de los Conqueridores II, 14th Century, GRADIA)

- (14) *La ley del encaje aún no se había sentado en el entendimiento del juez, porque*
 entonces no **había qué juzgar**, ni quién fuese juzgado
 The-ART.DEF.F law yet NEG PASS have-IPFV.3SG established in the mind of the
 judge, for then NEG have-IPFV.3SG anything judge-INF, NEG who be-SBJV.3SG
 judged
 ‘Arbitrary law had not yet established itself in the mind of the judge, for then **there was** no cause to judge and no one to be judged’

(Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 17th Century, GRADIA)

According to this data, it is easy to understand why the verbal periphrasis *haber que* + infinitive would develop an impersonal deontic meaning. Furthermore, this process would have been favoured by the existence of an identical deontic construction, whose use was associated to personal contexts (*tener que* + infinitive). Therefore, we can say that, as in the case of *haber de* + infinitive, the evolution of the verb *haber* on its own as a lexical verb influenced the configuration of the verbal periphrasis *haber que* + infinitive. Furthermore, the process leading to its depersonalization or use with the third person occurred in parallel to that seen in *haber de* + infinitive, also evidencing the semantic and syntactic relationship between both structures, showing as well how semantic change has a direct impact on syntax.

This evolution towards impersonal values after the verbal periphrasis has formed proves that no matter how non-compositional a construction is, as long as the speaker is able to recognize words in the grammatical construction, the lexis, or

more specifically, the word forms will have an influence on grammar. In the case at hand, the fact that *haber* was relegated to existential meaning (see Hernández 2006) would be decisive in the evolution of *haber que* + infinitive, which permanently lost its uses as a deontic verbal periphrasis with [+ human, + specific] subjects to specialize in impersonal contexts. In addition, in the trend observed in the evolution of *haber que* + infinitive towards more impersonal uses, we cannot forget the possible influence exerted by *haber de* + infinitive, which, as mentioned earlier, would increasingly appear in the third person.

5.3 The evolution of *tener de* + infinitive

The evolution of deontic verbal periphrases from constructions containing a possessive verb has been repeatedly observed in typologically different languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 245). The mere existence of the verbal periphrasis *haber de* + infinitive which denotes obligation is proof of this evolution. However, we cannot make the mistake of resorting to theoretical apriorisms and state that all verbal periphrases of obligation containing a possessive verb will undergo a process where possessive meaning evolves into a deontic meaning. A good example of this is the development of *tener de* + infinitive. As other works have shown (see Garachana 2011b, 2017b; Garachana & Rosemeyer 2011), the appearance of *tener de* + infinitive in Spanish does not follow the characteristic channels of grammaticalization, either semantically or syntactically. On the contrary, evidence seems to indicate that this is the result of a process of grammatical copying founded on the synonymous relationship between the verbs *tener* and *haber* when they are used for denoting possession.

The proof that the existence of *tener de* + infinitive is the result of a grammatical copying is the fact that *tener de* + infinitive appeared at a time when the productivity of *tener* as a possessive verb was still quite low (Seifert 1930; Garachana 1994, 1997; Hernández 2007). In effect, during the thirteenth century, the possessive use of *tener* was relegated to more prototypical instances of possession, and associated with human, agentive and volitive subjects possessing specific entities, susceptible to real control (see Section 4). If these are the original characteristics of the verb, we can hardly expect it to gain deontic meaning, since the possessive sense of *tener* will also need to fade to allow the emergence of the deontic verbal periphrasis. Despite this, the verbal periphrasis *tener de* + infinitive has been shown to carry deontic meaning since the thirteenth century (see (15a)). Moreover, instances from that same century in which the construction expresses weak obligation have been documented (15b), as well as examples of *tener de* + infinitive used for describing something that will happen after the time of utterance (16).

- (15) a. E porende touo por bien santa egleſia demostrar en quantas maneras es la ſenſençia non derecha porque aquellos que la dan: o la **tienen de dar** ſe ſepan guardar della

And as a consequence have-PSTFV.3SG for good Holy Church demonstrate-INF in how many ways be-PFV.3SG the sentence NEG right because those who it-ACUS pass-PFV.3PL or it-ACUS must of pass-INF REFL know-SBJV.3SG safeguard-INF from her.

‘And as a consequence the Holy Church considered it fair to demonstrate the many ways in which the sentence was unlawful, so that those who pass it or **have to pass** it know how to safeguard it’

(Alfonso X, *Primera Partida*, 13th Century, GRADIA)

- b. Mas porque nos fizimos aqui remenbrancia de los Longobardos. de los que dexamos a contar ca no uuiamos aun por el tiempo en que **tenemos de dezir** desta estoria en que somos.

but because we make-PSTFV.1PL here evocation of the Lombards, of the who stop-PSTFV.1PL to speak-INF because NEG reach-IPFV.1PL yet through the time in which have-IPFV.1PL of say-INF of this story in which be-PFV.1PL ‘Because here an evocation came to us of the Lombards, those to whom we stopped speaking because we hadn’t reached the time in which we **had to explain** this story in which we find ourselves’

(Alfonso X, *Estoria de Espanna*, 13th Century, GRADIA)

- (16) El Rey de granada auia a sperar alli en aquell lugar caualleros que **tenian de venir** de dalla mar

The King of Granada have-IPFV.3SG to wait-INF there in that place knights who have-IPFV.3SG of come-INF from there the sea.

‘The King of Granada had to wait there in that place for the knights who **had to come** from the sea’

(Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Grant crónica de Espanya III*, 14th Century, GRADIA)

Consequently, it seems plausible to suggest a hypothesis wherein the lexical synonymous relationship between *haber* and *tener* as possessive verbs activated an analogical process of grammatical copying such that, following the model of *haber de* + infinitive, a synonymic construction was formed, namely *tener de* + infinitive (an idea already posited by Yllera 1980; and Garachana 2011 in particular; Garachana & Rosenmeyer 2011). That is, in the appearance of *tener de* + infinitive, it is not the desemantization of the auxiliary verb which is at play here, since there doesn’t seem to have been a ‘semantic emptying’ taking place prior to the formation of the verbal periphrasis. If we assume the phenomenon of interchangeability of verbal forms *haber* and *tener* in prototypical possessive structures, the data seem to show that speakers may have extended this notion of interchangeability to the grammatical plane. This identification of the verbs *tener* and *haber* as lexical verbs was projected

onto the grammatical level, which resulted in the appearance of *tener de* + infinitive. If *tener* and *haber* shared some contexts of usage, it may have followed that speakers would have extended this synonymous relationship onto the grammatical level, thereby generating the verbal periphrasis *tener de* + infinitive, in the image of and formally similar to *haber de* + infinitive, which would have functioned as a supporting construction in the sense described by De Smet & Fisher (2017).

In other words, speakers would have created a construction akin to *haber de* + infinitive through an analogical process based on the close relationship between the possessive verbs *haber* and *tener*, which also equated *tener* and *haber* in grammatical terms. This therefore created a new verbal periphrasis, whose deontic meaning is only subsidiarily (inasmuch as it is a synonym of *haber*) due to the possessive sense it expresses when it functions as a full verb. That is, the deontic meaning of *tener de* + infinitive only depends on the possessive meaning of *tener* inasmuch as it caused speakers to identify it with *haber*.

In consequence, and in keeping with this hypothesis, the expansion of *tener* to the detriment of *haber* was not limited to the lexical plane, but also to the grammatical. This hypothesis is confirmed by the evolution of *tener que* + infinitive (see Garachana 2017b), which will be discussed in the following section, as will the creation of future analytical forms of the type *cantarlo tengo* 'sing it I must' (cf. Octavio de Toledo 2016), the latter being discussed briefly in Section 5.5.

5.4 The evolution of *tener que* + infinitive

The origins of the verbal periphrasis *tener que* + infinitive follow the pattern established in the evolution of *haber que* + infinitive, which functioned as a model for the former. The first examples of verbal periphrases using *tener* only appear in the fifteenth century, while the construction containing *haber* can be found as early as the fourteenth century. In contrast to *haber que* + infinitive, the construction with *tener* lacks a Latin antecedent. In addition, as indicated in the last section, the possessive meanings of *tener* during the medieval period were rather limited. Therefore, as in the case with *tener de* + infinitive, we propose that the verbal periphrasis *tener que* + infinitive formed through analogy with *haber que* + infinitive, which functioned as a supporting construction (for more information, see Garachana 2017b). Additionally, the existence of forms *haber de* + infinitive and *tener de* + infinitive could have accelerated the process: these verbal periphrases would have also acted as supporting constructions, establishing a parallelism between *haber de* + infinitive-*tener de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive-*tener que* + infinitive.

However, the path taken by *tener que* + infinitive was not identical to that of *tener de* + infinitive, as the influence of *haber que* + infinitive is primarily detected in the so-called bridging contexts such as those seen in (17). In these examples, the

construction containing *tener* can be situated halfway between a deontic reading (*mucho tengo que agradecerles-harto tengo que llevar* ‘Truly I have to thank them for – I have to carry much’) and a possessive one (*tengo mucho que agradecerles-tego harto que llevar* ‘I have much to thank them for – I have much to carry’). The evolution of these kinds of constructions, which have been documented since the thirteenth century, cannot be readily explained as being one whose origins lay in the possessive values of *tener*, as in these contexts *tener* takes a relative clause, a quantified expression or an indefinite pronoun as a DO, that is to say, the kind of DO that is far away from the prototypical possessive senses which characterized the verb’s meaning during the thirteenth century. That is, *tener que* + infinitive does not result from a copy of the verbal periphrasis *haber que* + infinitive. *Tener que* + infinitive copies the instances in which *haber que* + infinitive can be described as a bridging context, since it can be interpreted with a possessive meaning as well as with a deontic sense.⁶

- (17) a. *senhor pues los dioses son plazenteros que yo oviese a ser presa mucho les tengo que gradeçer por me echar en vuestro poder que se que sodes el mas noble delos rreys*

Lord as the gods be-PFV.3PL pleased that I have-SBJV.1SG to be-INF imprisoned, much them.DAT have-PFV.1SG REL-PTCL thank-INF for me-ACC pull-INF in your power, because know-PFV.1SG that be-PFV.2PL the most noble of the kings.

‘Lord, the gods are pleased that I should be imprisoned much I have to thank them for throwing me under your power, for I know you to be noblest of the kings.’

(Anonymous, *Sumas de la Historia Troyana*, 14th Century, GRADIA)

- b. *Parmeno. ¿Y las piedras que trayas en ella?*
 ¿And the stones that have-IPFV.2SG IN IT?
Sempronio. Todas las vertí por yr más liviano, que harto tengo que llevar en estas coraças que me heziste vestir por [tu] importunidad
 All it-ACUS turn-PSTFV.1SG out for go-INF more lighter, because enough have-PFV.1SG REL-PTCL carry-INF in these armours that me.DAT made-PSTFV.2SG wear-INF because of your importunity
Parmeno. ‘And the stones you had in it?’
Sempronio. I have turned them all out, that I might go lighter; because I have enough to carry in this corselet, which your importunity made me put on’

(Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, 15th Century, GRADIA)

6. A further question is whether this expansion of *tener* into grammatical territory, due to its synonymy with *haber*, also may have activated the generalization of *tener* as a possessive verb.

Departing from the bridging contexts such as those seen in Example (17), *tener que* + infinitive followed a process of grammaticalization, similar to that experienced by *haber que* + infinitive, used in the deontic sense a century before its variant containing *tener*. As explained in Garachana (2017a), starting from ambiguous constructions like (17) a metonymic process occurs, and the verbal periphrasis assumes a deontic sense of necessity as in (18). Indeed, constructions like (17a), *tener mucho que agradecer* ‘to have something to be grateful for’ enable us to infer a deontic sense: *it is necessary to be grateful for something*. In other words, the deontic sense emerges as a conversational implicature from a bridging context.

In contrast to *haber de/que* + infinitive, *tener que* + infinitive has always accepted a greater variety of subjects with various grammatical persons (see Table 6).⁷ Consequently, when both *haber que* + infinitive and *tener que* + infinitive were well-established, *tener que* + infinitive was primarily used for denoting obligation not limited to the third person, such as in (18).⁸ This results in a complementary distribution between *tener que* + infinitive, a verbal periphrasis employed for general obligation, and *haber que* + infinitive, the verbal periphrasis employed in impersonal obligation.

- (18) -Levántese vuestra merced -dijo Sancho-, y verá el buen recado que ha hecho, y lo que **tenemos que pagar**
 Get-IMP up your grace – say-PSTFV.3SG Sancho – and see-FUT.3SG the good business that have-PFV.3SG and what must-P.1PL that pay-INF.
 ‘Let your grace get up,’ said Sancho, “and you will see the nice business you have made of it, and what we **have to pay**’
 (Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 17th Century, GRADIA)

7. Its greater tendency to be employed in the third person observed over time is closely related to the expansion of verbal periphrases towards more epistemic uses (for more information, see footnote 9 and Garachana 2017b).

8. Starting in the sixteenth century *tener que* + infinitive is used for denoting weaker deontic senses with a prospective sense in future or conditional tense; wishes or dynamic necessity and capacity or dynamic possibility. Similarly, from the sixteenth century onwards it is used as a pragmatic strategy for expressing the obvious in information conveyed. Since the nineteenth century and even prior to this in the eighteenth century, the construction has been found in texts conveying an epistemic sense. This semantic diversification explains why *tener que* + infinitive is used more frequently than *haber que* + infinitive.

Table 6. Grammatical persons in *tener que* + infinitive

Century	1st S	2nd S	3rd S	1st P	2nd P	3rd P	2P vos	3S <i>usted</i>	3P <i>ustedes</i>	Gerund	Infinitive
15th	50% (2/4)	25% (1/4)	25% (1/4)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
16th	49% (23/47)	2% (1/47)	24% (11/47)	11% (5/47)	–	8% (4/47)	2% (1/47)	2% (1/47)	2% (1/47)	–	–
17th	21% (7/33)	3% (1/33)	33% (11/33)	13% (4/33)	–	21% (7/33)	–	6% (2/33)	–	3% (1/33)	–
18th	21% (15/72)	5% (4/72)	35% (25/72)	4% (3/72)	3% (2/72)	32% (23/72)	–	–	–	–	–
19th	24% (127/521)	5% (26/521)	53% (273/521)	7% (36/521)	> than 1% (2/521)	10% (52/521)	–	> than 1% (1/521)	–	–	1% (4/521)
20th–21st	22% (384/1738)	14% (244/1738)	35% (602/1738)	13% (235/1738)	> than 1% (10/1738)	14% (238/1738)	–	> than 1% (7/1738)	> than 1% (3/1738)	–	1% (15/1738)

5.5 The evolution of *cantarlo tengo* (sing it I must)

One last construction for which we have detected the pressure of a supporting construction, activated by the synonymy that exists between possessive verbs *haber* and *tener* is the so-called analytical future (Bouzouita 2012, 2016; Castillo Lluch 2002; Company Company 1985, 2006; Girón Alconchel 2007; Medina Urrea & Company Company 1999; Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2015, 2016).

This type of future found in Example (19) is characteristic of western Romance languages, although today it can only be found in literary Portuguese (see Company Company 1985 and Medina Urrea & Company Company 1999). This periphrastic future form shares its origins with the synthetic future; namely, a verbal periphrasis denoting obligation formed by an infinitive followed by the present indicative of the verb *habeo*, CANTARE HABEO (see Fleischman 1982). The components of the original verbal periphrasis were fused together to create a future form (CANTARE HABEO 'I have to sing' > CANTARÉ 'I will sing'). Furthermore, the initial periphrasis equally served as a point of departure for the particular future form we are looking at here, whose components, derived from the original periphrasis construction, are not fused together. Thus, in Example (19) *derribarse a* features the components of the ancient verbal periphrasis, still unjoined, in contrast to the structure of Spanish modern synthetic future (*se derribará*). This periphrastic construction was specifically employed as a topicalizing device and disappeared after the seventeenth century in the Spanish language (see Company Company 1985 and Medina Urrea & Company Company 1999).

- (19) & **derribarse a** por cierto el muro de Babilonna
 and demolish-INF DAT have-PFV.3SG for sure the wall of Babylon
 'And I shall visit Bel in Babylon, and I will remove from his mouth what he
 has swallowed, and from that moment on no one will go to him and the wall
 of Babylon **shall surely be taken down**'

(Alfonso X, *General Estoria*, Parte IV, 13th Century GRADIA)

This periphrastic construction is of interest here because in it we can see the pressure that the verb *tener* exerted over *haber*. Indeed, since the fifteenth century, structures such as the one given in Example (20) have been found, where instead of *haber* being used, it is *tener* which is employed as auxiliary verb. These kinds of marginal constructions shed new light on the importance of the role played by lexical synonymy in the evolution of grammar: once again, semantic proximity between words favoured the analogical creation of new grammatical structures in the language. Nevertheless, in contrast to the deontic periphrases employing *tener*, these analytical future constructions did not prosper and would later disappear in the seventeenth century, suffering the same fate as their homologous construction containing *haber* (see Octavio de Toledo 2016).

- (20) no puedo más, *seguirle* tengo; somos de
 NEG can-PFV.1SG more, follow-INF him-DAT have-PFV.1SG; be-P.1PL
 un mismo lugar
 from one same place
 ‘I can’t help it, I **will follow** him; we’re from the same village’
 (Miguel de Cervantes, *El Quijote* II, 17th Century, Octavio de Toledo 2016)

6. Conclusions

In this study we have demonstrated that the rise in medieval Spanish of the verbal periphrases *tener de* + infinitive and *tener que* + infinitive and the evolution in the sixteenth century of *haber de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive does not fit into the parameters of change established in the theory of grammaticalization. The history of these verbal periphrases in Spanish shows that they developed in accordance with analogical processes based on (i) the polysemic nature of the verb *haber*, (ii) the semantic and syntactic similarity of the verbs *haber* and *tener* in their use as transitive verbs of possession and (iii) the analogical action exerted by *haber de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive, which functioned as supporting constructions, which in some way legitimized or enabled the emergence of similar constructions.

In the case of *haber de* + infinitive and *haber que* + infinitive, we have shown that the evolution of the verb *haber* as a lexical verb played a crucial role in their diachronic change. The semantic drift experienced by *haber* in becoming an existential verb was a key step in confining these verbal periphrases to contexts either carrying a low deontic load (as in the case of *haber de* + infinitive), or impersonal uses (as in the case of *haber que* + infinitive).

In the periphrastic constructions using *tener*, we have shown that analogical pressure was exerted by the possessive verb *haber* before it was confined to more existential uses. The perceived synonymy between the verbs *haber* and *tener* in their possessive meaning would prove decisive in the emergence of new constructions which retained the polysemic nature of *haber*, denoting possession and acting as an auxiliary in verbal periphrases. If these verbs were interchangeable at the lexical level, this interchangeability was later extended to the grammatical level. Diachronically, the evolution of these constructions in Spanish reveals a faint dividing line between the lexical and the grammatical: it is the recognition of the synonymy between verbal forms in lexical contexts which favoured their interchangeability on a grammatical level. The speaker, who perceives the interchangeability between *haber* and *tener* on the lexical level, extends, by analogy, this synonymy to the grammatical level. The process of change which occurs at the

origin of *tener de* + infinitive, *tener que* + infinitive and infinitive + *tener* means that both semantic change and grammatical change was driven by the same motivation (see Fischer 2010: 287).⁹

The history of these verbal periphrases as described here furthers the idea proposed by Fischer (2010: 287) whereby analogy is not only a mechanism for grammatical change but also a reason why it took place. The theoretical implications of this statement are relevant, as they underscore the importance of not reducing syntactic change merely to change via grammaticalization (see Garachana 2011; Rosemeyer & Garachana 2016; Fischer 2010) and highlight the notion that in grammatical change, both form and function may have similar degree of influence (see Fischer 2010: 282).

Funding

This work has been funded by the projects *Diccionario histórico de las perífrasis verbales del español. Gramática, pragmática y discurso* (II). *Perífrasis temporales y aspectuales* of MINECO (FFI2016-77397-P) and *Gradia. Grup de Gramàtica i Diacronia* (2017 SGR 1337) of AGAUR.

References

Data sources

CORDE = Real Academia Española, Banco de datos CORDE (en línea). *Corpus diacrónico del español* [En línea: <http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>] [Consulta octubre 2015]

GRADIA = Corpus del grupo de investigación GRADIA (<http://gradiadiacronia.wix.com/gradia>).

Editions of cited works

Alfonso, X. *Primera Crónica General de España*, ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Gredos, 1955.

Alfonso, X. *Estoria de Espanna*, ed. by Pedro Sánchez Prieto. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2002.

9. On this idea, it may be useful to cite the words of Fischer (2010), who points out the proximity existing between lexicalization and grammaticalization:

Both phenomena [lexicalization and grammaticalization], in fact, involve the same processes; the difference is that lexicalization involves only tokens, and the combination of these tokens leads to new lexical items, while grammaticalization involves tokens in combination with types, leading to new abstract constructions (for more information see Fischer 2007). (Fischer 2010: 288)

- Alfonso, X. *General Estoria. Segunda Parte I*, ed. by Antonio G. Solalinde, Lloyd A. Kasten, and Victor R. B. Oelschläger. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957.
- Alfonso, X. *General Estoria. Parte IV*, ed. by Pedro Sánchez Prieto-Borja. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2002.
- Alfonso, X. *Primera Partida*, ed. by Lloyd A. Kasten, and John J. Nitti. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995.
- Anonymous. *Crónica Anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla*, ed. by M^a. Pilar Sánchez Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991.
- Anonymous. *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS. 1187, ed. by Louis Cooper, and Franklin M. Waltman. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995.
- Anonymous. *Poridat de poridades*, ed. by Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2004.
- Anonymous. *Sumas de la Historia Troyana*, (1300–1350), transcribed by Robert G. Black, Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990.
- Don Juan Manuel. *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. by J. M. Cacho Blecua. Madrid: Castalia, 1971.
- Fernández de Heredia, Juan. *Grant crónica de Espanya III*, ed. by John Nitti, and Lloyd A. Kasten. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.
- Fernando de Rojas. *La Celestina*, ed. by Dorothy S. Severin. Madrid: Cátedra, 1993.
- Heredia, Juan Fernández de. *Crónica de los Conqueridores I*, transcribed by John J. Nitti, and Lloyd A. Kasten. Madrid: Nacional.
- Isla, José Francisco de. *Fray Gerundio de Campazas*, ed. by Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes a partir de la de Madrid: Imprenta de Gabriel Ramírez, 1758 y cotejada con la edición de Russell P. Sebold, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1992, 3a ed.
- Miguel de Cervantes. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. by. F. Rico, *apud* Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes.
- Pero López de Ayala. *Crónica del Rey Don Pedro y del Rey Don Enrique, su Hermano, Hijos del Rey Don Alfonso Onceno*, ed. by Germán Orduna Buenos Aires: SECRT, 1994.
- Rojas, Fernando de. *La Celestina*, ed. by Dorothy S. Severin. Madrid: Cátedra, 1987.
- Rueda, Lope de. *Comedia Armelina*, ed. digital a partir de la de Valencia, 1567, y cotejada con las de Emilio Cotarelo (Madrid, RAE, 1908, vol. I), Fernando González Ollé (Salamanca, Anaya, 1967) and Alfredo Hermenegildo (Madrid, Taurus, 1985; Madrid, Cátedra, 2001).

Works cited

- Anttila, R. 2003. "Analogy: The Warp and Woof of Cognition." In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by B. D. Joseph, and R. D. Janda, 425–440. Oxford: Blackwell.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch10>
- Artigas, Esther, and Mar Garachana. (under review). "Origin and development of Spanish verbal periphrasis *haber* + nexus + infinitive." In *From composite predicates to verbal periphrasis in Romance Languages*, ed. by M. Garachana, S. Montserrat and C. Pusch. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Baron, Irene, Herslund, Michael, and Sørensen, Finn. (eds). 2001. *Dimensions of possessions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.47>
- Benveniste, Emile. 1971. "Être et avoir dans leurs fonctions linguistiques." In *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 187–207. Paris: Gallimard.
- Blánquez, Agustín. 2012. *Diccionario latino-español*. Madrid: Gredos.

- Bouzouita, Miriam. 2012. "Los futuros analíticos y sintéticos en la 'Fazienda de Ultra Mar.'" In *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, vol. 1, ed. by Emilio Montero Cartelle and Carmen Manzano Rovira, 695–706. Meubook: Asociación de Historia de la Lengua Española.
- Bouzouita, Miriam. 2016. "La posposición pronominal con futuros y condicionales en el código escurialense I.i.6: un examen de varias hipótesis morfosintácticas." In *Lingüística de corpus y lingüística histórica iberorrománica*, ed. by J. Kabatek, 270–298. Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110462357-013>
- Bybee, J. L., R. D. Perkins, and W. Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Breivik, Leiv Egil. 1983. *Existential there. A synchronic and diachronic study*. Norway: The Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities/University of Bergen.
- Breivik, Leiv Egil. 1997. "There in space and time." In *Language in time and space*, ed. by H. Ramisch, and K. Wynne, 32–45. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Breivik, Leiv Egil. 2003. "On relative clauses and locative expressions in English existential sentences", *Pragmatics*, 13:2, pp. 211–230. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.13.2.01bre>
- Castillo Lluch, Mónica. 2002. "Distribución de las formas analíticas y sintéticas de futuro y condicional en español medieval." In *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, ed. by M. T. Echenique Elizondo, and J. Sánchez Méndez, 541–550. Madrid: Gredos.
- Chevalier, C. 1977. "De l'opposition 'aver'-'tener.'" *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 2:5–48. <https://doi.org/10.3406/cehm.1977.970>
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis, and Jesús Llopis Ganga. 1996. "Sobre la conversión de los objetos en lugares." In *Complemento indirecto y complemento de lugar: estructuras locales de base personal en español*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.
- Clark, Eve. 1978. "Locational: existential, locative and possessives constructions." In *Universal of human language. V. 4 Syntax*, ed. by J. Greenberg, 85–126. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Company Company, C. 1983. "Sintaxis y valores de los tiempos compuestos en el español medieval." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 32(2): 235–257. <https://doi.org/10.24201/nrfh.v32i2.548>
- Company Company, Concepción. 1985. "Los futuros en el español medieval, sus orígenes y su evolución." *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 34(1): 48–107. <https://doi.org/10.24201/nrfh.v34i1.1795>
- Company Company, Concepción. 2006. "Tiempos de formación romance II. Los futuros y los condicionales." In *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Primera parte: La frase verbal*, ed. by C. Company Company, 349–422. México: FCE-UNAM.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2009. "Parámetros de gramaticalización en los indefinidos compuestos del español." In *Romanística sin complejos. Homenaje a Carmen Pensado*, ed. by F. S. Miret, 71–104. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Constructions Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198299554.001.0001>
- De Smet, Hendrik, and Fischer, Olga. 2017. "The role of analogy in language change: supporting constructions." In *The changing English language: psycholinguistic perspectives*, ed. by M. Hundt, S. Pfenninger, and S. Mollin, 240–268. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316091746.011>

- del Barrio de la Rosa, Florencio. 2007. "Situaciones, posesión y agentividad en documentos notariales leoneses del siglo XIII. El caso de *aver y tener*." *Iberoromania* 64:1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1515/IBER.2007.2.1>
- del Barrio de la Rosa, Florencio. 2016. "De *haber a tener*. La difusión de *tener* como verbo de posesión en la historia del español: Contextos y focos." In *En torno a haber: construcciones, usos y variación desde el latín hasta la actualidad*, ed. by C. de Benito, and Á. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, 239–279. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Dubsky, J. 1963. "Formas descompuestas en el español antiguo", *Revista de Filología Española*, 46:31–48. <https://doi.org/10.3989/rfe.1963.v46.i/2.959>
- Elvira, Javier. 2009. *Evolución lingüística y cambio sintáctico*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Evans, Nicholas, and Wilkins, David. 1998. *The knowing ear: An Australian test of universal claims about the semantic structure of sensory verbs and their extension into the domain of cognition*. Colonia: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Fischer, Olga. 2010. "An iconic, analogical approach to grammaticalization." In *Signergy*, ed. by J. Conradie, R. Juhl, M. Beukes, O. Fischer, and C. Ljungberg, 279–298. Amsterdam/New York: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ill.9.17fi>
- Fleischman, Suzanne. 1982. *The Future in Thought and Language. Diachronic Evidence from Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallarín, Consuelo García. 2002. "Usos de *haber y tener* en textos medievales y clásicos". *Iberoromania* 55(1):1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1515/IBER.2002.1.1>
- Garachana, Mar. 1994. *El proceso de sustitución de aver por tener en el siglo XV, tesina de licenciatura inédita*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona.
- Garachana, Mar. 1997. "Acerca de los condicionamientos cognitivos y lingüísticos de la sustitución de 'aver' por 'tener'." *Verba. Anuario galego de filoloxia* 24: 203–235.
- Garachana, Mar. 2011. "Perífrasis sinónimas. ¿Gramaticalizaciones idénticas? Mas retos para la teoría de la gramaticalización." In *Sintaxis y análisis del discurso hablado en español: homenaje a Antonio Narbona*, ed. by Araceli López Serena, 779–798. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones.
- Garachana, Mar. 2016. "Redundancias gramaticales en la expresión de la modalidad deóntica. La perífrasis *haber que* + infinitivo en la historia del español." In *En torno a haber: construcciones, usos y variación desde el latín hasta la actualidad*, ed. by C. De Benito, and Á. S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, 327–356. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Garachana, Mar. 2017a. "Los límites de una categoría híbrida. Las perífrasis verbales." In *La gramática en la diacronía. La evolución de las perífrasis verbales modales en español*, ed. by M. Garachana Camarero, 35–80. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert.
- Garachana, Mar. 2017b. "De *haber a tener*. Perífrasis y locuciones formadas en torno a *tener* en español. *Tener a/de* + infinitivo, *tener que* + infinitivo, *ser tenido/tenido* *o/a/de* + infinitivo." In *La gramática en la diacronía. La evolución de las perífrasis verbales modales en español*, ed. by M. Garachana Camarero, 35–80. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert.
- Garachana, Mar, and Malte Rosemeyer. 2011. "Rutinas léxicas en el cambio gramatical. El caso de las perífrasis deónticas e iterativas." *Revista de Historia de la lengua española* 6: 35–60.
- Girón Alconchel, José Luis. 2007. "De nuevo sobre la gramaticalización del futuro analítico." In *Ex admiratione et amicitia: homenaje a Ramón Santiago*, vol. I, ed. I. Delgado, and A. Puigvert, 563–576. Madrid: Ediciones del Orto.
- Glare, P. G. W. 1982/1996. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Possession. Cognitive sources, forces, and grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511581908>
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. "On the role of context in grammaticalization." In *New reflections on grammaticalization*, ed. by I. Wischer, and G. Diewald, 83–101. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.08hei>
- Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613463>
- Hernández Díaz, Axel. 2003. *Construcciones existenciales con el verbo haber en el español. Estructura y evolución, tesis de maestría inédita*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Hernández Díaz, Axel. 2006. "Posesión y existencia. La competencia de *haber* y *tener* en la posesión y *haber* existencial." In *Sintaxis histórica del español. Primera parte: La frase verbal*. Volumen 2, dir. by C. Company Company, 1053–1160. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Hernández Díaz, Axel. 2007. "De la posesión a la existencia en el español medieval." *Medievalia* 39: 31–39.
- Hernández Díaz, Axel. 2014. "Funciones discursivas de las oraciones existenciales en español." *Anuari de Filologia. Estudis de Lingüística*. Número monográfico 4: 119–138.
- Hernández Díaz, Axel. 2017a. "Las perífrasis con el verbo *haber*. De la necesidad y la obligación en estas formas." In *La gramática en la diacronía. La evolución de las perífrasis verbales modales en español*, ed. by M. Garachana, 197–227. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Hernández Díaz, Axel. 2017b. "La posesión verbal en español medieval: la sustitución de *haber* por *tener*." In *La posesión en la lengua española*, ed. by C. Company Company, and N. Huerta Flores, 351–372. Madrid: CSIC.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139165525>
- Itkonen, E. 2005. *Analogy as Structure and Process*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/hcp.14>
- Jacob, Daniel, and Johannes Kabatek. (eds.). 2001. "Introducción: lengua, texto y cambio lingüístico en la Edad Media iberorrománica." In *Lengua medieval y tradiciones discursivas en la Península Ibérica: Descripción gramatical, pragmática histórica, metodología*. Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert Iberoamericana.
- Kabatek, Johannes. 2005. "Tradiciones discursivas y cambio lingüístico." *Lexis* 29(2): 151–177.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1971. "The position of locatives in existential sentences." *Linguistic Inquiry* II(3): 333–378.
- López Izquierdo, Marta. 2008. "Las perífrasis modales de necesidad: emergencia y renovación." In *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española: Mérida (Yucatán), 4–8 septiembre de 2006, vol. 1*, coord. by C. Company Company, and José G. Moreno de Alba, 789–806. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Lyons, John. 1967. "A note on possessive, existential and locative sentences." *Foundations of Language* 3: 390–396.
- Medina Urrea, Alfonso, and Concepción Company Company. 1999. "Sintaxis motivada pragmáticamente: futuros analíticos y futuros sintéticos en el español medieval." *Revista de filología española* 79(1–2): 65–100.

- Meillet, Antoine. 1912. "L'évolution des formes grammaticales." *Scientia* 12:26 (Reimpreso en *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*. Paris: Champion, 1948, 130–148).
- Moreno de Alba, José G. 2006. "Valores verbales de los tiempos pasados de indicativo y su evolución." In *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Primera parte: La frase verbal. Volumen 1*, dir. By C. Company Company, 5–94. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Narrog, H., and B. Heine. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. OUP Oxford.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro. 2015. "Futuros que se miran el ombligo: mesoclis y anteposición de formas no personales en la historia del español." In *El orden de palabras en la historia del español y otras lenguas iberorromances*, ed. by M. Castillo Lluch, and M. López Izquierdo. 141–233. Madrid: Visor.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2016. "Enseñanzas del cambio fracasado: trayectoria y estela de una perífrasis fugaz (infinitivo + tener)." *Cuadernos de Lingüística* 3(1):119–181. <https://doi.org/10.24201/clecm.v3i1.28>
- Paul, Hermann. 1891. *Principles of the history of language*. London-New York: Longmans, Green.
- Pountain, Christopher J. 1985. "Copulas, verbs of possession and auxiliaries in Old Spanish: the evidence for structurally interdependent changes." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 62: 337–355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1475382852000362337>
- Pulgram, Ernst. 1978. "Latin-Romance *habere*: double function and lexical split." *Zeitschri für Romanische Philologie* 94: 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zrph.1978.94.1-2.1>
- Real Academia Española/Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (2 vols.). Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- Rosemeyer, Malte. 2013. "Tornar and volver: The interplay of frequency and semantics in compound tense auxiliary selection in Medieval and Classical Spanish." In *Argument Structure in Flux*, ed. by E. van Gelderen, J. Barðdal, and M. Cennamo, 435–458. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.131.16ros>
- Rosemeyer, Malte. 2015. "Entrenchment and discourse traditions in Spanish auxiliary selection." In *Auxiliary Selection Revisited: Gradience and Gradualness*, ed. by Rolf Kailuweit, and Malte Rosemeyer, 301–331. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110348866-011>
- Rosemeyer, Malte, and Mar Garachana. 2016. *Perifrasticidad y construccionalización: La diacronía de lograr/conseguir+infinitivo*. CILH, Leipzig, 28/9/2016.
- Seifert, Eva. 1930. "Haber y tener como expresiones de la posesión en español." *Revista de Filología Española* 17:3, 233–276 & 4, 345–389.
- Stassen, Leon. 2009. *Predicative possession*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Suñer, Margarita. 1982. *Syntax and semantics of Spanish presentational sentence-types*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Väänänen, Veikko. 1968. *Introducción al latín vulgar*. Madrid, Gredos.

A note on the relative diachronic productivity of metaphor and metonymy

Dirk Geeraerts and Lisbeth De Laet

University of Leuven

The assumption that the progress of culture is characterized by an increase in abstract thinking (in terms of the Vygotskian model of cognitive development) suggests that the proportion of productive metaphor compared to metonymy increases over time. However, a large-scale investigation of metonymical and metaphoric shifts recorded in Buck's dictionary of Indo-European synonyms does not support that suggestion.

Keywords: diachronic productivity, metaphor, metonymy, Indo-European, Vygotsky, synonymy

Diachronic research concerning the productivity of metaphor and metonymy predominantly takes the form of domain-specific investigations: how does the metaphorical or metonymical construal of notions like anger (Geeraerts and Grondelaers 1995), love (Tissari 2001) time (Pagán Cánovas 2011), pride (Fabiszak and Hebda 2010), woman (Zhang, Speelman and Geeraerts 2015) change in the course of history, i.e. is there a shift in the specific metaphors or metonymies used to talk about the concepts or fields in question? Much less debated is the question whether the relative productivity of metaphor versus metonymy is subject to change: are certain time periods – or cultures, for that matter – more prone to using metaphor rather than metonymy, and vice versa?

Drawing on the distinction between complex thinking and abstract thinking introduced by Vygotsky (1986/1934), Glebkin (2014, 2015) proposes a model of the progress of culture that implies an increase in abstract thinking. At the same time, given the view that abstract thinking is positively correlated with metaphor, this historical model suggests that metaphorical semantic changes will become more frequent in the course of time. In this short paper, we try to test this hypothesis on the basis of the data brought together in C. D. Buck's *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (1949). If we classify the mechanisms of lexical change in different languages and language stages, do we

see an accretion of metaphors, reflecting a progression from complex to abstract thinking? Before turning to the method and the results of our investigation, the Glebkin hypothesis (if we may call it that way) needs to be presented with some more detail with regard to each of its three constitutive facets.

First, the Vygotskian distinction between complex and abstract concepts involves the ties that hold together the elements in a concept. In complexes, phenomena are combined on a factual basis: any real-world relationship may lead to the inclusion of a given element into the complex category. Drawing on an example from Darwin, Vygotsky illustrates the process as follows: 'A child's use of *quah* to designate first a duck swimming on the pond, then any liquid, including the milk in his bottle; when he happens to see a coin with an eagle on it, the coin is also called a *quah*, and then any round, coin-like object. This is typical of a chain complex – each new object included has some attribute in common with another element, but the attributes undergo endless changes' (1986/1934: 127). Chain complexes are not the only complexes distinguished by Vygotsky, but more important than the mutual distinctions between chain complexes, associative complexes, collections and diffuse complexes is their common difference with abstract concepts. These are characterized by the abstraction of a common attribute or set of attributes from the collections of phenomena that go into a concept: concepts are demarcated, one could say, by a defining similarity among their elements rather than by their factual connections.

Second, it is precisely the distinction between factual connections and abstracted similarities that motivates the link with metonymy and metaphor. A classical definition of the distinction between both involves the opposition between contiguity and similarity – between, one might say, joint presence and joint characteristics. Although this way of distinguishing metonymy and metaphor has come under attack from a domain-based perspective, there are good reasons for maintaining it (see Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006), and as such, it may indeed be linked to the distinction between complex thinking based on factual relations and abstract thinking based on shared attributes. Some theoretical caution would seem to be called for, though. On the one hand, the actual links existing in a chain complex like *quah* are not only metonymical: the relationship between a coin and other round objects, for instance, is clearly one of similarity. On the other, linking abstract concepts to metaphoricality obscures the fact that the epitome of abstraction – a definition synthetically identifying a set of essential common features for a given collection of phenomena – would have to be based on literal similarity rather than the kind of figurative similarity underlying metaphor. Metaphorical similarity is not the same thing as the literal identity underlying 'proper' definitions: phenomena linked by metaphor are perceived as similar but still different, whereas abstract concepts properly speaking identify an essential identity (cp. Geeraerts

2010). In other words, a very close link between metonymy and complex thinking, and metaphor and abstract thinking is not without conceptual problems. Be that as it may, we will take the link as part of the hypothesis, and see if the historical data support it.

Third, while Vygotsky is primarily concerned with stages of intellectual development in children, an extrapolation to the historical development of cultures may be based in the recognition that these develop from forms of social organization grounded in face to face interaction to more complex social structures, more indirect forms of communication, and less personalized forms of shared knowledge. Accordingly, Glebkin proposes a cultural-historical typology moving from primates to prehistoric hunter-gatherers and from there to early 'theoretic' cultures and further to modern times. In particular, he suggests that the shift to early theoretic cultures reaches its completion in ancient Greek, India, and China. For the data available through Buck (1949), then, this means that if we can find any trace at all of the relevant developments, they will be situated in the third and fourth stages of Glebkin's typology.

Given this theoretical background, we can now describe the method we used in trying to test the Glebkin hypothesis. The compilation of the database took place in two steps (for more details, see De Laet 2017). First, a broad selection of sections from Buck (1949) was made, keeping in mind a balanced distribution over more abstract and more concrete domains. A bias towards either of these could indeed skew the results. If we assume that abstract concepts have a general tendency to exhibit more metaphor, and if we at the same time assume that the general progress of thinking engenders more abstract concepts, then we are likely to see an increase of metaphors over time to the extent that abstract domains dominate the sample under investigation. But the driving force behind the increase of metaphors would then be the productivity of the abstract domains as such, and not a shift in the way abstract phenomena are conceptualized. Simplistically put, the data might then indicate a shift in how many abstract phenomena are talked about, but not necessarily in how they are talked about. Admittedly, an increase in the productivity of abstract concept domains as such would probably also constitute an implementation of the Glebkin hypothesis, but in this investigation, we rather focus on the linguistic correlates of the hypothesis, in terms of the productivity of lexical semantic mechanisms. The selection then takes the following form; the numbers refer to the original section numbers in Buck (1949).

- The physical world in its larger aspects: 1.1 World 1.22 Mountain, hill 1.25 Island 1.26 Mainland 1.32 Sea 1.41 Woods, forest 1.78 Weather
- Mankind: sex, age, family relationship: 2.242 Sex 2.33 Marry 2.37 Parents 2.44 Brother 2.45 Sister 2.75 Orphan 2.76 Widow

- Animals: 3.11 Animal 3.62 Cat 3.73 Bear 3.77 Elephant 3.78 Camel 3.79 Hunt 3.81 Insect
- Parts of the body; bodily functions and conditions: 4.162 Rib 4.20 Head 4.67 Have sexual intercourse 4.95 Deaf 4.96 Dumb 4.97 Blind
- Food and drink; cooking and utensils: 5.14 Hunger 5.15 Thirst 5.41 A meal 5.51 Bread 5.63 Sausage 5.77 Nut 5.85 Sugar
- Clothing; personal adornment and care: 6.11 Clothes, dress 6.49 Stocking, sock 6.71 Adornment 6.72 Jewel 6.94 Ointment 6.95 Soap
- The dwelling, house, furniture: 7.22 Door, gate 7.24 Window
- Agriculture, vegetation: 8.47 Maize, corn 8.51 Grass 8.53 Plant 8.54 Root 8.55 Branch
- Miscellaneous physical acts, arts and crafts; implements, materials, and products: 9.192 Knot 9.29 Flay, skin 9.41 Craft, trade 9.44 Build 9.54 Brick
- Motion; locomotion, transportation, navigation: 10.31 Boil 10.52 Follow 10.63 Send 10.64 Lead 10.75 Carriage, wagon, cart
- Possession, property, and commerce: 11.43 Money 11.47 Bank 11.48 Heir 11.54 Avaracious, stingy 11.69 Tax
- Spatial relations; place, form, size: 12.34 Bottom 12.352 Point 12.41 Right 12.42 Left 12.45–12.48 East, west, north, south 12.53 Grow
- Quantity and number: 13.11 Quantity 13.13 Whole 13.18 Enough 13.22 Empty
- Time: 14.11 Time 14.24 Delay 14.53 Clock, watch 14.74 Winter 14.75 Spring 14.76 Summer 14.77 Autumn
- Sense perception: 15.11 Perceive by the senses; sense 15.55 Show 15.61 Color 15.65 Black 15.87 Clean
- Emotion; temperamental, moral, and aesthetic notions: 16.11 Soul, spirit 16.26 Play 16.29 Kiss 16.71 Good 16.73 Right
- Mind, thought: 17.12 Intelligence, reason 17.16 Understand 17.17 Know 17.32 Forget 17.43 Doubt
- Vocal utterance, speech; reading and writing: 18.23 Be silent 18.31 Ask 18.32 Answer 18.52 Read 18.65 Literature
- Territorial, social, and political divisions; social relations: 19.23 Tribe, clan, family 19.38 Subject 19.46 Obey 19.53 Companion 19.65 Meet
- Warfare: 20.14 Peace 20.15 20.28 Gun, cannon Army 20.41 Victory 20.42 Defeat 20.49 Ambush
- Law: 21.23 Witness 21.33 Convict 21.39 Prison, jail 21.43 Adultery 21.47 Perjury
- Religion and superstition: 22.11 Religion 22.18 Priest 22.21 Church 22.31 Heaven 22.47 Omen

As a second step, the lexemes in these concepts are classified. The classification of the data rests on four categories, which we will illustrate on the basis of the lexemes for ‘jewel’. In general, we are interested in the mechanisms (specifically, the semantic mechanisms) that lead to a new form for the concept at hand. Linearly inherited forms, like the continuation of Old French *joel* in contemporary French *joyau*, are therefore not included in the classification, but the borrowing of *joel* in Italian (*gioiello*) or the Germanic languages (Middle English *iuel*, New English *jewel*, Dutch *juweel*, New High German *juwel*, Danish and Swedish *juvel*) is taken into account. Loans in fact constitute the core of the class that we will designate as OTHER, because it involves neither metaphor nor metonymy. Next to loanwords, the OTHER class comprises less frequent mechanisms like specialization and generalization. Further examples of borrowings in the ‘jewel’ set include Greek *τζοβαίρι*, *τζοβαερίκό* and Rumanian *giuvaer* from Turkish *cevahir*; Lithuanian *kleinotas*, Czech *klenot*, Polish *klejnot* from German *kleinod*; and the expansion of Latin *gemma* to Welsh *gem* and a number of Germanic forms (Old English *gimstan*, *gim*; Middle English *gemme*; New English *gem*; Old High German *gimma*; Middle High German *gimme*). In a number of cases, the loanwords go through further changes, such as French *bijou* which borrows but at the same time generalizes Breton *bizou* ‘ring’. Spanish *alhaya* from Arab *haja* ‘clothing (and other necessities)’ combines borrowing and specialization. Such a combination of borrowing may also occur with metonymy or metaphor, but in such cases, the words will be included in the METAPHOR or METONYMY classes. Spanish *joya* for instance is explained as a metonymically shifted loan from Old French *joi(e)* ‘joy, pleasure’. In a similar way, metaphorical or metonymical compounds are counted with metaphor or metonymy respectively. This is the case with the Germanic forms Dutch *kleinood*, Middle High German *kleinot*, New High German *kleinod* which are formed as a compound with a stem meaning ‘small’ and a stem indicating possession; the ‘small property’ reading is then the basis of an ‘attribute for object’ metonymy. In the ‘jewel’ set, an example of the metaphor class only occurs in Latin *gemma*, which is explained in terms of a reading ‘bud (on a plant)’. Examples of the metonymy class are plenty, on the other hand. One recurrent pattern involves ‘material for object’ metonymies: Old Greek *λίθος*, derived from a literal reading ‘(precious) stone’ – and similarly in New Greek *πέτρα*; New Greek *διαμαντικό* from *διαμάντι* ‘diamond’. Another frequent pattern is of the ‘attribute for object’ type: Serbo-Croatian *drahokam*, Czech, Russian *dragocennost* from Church Slavonic *dragŭ* ‘expensive’; Latvian *dargums* from *dargs* ‘expensive’; Lithuanian *brangenybė* from *brangus* ‘expensive’; New Irish *seod* from Irish *set* ‘precious object’; Breton *braoig* from *brao* ‘beautiful’, Old Norse *gørsemi* from *gørsamr* ‘precious’. The fourth class we distinguish includes cases which cannot be straightforwardly allocated to either class, either because both mechanisms occur or because the choice is difficult to make. A case in point of this small class, labeled

METONYMY/METAPHOR, is Old French *joel* which derives from Latin *iocus* ‘joke, pleasant occasion, sport’, (compare French *jeu* ‘game’): the link may be based on a perceived figurative similarity between dressing up and behaving joyfully and playfully, but personal adornment may also be metonymically associated with festive events and entertainment.

It needs to be emphasized that we consider the investigation based on the resulting database to be an exploratory one. For one thing, we rely on Buck (1949) without taking into account subsequent etymological scholarship. Given the size of the investigation, new insights into the origins of the various Indo-European synonyms have not been included. For another, a semantic classification of the type illustrated above is to some extent subjective, and hence open to debate. Replicating the classificatory effort by several more scholars would likely lead to differences in the categorization of specific lexical items, but the ultimately interesting question would be whether such classificatory differences would have an impact on the overall results. For the time being, that needs to remain an open question. Finally, more advanced quantitative analyses than the one conducted here may be envisaged. Specifically, a regression analysis modelling the choice for a metaphorical or metonymical expression in terms of semantic field, language, period, word class, concreteness and possibly other features would be a natural extension of the present exploration.

Given these caveats, two comparisons can be pursued. First, we can compare the language data from the older, ancient and classical civilizations with languages that represent a later stage of development, specifically, ones that came to the fore in the medieval or early modern period. On one side we range Indo-Iranian, Greek and Latin, on the other the Romance, Germanic, Celtic, Slavic and Baltic languages. Table 1 lists the absolute figures for the four linguistic mechanisms used in our classification, while Table 2 translates these into percentages. We can then compare the proportion of metaphor versus metonymy among these two subgroups. The average percentage of the METAPHOR class within the Greek/Indo-Iranian/Latin subgroup is 20.04% versus 59.55% in the METONYMY class. In the younger subgroup, the average percentage is 18.46% for METAPHOR versus 57.65% for METONYMY. As such, there is no dominant shift towards more metaphor. The minor difference in productivity that may be noted rather goes in the opposite direction.

Table 1. Raw frequencies of semantic mechanisms compared across language families

	Greek	Indo-Iranian	Latin	Romance	Germanic	Celtic	Slavic	Baltic
METONYMY	145	127	102	104	526	190	337	131
METAPHOR	53	45	30	30	189	69	94	42
METONYMY/ METAPHOR	29	26	21	26	131	41	67	24
OTHER	18	30	7	10	77	72	61	26

Table 2. Relative frequencies of semantic mechanisms compared across language families

	Greek	Indo-Iranian	Latin	Romance	Germanic	Celtic	Slavic	Baltic
METONYMY	59,2	55,7	63,7	61,2	57,0	51,0	60,3	58,7
METAPHOR	21,6	19,7	18,8	17,7	20,5	18,6	16,8	18,8
METONYMY/ METAPHOR	11,8	11,4	13,1	15,2	14,2	11,0	12,0	10,8
OTHER	7,4	13,2	4,4	5,9	8,3	19,4	10,9	11,7

This first comparison rests on an ‘absolute’ chronology of ancient and classical civilizations versus more modern ones. But as the progress of civilization does not happen uniformly in different language areas, we may also envisage a ‘relative’ chronology contrasting the different stages of development of the same language group. As before, we can then compare Latin with the Romance languages in the database (French, Italian, Spanish, Rumanian), but we can further include a comparison between the earliest and the more recent stages of the Germanic and Slavic groups. (The older data for the Celtic and the Baltic group are too scant to allow such a comparison, so these groups will not be included in the comparison.) In practice then, we will be able to compare Church Slavonic with Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Czech and Polish, and the older stages of the Germanic languages (Gothic, Old and Middle High German, Old and Middle English, Old and Middle Dutch, Old Norse) with High German, English, Dutch, Swedish and Danish. Table 3 presents the raw data, whereas Table 4 presents them as percentages. Except in the Slavic languages, the relationship between metaphor and metonymy turns out to be stable.

Table 3. Raw frequencies of semantic mechanisms compared within language families

	Latin	Romance	older Germanic	younger Germanic	Church Slavonic	Slavic
METONYMY	102	104	376	150	71	266
METAPHOR	30	30	133	56	11	83
METONYMY/ METAPHOR	21	26	96	35	11	56
OTHER	7	10	55	22	10	51

Table 4. Relative frequencies of semantic mechanisms compared within language families

	Latin	Romance	older Germanic	younger Germanic	Church Slavonic	Slavic
METONYMY	63,7	61,2	57,0	57,0	68,9	58,3
METAPHOR	18,8	17,7	20,2	21,3	10,7	18,2
METONYMY/ METAPHOR	13,1	15,2	14,5	13,3	10,7	12,2
OTHER	4,4	5,9	8,3	8,4	9,7	11,2

Overall, then, we find no compelling evidence for the assumption that an increase of abstract thinking, as a cultural-historical development, takes the form of an increase of the relative productivity of metaphor vis à vis metonymy. This does not exclude the possibility that there may be other implications of an accrual of abstraction, but at least from the perspective of metaphor and metonymy in etymologically relevant semantic shifts, no such correlate can be detected.

References

- Buck, Carl Darling. 1949. *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press (edition 1988).
- De Laet, Lisbeth. 2017. Diachrone evolutie van metafoor en metonymie als categorisatieprincipes voor de socioculturele werkelijkheid. MA thesis, University of Leuven.
- Fabiszak, Magorzata, and Anna Hebda. 2010. "Cognitive historical approaches to emotions: Pride." In *Historical Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. by Margaret E. Winters, Heli Tissari, and Kathryn Allan, 333–356. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110226447.261>
- Geeraerts, Dirk, and Grondelaers, Stefan. 1995. "Looking back at anger. Cultural traditions and metaphorical patterns." In *Language and the Construal of the World*, ed. by John Taylor, and Robert E. MacLaury, 153–180. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. 2010. *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Glebkin, Vladimir V. 2014. "Cultural-historical psychology and the cognitive view of metonymy and metaphor." *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 12: 288–303. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rcl.12.2.02gle>
- Glebkin, Vladimir V. 2015. "The problem of cultural-historical typology from the four-level-cognitive-development theory perspective." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 46.8: 1010–1022. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115593352>
- Pagán Cánovas, Cristóbal. 2011. "The genesis of the arrows of love: Diachronic conceptual integration in Greek mythology." *American Journal of Philology* 132: 553–579. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ajp.2011.0044>
- Peirsman, Yves, and Geeraerts, Dirk. 2006. "Metonymy as a prototypical category." *Cognitive Linguistics* 17: 269–316. <https://doi.org/10.1515/COG.2006.007>
- Tissari, Heli. 2001. "Metaphors we love by: On the cognitive metaphors of love from the 15th century to the present." *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: international review of English Studies* 36: 217–242.
- Vygotsky, Lev. 1986. *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. (Translation of *Myshlenie i rech* 1934.)
- Zhang, Weiwei, Geeraerts, Dirk and Speelman, Dirk. 2015. "Visualizing onomasiological change: Diachronic variation in metonymic patterns for woman in Chinese." *Cognitive Linguistics* 26: 289–330. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2014-0093>

A cognitive approach to the grammaticalization of the epistemic marker *fijo*

Ruth M. Lavale-Ortiz

University of Alicante

The present paper has as its aim to show the semantic evolution of the form *fijo* through which it has acquired increasingly pragmatic uses and functions until it became an epistemic marker. Within this grammaticalization process, the cognitive procedures of metaphor and metonymy, as well as the general mechanism of subjectification, explain the semantic change experienced by this unit thanks to its appearance in certain contextual patterns which have conventionalized the epistemic value. Taking *de fijo que*, *de fijo*, and *a punto fijo/fijo* as our reference, the corpus study reveals that the variants of *fijo* code both the speaker's epistemic commitment and evidential contents, even though each one of them conceptualizes the scene from a different perspective.

Keywords: grammaticalization, subjectification, epistemic mark, metaphor and metonymy, routinization, diachrony, epistemic modality, evidentiality, semantic change, construal

1. Introduction

In recent years, the studies about the semantic modification which affects various language units have shown that the linguistic change which takes place in diachrony can be easily systematized through grammaticalization processes, “procesos evolutivos a través de los cuales se originan y desarrollan las partículas gramaticales,”¹ which involve cognitive, socio-cultural and pragmatic-discursive factors (Garachana 1999: 155–156).

1. “Evolutionary processes through which grammatical particles originate and develop.”

The empirical work presented here about the birth and evolution of *fijo* as an epistemic mark in Spanish² constitutes a prototypical example of this change process which permits to confirm the validity of those general processes which have been utilized to explain and systematize the semantic-pragmatic change experienced by linguistic units: on the one hand, we will comment upon the metaphorical and metonymic procedures which are implemented to show the link existing between the original meaning of *fijo* and its final meaning (as well as its application to different domains, from more specific to more abstract ones); and, on the other hand, a description will be offered of the general subjectification mechanism through which the word acquires an epistemic modal value – as it happens to other linguistic elements too. The corpus analysis performed clearly reflects that “el estado de la lengua de hoy es el resultado de las prácticas comunicativas de ayer”³ (Cornillie 2015: 4–5), which is why, seeking to understand the specific process by means of which the adjective *fijo* acquires that epistemic value, the specific contexts where that word is present will be shown, since the recurrent appearance of this structure in certain contextual patterns that facilitate the epistemic reading (the *ritualization* process, as termed by Haiman 1994) is what eventually leads to the fossilization or conventionalization of new pragmatic meanings which are added to the word’s own semantics and enrich it with such a modal value.

Our work will be organized into several sections. Section 2 will deal with the general historical overview of the form *fijo*, succinctly showing its etymological meaning and how it has gradually evolved over time, as well as the different functions that *fijo* has performed and the various ways which have arisen for the expression of epistemic values. Subsequently, Section 3 will be dedicated to explaining the semantic-pragmatic change of the form *fijo*; three basic issues are going to be addressed in this section: the cognitive processes of metaphor and metonymy which explain the semantic change operated in this form; the grammaticalization experienced by *fijo* and the role played by the subjectification mechanism in this process; and finally, the modality and evidentiality contents which are expressed by the form *fijo*. After this, Section 4 will focus on the results of our analysis about *de fijo que*, *de fijo*, and *a punto fijo* based on the corpus used. The routinization

2. From an integrating framework, the work of Hummel (2012) on the study of the Latin-Romance transition of the adverbial adjectives *fijo*, *seguro*, *cierto*, *exacto*, *claro*, etc. [*fixed*, *safe*, *certain*, *exact*, *clear*], is essential. According to the author, although these elements present distinctions because they are based on different concepts, they have the same discursive function: they are attributes that compete in the affirmative function and share the characteristic of excluding hesitation and insecurity, whether by evidence or security, accuracy or other concepts; likewise, they extend their functional potential towards epistemic modal functions (2012: 168).

3. “The state of today’s language is the result of yesterday’s communicative practices.”

process experienced by these forms will be described at this stage; in other words, we will examine the recurrent contexts where they have appeared and which have ended up coding the epistemic values, additionally paying attention to the way in which they convey evidential content. Finally, Section 5 will provide a summary of the conclusions reached.

2. A general historical overview of *fijo* and its variants

The etymology of the form *fijo* poses no problems for the researcher. Corominas and Pascual (1980), as well as Cuervo (1998), point out that this adjective has its origin in Latin *fixus*, past participle of the verb *figere* ‘to hammer/drive something into something,’ with the meaning of ‘fixed,’ ‘firm, secured.’

As a matter of fact, the earliest documented occurrences of this form are as an adjective, under the form *fixo*, and date back to an anonymous work appeared between 1254 and 1260, *Judizios de las estrellas*, available in CORDE. The adjective is used in this astrology book with the specific meaning of ‘permanent’: ‘Llaman los Astrólogos a los quatro signos Tauro, Leon, Escorpión, y Aquário, por ser en ellos permanente el mismo modo de tiempo’⁴ (RAE 1732). We thus discover examples such as “si fuere en signo fixo” [if it were in fixed sign], “Luna en signo fixo” [Moon in fixed sign], “Del ascendent en signo fixo” [From the ascendant in fixed sign], “signo mouible o comun o fixo” [movable sign or common or fixed], “medio cielo en signo fixo” [half heaven in fixed sign], “aquel signo fuere con esto fixo” [that sign was with it fixed].⁵ From 1277 onwards, CORDE begins to include occurrences of the adjective with its basic meaning of ‘firm, secure’: “dizen el quadrante fixo” [they say the fixed quadrant] (dated in 1277), “touiesen fixo en la memoria” [had fixed in their memory] (in 1417), “mirare con ojo fixo” [looked with fixed eye] (1424), “deve ser fixo o firme e perpetuo” [must be fixed or firm and perpetual] (1450), and “ser constante & fixo” [to be constant & fixed] (1490).

4. ‘Astrologists call the four signs Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, and Aquarius, because the same time mode is permanent in them.’

5. This first meaning of the adjective *fijo* should not come as a surprise to us. The Aristotelian worldview, in which a distinction had to be drawn between the earth, as a changing and corruptible area, and the sky, a perfect as well as immutable region, was taken into account at the time when these occurrences were recorded. The firmament, defined by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (RAE 1732) as ‘the sky which remains firm and stable,’ was conceived as a sort of letter or document, something invariable which was interpreted, because destiny was written on it, in the position of the stars. This first meaning of *fijo* directly reflects the extralinguistic reality of the time, which is why, following Geeraerts (1997: 23), the reason for the semantic change experienced by *fijo* lies in encyclopedic information.

The first uses of the form *fixo* as an adverb appear in the early 15th century and are associated with the verb *mirar* [to look at], as can be checked in these examples taken from the diachronic corpus of RAE [Spanish Royal Academy of the Language]: “mirandolo fixo, retroçederya” [looking at it fixedly, it would recede] (1424) and “de mirar fixo su deal persona” [to look at his divine person] (1430). Despite the fact that its presence in the corpus with this function is early, the adverbial value of *fixo* does not appear in dictionaries until the one elaborated by Gaspar y Roig (1853), which includes the adverbial acceptance of ‘fixedly’ under the entry *fijo*. It is surprising to check that the Spanish Academy of the Language does not give *fijo* a specific meaning as an adverb in any of the editions of its dictionary, in their usual or manual variants, even though other adjectives such as *limpio* [clean], *lento* [slow] or *firme* [firm] do have it.⁶

The form *fijo* is recorded in an adverbial function at the beginning of the 15th century with the meaning of ‘sure, certain, indubitable’ (Cuervo 1998): “la quinta causa dela conpusiçion delas melezjnas es fixo por que alguna melezjina traspasa mucho” [the fifth cause of the composition of the melecines is fixed because some melecine crosses a lot] (a 1500) or “Irme tras de ti elijo; / que en Compañía que las armas usa, / la silla tendré fijo” [Go after you I choose; / that in Company that arms use, / the chair will have fixed] (1590). Santos Río (2003: 392) documents this adverbial function of *fijo* in two contexts: as “adverbio reactivo de confirmación o reafirmación,”⁷ whether it is in independent turns of speech or as a tag isolated by means of pauses; and as an “adverb of manner,” dependent on the verb. The corpus analysis carried out allowed us to check that, with the arrival of the 17th century, *fijo* began to develop more complex forms that stressed this meaning and served to code the epistemic value derived from this specific meaning. Table 1 shows the earliest appearances of lexical variants for *fijo* with an epistemic value in the corpus, together with their first lexicographic documentation in the works collected in the *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* and in later dictionaries of the Royal Academy:⁸

6. Only the *Diccionario esencial* of 2006 collects that adverbial possibility of *fijo* equivalent to the variant *de fijo* and with an already epistemic value as the second acceptance: ‘ADV. 3. **de fijo**. *Está muy nublado: fijo que hoy llueve*’ [It’s very cloudy: for sure, it will rain today].

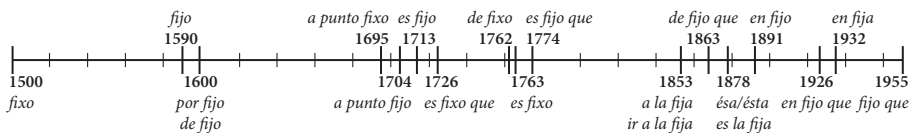
7. “A reactive adverb of confirmation or reaffirmation.”

8. Table 1 gives an overview of all the lexical variants of *fijo*, regardless of gender, dialect or extension in use.

Table 1. First documented occurrences of variants for *fijo* with an epistemic value

Variant of <i>fijo</i>	Year	Dictionary
por fijo	1600	Unrecorded
de fijo/fixo	1600/1762	Gaspar y Roig (1853): ‘phrase: A PUNTO FIJO o DE FIJO: with certainty/security’
a punto fijo/fijo	1695/1794	
es fijo/fixo	1713/1763	Unrecorded
es fijo/fijo que	1726/1774	Unrecorded
a la fija	1853	RAE Supplement 1970: ‘m. adv. <i>Chile</i> and <i>Urug.</i> with certainty/security’
ir (alguien) a la fija	1853	RAE 2001: ‘verb. loc. <i>Col.</i> and <i>Nic.</i> To play safe’
de fijo que	1863	Unrecorded
ésa es la fija	1878	RAE Usual 1925: ‘fam. phrase with which something is approved as certain’
ésta es la fija	1878	RAE Usual 1925: ‘phrase which suggests that the occasion has arrived when what is feared or expected might happen’
en fijo	1891	RAE 2001: ‘rural adv. loc. <i>Arg.</i> for sure’
en fijo que	1926	Unrecorded
en fija	1970	RAE Supplement 1970: ‘m. adv. <i>Argent.</i> and <i>Urug.</i> with certainty/security’
fijo que	1955	Unrecorded

The gradual appearance over time of the first uses with an epistemic value of variants for *fijo* can be visualized in Image 1:

**Image 1.** Chronological line: First epistemic uses of variants for *fijo*

In short, even though the form *fijo* with a basic meaning (the adjectival value of ‘fixed, firm’) documented since the mid-13th century did not disappear through this historical evolution, other forms and functions gradually appeared over time which were linked to the basic value of ‘firm’: initially, the adverbial meanings of ‘fixedly’ (well into the 15th century) associated above all with the verb *mirar* [to look at] and subsequently, the meanings of ‘sure and certain,’⁹ with which were

9. RAE 1732 collects under the same adjectival meaning ‘firme, seguro y cierto. Es tomado del Latino Fixus, que significa lo mismo’ [firm, sure and certain. It is taken from Latin *Fixus*, which means the same].

generated – already in the early 16th century – epistemic uses appearing in adverbial locutions (the first ones in 1600, *por fijo* and *de fijo*),¹⁰ in discursive markers (the first one documented in 1500 under the form *fixo*),¹¹ and conjunctive locutions (*es fijo que* was the first to appear in 1726).

3. Explanation of the semantic-pragmatic change operated in *fijo*

3.1 Metaphor and metonymy

The semantic evolution of the form *fijo* can be explained thanks to the application of metaphorical and metonymic procedures (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The first step to understand its meaning extension consists in resorting to the ontological metaphor THE MIND IS THE BODY. Adapting this well-known metaphor to our context, the physical domain, in which an AGENT (understood more broadly as a CONCEPTUALIZER) comes into contact with an entity that consequently remains under his control in a fixed or anchored way, is extended to the conceptual domain, where an AGENT or EXPERIENCER establishes an idea or a concept in a firm, consolidated or anchored way.

A metonymic process follows which can be summarized like this:

FIRM, FIXED, ANCHORED > IMMOVABLE > CERTAIN, UNDOUBTED

When an idea or concept becomes firm, hammered or fixed, it is stable, strongly anchored and, therefore, immovable. From an argumentative point of view, the immovable is something certain, something that is not questioned and, consequently, something argumentatively stronger and intensified. The fact that the metonymic content “the unquestionable is certain, is sure, is firm, is anchored, does not move and is strong” repeatedly appears in specific linguistic contexts enables

10. Regarding the variants with preposition, Hummel (2006, 2019) states that *fijo* is a borrowed form of Classical Latin by educated people and that the prepositional variants are an innovation of the Latin-Romance transition. These variants arose when the discourse of educated speakers penetrated the informal spoken romance, and developed semantic nuances and functional differences. In addition, these forms performed epistemic functions from the first occurrences and appear in works close to orality, forming part of a process of *colloquialization*.

11. More than 200 years elapsed until the other forms which acted as discursive markers were documented: *es fijo* (1713), *a punto fijo* (1730), *es fixo* (1763), *de fijo* (1828), *a punto fijo* (1847), *en fijo* (1891), and *en fija* (1932). Therefore, taking the study undertaken by Garachana (2014: 964) as a reference, the development of textual uses of *fijo* could be divided into two stages: 16th century, when the first utilization as a discursive marker with an epistemic value appeared; and 18th and 19th centuries, when the enrichment of the discursive marker repertoire took place.

this conversational implicature (using the terms coined by Hopper and Traugott 1993: 71–98) to become the driver of the grammaticalization process experienced by this unit. A conventionalization of the conversational implicature takes place as a result of which the notion of certainty and cognitive anchorage (as an essential element in discourse) is associated with the content of firmness and immovability (from the physical to the discursive domain), in such a way that *fijo* reinforces its pragmatic content (more abstract and more subjective) through this process. The generalization of this inference about the notion of immovability and fixedness extends to contexts where the implicature is not conventionalized (because no deductive process exists which allows us to infer it), or even to contexts of doubt or hypothesis (highly common in our corpus, as will be seen in Section 4.2, dedicated to the analysis), where *fijo* and its variants serve as informative anchorage.

Together with these two meaning extension processes, a last metaphor arises in parallel to the first one that can be worded as CERTAINTY IS A STRENGTH. If we interpret that what is firm and stable in the physical domain is robust and resists movement, which is why it becomes stronger (remember the principle of force dynamics formulated by Talmy in 1988), in the conceptual domain, it will be understood that what is certain, sure, and undoubted will resist discursive evolution and will become stronger in argumentative terms.¹²

Summing up, the metaphorical base of the semantic evolution experienced by *fijo* lies in the concept of STRENGTH; hence the interpretation that physical fixation implies stability and resistance, and conceptual security means cognitive anchorage and epistemic commitment.

3.2 The grammaticalization process

Fijo and its variants exemplify the most prototypical grammaticalization process through which “se gramaticalizan palabras o sintagmas con un significado léxico”¹³ (Garachana 1999: 156), since a grammaticalization of the adjective *fijo* to more abstract meanings of a procedural nature takes place.

The first stage of the process is represented by the lexical value of the form *fijo*. With this value, *fijo* behaves as an adjective or as an adverb, and suggests a spatial

12. This metaphor can be found in other expressions, such as *estar alguien en lo firme* (‘to be right, to profess a sure opinion or doctrine,’ according to RAE 2014) or *no dar su brazo a torcer, mantenerse en sus trece* [both of them meaning: ‘to stand one’s ground’] (‘not to give up/in’ because one’s own opinion is firm) and *pisar suelo firme* [to walk on solid ground] (‘to find oneself in a safe situation’), as explained by Salanova (2010).

13. “Words or phrases with a lexical meaning are grammaticalized.”

deictic relationship. This meaning arises when the speaker witnesses a scene in which an entity (which acts as a figure) is or remains ‘stable, fixed on a physical space’; hence why the stable and firm position of an entity on a particular space is shown.

As an adjective, *fijo* modifies a noun appeared in the discourse and expresses a quality or property of that entity: it indicates that the entity in question is or remains firm, sure, hammered or adhered to something else,¹⁴ as can be verified in Examples (1) and (2).

- (1) Manet esta fixo & quedo [Manet is fixed and still].
(CORDE. Palencia, A. de [1490]: *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992)
- (2) El dolor d’ellos es asý fixo, id est, fyncado, que les paresçe que tengan vn fferro fincado en los rryñones, contynuo sobre la vena quilis, por las yjadas a la bexiga [Their pain is thus fixed, that is, hammered, that it seems to them as if they had an iron driven into the lower part of their backs, continuous on the quilis vein, from the sides up to the bladder]. (CORDE. Anonymous [1495]: *Traducción de la Cirugía Mayor de Lanfranco*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Fol. 178V, 1987)

It is interpreted in Example (1) that the subject (“Manet”) is in a firm position, fixed on a specific place, does not move and stays calm; in turn, pain is adhered to them in (2). This basic value is actually accompanied by a complement of place in (3), where it is clearly stated that Saint John remained firm and motionless in a very specific place, “at the foot of the cross”:

- (3) El amigo que amava y era amado de Jesús es sant Juan, el qual, permaneciendo, estuvo fixo al pie de la cruz con los pies, no mudándose de allí con el coraçón ni pensando en otra cosa sino en los dolores de Christo con la voluntad transformándolos en sí [The friend who loved and was loved by Jesus is Saint John, who, staying there, was fixed at the foot of the cross, without moving from there with the heart and without thinking of anything other than Christ’s pains with the desire to transform them for him]. (CORDE. Osuna, F. de [1530]: *Segunda parte del Abecedario espiritual*. Madrid: Cisneros, 2004)

14. It must be remembered that the first uses of *fijo* as an adjective in the CORDE corpus are related to the world of Astrology and have the meaning of ‘permanent’, as reflected in RAE (1732) ‘Astrologists call the four signs Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, and Aquarius, because the same time mode is permanent in them’: “E otrosi del signo en que fue aquella planeta que signo es. si es fixo o mouible. & destes estados iudgaras las faziendas daquel preso” [And besides the sign that was that planet is. whether it is fixed or movable. & of these states you will judge the estates of that prisoner]. (CORDE. Anonymous [1254–1260]: *Judizios de las estrellas*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares).

Fixo also has the meaning ‘with attention, without deviation’ as an adverb (Cuervo 1998: 241), being usually accompanied by the verb *mirar* [to look at]:

- (4) Vn fuerte castillo, e su fenestrage / e puertas obrado de maçoneria / de çafir de oriente, que todo visage, / mirandolo fixo, retroçederya [A strong castle, and its set of windows / and doors wrought in masonry / of sapphire from the East, that every gesture, / looking at it fixedly, it would move back].

(CORDE. Anonymous [a 1424–1520]: *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Íxar*. Madrid: CSIC, p. 566, 1956)

- (5) O que ella sea fija de Latona / Segund su aspecto / e grand resplandor / Assi que punto ya non he vigor / De mirar fixo su deal persona / El su fablar grato dulce amoroso / Es vna maraujlla ciertamente [Or that she is the daughter of Letona / According to her appearance / and great gleam / To such an extent that I no longer have vigor / to look fixedly at her divine person / Her agreeable, sweet and loving speech / is certainly marvellous].

(CORDE. VV.AA. [a 1430 – a 1494]: *Cancionero castellano y catalán de París* (PN4). BNP, Esp. 226. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Fol. 105R, 1995)

Examples (4) and (5) convey the idea that somebody carries out the action of attentively and firmly directing his gaze towards a specific spot (the castle in the first case, and somebody else in the second). This use of *mirar* without a direct object stems from the fact that *mirar* is a verb of perception oriented to the PERCEIVER or experimenter, not to the PERCEPT or perceived object, and focuses on the trajectory followed by the eyes in the process of observation experienced by the perceiver (Hanegreefs 2008).

Simultaneously to the appearance of the previous examples, utterances start to be found in which the noun modified by *fijo* is inclined towards abstraction, which means that the location base comes to be the interior of a person or, more precisely, of the speaker:

- (6) E así, por tales maneras de ruegos buelven e trastornan el corazón de aquel verdadero propósito que deve ser fixo o firme e perpetuo en todo verdadero juez e fiel regidor o cibdadano [And thus, due to such requests, the heart is turned and disrupted from that true purpose which must be fixed or firm and perpetual in every true judge and faithful councilor or citizen]. (CORDE. Anonymous [1450]: *Cuatro oraciones a la República de Florencia*. Madrid: Gredos, 1995)

- (7) por dios no se que me crea / quando siento / lo que sobra mi tormento / a la cuenta que hazeys / y es el mal que yo consiento / que este en vos mi pensamiento / mas fixo que vos quereys / de modo que a lo que veys / lo que gano / es vna muerte temprano [For God’s sake I don’t know if you believe me / when

I feel / what my torment exceeds / compared to the attention that you pay to it / and it is the evil that I accept / that my thoughts are with you / more fixed than what you want / so that to what you see / what I gain / is an early death].

(CORDE. Anonymous [1540]: *Cancionero de Velázquez de Ávila*.

Valencia: Castalia, p. 29. 1951)

“That true purpose” in (6) is the entity which needs to remain fixed or firm and located in a person (“judge and faithful councilor or citizen”), whereas the speaker’s thoughts in (7) must stay fixed “on you.”

It is these more abstract contexts that permit the passage to the second stage of the grammaticalization process operated in *fijo*, in which the local level is left aside and the emphasis is placed on the personal level. In this case, *fijo* also works as an adjective or as an adverb, and it also starts from the lexical meaning of an entity which remains ‘firm, fixed or stable,’ but that entity is no longer a physical entity located on an external space; instead, we are dealing with a more abstract entity located at the speaker’s personal level; the idea is accordingly conveyed that something stays ‘fixed in me (in my memory, in my mind, in my heart...).’

- (8) E porque touiesen fixo en la memoria este cuento, puso en los diez mandamientos de las tablas seyscientas e treze letras, a significar que en los diez los seyscientos e treze implícitamente eran contenidos [And because they had this tale fixed in their memory, he put six hundred and thirteen letters in the ten commandments, to mean that the six hundred and thirteen were implicitly contained in the ten]. (CORDE. Villena, E. de [c 1417]: *Tratado de la lepra*.

París: Revue Hispanique, 1917)

- (9) El alto cielo – que ‘n sus movimientos * / por diversas figuras discurriendo, / en nuestro sentir flaco ‘stá influyendo / diversos y contrarios sentimientos; / y una vez mueve blandos pensamientos, otra vez asperezas va encendiendo, / y es su uso traernos rebolviendo, / agora con pesar y ora contentos -, / fixo ‘stá en mí, sin nunca hazer mudança / de planeta ni sino en mi sentido, / clavado en mis tormentos todavía [The high sky – that in its movements * / moving across various figures, / is influencing our weak feeling / diverse and opposed feelings; / and one time it moves soft thoughts, and another time it gradually raises differences, / and it is its habit to keep us restless, / now with sorrow and other times happy -, / it is fixed in me, without ever making changes / of planet or of destiny in my sense, / still fixed in my torments.

(CORDE. Boscán, J.n [c 1514–1542]: *Poesías*. Barcelona: PPU, p. 240, 1991)¹⁵

15. This example once again allows us to see that encyclopedic nature which is behind the semantic change experienced by the word *fijo*: as already explained in Note 5, in the Middle Ages, the sky was a map where the position of the stars not only served to orient seafarers in their voyages but also to predict people’s destiny. Astrology was basic in the anthropology of that period.

- (10) y de mi mano y letra escribió Ramirez, vuestro presidente en Mexico, avisos, cartas, cosas, que entonçes y despues an suçedido al Emperador vuestro padre y mi señor, que Dios, por su misericordia, tiene en su gloria, qué personas, estado de gente, qué habilidades, qué convenia á esta tierra, y aquello me a quedado fixo en la mente para vuestro Real serviçio [And in my own handwriting wrote Ramírez, your president in Mexico, warnings, letters, things, which then and later have happened to the Emperor your father and my lord, that God, for his mercy, has in his glory, which persons, state of people, which skills, what was convenient for this land, and that has remained fixed in my mind for your Royal Service]. (CORDE. Logroño, P. de [1567]: *Carta del clérigo Pedro de Logroño al Rey Don Felipe II, dando parecer sobre la venta del pueblo de...* Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, p. 251, 1877)

This personal value can be attested in Examples (8), (9) and (10) above: we understand that something is fixed “in the memory” of a person, “in me” (“in my torments”) and “in my mind”; hence why the interiorization of the location of an abstract entity that the speaker shows as stable and firm in his interior takes place.

Finally, in a third stage, the form *fijo* continues with this notional value which had been initiated in the second stage of the grammaticalization process, but abandons the personal level to act in discursive terms. At this level, *fijo* loses its adjectival function and behaves as an adverb (11) or an adverbial locution (12), in the first phase of this stage, and as a conjunctive locution (14) or a discursive marker (13), in the second stage – the reason why this role in discourse is played by more grammatical functions (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 1). In any case, it always incorporates the epistemic value of what is ‘certain, sure,’ of something which makes the subject acquire a personal commitment and, therefore, of something which he considers argumentatively stronger. In short, this value allows the speaker to express that something is ‘fixed for him,’ from his personal perspective and applied to the discourse, in such a way that the subjectivity concept is the one which makes possible the transition to the last stage in the grammaticalization process.

- (11) Dicen también que en Barcelona vn Estudiante mató vn Sobrino del Marqués de Bressé, su Virey, i que el Virey se ha partido a Francia. Mas en esto no se puede asegurar nada fijo, como que ni el Mariscal de la Mota está nombrado Virey de Cataluña [They also say that, in Barcelona, a student killed one Nephew of the Marquis of Bressé, his Viceroy, and that the Viceroy has gone to France. But nothing fixed can be assured in this, like not even that neither the Marshal of la Mota is appointed Viceroy of Catalonia].

(CORDE. Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, J. [1642]: *Avisos de 1642 [Avisos]*. París: Éditions Hispaniques, p. 397, 2002)

- (12) Mediodía era por fijo, / Las doce daba el reló; / Comiendo está con los grandes / El rey Alfonso en Leon [It was midday for sure, / the clock was striking twelve; / (he) is having lunch with the great ones / King Alphonse in León].
(CORDE. Anonymous [1600–1604]: *Romances, en Romancero general* [*Romancero general*]. Madrid: Rivadeneira, p. I, 553, 1851)
- (13) MENTOR: A veces no basta el brío; / con poderosos contrarios, / huir es vencer.
TELÉMACO: Es fijo; / pero no son poderosos, / que yo en mi bien lo examino
[MENTOR: Sometimes determination does not suffice; / with powerful opponents / fleeing is winning. TELEMACHUS: It is fixed; / but they are not powerful, / that I rightly examine it]. (CORDE. Vela, E. [p 1713]:
Comedia nueva de Si el amor excede al arte, ni amor ni arte a la prudencia. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, 2003)
- (14) La tercera, que no sea jactancioso en obstar el poder, y seguridad de su Arte: porque siendo cierto, que no ay tal seguridad en ella, es fijo que el que la propone tal, o es muy ignorante, o muy engañador [The third one, that he should not be so boastful in holding power, and security of his Art: because it being certain that there is no such security in it, it is sure that whoever proposes it like that, either is very ignorant, or very deceitful].
(CORDE. Feijoo, B. J. (1726): *Teatro crítico universal*, I. Oviedo: Instituto Feijoo del siglo XVIII, 1998)

Examples (11) to (14) contain complex forms of *fijo* which have this epistemic value at the discursive level: in (11), it is said without a doubt that a reality could not be assured, (12) takes as certain and undoubted that it was a particular time of day, in (13), an answer is given to the interlocutor's statement with the certainty of what can leave no room for doubt, and the speaker in (14) shows a strong commitment when he describes someone's attitude.¹⁶ The speaker projects his security, his firmness and his commitment to what has been said in all cases, so that the interlocutor can understand that the utterance is valid, is true, and prevails over any other discursive element. The commitment with which the speaker endows his message helps to strengthen the element introduced by the epistemic marker.

Image 2 below schematically shows the three stages representing the grammaticalization that the form *fijo* has gone through:

16. As an anonymous reviewer points out, the non-epistemic meanings of *fijo* are linked to the use of the adjective with predicates such as *tener* (8), *estar* (9) o *quedar* (10) [to have, to be, to remain], while epistemic meanings appear linked to *ser* ((13), (14)) [to be].

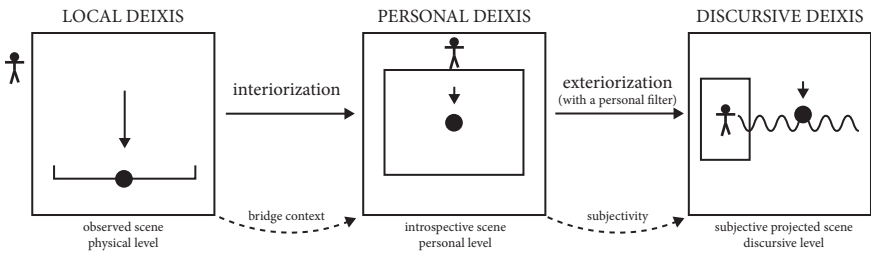


Image 2. Scheme of the grammaticalization process experienced by *fijo*

Summing up the above, it can be stated that the first stage is a scene observed by an external agent subject in which a physical entity comes to be located on a specific physical space (local physical level). An interiorization process leads us to the second stage, which represents an introspective scene carried out by an agent subject where an abstract entity remains anchored in the speaker's own interior (personal notional level). Due to a subjectification process, it is possible to reach the third stage in the grammaticalization process, materialized in a scene projected from the actual subject towards his discourse (an exteriorization of the speaker's ideas with his personal filter), where the agent subject's discourse anchors an argument to whose security and certainty he is committed and to which he assigns more value and argumentative strength (discursive notional level). In any case, the basis for the semantic-discursive change process obviously lies in subjectification, a semantic-pragmatic process according to which "meanings become increasingly based on the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (Traugott 1995: 31). In keeping with this linguistic change mechanism, the appearance of this unit in certain contexts or constructions "propicia una interpretación que pone en primer plano el punto de vista del hablante a costa de una pérdida de contenido ideativo o representativo"¹⁷ (Vázquez Rozas 2010: 136). Thus, the subjectification process explains why a passage takes place from the physical-local level to the notional-personal one at first, and why the personal perspective about one's own discourse becomes exteriorized during an exclusively notional second stage. Throughout this evolution, *fijo* gradually acquires new values with the possibility for its appearance in more contexts; the initial basic meanings do not disappear, though; they have survived to the present day, which matches the principle of layering advocated by Hopper (1991: 22–24).

From a semantic point of view, the grammaticalization process experienced by the word *fijo* represents the passage from a purely lexical meaning that shows

17. "Favors an interpretation that places the emphasis on the speaker's point of view at the expense of a loss of ideative or representative content."

the fixed position of an element hammered onto a physical space to a procedural meaning which can be understood as the following instruction: give a certain value to what has been said because it is something deduced, inferred or shared (the evidential content to which the next section will refer) and has more argumentative strength or weight for being anchored in the speaker's personal commitment. It follows from the above that *fijo* serves to mark what is hammered, what remains stable according to the speaker's subjective perspective, what is relevant and sure within that succession of discursive elements that shape the background. At the end of its grammaticalization process, *fijo* has become an element that contributes to anchoring in the discourse, and suggests that the argument introduced by it occupies a higher position in the speaker's epistemic commitment, which in turn makes it stronger in argumentative terms.

Neither a semantic impoverishment¹⁸ nor a desemanticization seem to occur during that process, though; the element becomes pragmatically enriched instead: the loss of spatial physical location is compensated by the gain in personal discursive location, epistemic commitment, and argument intensification. In any case, the meaning of 'firmness, anchorage' always stays, even if the application levels (spatial, personal, and discursive) are different. For this reason, the semantic explanation for the evolution of the form *fijo* inevitably has to resort to the concept of *semantic persistence* (Hopper 1991: 28–30): *fijo* and its variants share a common schematic content where the basic etymological idea of the adjective remains, since the idea of firmness is maintained across the uses of *fijo* (and its variants) and subjectification adds to the basic etymological local meaning, firstly as the interiorization of an abstraction, which places it within the speaker's personal universe, and secondly, as the exteriorization of the speaker's opinion regarding what is said. Furthermore, the deictic nature arises as yet another constant in this element: regardless of whether we are dealing with spatial physical location, personal notional location or discursive notional location, this linguistic unit typically has the ability to refer back to contents which are present in the context.

As for the morphosyntactic level, the grammaticalization process undergone by *fijo* and its variants as epistemic marks brings about a loss of referential capacity as well as a reanalysis; a recategorization gradually takes place which alters the scope and syntactic mobility of elements, insofar as, through the subjectification process, the open grammatical category of the adjective gives way to a variety of forms belonging to closed, minor categories (adverb, conjunction, and discursive marker) where the elements in question lose their inflection (they become fixed, invariable), restrict their complementation possibilities, and specialize in the relational

18. As pointed out by Traugott and Dasher (2002: 11–12), "the loss of an earlier meaning is relatively rare. What is typical is the accretion of more and more meanings over time."

function, broadening the scope of predication and their degree of autonomy in the sentence (Company 2004: 37–40, Garachana 2014: 968–972). The distribution of semantic and discursive uses for *fijo* and its variants is accordingly reflected in its syntactic behavior.

3.3 The expression of modality and evidentiality

The statement made above about the role played by *fijo* and its variants in discourse – i.e. that they serve to show the speaker's commitment to the firm and sure knowledge that he owns about what has been said – lead us to introduce two basic concepts inherent to this linguistic form, namely: modality; and evidentiality.

Modality can be defined as the 'expresión de la actitud del hablante en relación con el contenido de lo que se comunica'¹⁹ (RAE 2014), and it comprises different semantic notions, though the type of notion that codes *fijo* (and its variants) is the epistemic one, which applies to the necessity and possibility contents and, more precisely, is utilized to "hacer referencia a las creencias del hablante y a los compromisos que adopta con respecto a la veracidad de un contenido proposicional."²⁰ This means that it constitutes an "evaluación sobre la credibilidad o verosimilitud que el hablante concede a un juicio"²¹ (Rodríguez-Espiñeira 2010: 186). Hence why the epistemic modal content has a subjective and attitudinal nature.

Fijo (and its variants) specifically represent a mark which describes the speaker's attitude towards the informative content, since it shows a reflexive comment, a high degree of belief in the utterance – the reason why it is linked to epistemic stances of strong commitment, high conviction, and security. This element proves helpful to reinforce what has been said and also to assess it as more relevant, providing the utterance introduced with more strength.²² When the speaker issues an utterance with *fijo*, he does so because of the conviction that results from his personal consideration; and he additionally wishes his interlocutor to share that degree of belief in what has been said. From an interpersonal point of view, it is

19. "Expression of the speaker's attitude in relation to the content of what is communicated."

20. "Refer to the speaker's beliefs as well as to the commitments that he adopts with regard to the truthfulness of a propositional content."

21. "Assessment of the credibility or verisimilitude that the speaker grants to an opinion."

22. The value as a reinforcer and intensifier of what has been said is highlighted both by Fuentes (2009: 176) and by Albelda (2002): Fuentes argues that "no sólo muestra compromiso del hablante, refuerza la aserción y la intensifica" [it not only shows the speaker's commitment, it also reinforces the assertion and intensifies it], while Albelda (2002) claims that *fijo* is a typical form of the colloquial register (an opinion shared by Santos Río 2003) with an intensifying value.


consequently a mark by means of which the speaker plans to create or strengthen ties with his addressee and wants the security regarding what has been said to be something shared and assumed by the other. Actually, when our interlocutor hears the word *fijo*, an instruction is awakened inside him that what has been conveyed by this element is something stronger, which must be immovable and firm (retrieving its etymological meaning) once it has been listened to; it emphasizes an element which has cognitive strength in discursive development, which resists against the rest, and forces him to focus his attention on what has been heard, because he knows that the speaker who addresses him is strongly committed to the truthfulness of the utterance in question.

To this must be added that an evidential content is also coded in *fijo* which serves to express the source of the assessment or the knowledge about the thing that is being commented upon. Following Bermúdez (2005: 10–18), the traditional distinction between direct evidence (when the source is personal and the information is accessed through the senses, as an eyewitness) and indirect evidence, whether it is inferred (cognitive way to access information carried out by means of inference, reasoning, deduction or conjectures) or mediated (through folklore, which expresses a universal access to information inside a community), can be better explained under the postulates of Cognitive Linguistics, as a category defined from three dimensions which are shaped as a continuum between two poles: (1) access to information may be sensorial or cognitive; (2) the source of information may lie in ourselves or stem from somebody else; and (3) access to information may be privative or universal. In the case of the particle under study here, it becomes obvious that *fijo* expresses a modal content which usually comes from the speaker, but the event is likely to be modalized by another entity too, which means that *fijo* serves to express the source of the evaluation or of the knowledge about what has been commented upon.

Despite the conceptual proximity existing between epistemic modality and evidentiality, these two contents need to be differentiated. According to Bermúdez (2005: 28), whereas evidentiality requires the listener's collaboration in the negotiation or *interconstruction* of meaning, since the speaker shows the information source so that his interlocutor can assess and share the degree of certainty corresponding to what has been said, epistemic modality is linked to the speaker, insofar as it expresses his own opinion (or that of the subject in the clause), his firm and sure point of view about the utterance. It is of course only thanks to the speaker's strong commitment to what has been said that the listener will be able to share his views about the words uttered, and that happens by virtue of the conversational principles, of the wish to ensure that the conversation is successful and that links are created between the interlocutors. Nevertheless, specifying the information source will increase the degree of reliability that the listener grants to the words that he has

just heard. This distribution of the semantic functions corresponding to the mark *fijo* can be seen in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Semantic contents of *fijo* in the communicative process

Epistemic modality	Evidentiality
Personal attitude	Assessment of the information
Certainty, security, firmness	source
Strong commitment and cognitive anchorage	Negotiation about reliability and the belief in what has been said
Speaker	Listener
	
Subjectivity	Intersubjectivity

The epistemic values conveyed by *fijo*, that certainty associated with what has just been stated, are added to those provided by the information source (something becomes evident because it is deduced from what has been said, because it follows from something observed, because the speaker was an eyewitness of the transmitted scene, because it is something that everybody shares, etc.), which encourage the listener to trust the speaker's commitment and to assume the utterance as certain, and make it possible for the element to act as a reinforcer of the assertion and to trigger procedures of cooperation between the interlocutors, which in turn favors discursive progress. So much so that this form and its variants code these values even in contexts based on conjecture, on supposition, on doubt, and on unreality, or even in cases where no previous context exists which permits to identify the source or to carry out the inferences or reasonings needed to support the reliability of the conveyed content, thus acting as the only mark which serves to impose something as a truth which must be shared and assumed.

4. The routinization process experienced by *fijo*

Studies on grammaticalization present the mechanisms of desemanticization and generalization of a unit's scope of action as being supported on the communicative context where that unit appears. According to Traugott and Dasher (2002: 7), during the process of semantic-pragmatic change through which a unit becomes

enriched, speakers “negotiate meaning in interactive ways, both responding to context and creating context,” until those new pragmatic meanings acquired by the unit end up becoming conventional. Thus, by way of example, in the case of an adjectival element, the extension of its action scope will be visible in the entities that it modifies in the discourse: from the specific noun, to the abstract noun, and to the event.

This is actually what happens with our mark *fijo*, which gradually acquires its epistemic meaning and codes the information source due to a clear routinization process, according to which “languages and grammar change because over time utterances are *repeated*” (Haiman 1994: 3). The repeated presence in specific recurrent contexts results in a conventionalization of certain conversational implicatures which are the ones that end up being associated with the structure and become activated even in situations where those contextual elements with which the element should appear are not present (expressed differently, *fijo* itself suggests that procedural meaning because the frequency of use eventually codes it).

4.1 The study sample

Seeking to examine the routinization process experienced by the form *fijo*, a corpus study was performed taking 330 occurrences of three of its variants as our sample (see Table 3 below): the adverbial locution *a punto fijo/fijo* (149 examples analyzed); the conjunctive locution *de fijo que* (81 examples) and the discursive marker *de fijo* (100 examples). The study carried out in the present paper focused on the discursive environment where these units appear, from their first occurrence in CORDE, to the cases found in CREA, and their more recent records in CORPES:

Table 3. Absolute frequency data for the units under study

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo		De fijo
CORDE	79	49	86	75
CREA	1	0	10	12
CORPES	2	0	4	13
Total	82	149		100

All the occurrences of *de fijo que* and *a punto fijo* were analyzed in the three corpora. As regards the forms *a punto fijo* and *de fijo*, the corpora contained more occurrences, but a representative number was taken which sufficed to establish the discursive environments where they appear.

The usage distribution corresponding to the occurrences analyzed can be seen in Table 4, which additionally shows the periods of higher frequency for each unit:

Table 4. Appearance data for the units under study

	De fijo que (82 examples)	A punto fijo/fijo (149 examples)	De fijo (100 examples)
1676–1699		2	
1700–1725		1	4
1726–1750		33	5
1751–1775		5	7
1776–1799		6	1
1800–1825		1	5
1826–1850		1	12
1851–1875	8		17
1876–1899	64		19
1900–1925	4		14
1926–1950	2		2
1951–1975	1		0
1976–1999	1		9
2000–2010	2		6

Table 4 allows us to check how *de fijo que* had its moment of splendor during the last quarter of the 19th century. For its part, *a punto fijo* was more frequently utilized during the second quarter of the 18th century; its formal variant *a punto fijo* started to be more often used during the second quarter of the 19th century and kept its frequency of use until the first quarter of the 20th century. Finally, the discursive marker *de fijo* began to increase its usage frequency in the third quarter of the 19th century, reaching its maximum level of use during the last quarter of that same century; it subsequently fell into decline, but was utilized again in the late 20th century and in the early 21st century. To sum up, the 19th century appears as a decisive one in the configuration of *fijo* as a discursive marker, a conjunctive element, and an adverbial modalizer.

As for the diatopical variety, it can be stated that all three units are mostly used in Peninsular Spanish. Table 5 shows it clearly:

Table 5. Diatopical variety

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Peninsular Spanish	67.07% (55)	80.53% (120)	77% (77)
American Spanish	32.92% (27)	16.77% (25)	23% (23)
The Philippines	0	2.68% (4)	0

Lastly, we complete our presentation of the corpus examined showing in Table 6 the data related to the discursive tradition reflected by these units:

Table 6. Discursive tradition

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Long narrative (novel)	43	0	31
Short narrative (story)	4	0	11
History and documents	27	9	29
Didactics	0	29	8
Science and technique	0	10	9
Law	1	0	3
Press	1	0	1
Lyric	2	0	1
Theatre	2	0	0
Narrative (others)	1	0	2
Society	1	1	4
Dramatic	0	0	1

The preceding data reveal that the novel is the genre where these units have been used to a greater extent (147 occurrences), followed by the historical and documentary genre (67 examples), the didactic one (37 cases), that of the short story (29 examples), and the scientific-technical genre (20 occurrences).

4.2 Contexts with an epistemic value

After carrying out a general overview about our corpus of work, we will now show the contexts where these forms have appeared more recurrently throughout their evolution. The most frequent combinations with an epistemic value stick to the following specific modal contexts:

1. Future

The presence of a sentence in the future causes an epistemic reading in numerous contexts, because the speaker takes his own conviction to assess the degrees of likelihood corresponding to future situations. The epistemic value of our mark can be verified in contexts like those offered below:

- (15) No quiero decirle, en absoluto, que con esto se ve Vd. libre de que le metan gato por liebre; no, de fijo: ¡está tan degradado el comercio por los tiempos que corremos! [By no means do I mean to tell you that you will completely avoid the possibility of being conned in this way; no, for sure: trade is so degraded in our times!]. (CORDE. Cambaceres, E. [1884]: *Música sentimental: silbidos de un vago*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, p. 73, 2003)

- (16) Cuando algún futuro Champollión nos revela la lengua en que están escritas las inscripciones ibéricas, de las cuales puede decirse que únicamente conocemos el alfabeto, y aun con incertidumbre en cuanto a varios signos, [...] sabremos a punto fijo si son votivas la célebre lámina de plomo de Castellón de la Plana (que es acaso el más antiguo monumento epigráfico de España), y la de bronce de Luzaga, cerca de Cifuentes [When some future Champollion reveals to us the language in which Iberian inscriptions are written, of which it can be said that we only know the alphabet, and even with uncertainty in relation to several signs, [...] we will know for sure if the famous lead sheet of Castellón de la Plana (which is perhaps the oldest epigraphic monument in Spain) and that of bronze in Luzaga, near Cifuentes, are votive].

(CORDE. Menéndez Pelayo, M. [1880–1881]: *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*. Madrid: CSIC, p. VIII, 273, 1946–1948)

- (17) – ¡Vaya si soy disparatada! De fijo que van a dar las nueve..., hora de almorzar. Mi padre va a chillar y a rabiar si me echa de menos. Adiós, adiós [I am crazy all right! The clock is surely going to strike nine..., time to have lunch. My father is going to shout and become furious if he misses me, Bye-bye, bye-bye].

(CORDE. Valera, J. [1894]: *El hechicero [Cuentos]*.

Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, 2003)

Example (15) contains the parenthetical mark *de fijo*, used as a discursive marker, in a context where the verbs are in the present but have a future meaning and, within this environment of a situation imagined in the future, the speaker utilizes the mark to provide security about his prediction. The mark *a punto fijo* which appears in (16) accompanies the future verb form “to know” to give the reader confidence on the certainty of an action which has not been completed yet (they still have not confirmed what they are stating). In (17), *de fijo que* introduces a sentence with the future periphrasis *ir a + infinitivo* [going to + infinitive], in such a way that the speaker uses the epistemic mark to provide a probable utterance with certainty (that the time when she must go back home is approaching).

The distribution of the probability or supposition values expressed with the simple or perfect future in our corpus can be seen in Table 7, which shows a highly frequent utilization of the discursive marker and the conjunctive locution in this context:

Table 7. Future context

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Flexive	10	7	20
Present with a future meaning	8	4	5
Periphrasis <i>ir a + infinitivo</i>	1	0	3
Total	23.17%	7.38%	28%

2. Conditional

The presence in conditional structures, mostly in the apodoses or main clauses, leads us to the modal interpretation (Cornillie 2015: 16). The restriction provided by the conditional contributes to increase the speaker's epistemic commitment.

- (18) En el ánimo de éste se sublevó la dignidad y el orgullo con tanta violencia que, de fijo, si Reynolds no lo contuviera, allí mismo pagara el diminuto inglés su descaro [The dignity and pride revealed themselves so violently in his spirit that, surely, if Reynolds had not held him back, the tiny Englishman would have paid for his insolence right there]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. [1872]: *Rosalía*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1984)
- (19) Si yo oyese esa misma voz, te diría a punto fijo en qué está esa gracia que tú llamas oculta [If I heard that same voice, I would certainly tell you where that grace that you describe as hidden really is]. (CORDE. Feijoo, B. J. [1734]: *Teatro Crítico Universal*. Madrid: CORDE, RAE, p. 351, 2003)
- (20) Acabando de salir de la cárcel, de fijo que no la admitirían en ningún sitio decente [Having just been released from prison, she would surely not be admitted in any decent place]. (CORDE. Gamboa, F. [1896]: *Suprema Ley*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, p. 292)

Using *de fijo* in (18) enables the speaker to show his commitment with the truth of a statement regarded as impossible or unfeasible: the condition presented is impossible for being a situation which occurred in the past and about which the speaker is making an assumption or imagining a scenario which did not take place; within that clearly unreal or hypothetical context, the mark serves (acting on the periphery with wide scope) to give certainty to that possible situation which did not happen. The marks *a punto fijo* in (19) and *de fijo que* in (20) form part of the apodosis of conditional constructions (in the first case, as modifier of the verb *diría*) where the condition appears as being likely: the speaker presents supposed situations that could occur at a given time and, inside that hypothetical context, reaffirms his commitment to the certainty of the expressed content.

Table 8 makes it possible for us to check the meanings linked to conditionality in the three variants examined, the discursive marker and the conjunctive location once again prevailing as the most often used in this discursive environment:²³

Table 8. Conditional context

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Flexive	5	1	15
Conditional construction apodosis	31	4	25
Total	43.9%	3.35%	40%

3. Negation

According to Rodríguez-Espiñeira (2010: 221), negative polarity in modalized sentences may affect the modal component or the modalized *dictum*. When *fijo* and its variants are present, negation affects the thesis, that is, we find ourselves before an internal negation, and *fijo* seems to strengthen the speaker's commitment within that negative environment even to a greater extent, showing the trust of the latter on the thesis content:

- (21) – Yo no niego que haya hombres así; pero de fijo que mi padre no pertenece a ese número que usted dice [I'm not denying that such men may exist; but surely my father does not belong within that number you are referring to].
(CORDE. Zugasti y Sáenz, J. [1876–1880]: *El Bandolerismo. Estudio social y memorias históricas*. Córdoba: Ediciones Albolafia, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1983)
- (22) Los Herulos, Pueblo antiguo, poco distante de el Mar Báltico, aunque su situación no se sabe a punto fijo, mataban todos los enfermos, y viejos [The Herules, an ancient People, (who lived) not too far from the Baltic Sea, even though their location is not known with certainty, killed all the sick, and the old].
(CORDE. Feijoo, B. J. [1726]: *Teatro crítico universal*, I. Oviedo: Instituto Feijoo del siglo XVIII, 1998)
- (23) No, de fijo, no es el amor el que te inspira [No, surely, it is not love that inspires you].
(CORDE. Cambaceres, E. [1884]: *Música sentimental: silbidos de un vago*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, p. 296, 2003)

23. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, *de fijo* and *de fijo que* are frequently used to introduce the apodosis of conditional constructions, that is, the effect or consequence of the hypothetical cause presented in the protasis (non-factual context) (NGLE 2010: 47.2.1). Thus, the epistemic expression reinforces the speaker's commitment to the consequence derived from the protasis. In these contexts, *a punto fijo* only reinforces the value of the predicate.

Examples (21) to (23) reveal that the epistemic marks *de fijo que*, *a punto fijo*, and *de fijo* are included in an utterance affected by negation, which means that they are utilized by the speaker to express himself in a more categorical and stronger manner about that negated content.

The appearance in negative contexts arises as a key recurrent element in the three variants under study, as can be verified in Table 9:

Table 9. Negation

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Internal (of the modalized <i>dictum</i>)	19	99	17
External (of the modal mark)	0	0	0
Total	23.17%	66.44%	17%

The adverbial locution is the most often used, although the other variants also appear frequently within this environment of internal negation, of the modalized *dictum*.

4. Ignorance verb

We were able to detect in our corpus that the presence of knowledge verbs with these epistemic marks constitutes a highly common pattern used, above all, by the adverbial locution, as shown in Table 10:

Table 10. Knowledge verb

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
<i>Saber</i> [to know]	2	83	1
Another knowledge verb	0	6	8
Ignorance	0	3	0
Total	2.43%	61.74%	9%

It deserves to be highlighted, though, that out of 89 examples of knowledge verbs, 70 occurrences are accompanied by the negation; hence our reference to ‘ignorance verbs.’ If we add to them the three cases of specific ignorance verbs, there would be 73 cases of knowledge verbs in negative contexts. Let us look at some examples of usage within this discursive environment:

- (24) Así se les secara la lengua a todos los embusteros... *De fijo que* ya sabrán que yo no soy tu mujer... Esas cosas se saben en seguida, y si no lo sabían, lo habrás dicho tú... [I wish the tongue of all liars would dry up... They will surely know already that I am not your wife... Those things become known right away, and if they didn’t know it, you will have said it...].

(CORDE. Ganivet, Á. [1898]: *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid*. Madrid: Cátedra, p. 248, 1983)

- (25) Ni las crónicas cristianas ni las árabes dicen tal cosa, ni la posición de Abderrahman y sus guerras civiles daban treguas para pensar en reliquias de cristianos; antes bien hizo con éstos un tratado de tolerancia, aunque se ignora a punto fijo en qué términos [Neither the Christian chronicles nor the Arab ones say such a thing, neither did Abd-al Rahman's position and his wars provide truces to think about relics of Christians; instead, he established a treaty of tolerance with them, even though we do not know with certainty in what terms]. (CORDE. Fuente, V. de la [1855–1875]:

Historia eclesiástica de España, III. Madrid: Compañía de Impresores y libreros del reino, p. 211, 1873)

- (26) Todos ellos, al tornar de noche a sus hogares, tras un día de inquietudes y fatigas, tal vez heridos y, de fijo, mal alimentados, saben, por una cruel experiencia, que les espera, después de muchos golpes y maldiciones, un duro pedazo de pan para acallar el hambre y un no muy blando jergón para reposo del cuerpo [All of them, when they return to their homes at night, after a whole day of restlessness and fatigue, perhaps wounded, and, surely, badly fed, (they) know, through a cruel experience, that the only thing that awaits them, after many blows and curses, is a piece of stale bread and a hardly soft straw mattress to rest the body]. (CORDE. Pereda, J. M.^a de [1871]: *Tipos y paisajes*. Santander: Ediciones Tantín, p. 383, 1989)

Example (24) shows *de fijo que* accompanied by the knowledge verb *saber* [to know] which, despite not appearing in a negative context, is conjugated in the future indicative, thus conveying a meaning of doubt or possibility. In the case of (25), *a punto fijo* follows *ignorar* [to ignore], an ignorance verb, and accordingly shows the speaker's firm commitment in that particular context.²⁴ As for (26), *de fijo* here forms part of an utterance that includes the knowledge verb *to know*, and such a mark allows the speaker to express a strong and resolute attitude towards the truthfulness of what has been uttered (clearly suggested by assessments of a negative nature: "restlessness and fatigue," "wounded," "badly fed," "cruel," "blows and curses," etc.).

5. Dialogical context

The interlocutor's presence in interactive patterns becomes important for marker conventionalization purposes, since it permits to include the addressee in our words (Cornillie 2015: 15). When it comes to discursive interaction contexts (regardless of whether it is a real one or a speaker's inner monologue),

24. It is interesting to note the importance of the predicates that are combined with *a punto fijo*: the value of the adverbial locution is definite when it is combined with *constar* [to record] or *determinar* [to determine] in front of what happens when it modifies *saber* [to know] or *averiguar* [to find out].

the conjunctive locution appears as the most often utilized form, followed by the discursive marker (see Table 11 below):

Table 11. Dialogical contexts (discursive interaction)

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Real	16	1	2
Inner	6	1	12
Total	26.82%	1.34%	14%

Even though there are usually few instances of discursive interaction in these units, some of them do provide evidence of their intersubjective value, insofar as the speaker uses the epistemic particle to introduce an element that the interlocutor has previously mentioned, thus conveying the idea that whoever uses it shares his listener's epistemic judgment:

- (27) Asaltáronle reminiscencias de su antigua vida de cuartel, y poniendo con desenfado la mano sobre la torneada y alabastrina garganta de la novia, dijo dirigiéndose a sus amigos:

– ¡Ah pícaros! ¡De fijo que se les hace a ustedes la boca agua y que me envidian este bocado de rey! [He was assaulted by memories of his old life at the barracks, and placing his hand with great self-assurance on the bride's shapely alabaster-like throat, he said, addressing his friends: /– Oh, rogues! For sure, this morsel worthy of a king makes your mouth water and you envy me]. (CORDE. Palma, R. [1877]: *Tradiciones peruanas, cuarta serie*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, p. II, p. 340, 1967)

- (28) No se puede determinar a punto fijo la época en que se ha de dar al niño algun alimento además de la leche, porque pende de muchas causas [It cannot be determined with certainty the time when the child must be given some food in addition to milk, because it depends on many things].

(CORDE. Orduña Rodríguez, T. [1881]: *Manual de higiene privada*. Madrid: Imprenta de Alejandro Gómez, p. 340)

- (29) Lector; tú que, de fijo, serás ménos filósofo que Juan, ménos científico, más escarmentado, en una palabra, ¿necesitarás que yo te cuente el éxito que tuvo su postrera resolución? Seguramente que no [Reader: you who, surely, will be less of a philosopher than Juan, less scientific, more chastened, in one word, will you need me to tell you how successful his last resolution was? Surely not]. (CORDE. Pereda, J. M.^a de [1863]: *Las bellas teorías [Esbozos y rasguños]*. Madrid: Imprenta de M. Tello, p. 26, 1881)

Fragment (27) shows the locutive conjunction *de fijo que* in a dialogical context where the speaker's intervention is directly addressed to his interlocutor. In (28), *a punto fijo* forms part of an inner dialogical context where the speaker

answers a question that he himself has posed before, showing the course of his thoughts in his writing. Finally, the discursive marker *de fijo* in (29) appears forming part of an utterance directly aimed at the text reader. As can be seen, the purpose sought with the use of the mark in all these – real or inner – dialogical contexts is to include the addressee in the speaker's commitment; hence why these patterns suggest the intersubjectivity of *fijo*.

6. Subordinate construction

When it comes to concessive subordinate clauses, the mark *fijo* serves to highlight that something is true even if the content transmitted may sound surprising to the interlocutor;²⁵ in causal clauses, *fijo* is nothing but a mark which acts as a reinforcement of the reasoning or inference already announced by a previous conjunction (*porque* [because], *ya que* [since], etc.):

- (30) Pillos, granujas, que después de haberos comido mi pan pasáis sin darme tan siquiera las buenas tardes, ¿qué diráis si ahora yo os metiera una bala en el cuerpo?... Porque de fijo que no se me escapaba uno. ¡Tengo yo tal puntería! [You rogues, rascals, who after having eaten up my bread, don't even drop by to say good evening to me, what would you say now if I put a bullet through your body?... Because, I can assure you that I wouldn't miss a single one. I'm such a good shot!]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. [1888]: *Miau*.

Alicante: Universidad de Alicante)

- (31) Parece que estos sacrificios se introdujeron entre los visayas pocos años antes que la venida de Magallanes, y que trajeron su origen de los gentiles de Oriente; aunque no se sabe á punto fijo de cuál determinado reino, ó si de la China, donde son muy frecuentes, y se llaman Tiao, rey [It seems that these sacrifices were introduced among Visayans few years before the arrival of Magallanes, and that they had their origin in the gentiles from the East; even though it is not known for certain from which kingdom in particular, or whether from China, where they are very frequent and are called Tiao, king].

(CORDE. Delgado, J. J. [c 1754]: *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas*. Manila: Imp. de El Eco de Filipinas, p. 325, 1892)

25. Something similar is suggested by Rodríguez-Espinoira (2014: 207) for the epistemic form *capaz* [able]: in consecutive clauses, this form refers to the “excepcional, imprevisible o asombroso” [exceptional, unpredictable or amazing] nature of security, which is why it increases “la carga evaluativa, se acentúa la subjetividad” [the evaluative load, subjectivity is emphasized], as in the example “[...] hicieron una como jaula, de palos enrejados, capaz que pudiese en ella caber holgadamente don Quijote, y luego don Fernando y sus camaradas, con los criados” [they made one as a cage, with latticed posts, so that it could have more than enough room to hold Don Quixote, and then don Fernando and his comrades, with their servants].

- (32) Y a propósito de intermitencias: no sólo no las niego, sino que he de presentarte otras versatilidades de mi espíritu, de que hasta ahora no te he dado cuenta, para que las estudies y me las expliques si puedes, que de fijo no podrás [And speaking about intermittences, I not only deny them but also have to show you other versatilities of my spirit, which I have not hitherto told you about, so that you can study them and explain them to me if you can, which you will surely not be able to do]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. [1888–1889]: *La incógnita*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, p. 77, 2003)

De fijo que forms part of a subordinate clause of reason introduced by the conjunction *porque* [because] in Example (30), thus reinforcing its content ('sure that I wouldn't miss a single one'). The mark *a punto fijo* in (31) is inserted in a concessive subordinate clause by means of the conjunction *aunque* [although], and serves to strengthen the speaker's argumentation in a context where the interlocutor may find the speaker's security surprising due to the lack of data about his statement. Finally, (32) also shows *de fijo* in a subordinate clause introduced by *que* [which] with a concessive meaning this time, since the combination of future and negation allows us to understand that 'even if he (the interlocutor) studies them, he will not be able to explain them to him (the speaker).'

Table 12 below reveals that the number of occurrences in subordinate constructions is similar in the three selected variants:

Table 12. Subordinate constructions

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Causal clauses	3	4	8
Concessive clauses	7	13	4
Total	12.19%	11.4%	12%

7. Periphrases

Another recurrent epistemic context in our corpus is the appearance of modal periphrases of possibility or obligation, because they prove useful to show the speaker's attitude towards what has been said (they present it as something probable or obligatory for him). All three marks under study sometimes combine with such clearly epistemic environments:

- (33) Buen cachidiablo será el tal condenado... De fijo que ha de ser peor que un cólico miserere [He will be a real devil, that convict man... He will surely be worse than a peritonitis]. (CORDE. Palma, R. [1875]: *Tradiciones peruanas, tercera serie*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, p. II, 57, 1967)

- (34) Prosigo: “Y creo como si lo viera, que entre nosotros hay muchos espías de Napoleon”. El tal Napoleon y sus mariscales podrán dar razon de esto á punto fijo. Si yo lo supiera como ellos, no habian de vivir muy serenos estos señores espías [I continue: “And I think, as if I saw it, that there are many spies of Napoleon among us.” That Napoleon and his marshals will surely be able to confirm that this is true. If I knew (it) as they do, these gentlemen spies were not going to live very calm(ly)]. (CORDE. Alvarado, F. F. [1811–1813]: *Cartas críticas del Filósofo Rancio*, II. Madrid: Imprenta de E. Aguado, p. 167, 1824)
- (35) El mundo... el resto del mundo ¡debía de ser tan hermoso! Lo que él conocía era tan feo, tan poca cosa, que las bellezas que había soñado y de que hablaban los versos y los libros de aventuras, deberían de estar, de fijo, en todos esos lugares desconocidos... [The world... the rest of the world, had to be so beautiful! What he knew was so ugly, something of so little value, that the beauties that he had dreamed of and to which verses and adventure books referred, for sure would have to be in all those unknown places]. (CORDE. Clarín [L. Alas] [1891]: *Su único hijo*. Madrid: Cátedra, p. 205, 1990)

Example (33) shows the presence of *de fijo que* with the periphrasis of obligation *haber de + infinitivo* [to have to + infinitive], which serves to reinforce the speaker’s determined attitude before the obligation faced. In (34) and (35), the adverbial locution *a punto fijo* and the epistemic marker *de fijo* combine with the periphrases of possibility *poder + infinitivo* [can + infinitive] (which additionally appears in the future and thus strengthens the meaning of possibility) and *deber de + infinitivo* [must + infinitive] (presented in conditional, which likewise stresses the epistemic content). The epistemic mark reinforces the speaker’s security with regard to the utterance presented as probable in these cases.

The behavior of the three variants analyzed in contexts containing a periphrasis with a modal value is described in Table 13, where we can easily check that the adverbial locution is the most frequently utilized form (followed by the discursive marker):

Table 13. Periphrases

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Possibility	2	27	2
Obligation	1	4	8
Total	3.65%	20.8%	10%

8. Other contexts

Finally, Table 14 brings together other contexts that favor an epistemic reading: the appearance in interrogative and exclamatory sentences, as well as the combination with other epistemic locutions; nonetheless, the presence of all three units in these discursive environments is hardly representative:

Table 14. Other modalized contexts

	De fijo que	A punto fijo/fijo	De fijo
Interrogative sentences	0	3	1
Exclamatory sentences	3	1	4
Combination with an epistemic element or a discursive marker	1 (<i>por supuesto</i> [of course])	1 (<i>sin embargo</i> [however])	4 (<i>de seguro</i> [surely], <i>tal vez</i> [perhaps], <i>francamente</i> [frankly], <i>desde luego</i> [of course])
Total	4.87%	3.35%	9%

Thus, by way of example, exclamatory sentences are modalized because the preparatory condition for the exclamatory expressive act requires the speaker's presupposition of the exclamatory content as being true. The exclamation content is consequently something known and shared:

- (36) Corría el tiempo, y las esperanzas de la Unión del Norte no se realizaban, ni se cumplían los pronósticos de los diarios. ¡Que hoy!... ¡que mañana!..., ¡que nunca, por lo visto! ¡En vez de la suspirada federal, un rey, un tirano de fijo, y tal vez un extranjero! [Time went by, and the hopes of the Northern Union were not realized, and the forecasts of the newspapers did not turn to be true either. That today!... That tomorrow!... That never, apparently! Instead of the longed-for federal, a king, a tyrant for sure, and perhaps a foreigner!].
(CORDE. Pardo Bazán, E. [1883]: *La Tribuna*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1995)

It is assumed as known in (36) that whoever occupies the position as king will be a tyrant.

To this must be added that interrogative sentences also suggest an epistemic dimension because they evoke interactive patterns, as illustrated by (37):

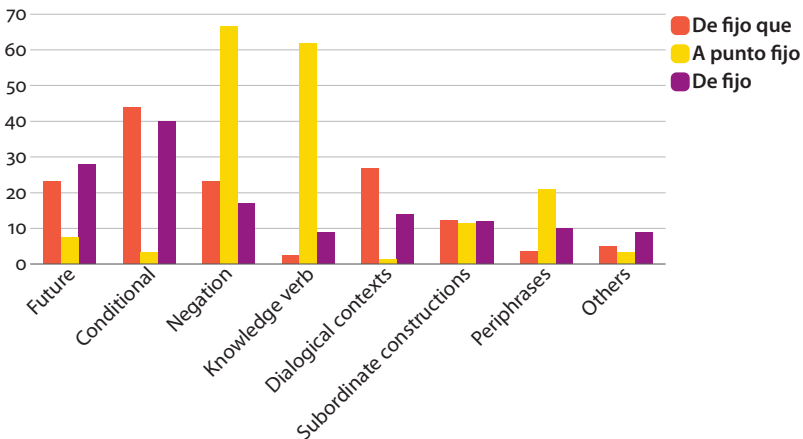
- (37) Mui señor mío: Mil veces me ha sucedido no poder averiguar si era verdad o mentira, tal o tal cosa, que se decía haver sucedido en esta ciudad que habito, y ¿quiere V. mrd. que sepa a punto fijo lo que passa en Versailles? [My dear sir: it has happened to me a thousand times that I was unable to know whether one thing or another was true or a lie, that it was said to have occurred in this city where I live, and does Your Worship want me to know for sure what is happening in Versailles? (CORDE. Feijoo, B. J. [1742]: *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*... Madrid: CORDE, RAE, p. 216, 2004)

The writer uses this example to address his reader directly, creating a dialogical context by means of a direct query presented to that reader in the form of a rhetorical question. Any rhetorical question contains presupposed information, which is why the writer tries to include him in his reasoning as well as in his commitment to what has been said.

We have finally detected the combination of the epistemic mark *de fijo que* with other discursive markers which equally serve to reinforce the security about a previous utterance, as it happens in (38) with *por supuesto* [of course]:

- (38) ¿Te acuerdas de lo que sostenías?... “El pueblo es la cantera. De él salen las grandes ideas y las grandes bellezas. Viene luego la inteligencia, el arte, la mano de obra, saca el bloque, la talla”... Pues chico, ahí la tienes bien labrada... ¡Qué líneas tan primorosas!... Por supuesto, hablando, de fijo que mete la pata [Do you remember what you used to think?... “The people is the quarry. The great ideas and the great beauties come from it. Then comes intelligence, art, workers (labour) take out the block, carve it”... Well, boy, there you have it nicely carved... Such exquisite lines!... Of course, speaking, you surely put your foot in it]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. [1885–1887]: *Fortunata y Jacinta*. Madrid: Turner, 1993)

In short, the data provided in relation to the contexts where our marks appear most recurrently demonstrate that the conjunctive locution (*de fijo que*) and the discursive marker (*de fijo*) behave similarly in most discursive environments.



Graph 1. Data on recurrent epistemic contexts

Graph 1 shows us that these two forms are highly common in future and conditional contexts, as well as in those characterized by discursive interaction (unlike what happens in the case of the adverbial locution) and behave in an analogous

way within other environments where the adverbial locution is the most often used form (negation, presence of knowledge verbs, and utilization with modal verbal periphrases). In turn, the use of the adverbial locution (*a punto fijo/fijo*) acquires relevance in negative contexts, with knowledge verbs and accompanied by verbal periphrases, though it hardly appears in contexts where the other two forms stand out (future, conditional, and discursive interaction). The presence in discursive environments with subordinate constructions (concessive and causal clauses) as well as in other contexts, such as interrogation, exclamation, and the combination with other locutions or epistemic markers, does not reveal sufficiently conclusive data to distinguish them.

To tell the truth, the appearance of these forms in future of probability contexts or in expressions of doubt does not reduce the speaker's epistemic commitment; instead, they actually give security in that hypothetical or supposed context: the marker does not soften or mitigate the assertion here, but rather acts as an intensifier of what has been said. *Fijo* manages to emphasize the reality and certainty of what has been narrated in all cases; that is to say, *fijo* links something non-factual (hypothetical, planned, promised, thought, expected...) with its effective accomplishment.

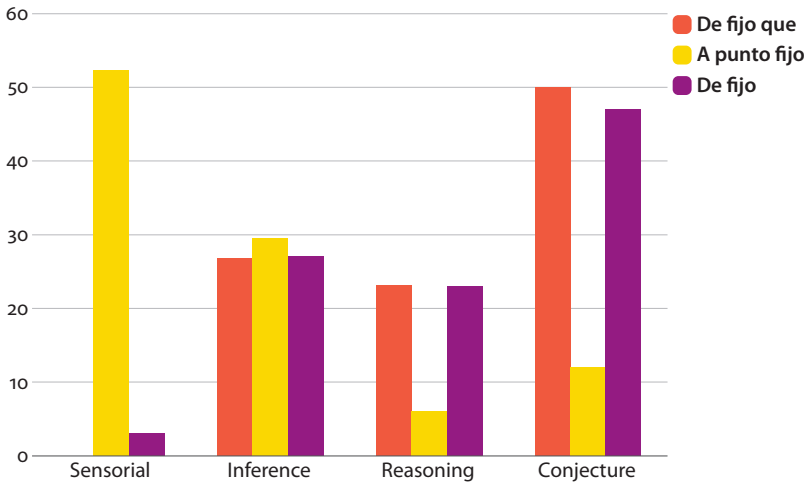
The recurrent presence of *fijo* and its variants in epistemic modal contexts has allowed these forms not only to conventionalize epistemic meaning but also to become marks for the expression of such content. In fact, thanks to the routinization process that they have experienced, these forms can express epistemic meaning in contexts where no epistemicity mark whatsoever is present. An example can be found in (39):

- (39) Por mucho que yo te diga, no puedes formarte idea de la metamorfosis... Tendrías que verla con tus propios ojos. Está de rechupete. De fijo que ha estado en París, porque sin pasar por allí no se hacen ciertas transformaciones [However hard I may try to explain it to you, you can't picture what the metamorphosis is like... You would have to see her with your own eyes. She is wonderful. She surely has been to Paris, because certain transformations do not take place unless you spend some time there]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. [1885–1887]: *Fortunata y Jacinta*. Madrid: Turner, 1993)

De fijo que does not appear accompanied by other epistemic marks in this example; instead, it collects and expresses this content alone. Thanks to its presence, the listener knows that the speaker is using that element to show his firm and certain attitude towards the utterance, along with his commitment to that content. Its mere presence actually helps the listener to understand that the reasoning carried out by the speaker ('she can only have improved her appearance if she has been to Paris') is something that cannot possibly be doubted.

4.3 Coding of evidentiality

The corpus analysis performed with respect to the three variants of *fijo* examined has also supplied data on the way in which these forms code evidential content. Graph 2 gives the chance to visualize the type of evidence presented by *de fijo que*, *a punto fijo/fixo*, and *de fijo*:



Graph 2. Data on evidentiality

Sensorial evidence is exclusively linked to the adverbial locution; indeed, it mostly appears combined with the verb *saber* [to know] and with the negation, thus showing the speaker's certainty before the lack of knowledge or ignorance about the situation:

- (40) Perfecta me da expresiones para usted. No sé a punto fijo qué tiene; pero ello es que nos inspira cuidado. Ha perdido el apetito de una manera alarmante, y, o yo no entiendo de males, o allí hay un principio de ictericia [Perfecta gives me expressions for you. I don't know for sure what she has; but it is something that seriously worries us. She has lost her appetite to an alarming extent and, either I don't know anything about illnesses, or there are incipient signs of jaundice here]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. (1876): *Doña Perfecta*. Madrid: Turner, p. 213, 1993)

The expression “I don't know for sure” in (40) gives the speaker the chance to categorically express his concern about Perfecta's disease; it is his direct sensorial experience (“she has lost her appetite,” “incipient signs of jaundice”) that allows him to make the subsequent inferences. Therefore, the evidence presented by means of

a punto fijo here is direct, based on the direct experience with the world that surrounds the speaker (even if a subsequent conjecture or inference takes place) and about which he gives his point of view.

Furthermore, inference is equitably expressed by the three marks under study. Inferential values become visible in cases such as (41):

- (41) Y cesó así un conflicto que de otra manera no habría tenido término sino en 1790, que fue cuando volvió la causa resuelta en favor de los comerciantes. De fijo que estos sujetos fueron agripinos o nacidos de pies, condición que diz que trae dicha futura [And that is how the conflict stopped, one that would have otherwise not finished until 1790, which is when the cause came back settled in favor of merchants. For sure, these people were *agripinos* or born standing up, a condition that is said to bring future luck]. (CORDE. Palma, R. [1883]: *Tradiciones peruanas, quinta serie*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, 2003)

This example shows us how, thanks to his cultural knowledge, the speaker is able to associate the colloquial expression *nacer alguien de pie o de pies* [to be born standing up], which means ‘to be lucky’ (RAE 2014) with the situation that he has just narrated: merchants were lucky to see the conflict settled; hence why he describes them as “born standing up” or *agripinos*.²⁶

As for the reasoning, it clearly seems to be expressed by the discursive marker and the conjunctive locution in most cases. In (42), *de fijo* reveals a piece of evidence obtained through the reasoning that the speaker carries out in his inner monologue:

- (42) ¡Oh! no era por ella que hablaba, no era, de fijo, su suerte la que la preocupaba: si mil vidas hubiera tenido, mil vidas habría cambiado por una palabra, por una mirada, por una caricia sola de su amante [Oh! it was not for herself that she spoke, it was certainly not her luck that worried her: if she had had a thousand lives, she would have exchanged those thousand lives for one word, for one look, for a single caress of her lover]. (CORDE. Cambaceres, E. (1884): *Música sentimental: silbidos de un vago*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, p. 266, 2003)

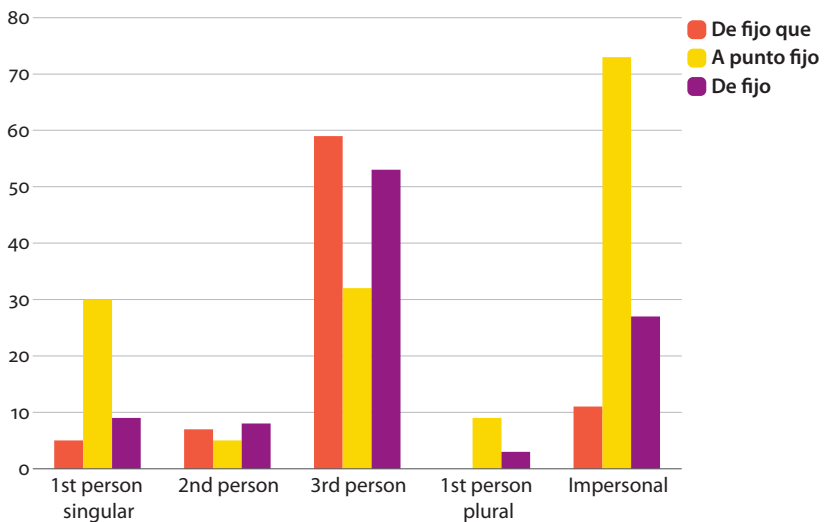
Finally, the evidential values of conjecture are mainly expressed by the discursive marker and the conjunctive locution and, to a lesser extent, by the adverbial locution:

26. The adjective *agripino* comes from the name *Agripina*, “de la familia de Agripa” [from the family of Agrippa], a Roman name which, according to Pliny means “el que nace con los pies hacia fuera” [a person who is born with the feet coming out first] (Albaigés Olivart 1993: 28), i.e. with a difficult birth, and being very lucky because of the difficulty to survive birth in this position.

- (43) Hablaba con mediana corrección, huyendo de los conceptos afectados o que trascendiesen a sabiduría pegadiza, y de fijo que si su enseñanza no hubiera empezado tan tarde, habría llegado a ser un rival de Donoso en la expresión fina y adecuada [He spoke with an intermediate level of correctness, avoiding concepts that either were affected or sounded like catchy wisdom and, surely, if his teaching had not begun so late, he would have ended up becoming a rival for Donoso in fine and adequate expression]. (CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. [1894]: *Torquemada en el purgatorio*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, p. 239)

Example (43) describes a situation which could have occurred in the past and never did.

The preceding data reveal that the variant *a punto fijo* differs from the rest because it conceptualizes the speaker's attitude towards a piece of evidence which stems from his interaction with reality, from his sensorial experience. Instead, the forms *de fijo que* and *de fijo* seem to behave in the same way, coding cognitive evidence which arises from inferences, reasonings and conjectures. As a matter of fact, the information about the evidential content shown by these three variants may become more complete if we add the data related to the perspective of the person who conceptualizes the scene (or expressed differently, if the source is one's own or comes from somebody else, and if access is gained to it in a privative or a universal way). This further stresses the similarity between *de fijo que* and *de fijo* and their contrast with *a punto fijo*:



Graph 3. Perspective of the scene conceptualizer

As can be seen in Graph 3, the adverbial locution shows a scene where the actual speaker is included, his deictic centre establishes everything, in such a way that the interlocutor will assess that subjective point of view with the contextual elements and will support his opinion. In fact, its discursive position, postposed to the verb in 77.18% of cases, helps to create this modal dimension and constitutes a rhetorical strategy, because it serves to talk to the interlocutor. Nevertheless, it can be checked that the speaker mostly delegates his opinion and epistemic commitment to an unnamed entity (impersonal constructions); by means of this strategy, the speaker can highlight that what has been said is shared by everybody, can hide in a commitment that anybody would defend due to the natural way in which it arises from the inferences made, or, to a lesser extent, can delegate his opinion in an external third person, thus reducing his responsibility.

For their part, the conjunctive locution and the discursive marker show a conceptualization of the scene where the speaker is relegated to the background and delegates his opinion to a third person, thus managing to minimize his responsibility over the truthfulness of the information included in the modalized sentence. Likewise, with these variants of *fijo*, the speaker's views hide in impersonal structures which present the utterance as something shared that anybody will consider natural (consequently bringing intersubjectivity into the picture). Of course, the difference between these two forms is mainly formal and depends on the action scope: on the one hand, with *de fijo que*, the link with the person to whom the speaker delegates is natural; it arises in the speech act, because the actual *que* serves to introduce another conceptualizer, another syntactic subject, and to leave the speaker aside (Delbecque 2009: 637); furthermore, its discursive position supports this pragmatic effect, since it appears in initial position – either absolute or at the beginning of the sentence – in 91.35% of instances. On the other hand, *de fijo*, in its role as a discursive marker, usually appears between graphic or intonative pauses, isolated from discursive progress and with a high degree of mobility inside the sentence (40% of cases in initial position; 28% before the verb, but not in initial position; 17% after the verb, but not in final position; and 15% in an end-of-utterance position). This is why the speaker carries out the presentation of the scene with a specific conceptualizer in a premeditated way, and it is the epistemic marker that warns the interlocutor about the fact that he must understand that the speaker's own opinion lies behind the opinion of that conceptualizer.

In short, even though these three forms may compete to express “un mismo estado de cosas en el mundo”²⁷ (Bermúdez 2005: 42), each one of them imposes a profile on a single conceptual base, and the choice of one syntactic configuration or another will result in a difference of meaning, in a variety of pragmatic effects,

27. “A single – i.e. the same – state of affairs in the world.”

since the perspective from which the speaker conceptualizes the scene is not the same one (Verhagen 2007: 48–49).

The three forms analyzed have proved useful to express objective, intersubjective, and subjective types of evidence. Objective evidence mainly seems to appear in past and present verb tenses: in situations where an already occurred past event is presented as effective, as in (44), where the phrase *con certidumbre* [with certainty] serves to reaffirm the security that the speaker wishes to transmit to the listener; or in situations based on direct evidence, inferences or reasonings carried out by the speaker from the current reality, as is the case in (45), where the speaker reflects on Father Urdax's behavior on the basis of the interaction that the former has with reality.

- (44) El público designaba con más o menos fundamento a varios altos potentados civiles o militares como cofrades de aquel club tenebroso y encubierto; pero nadie podía asegurar a punto fijo y con certidumbre quiénes eran sus miembros [The audience designated several highly powerful civil or military figures on a more or less grounded basis as brethren of that gloomy and covert club; but nobody could state for sure and with certainty who its members were].

(CORDE. Amunátegui Aldunate, M. L. [1853]:

La dictadura de O'Higgins. Alicante: Biblioteca

Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, 2002)

- (45) Ni él tampoco dice eso, no... Su teoría es que ciertas cosas que suceden así..., qué sé yo cómo, sin iniciativa ni premeditación por parte de uno, no han de mirarse como manchas de esas que ya nunca se limpian... El mismo padre Urdax de fijo que no es tan severo en eso como la sociedad hipocritona... [He does not say that either, no... His theory is that certain things which happen in that way..., I don't know, without initiative or premeditation by someone, must not be seen as the kinds of stains which can no longer be ever cleaned... Father Urdax himself is surely not as severe in that respect as the highly hypocritical society].

(CORDE. Pardo Bazán, E. (1889): *Insolación*. Alicante:

Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante)

Subjective evidence may be present in all verb tenses, even though it is always linked to the meanings of conjecture, probability or foresight:

- (46) Durmió también ella con placidez que todos creyeron de feliz augurio, y de fijo le habría sido provechoso aquel sueñecico, si hubiera durado más [Also she slept pleasantly, which everybody believed was a sign of future happiness, and that little sleep would surely have proved more fruitful for her, if it had lasted longer].

(CORDE. Pérez Galdós, B. (1895): *Torquemada y San Pedro*.

Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes,

Universidad de Alicante, p. 106, 2002)

- (47) Yo le quiero como una loca, desde Bayona... no desde que le vi... Ya lo oye usted [...] Creía yo que una mujer casada sólo puede querer a su marido... Si alguien me dijese que era esto... le insultaría, de fijo... [I have been madly in love with him, from the time in Bayonne... not since I saw him... As you hear it [...] I thought that a married woman could only love her husband... If somebody should tell me that it was this... I would insult that person, for sure...]. (CORDE. Pardo Bazán, E. (1881): *Un viaje de novios*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante, p. 287, 2002)
- (48) Lo primero, porque se ha notado regular su curso; de modo que un astrónomo, que observó un cometa dos o tres días, si después se le esconden por algún tiempo las nubes, dirá a punto fijo, que en dissipándose estas, a tal día y tal hora se hallará en tal parte del cielo [Firstly, because its course has seemed to be regular; which is why an astronomer, who observed a comet for two or three days, if it remains hidden for some time by the clouds, he will surely say, when those clouds disappear, that the comet will be in a specific part of the sky on a given day and at a given time]. (CORDE. Feijoo, B. J. [1740]: *Suplemento de el Teatro crítico*... Madrid: CORDE, RAE, p. 13, 2004)

Example (46) illustrates a subjective type of evidence about something that could have occurred in a past time but never did (because the sleep did not last longer, it was not so fruitful). Instead, (47) shows a kind of evidence which is subjectively understood because it represents a conjecture or assumption made by the speaker (in the hypothetical event that someone would tell her that she felt love for him, she would not hesitate to insult that person). Finally, the evidence presented by (48) is intersubjective and in the future, insofar as the speaker refers to a hypothetical situation which may take place at a later time; since it is a forecast that has to do with the *modus operandi* of astronomers, it is understood as a usual practice in this context; hence why it can be interpreted as intersubjective evidence, because both the speaker and the listener will share that cognitive frame.

5. Conclusions

The diachronic study undertaken in our paper with regard to the form *fijo* shows that the explanation for its evolution is closely associated with the grammaticalization theory. With the passing of time, the form *fijo* (and its variants) acquires new meanings and new linguistic functions which do not entail a semantic weakening. Instead, what becomes visible is a semantic persistence and the broadening of its syntactic-semantic action scope: starting from its early behavior as an adjective which complements a noun, the form *fijo* experiences a subjectification process and comes to work with functions of a more grammatical nature (adverb,

adverbial locution, conjunctive locution, and discursive marker) as an epistemic mark, acting on more abstract elements and modalizing the discourse from the speaker's perspective. This semantic-pragmatic change can be explained thanks to metaphorical and metonymic procedures: the metaphorical base lies in the original concept of *STRENGTH*, understood as something fixed or firm which resists discursive evolution, so that the physical fixation is extrapolated to the speaker's immobility and security regarding his discourse, and in his subsequent commitment to what has been said.

Likewise, we have started from the formal variants of *de fijo que*, *a punto fijo/fixo*, and *de fijo* to prove that the coding of such a determined and firm attitude on the part of the speaker in relation to the utterance, that is, the acquisition of epistemic values by the mark, results from the recurrent appearance of that form in specific contexts which serve to express epistemic modality (futurity, conditionality, negation, discursive interaction contexts, etc.). Together with the epistemic commitment conveyed by the speaker, these forms also code evidential contents, since they make explicit the information source utilized by the speaker and help the interlocutor to assess that commitment of the speaker and to support his stance.

Despite the fact that all three forms under study may serve to express the same extralinguistic reality, each one of them establishes a different profile for that conceptual base, because the syntactic configuration of such marks provides a different perspective about the conceptualization of the presented scene. Whereas the adverbial locution *a punto fijo/fixo* specializes above all in showing sensorial direct evidence as well as inferential and conjectural evidence on the part of the speaker – which either is included by the latter in the actual scene or the speaker delegates his epistemic commitment to a third person or through an impersonal structure –, the conjunctive locution *de fijo que* and the discursive marker *de fijo* focus on expressing indirect evidence, mainly through conjecture, but also by means of inference and reasoning, and present the scene with a speaker who hides his responsibility over what has been said in a third person or an impersonal structure. The difference between *de fijo que* and *de fijo* lies in their action scope: the conjunctive locution acts at a sentence level, it naturally introduces a different syntactic subject and, therefore, another conceptualizer of the scene who leaves the speaker out of the picture. The discursive marker works at a pragmatic level and guides the interlocutor's interpretation seeking to inform him that the sentence is modalized and that it reflects his personal attitude even if he does not appear directly in the utterance. In any case, all three of them (*a punto fijo* on one side, as well as *de fijo que* and *de fijo* on the other) are marks used by the speaker to give his interlocutor the following instruction: the utterance introduced by this mark is valid; it is true (since it derives from my personal experience, because it is something that can be inferred from what has been said or shared by a group of individuals) and prevails

over any other discursive element; it is thus an utterance to which I express my epistemic commitment and accordingly receives an intensification that makes it stronger in argumentative terms.

Acknowledgements

This paper is framed within the research projects GRE14–08, GV/2015/113, and FFI2013–45693-R. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Fernández Jaén for his valuable remarks about this work; all the mistakes or limitations which can be found are exclusively mine.

References

- Albaigés Olivart, José M.^a. 1993. *Diccionario de nombres de personas*. Barcelona: Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona.
- Albelda Marco, Marta. 2002. “La intensificación de la actitud: el caso de FIJO.” In *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística*, ed. by Alberto Bernabé, José A. Berenguer, Margarita Cantarero, and José Carlos de Torres, 506–513. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Lingüística.
- Bermúdez, Fernando Wachtmeister. 2005. Evidencialidad. La codificación lingüística del punto de vista. PhD dissertation. Available in <http://su.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:199511/FULLTEXT01>
- Company Company, Concepción. 2004. “¿Gramaticalización o desgramaticalización? Reanálisis y subjetivización de verbos como marcadores discursivos en la historia del español.” *RFE* 84.1: 29–66.
- Cornillie, Bert. 2015. “Acerca de la locución epistémica *tal vez* en el siglo de las Luces: innovación y especialización.” Available in <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/handle/123456789/375412>
- Corominas, Joan, and José A. Pascual. 1980. *Diccionario crítico-etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Cuervo, Rufino José. 1998. *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*. Barcelona: Editorial Herder.
- Delbecque, Nicole. 2009. “Acerca de la relación entre *cierto* y *seguro*.” In *La Lingüística como reto epistemológico y como acción social. Estudios dedicados al Profesor Ángel López García con ocasión de su sexagésimo aniversario*, ed. by Montserrat Veyrat Rigat, and Enrique Serra Alegre, 629–644. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Fuentes Rodríguez, Catalina. 2009. *Diccionario de conectores y operadores del español*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 1999. “Los procesos de gramaticalización.” *Moenia* 5. 155–172.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 2014. “Gramática e historia textual en la evolución de los marcadores discursivos. El caso de *no obstante*.” *RILCE* 30.3: 959–984.
- Gaspar y Roig Editores. 1853. *Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua española*. Available in *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* at <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtlle> (August 2016).

- Geeraerts, Dirk. 1997. *Diachronic Prototype Semantics. A Contribution to Historical Lexicology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Haiman, John. 1994. "Ritualization and the development of language." In *Perspectives on Grammaticalization*, ed. by William Pagliuca, 3–28. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.109.07hai>
- Hanegreefs, Hilde. 2008. Los verbos de percepción visual. Un análisis de corpus en un marco cognitivo. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Doctoral Thesis.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. "On some principles of grammaticalization." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Volume I: Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott, and Bernd Heine, 18–35. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.04hop>
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hummel, Martin. 2006. "Capítulo 7. Adjetivos adverbiales." In *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Vol. 3, tomo 1. Tercera parte: Preposiciones, adverbios y conjunciones. Relaciones interoracionales*, coord. by Concepción Company Company, 613–732. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Hummel, Martin. 2012. *Polifuncionalidad, polisemia y estrategia retórica. Los signos discursivos con base atributiva entre oralidad y escritura. Acerca de esp. bueno, claro, total, realmente, etc.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110281248>
- Hummel, Martin. 2019. "The third way: Prepositional adverbials in the diachrony of Romance (part one)." *Romanische Forschungen* 131.2: 145–185.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Real Academia Española. 1732. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Available in *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* at <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtlle> (August 2016).
- Real Academia Española. 1925. *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Available in *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* at <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtlle> (August 2016).
- Real Academia Española. 1970. *Diccionario de la lengua española. Suplemento*. Available in *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* at <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtlle> (agosto de 2016).
- Real Academia Española. 2001/2014. *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Real Academia Española. Banco de datos (CORDE) [online]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <http://www.rae.es> (August 2016).
- Real Academia Española. Banco de datos (CORPES) [online]. *Corpus del español del siglo XXI*. <http://www.rae.es> (August 2016).
- Real Academia Española. Banco de datos (CREA) [online]. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. <http://www.rae.es> (August 2016).
- Real Academia Española y Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. 2010. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Manual*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Rodríguez-Espiñeira, María-José. 2010. "Modalidad, gramática y discurso: posible, probable y sus antónimos." In *Adjetivos en discurso. Emociones, certezas, posibilidades y evidencias*, ed. by María-José Rodríguez-Espiñeira, 181–248. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Rodríguez-Espiñeira, María-José. 2014. "Emergencia e historia de la construcción *es capaz que*." In *"Llaneza": estudios dedicados al profesor Juan Gutiérrez Cuadrado*, ed. by María Bargalló Escrivà, 205–218. A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña.

- Salanova Arnal, Juan. 2010. *Diccionario de dichos y frases hechas*. Zaragoza: Casa "El Molino".
- Santos Río, Luis. 2003. *Diccionario de partículas*. Salamanca: Luso-Española de Ediciones.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1988. "Force dynamics in language and cognition." *Cognitive Science* 12: 49–100.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog1201_2
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995. "Subjectification in grammaticalization." In *Subjectivity and Subjectivization: Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. by Dieter Stein, and Susan Wright, 31–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511554469.003>
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vázquez Rozas, Victoria. 2010. "Sobre seguro: del riesgo presupuesto a la certeza epistémica." In *Adjetivos en discurso. Emociones, certezas, posibilidades y evidencias*, ed. by María-José Rodríguez-Espíñeira, 109–146. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Verhagen, Arie. 2007. "Construal and perspectivization." In *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. by Dirk Geeraerts, and Hubert Cuyckens, 48–81. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The future tense in Spanish

An enactive approach

Ángel López García

University of Valencia

Linguistic theories emphasize either the inner point of view that explains linguistic phenomena starting from universal structures of the human mind, or the outer point of view that relies on the structure of communication. Enaction is a cognitive approach that locates halfway between formal and functional linguistics. This paper shows how the principles of perceptual interchange can help to explain the evolution and the main uses of the Spanish future tense. The current paradigm consists of four forms, *voy a amar*, *amaré*, *amaría*, *amare*, respectively temporal, modal, past, and rhetoric. Since none of them proceeds from the classic Latin future *amabo*, it is concluded that they originate in the adjustment of neural networks to the requirements of communication.

Keywords: enaction, future tense, cortical words, limbic paradigms, embodied mind

Enaction is a biological theory that emerged half a century ago. The seminal concept of *enaction* was introduced by the Chilean biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela and is defined as follows:

... cognition is not the representation of pre-given world by pre-given mind but is rather the enactment of a world and a mind on the basis of a history of the variety of actions that a being in the world performs.

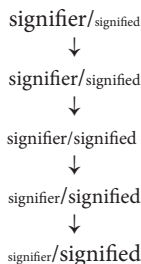
(Varela, Thompson & Rosch 1991: 9)

This definition has apparently nothing to do with language. However Maturana had already pointed out that language is a second order notion in enaction, a “co-ordination of co-ordination of actions” as early as 1978.

There are several features that distinguish linguistic enaction from other theories of language. I want to pay close attention to the fact that from an enactive point of view the linguistic sign cannot be conceived of as arbitrary. According to Maurice Toussaint (1983: 70):

Il est arbitraire de penser que signifié et signifier sont inséparables mais sans liens. Signifié et signifier sont directement proportionnels. Aussi les signifiers tendent-ils à reproduire les ressemblances et les différences qui sont établies par la définition (neurolinguistique) des signifiés.

It is necessary to suppose that the path taken from sound to meaning is a gradual one, that the neuronal networks are modified step by step, and never through a leap from the signifier to the signified:



Starting here, an interesting conclusion can be drawn (Grégoire 2012: 22):

Il est possible selon nous de définir le signifier comme une partie du signe linguistique rattachée à un signifié et servant à l'expression ; donc par là même sujet à des modifications, à des (re)motivations, à des altérations auxquelles les sujets parlants contribuent collectivement et inconsciemment ou bien, dans un cadre poétique, parfois individuellement et consciemment. Il est ainsi soumis aux lois, aux règles et autres contraintes dues au système, et devient un signal.

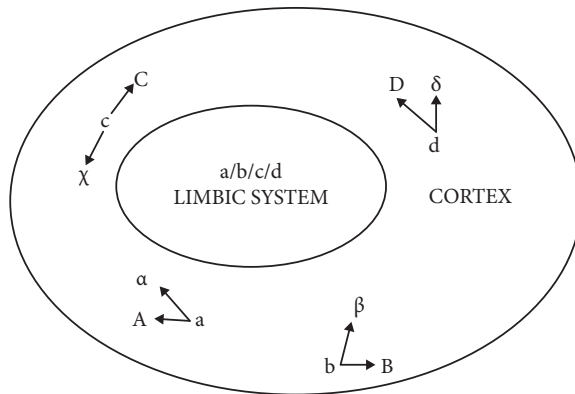
In other words, the signifier announces the features of the signified either synchronically, or diachronically. The remaining sections of this paper will examine such a hypothesis in relation to the forms of the Spanish future tense and their corresponding meanings.

Neurolinguistics has demonstrated that words and grammar do not behave alike. According to some authors (López García & others 2010; López García 2011; López García & Morant 2013), based on current research in neurology (Osterhout & Holcomb 1992; Münte & Heinze 1994; Gabrys-Barker 2010), lexical words and grammatical paradigms are very different objects when they are considered from a neurological point of view:

- A. Words constitute an open inventory that is continually changing in people's minds because they are linked in small-world networks in explicit memory. By contrast, paradigms constitute closed inventories of grammatical forms which are very stable because they behave like many other automatic chains of actions in ordinary life, and are also stored in implicit memory.

- B. The neural networks supporting words are located in the cortex, and partially overlap the networks harboring similar perceptions and/or cognitions. Paradigms are located in the limbic system and have a purely grammatical value; the limbic system was the first to evolve and is the abode of emotions.
- C. Words are consciously employed: the speakers of a given speech act choose those words they believe are better suited to their purpose, and the listener is generally able to recognize that purpose. Paradigms, however, are managed following an automatic sequence of paths.
- D. Consequently, the metalinguistic knowledge of words is individual, but meta-linguistic knowledge of grammatical sequences is collective.

Both the lexical and the grammatical domains could be represented as follows:



Legend:

- A, B, C, D: referential values
- a, b, c, d: linguistic values
- α , β , χ , δ : sociocultural values

Figure 1.

As represented above, the localization of words a, b, c, d, etc. is cortical whereas word paradigms like a/b/c/d belong to the limbic region. Nevertheless this is only true for the systemic component of language, i.e., competence; performance behaves quite differently because it is necessary to choose one paradigmatic option in the limbic system, for example a syntactic-semantic pattern, and fill in the empty slots with the words chosen in the cortex. Metalinguistically, however, both types of information, as any conscious knowledge whatsoever, belong entirely to the cortex:

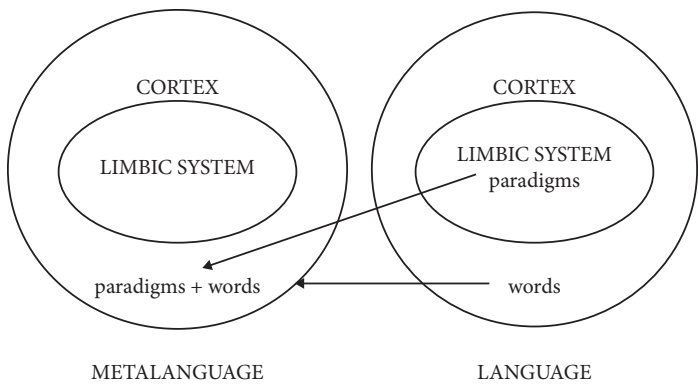


Figure 2.

These considerations will prove highly useful to explain the evolution of the values of the future tense in Spanish. The current state of art on verbal tenses treats them as points on a timeline: the past comes first, then the present, and finally the future, that is past > present > future. This praxis continues despite the observations of many scholars who point out that these tenses can also take on so-called metaphorical uses by adopting the meaning of others (the historical present *Columbus discovers America in 1492* means the past, etc.). However, when examining this issue from a cognitive perspective it seems that the past and the present belong to the real world because they denote a domain of it, whereas accurately speaking, the future is not a rational tense, but an emotional one. People can remember the past and live the present but can only imagine the future, which they either fear or look forward to. Thus it can be argued that the past and the present are related to some values in the cortex, but the future has emotional meanings that belong to the limbic system where they are stored.

This heterogeneous storage of tenses, and in particular the divergent localization of the future, is highly unusual in grammar. Grammatical paradigms usually have referential values but not emotional or imaginary ones. For example, Latin noun declension exhibits a set of cases that appear to form a homogeneous paradigm with balanced values:

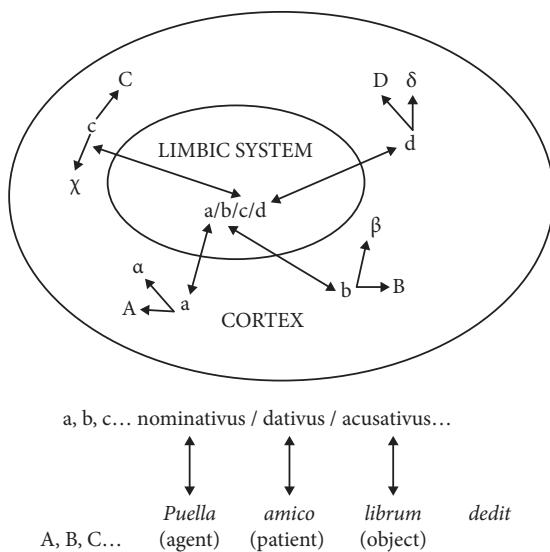
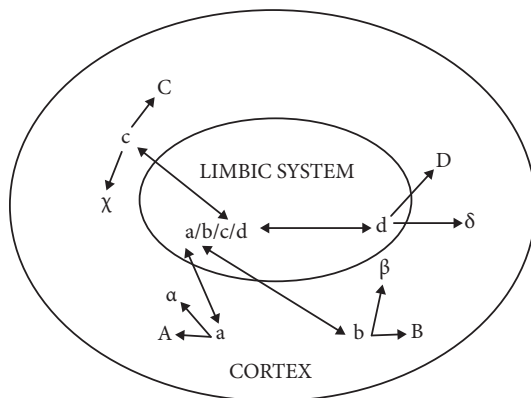


Figure 3.

However, an unbalanced set of values is found when considering the system of tenses. The past is remembered, the present is known: they are located in the cortex, like most of the meanings that seek a referent in the real world. The future is imagined, thus it must be located in the limbic system:



Legend:

A: present	A,B,C,D : referential values
B: past	$\alpha, \beta, \chi, \delta$: sociocultural values
C: perfect	a,b,c,d. grammatical forms with linguistic value
D: future	

Figure 4.

Three kinds of consequences result from the divergent localization of the values $D \leftarrow d \rightarrow \delta$ of Spanish future in the system of verbal tenses:

- a. Sociocultural (δ) and referential (D) values of the future tense are not tied by a correlative linguistic value (d) because d is hidden in the limbic system; therefore, it follows that other procedures employed to express sociocultural or referential meaning can express the future too.
- b. This hidden value « d » of the future tense is stored in the limbic system jointly with emotions; therefore it is not surprising that the future sometimes exhibits a modal character, although this is not always the case as the limbic system also stores other non-modal meanings.
- c. This hidden value of the future is related through the form « d » to the entire paradigm a/b/c/d; therefore, it follows that the forms of the present and of the past could eventually acquire the meaning of the future.

To date, the official grammarians of Spanish have accepted only the synthetic future form *amaré* and they have rejected the periphrastic alternative *voy a amar*. Surprisingly enough *amaré* derives from AMARE HABEO, a periphrastic alternant of the synthetic Latin future AMABO:

AMABO/AMARE+HABEO > **amare heo* (10th century) > *amar+he* (16th century) > *amaré*

These grammarians argue that the expression of the future in Spanish by means of inchoative periphrases with the verb *ir* [*to go*] – as in *mañana vamos a comprar un coche* [*tomorrow we are going to buy a car*] constitutes a phenomenon of *parole* and not a systematic manifestation of the *langue*. Modern grammarians, however, reject this traditional position. Nelson Cartagena (1995: 79), a well-known researcher of the Spanish verbal system, rejects this point of view, which only takes into consideration the forms that inherit the traditional paradigm of the future, AMABO, and the perfect HABEO AMATU. According to Cartagena (1995: 95–96) the periphrastic future ‘*ir a* + infinitive’ is neither colloquial nor American, rather it has become the habitual procedure to express the future tense in Spanish, as has happened in other Romance languages.

The fact there are two possibilities to express the future tense in Spanish, SF (synthetic future) and PF (periphrastic future), does not imply that they present free variation. Indeed, Mercedes Sedano (1994) characterized their uses as follows:

1. They can alternate when they denote a temporal distance between the speech moment and a given point in the future: in these cases people usually employ PF for short temporal distances, and SF for long ones, although it is not necessarily the case:

bueno, ahora es que vamos a salir (‘saldremos’) vs. *hay que ser optimistas, algún día se llenará* (‘se va a llenar’) *el teatro* [Right, so now we are going to leave (we will leave) vs. We must be optimistic, someday the theatre will be full (it is going to be full)].

2. In other cases one of the forms is impossible and each form cannot substitute the other:
 - 2.1 The synthetic form SF is employed with a modal value:

tendrá veinte años (probability), *¿podrás tú solo con la puerta?* (doubt) [He’ll be about 20 years old (probability) Will you manage the door by yourself? (doubt)].
 - 2.2 The analytical form PF becomes obligatory in the following constructions:
 - 2.2.1 With a non-periphrastic meaning of ‘move’:

mi hermano va a comprar el pan a la tienda cada tres días [My brother goes to buy bread at the shop every three days].
 - 2.2.2 In rhetoric periphrasis:

¡qué me voy a acordar yo de eso! [How am I going to remember that!].
 - 2.2.3 In exhortative periphrasis:

vino sin avisar, vamos a decirlo así [He showed up unexpectedly, shall we say].
 - 2.2.4 In the protasis of conditional sentences:

si las cosas van a seguir así, no merece la pena continuar [If things are going to carry on like this, there is no point in going on].
 - 2.2.5 In some adverbial constructions with *cuando* (i.e., when):

cuando uno se va a casar, tiene que preparar muchas cosas [When one is going to marry, there is much to do].

Thus far, it seems that the synthetic form of the Spanish future tense has become a marker of modality. One could expect that SF *amaré*, as occurred in the Latin SF *AMABO*, simply disappeared because there are many other markers of modality in Spanish. However Escandell (2010) has shown that SF also allows the appraisal of discourse, thus exhibiting an illocutionary force. Laca (2016) supports her view with the following considerations:

- SF is compatible with neither uncertainty nor necessity adverbs:

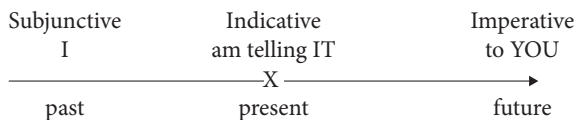
*decididamente / indudablemente la culpa de todo la *tendrá / debe tenerla ella* [Undoubtedly, she will be to blame for everything / She must be to blame].
- SF can be employed in interrogative sentences:

*¿habrá / *debe haber venido ayer.* [It will have arrived yesterday / It must have arrived yesterday].

- SF cannot be put within the scope of negation:
no pudo haber entrado por ahí (NEG MOD scope) vs. *no habrá entrado por ahí* (NEG FUT scope) [*He won't have got in there / He can't have got in there*].
- SF is far more restricted in subordinative contexts than epistemic modals:
*llamó cuando yo ya debía estar / *estaría durmiendo* [*She called when I should have been asleep/ when I was to be asleep*].

Sedano (1994: 237) concludes that FP is employed when the speaker is convinced that the future action will happen (or that it will *not* happen, as in negative sentences). The examples above clearly show that Sedano's conclusions are right, and correlate with my own predictions (a) and (b). The periphrastic future has become the habitual way of expressing the future tense in Spanish because its main value has come to mean 'a point in time subsequent to the moment of speech'. Secondly PF has also acquired sociocultural and rhetorical values that emerged in the discourse. On the other hand, the synthetic future is restricted to the expression of modality: wishes, doubts, threats, etc. In relation to my prediction (c), there is the possibility that other tenses could express future tense too, let me point out the use of the present to mean future (*mañana voy a Madrid*, [*tomorrow I am going (I'll go) to Madrid*]), and even the use of the past in Italian (*appena ho letto il tuo libro, ti chiamo io subito*) where Spanish needs a subjunctive (*apenas haya leído tu libro, te llamo* [*As soon as I have the book, I'll call you*]).

Notice that the subjunctive mood is related to the future tense in Spanish: *me pregunto cuándo vendrá* (F), *cundo venga* (S), *hablaremos*, [*I wonder when she will arrive. When she arrives, we will speak*]. However, verbal tenses denote temporal stretches of the world, whereas verbal moods are related to the participants of the speech act (the grammatical persons). In Spanish both morphemic types are organized as follows:



In Spanish there is a mood that is related to the first person sharing a subjective point of view, the subjunctive; a mood that is related to the second person sharing a directive function, the imperative; and a neutral mood that is related to the third person, the indicative. However such distinctions belong to the metalinguistic level and are hardly linguistic. This is the reason why the Spanish sentence *sirva la carne cuando venga la señora* [*Serve the meat when Madam arrives*], where the verb is in subjunctive mood, can be translated into French by the sentence *servez de la viande quand madame viendra*, where the verb is a future indicative. One wonders

whether a mood can be translated by a tense. I think that strictly speaking what happens is that the verbal system of Spanish and French behave as a gestalt-like system where temporal and modal values alternate as the figure or the ground in every language:

FUTURE TENSE (indicative mood) $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD (present tense)
(French) (Spanish)

Figure 5.

The TENSE (mood) / MOOD (tense) equivalence is possible because linguistic forms only exist in the brain as neural networks. Their metalinguistic evaluation is operated by a network that comes later: speakers of French perceive a temporal figure on a modal ground; speakers of Spanish perceive a modal figure on a temporal ground. Both linguistic forms, Spanish *venga* (see example above) and French *viendra*, belong to the limbic system and are metalinguistically projected to the cortex where they share the paradigm of other forms:

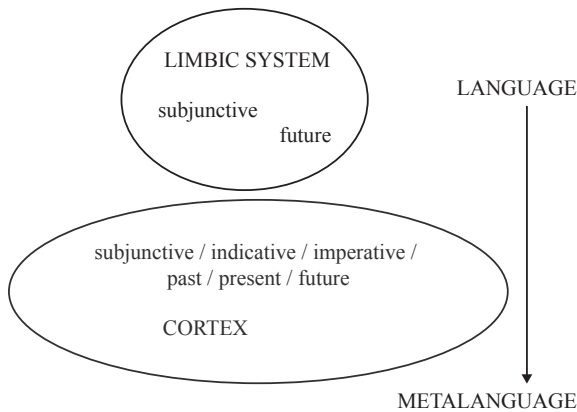
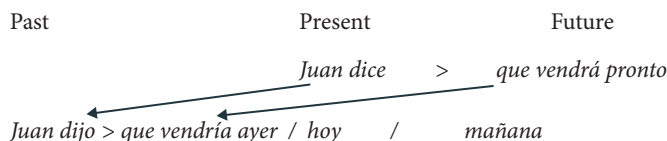


Figure 6.

The possible meanings of the future tense in Spanish are broader than *amaré* (SF) and *voy a amar* (PF) forms. Spanish grammarians also distinguish a past future, the form *amaría* (“I would love”), which has an etymological origin very close to *amaré*: AMARE + HABEBAM > **amare* + *había* (10th century) > *amar* + *hía* (16th century) > *amaría*. As a matter of fact, the sentence *Juan dice que vendrá pronto* [Juan says he *will come* soon], turns into *Juan dijo que vendría pronto* [Juan said he *would come* soon], when it follows a verb in the past:



Spanish grammatical tradition represented by the Real Academia did not know how to classify the *amaría* form. In the 19th century it was considered to be a conditional like the “potentiel” *j’amairais* in French. Nevertheless in the 20th century grammarians are more prone to consider *amaría* to be a future of the past because this form is not the only one that can appear in the second part of conditional sentences: *si llueve / lloviese, no saldremos / saldríamos/ salimos* [If it rains/rained, we will/would not go out]. The construction of the past future *Juan dijo que vendría pronto* (like *Jean a dit qu’il viendrait tôt* in French) is a very common Spanish sentence, in contrast to other Romance languages that need a compound form instead (cfr. Italian *Giovanni ha detto che sarebbe venuto*).

Neurolinguistically speaking the form *amaría* is a past future that originates in the limbic system together with the other futures (SF and PF), but it refers to a temporal space that comes after another form of the past, both being localized in the cortex:

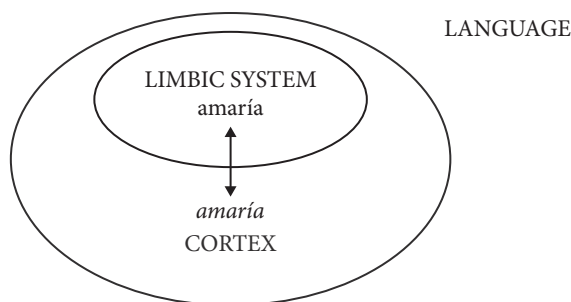


Figure 7.

Romance languages are very similar in relation to the AMARE HABEBAM descendants, but their respective metalinguistic evaluations differ. Spanish grammatical consciousness mainly emphasizes its “future” meaning. Italian grammar only considers its “past” meaning. French grammar approaches it in a balanced way as a “future” and as a “past” at the same time, which allows it to be considered as a conditional:

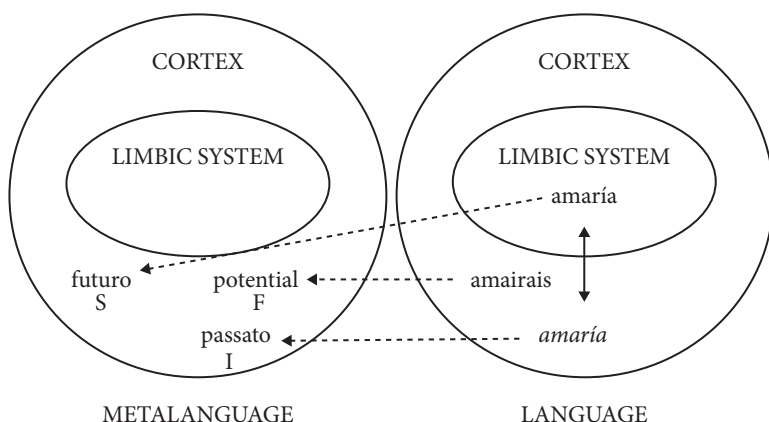


Figure 8.

The forth future form I will examine here is the subjunctive future *amare*, an idiosyncratic form of the Spanish language that is unknown in the other Romance languages with the exception of Portuguese. This form began to decline in the 16th century and has currently all but disappeared. According to Becker (2011: 126) only some highly formal texts (legal, religious, or rhetoric) contain this form: “si el Rey se *inhabilitare* para el ejercicio de su autoridad y la imposibilidad *fuere* reonocida por las Cortes Generales...” [Were the King to be rendered unfit to rule and the impossibility recognized by the Court]. The subjunctive future *amare*, that comes from the Latin subjunctive perfective form AMAVERIM, challenges the neurolinguistic model I am developing here because it belongs twice to the limbic system as a future and as a subjunctive. Thus it seems very difficult for it to refer to a real domain of the cortex:

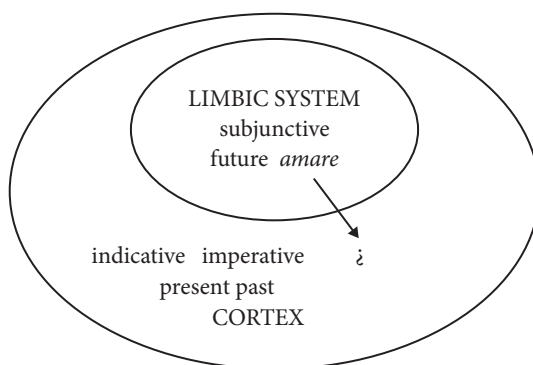


Figure 9.

The Portuguese language has solved the difficulty by neutralizing both values, yielding a form very close to the indicative: “amanhã iremos à praia se você *quiser*” [“tomorrow we shall go to the beach if you like”]. On the contrary, the Spanish language has chosen a very complex way to solve this problem: to refer to some automatic behaviors of the limbic system like ritualized habits. Thus, reference of *amare* comes to be retroactive, it goes forwards and backwards:

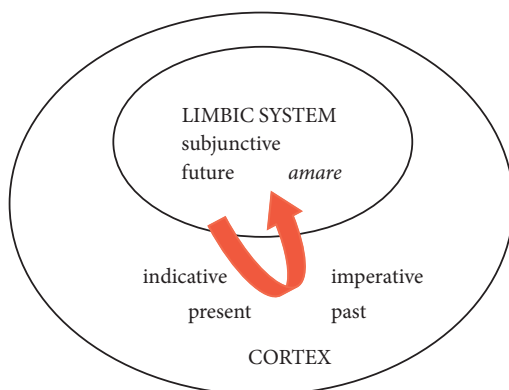


Figure 10.

Concluding remarks

The forms of the future tense in Spanish (the synthetic future *amaré*, the periphrastic future *voy a amar*, the past future *amaría*, and the subjunctive future *amare*) constitute a serious challenge to grammar as languages usually have many more forms of the present and of the past than of the future. Remembering enables us to consider several points before the moment of speech, whereas predicting hardly allows for more than one. But languages emerge at the crossroad where the mind meets the world, whence an autopoietic space is born. As pointed out by Malkemus (2012: 203):

An autopoietic system is an autonomous system that is restricted to the biochemical domain, the domain of chemical substances and vital processes that occur in living systems... two major concepts characterize the minimal requirements for the emergence of an autopoietic system. The first is that the system demonstrates *operational closure*. Operational closure indicates that the system stands out as a unity. This unit is defined by the functional boundary that is produced, regulated, and maintained by the internal topology of the system... The second characteristic, and a function of operational closure, is that autopoietic organization entails a structural coupling with the environment.

The present paper has shown that the system of Spanish verbal tenses, despite being deeply challenged by the failing of the Latin future form *AMABO*, maintains operational closure in the minds of Spanish speaking people. So far there are no problems arising with the expression of tenses in Spanish. At the same time, although the evolution of Latin spoken in central Spain deeply transformed the meanings of the resulting tenses, the system has finally acquired a rich variation in the spectrum of values for those tenses. This, in turn, allows it to accommodate to the needs of the complex environment represented by the Spanish speaking global world in the 21st century. It can be concluded, thus, that enaction, the result of autopoiesis, has succeeded in restoring the system of verbal tenses after the disturbances of linguistic evolution, creating a new – and yet old – paradigm of tenses in Spanish.

References

- Becker, Martin. 2011. "Tradiciones discursivas y cambio lingüístico: el caso del futuro de subjuntivo". In *Así se van las lenguas variando. Nuevas tendencias en la investigación del cambio lingüístico en español*, ed. by Mónica Castillo, and Lola Pons, 105–129. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Cartagena, Nelson. 1995–1996. "La inestabilidad del paradigma verbal de futuro, ¿hispanoamericanismo, hispanismo, romanismo o universal lingüístico?" *Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Chile* 35: 79–100.
- Escandell, María Victoria. 2010. "Futuro y evidencialidad." *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica de la Universidad de Valladolid* 26: 9–34.
- Gabrys-Barker, Danuta. 2010. "Multilinguals' learning stories: Stability and change." TAL Conference, University of Opole, November 2010.
- Grégoire, Michäel. 2012. *Le lexique par le signifier. Méthode en application à l'espagnol*. Saarbrück: Presses Académiques Francophones.
- Laca, Brenda. 2016. "Variación y semántica de los tiempos verbales: el caso del futuro." *XII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística General*, University of Alcalá de Henares 24-5-2016.
- López-García, Ángel. 2011. "Neurolinguistics of the lexicon-syntax interfacc." In *Linguo-Cultural Competence and Phraseological Motivation*, ed. by Antonio Pamies, and Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij, 41–53, Duisburg: Schneider Verlag.
- López-García, Ángel, Ricardo Morant, Manuel Prunyonosa, and Amparo Montaner. 2010. "Research on first and second language cognition may benefit from small-world network methodology." *Forum* 8–2: 267–277. <https://doi.org/10.1075/forum.8.2.11lop>
- López-García, Ángel, and Ricardo Morant. 2013. "An empirical investigation of lexical and cognitive networks in the brain." *Revista Española de la Sociedad de Lingüística Aplicada* 26: 493–498.
- Malkemus, Samuel A. 2012. "Toward a General Theory of Enaction: Biological, Transpersonal, and Phenomenological Dimensions." *The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* 44–2: 201–223.
- Maturana, Humberto. 1978. "Biology of Language: the Epistemology of Reality." In *Psychology and Biology of Language and Thought*, ed. by Miller, George A., and E. Lenneberg, 27–63. New York: Academic Press.

- Münste, Thomas, and Hans-Jochen Heinze. 1994. "Event-related negativities during syntactic processing of written words." In *Cognitive electrophysiology*, ed. by Hans-Jochen Heinze. Boston: Birkhauser. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4612-0283-7_9
- Osterhout, Lee, and Philip Holcomb. 1992. "Event-Related brain potentials elicited by syntactic anomaly." *Journal of Memory and Language* 31: 785–806.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-596X\(92\)90039-Z](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-596X(92)90039-Z)
- Sedano, Mercedes. 1994. "El futuro morfológico y la expresión *ir a + infinitivo* en el español hablado de Venezuela." *Verba* 21: 225–240.
- Toussaint, Maurice. 1983. *Contre l'arbitraire du signe*. Paris: Didier.
- Varela, Francisco J., Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch. 1991. *The embodied mind. Cognitive Science and Human Experience*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Form and meaning in the development of verbal polysemy

Chantal Melis

National Autonomous University of Mexico

The question of how form and meaning interact in processes of change is of particular significance to historical linguists. Most commonly, innovations in meaning are assumed to lead the way, with changes at the formal level following as a consequence. By contrast, the possibility of a formal change being responsible for the emergence of a new meaning is seldom envisaged. The present paper explores these issues in relation to the polysemous Spanish motion verb *alcanzar* ‘to reach’, which in the course of time developed the new senses ‘to understand’ and ‘to be sufficient’. The diachronic analysis of the two developments brings into view a meaning-to-form change in the first case but suggests a form-to-meaning path in the second case.

Keywords: *alcanzar*, polysemy, Spanish, semantic change, formal change

1. Introduction

The present paper deals with the rise of new polysemies in verbs and focuses more particularly on how form and meaning interact in these processes of change. The term “polysemy” is meant to refer to the existence of various senses that are linked to a single form, although one could object that “homonymy” better defines this kind of situation (see Boogaart 2009 for a good review of the debate; cf. Fernández Jaén 2014: 36–37). Nevertheless, in diachronic work it is usually held that new meanings derive from older meanings to which they are related in some way, and it is further argued that semantic change necessarily passes through a stage of polysemy before the old and the new value begin to diverge (Bybee 2010: 199; Fernández Jaén 2014: 76–82; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 77–78; Sweetser 1990: 1–13; Traugott and Dasher 2002: 11–16).

At the onset, two fairly robust hypotheses about the emergence of a new verbal sense can be formulated. First, the change is expected to be *gradual*, meaning

that it is likely to involve a succession of small steps which precede and open the way for the occurrence of the semantic change (Lichtenberk 1991; Traugott and Trousdale 2015: 74). And, second, close attention will have to be directed to the linguistic *contexts* in which the verb occurs, since changes are no longer seen as applying to isolated words, but to words that form part of a construction and are affected by the shifting properties of the elements they collocate with (Bergs and Diewald 2009: 1–2; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 11; Bybee 2003: 602; Heine 2003: 575; Himmelmann 2004: 31).

A central issue in studies on semantic change relates to the moment at which an item can be said to have developed a “new” meaning. This poses no slight challenge, considering that the boundaries between subtle extensions of meaning or competing readings, on one hand, and a separate and distinguishable “new” sense, on the other, are not sharp. The issue has mostly been addressed in connection with processes of grammaticalization, around which research on semantic change has tended to revolve in the past few decades (Fortson IV 2003: 654). That is to say, the discussion has been carried out in relation to cases where a full lexical verb acquires the behavior of an auxiliary, for example, or is reanalyzed as a case marker (Harris and Campbell 1995; Hopper and Traugott 2003). In these studies, with the aim of corroborating the emergence of the “new” meaning, the tendency has been to look for support in formal pieces of evidence, consisting of phenomena such as decategorialization, tighter bonding between elements, positions becoming fixed and variable degrees of phonetic erosion (Hopper 1991; Lehmann 1985). With regard to the development of *lexical* polysemy, however, our focus in the present paper, it is clear that supporting evidence of this nature is unlikely to be gained from the data: the “new” meaning will continue to characterize a plain and wholesome verb. Hence, at first sight, it might appear as if form will have to be ignored, unless we assume, like many authors (see Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005 for a review), that the morphosyntactic realization of verbal arguments is to a large extent determined by facets of the verb’s meaning. From this perspective, then, we are motivated to anticipate that a change in meaning will have certain tangible repercussions on the structural valency patterns of the lexical items.

The two case studies presented below will give us the opportunity to relate morphosyntactic change to the rise of lexical polysemy. Both studies involve the Spanish verb *alcanzar*, derived from vulgar Latin **INCALCIARE* ‘to thread on someone’s heels’ (< Lat. *calx*, *-cis* ‘heel’), which in the transition from Latin to Spanish came to mean ‘to catch up with someone’ (Corominas and Pascual 1980, s.v. *alcanzar*), a meaning of great prominence in the earliest recorded texts (Hernández Caro 2007) and still in existence today, as shown in (1):

- (1) salió a caminar [...], el Artista lo *alcanzó* [he went out for a walk...the Artist caught up with him]. (1983, A. Azuela, *La casa de las mil vírgenes*, CREA)

The phrase *catch up with someone* means ‘succeed in reaching a person who is ahead of one’ (Oxford Dictionary on line) and thus portrays the subject, who is behind, as “someone who catches a moving object” (Lindstromberg 2010: 221). The moving character of the Goal argument, which relates Spanish *alcanzar* to motion verbs of the “chase” subtype (Jackendoff 1990: 60), constitutes a feature worthy of notice because of its role in the development of some of *alcanzar*’s future polysemies (see below).

At some remote and unattested point of Spanish history, *alcanzar* extended its meaning to the more general notion of ‘reaching’ something. This is the sense with which present-day *alcanzar* is used most frequently, in spatial (2a) and, especially, non-spatial (2b) contexts:

- (2) a. desde que Darwin *alcanzó* las islas Galápagos [since Darwin reached the Galapagos Islands]. (2001, E. Gánem, *Caminitos de plata. 100 cápsulas científicas*, CREA)
- b. De esta manera, podemos prácticamente “garantizar” que padres e hijos *alcanzarán* la reconciliación [In this way, we can almost “guarantee” that parents and children will reach reconciliation]. (2004, L. Rincón Gallardo, *Así fluye el amor*, CREA)

The examples in (1) and (2) show a transitive verb with the Theme argument as subject and the Goal argument as direct object. This behavior opposes *alcanzar* to the majority of the Spanish verbs of inherently directed motion, which prefer an oblique (prepositional) Goal (Morimoto 2001: 83).

Additionally, *alcanzar* developed other senses, of which both ‘to understand’ and ‘to be enough or sufficient’ represent later innovations whose history can be charted. The sentences in (3) illustrate the occurrence of these meanings in modern Spanish:

- (3) a. No puedo leer [...]: no *alcanzo* el significado de las palabras [I cannot read ...I do not understand the meaning of words]. (1955, E. Quiroga, *La careta*, CREA)
- b. ¿Cómo hacer que se ahorre más, cuando los salarios apenas *alcanzan* para mal vivir? [How can we make people save more, when wages are barely sufficient to live miserably?]. (1987, *El país*, 01/10/1987, CREA)

These are the two senses we will examine in this paper, centering our study on the historical paths that led to their emergence.

As indicated above, our account will attend both form and meaning with the goal of exploring their interaction in processes of lexical change. The question to be raised in this regard is whether we can expect a “dynamic coevolution of meaning and form”, as suggested in Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 20), or if room should be allowed for distinct scenarios. Under one such scenario, conceptual shifts lead the way and morphosyntactic change follows as a consequence of semantic change (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991: 180; Heine 2003: 583). This is the prevailing view in functional approaches to the rise of grammaticalized verbal meanings (Traugott 2005: 109). But other authors have argued that in some cases the reverse is true, with formal changes acting as the trigger for the emergence of a new meaning (Fischer 1994; Fischer, Norde and Perridon 2004: 13). What studies on grammaticalization have certainly demonstrated is that form and meaning do not always go hand in hand (see Harris and Campbell’s (1995) chapter on reanalysis; also Diewald 2002), and the results of these studies give us reason to agree with Fischer and Rosenbach’s (2000: 2) statement that “in each investigation form and meaning should be separately discussed”.

As we shall see, the history of Spanish *alcanzar* lends support to the idea that the manner in which the form-meaning relation manifests itself in processes of change may vary. Although the changes we will analyze were similarly preceded by a series of meaning extensions in specific contexts, they nevertheless differ to the extent that with *alcanzar* ‘understand’, the new polysemy led to a structural change, whereas in the case of *alcanzar* ‘be enough or sufficient’, an innovative use affecting the verb’s syntactic realization precipitated the coming into being of the new meaning.

2. Development of *alcanzar* ‘understand’: Structural change as the result of a change in meaning

The point of departure for the analysis of the cognitive extension of *alcanzar* is the meaning ‘to reach’, which, as mentioned in the Introduction, was itself the product of an old (and undatable) development. The earliest recorded texts of Spanish (13th century) give evidence of a well-entrenched meaning, associated with one peculiar feature: in most instances of its use the Goal argument refers to a fairly abstract entity, such as ‘justice’ (*derecho*), ‘honor’ (*onrra*), God’s ‘mercy’ (*mercet*, *piedad*), ‘true life’ (*la vida verdadera*), or some undefined ‘good’ (*bien*). Other examples of these abstract Goals are shown in (4):

- (4) a. *faziendo esto, alcançará lo que quisiere* [doing so, he will reach what he wants]. (1285, Anonymous, *Libro de los cien capítulos*, CORDE)

- b. por que ellos otrosi *alcancen* el saluamiento que es en Ihesu Christo con la gloria del cielo [so that they may also reach salvation in Christ and the glory of Heaven]. (1260, Anonymous, *El Nuevo Testamento según el manuscrito escurialense I-j-6*, CORDE)

As suggested by the examples in (4), different shades of meaning may arise. If the Goal can be construed as something one “possesses” (4a), *alcanzar* comes close to signifying ‘get’ or ‘obtain’;¹ in other contexts, the Goal argument may evoke something more akin to an activity or a situation (4b), such that the subject can be conceived of as entering into a new state.² These are meaning effects induced by the type of elements the verb combines with.

Why early *alcanzar* ‘reach’ did not favor spatial Goals may perhaps be explained by appealing to the verb’s original meaning. Let us remember, indeed, that Spanish *alcanzar* first denoted the action of ‘catching up with someone’. It thus started out as a far from typical verb of motion, having a *person* as its Goal argument, instead of a place or some fixed object in space (Kittilä and Ylikoski 2011; Luraghi 2011). And on the basis of this original deviance, it seems plausible to argue that *alcanzar*’s historical trajectory evolved more or less along the path of conceptual transfer outlined in Heine, Claudi and Hünne Meyer (1991: 48): PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY.³

The next stage of the development under analysis begins when the use of *alcanzar* ‘reach’ with abstract Goals is extended to specific objects of intellectual pursuit. The extension has been prepared by constructions in which the human subject was described as reaching *sapiencia* ‘wisdom’ or *el saber* ‘knowledge’, i.e. as reaching a state of ‘knowing’. The new examples, observable in written records from the 14th century, are distinct in that the Goal argument now points to a specific content of

1. In Levin (1993: 141) English *reach* is not classified as a verb of motion, but figures among the members of the “get” subset of the verbs of “obtaining”.

2. See Brinton (1988: 113) for the connection between verbs expressing ‘movement into or towards’ and meanings of ingressive aspect.

3. In my corpus sample from the 13th century, there are 132 examples of the type <S/Theme_[+hum] – reach – DO/Goal>, and 117 (88.6%) contain an abstract Goal. The exceptional landmarks yield a heterogeneous set of items (the stars, the water of a well, a cross, a piece of wood, etc.), none of which appears to correspond to a typical “place”. The remaining centuries pertaining to the medieval period of Spanish (14th and 15th) show a very similar distribution: 87.4% (153/175) and 89.0% (326/366) of abstract Goals, respectively. As regards the concrete Goals in these centuries, I register occasional locative references to such items as a “harbor”, a “tower” or a “wall”, next to various examples of money and food, which color the semantics of *alcanzar* ‘reach’ with a nuance of possession (‘get’ or ‘obtain’).

human knowledge. As illustrated in (5), the earliest tokens of the new use appear in contexts where the cognitive dimension of the ‘reaching’ event relies on the explicit support of a reference to the human faculty of reason, in the form of an adjunct phrase (5a), or embodied in the metonymical subject (5b):

- (5) a. Et fe, ¿que quiere dezir? Que crea el omne lo que non vee nin puede *alcançar* por *razon* [And faith, what does it mean? That men ought to believe what they do not see nor are able to reach through reasoning].
(1327–32, J. Manuel, *Libro de los estados*, CORDE)
- b. la ley que el *entendimiento* non puede *alcançar* [the law that the mind cannot reach]. (1327–32, J. Manuel, *Libro de los estados*, CORDE)

The writings of Juan Manuel (1282–1348) are the principal source of examples of this type, which form part of discussions on the mysteries of the Christian doctrine – the concept of the Trinity, the power of the sacraments, the workings of divine justice – and have the accent put on the difficulty for the human intelligence to ‘reach’ these mysteries.

Towards the end of the 14th century more examples with mental connotations are found, but now standing on their own without the support of contextual clues. In (6a), extracted from a work by Pedro López de Ayala (1332–1407), the “secret things” functioning as the Goal argument are also of religious nature and allude to the impenetrable motives of the ruling acts of God (*juicios de Dios*); Example (6b), on the other hand, proceeds from an anonymous treatise of medicine, in which *alcanzar* ‘reach’ is applied to medical insights acquired through observation and practice, and here, in particular, to a correct appraisal of the just amount of food that should be ingested to satisfy the needs of a healthy body:

- (6) a. ¿Quién puede tales cosas secretas *alcançar*? [Who can reach/grasp/understand these secret things?]. (1378–1406, P. López de Ayala, *Rimado de Palacio*, CORDE)
- b. bien puede *alcançar* la cantidad que les cumple por luengo tiempo [[the physician] is then perfectly able to reach/grasp/know the amount that will suit them for a long time]. (1381–1418, Anonymous, *Sevillana medicina de Juan de Aviñón*, CORDE)

As these examples make clear, the meaning of *alcanzar* carries a certain degree of ambiguity. We are prompted to ask if the idea of just another “shade” of meaning added to the basic sense of ‘reach’ can be maintained, or whether the rise of a “new” meaning, close to ‘know’ or ‘understand’, should be identified. All studies dealing with the semantics of multifunctional elements are faced with this issue, and the fact that the polysemous networks proposed for one and the same item rarely coincide

(see Boogaart 2009 on modal verbs) confirms that drawing boundaries between shades of meaning and distinct senses is not easy.⁴

Another question concerns the dating of the semantic change, provided we accept that a change took place. The problem here is that the mental uses of *alcanzar* during the 14th century appear in the writings of the three referred authors but not elsewhere. If we assume that written materials tend to reflect changes that have been accepted in the speech community (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 48), we may attribute the restricted evidence for cognitive *alcanzar* in the 14th century to the deficiency of the sources that have come down to us. However, it has also been shown that some innovations arise in written language before spreading to speech (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 45–46; Traugott and Trousdale 2015: 41), and this makes it possible to advance the hypothesis that theological and scientific writings, of the type produced by the three authors in question, were instrumental in motivating the extension of *alcanzar* to the semantic domain of laws, rules and principles which human beings are able – or unable – to ‘reach’ mentally, that is, to ‘know’ or ‘understand’.

This hypothesis gains support from looking at the data associated with the 15th century, which are more representative of a change in progress within a community of speakers: the examples in which ‘reach’ can be substituted by ‘know’ or ‘understand’ are now more widely distributed among authors, and the objects of knowledge to which *alcanzar* is applied have grown more diversified (*alcanzar* is extended to the movement of the stars, musical harmony, the concept of infinity, the properties of human behavior, a foreign tongue, and the significance of a dream, among other objects). The data further show, in accordance with the observations of historical linguists, that changes may proceed at different rates within a speech community. The examples in (7), where the new meaning of *alcanzar* feeds on the proximity of a semantically related verb of cognition, are indeed suggestive of the fact that for some individuals in the 15th century the new polysemous sense has yet to be consolidated:

4. This is probably the right place to mention that there may have been another use of *alcanzar* ‘reach’ that contributed to the development of the intellectual sense of the verb, namely, one in which the subject touches or takes hold of something by extending some bodily part, especially the hand. In contemporary Spanish this use surfaces in examples like *Estiró el brazo y alcanzó uno de los estuches. Lo abrió y lo cerró casi automáticamente* ‘She stretched out her arm and reached for one of the two boxes. She opened it and almost automatically closed it’ (E. González, *Quién como Dios*, 1999, CREA). I bring up this potential source meaning because cross-linguistically a notion of intellectual ‘understanding’ is often seen to derive from the domain of physical manipulation (‘grasp’) (Sweetser 1990: 38). In the medieval data of Spanish I reviewed, however, no such examples could be found. They may have existed but were apparently not very frequent.

- (7) a. & acatar a entender la cosa fasta la *alcançar* [and to try to understand the thing until one reaches it]. (1419–32, P. de Toledo, *Guia de los Perplejos de Maimónides*, CORDE)
- b. para mejor *alcançar* e saber la verdad de lo susodicho [in order to better reach and know the truth of the matter aforesaid]. (1493, Anonymous, *Documentos históricos de Málaga*, CORDE)

With respect to our analysis, the point of major significance is that we have been talking about the “new” meaning of *alcanzar* without being able to demonstrate its existence. A mental reading has presented itself as available and coherent in a number of contexts, but it could be argued that the utterances were equally interpretable stretching the semantics of ‘reach’ somewhat. Obviously, what we are in need of is a formal change evidencing that *alcanzar* ‘understand’ has separated from *alcanzar* ‘reach’ and behaves differently.

The change we are looking for emerges in examples pertaining to the 16th century, in which the older nominal Goal argument of *alcanzar* has given way to a finite complement clause:

- (8) a. porque nosotros, los mortales, solamente vemos lo que Dios hace, mas no *alcançamos* por qué lo hace [because we, mortals, we only see what God does, but we do not understand why he does it]. (1521–43, Fray A. De Guevara, *Epístolas familiares*, CORDE)
- b. yo no *alcanzo* en qué consista esta mejoría que dais al hombre [I don’t understand what this improvement you attribute to man consists of]. (1534, J. Boscán, *Traducción de El cortesano de Baltasar de Castiglione*, CORDE)
- c. ¿Quién *alcanza* cómo por la cruz de Dios fue reparado el mundo? [Who understands how the world was redeemed by the cross of God?]. (1598, Fray A. de Cabrera, *De las consideraciones sobre todos los evangelios de la Cuaresma*, CORDE)

In these examples the syntactic behavior of *alcanzar* has been aligned with that of other verbs of cognition, like *entender* ‘understand’, which in Spanish, as in many other languages, may have objects that are propositions (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 14). From the perspective of the analyst, the formal change – a change in the type of complement *alcanzar* is now able to take – provides the much-needed evidence for the development of the verb’s new cognitive meaning. From the point of view of the historical events, the formal change occurs as a consequence of the semantic shift experienced by the verb in certain contexts. In these contexts *alcanzar* began to shift towards the expression of a different type of event, associated with the semantic roles of Experiencer and Stimulus, rather than those of Theme and Goal linked to the motion verb, and the conceptual shift set up the right scenario for a

mapping of the new lexical representation onto the syntax. The significant outcome of the implementation of the change at the formal level, as far as we are concerned, is that *alcanzar* ‘understand’ can now clearly be opposed to *alcanzar* ‘reach’ on the basis of a contrast between two kinds of argument structure.⁵

Let us briefly go back to the examples in (8) to remark on the interrogative mode of the complement clauses, as well as on the negative polarity that seems to typify the uses of cognitive *alcanzar*. These two features will continue to be characteristic of the new meaning, with *alcanzar* being frequently put into service of conveying that the Experiencer does not understand the why’s or how’s of a particular state of affairs. It is tempting to relate this peculiar collocation profile to a phenomenon of “persistence” (Hopper 1991), considering that the implied notion of difficulty in the mental uses carries a trace of the verb’s original meaning of ‘catch up with someone’: the moving human Goal who is ahead can only be rejoined with some effort on the part of the chasing subject. In fact, some of the examples of *alcanzar* ‘reach’ with an abstract Goal, as discussed above, include an explicit mention of the effort (*con grant trabajo*) required to attain the desired or expected good. And this is what the complement clauses cast in the form of a question in (8) similarly imply, by hinting at the fact that the topics at hand are far from self-evident and demand some effort to be apprehended with clarity.

In these mental contexts, *alcanzar* often combines with negatives (the Experiencer does not understand), which strengthen the force of the implied difficulty. Yet, interestingly, the negative polarity feature is not confined to *alcanzar* ‘understand’, but happens to characterize other uses of the verb, as we will see below. In recent studies on collocational patterns, it has been noted that some lexical items have a preference for negatively oriented semantics (for the concept of “negative semantic prosody”, see Granger and Paquot 2008: 31–32 and references therein), and it appears that this description applies to various meaning extensions of *alcanzar*.⁶

5. I have to mention that in my sample of data a few sporadic examples of clausal complements with cognitive *alcanzar* appeared before the 16th century. For the purpose of dating the syntactic change, I went back to the CORDE, retrieved all the constructions in which cognitive *alcanzar* was accompanied by an interrogative clause with *qué* or *cómo* (more on this below), and obtained 4 examples corresponding to the 15th century (in a total of 5,580 tokens of the verb) and 35 related to the 16th century (in a total of 15,328 tokens), meaning that the presence of the clausal complement triplicated between the 15th and 16th century. This suggests the beginnings of a process of expansion, compatible with the hypothesis that the new argument structure may have been established at an earlier date in the grammar of some language users.

6. It applies to *alcanzar*’s sufficiency sense to be discussed below, and also fits the use of *alcanzar* in the periphrastic construction <*alcanzar* *a* + INF> ‘to manage to’ (*Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* 2009: 2178). The development of this grammaticalized meaning, not touched upon in the present paper, is part of the polysemous history of *alcanzar*.

Space limitations prevent me from tracing the continuing history of the new cognitive polysemy, which would encompass a period of increasing productivity in terms of token frequency, followed by a phase of notable decline in usage, to the point that *alcanzar* ‘understand’ seems to have totally disappeared from some present-day varieties of Spanish.⁷

For the purpose of this study, the essential aspect of the examined history lies in the progression from meaning to form. To recapitulate, the extension of *alcanzar* ‘reach’ to a slightly distinct class of abstract Goals (objects of knowledge) paves the way for the emergence of the new sense of ‘know’ or ‘understand’, which the verb appears to be carrying in some of its uses, and there follows a change in syntactic behavior (complement clause), motivated by the expression of another semantic type of event, and indicative that *alcanzar* ‘understand’ has been assimilated into the class of the cognitive verbs of Spanish.

3. The rise of *alcanzar*’s ‘sufficiency’ sense: Semantic change triggered by formal change

We now turn to another polysemy of Spanish *alcanzar*, whose historical development provides an example of a semantic change being driven or imposed by a structural change. The new meaning in this case involves the complex modal category of sufficiency (Melis 2014). Broadly speaking, when sufficiency is predicated of a thing (or, much more rarely, of a person), the speaker visualizes a certain quantity or dimension which (s)he considers “necessary” for some state of affairs and evaluates whether the quantity or dimension present in the entity concerned matches – or exceeds or falls below – the necessary value that is functioning as an implicit point of reference for the evaluation. Spanish possesses various sufficiency verbs (Melis 2011b). One of them is *bastar* ‘be enough or sufficient’, which takes the evaluated entity as subject and in many of its uses combines with a phrase introduced by the preposition *para* ‘for, to’ expressing the state of affairs in relation to which the implicit value is deemed “necessary” by the speaker:

7. The evolutionary path of cognitive *alcanzar* would also have to include the entry of the verb into the so-called *se me* construction of Spanish: (no) *se*_{REFL} *me*_{DAT} *alcanza* x ‘I (don’t) understand x’. In this pattern, with a prominent human argument encoded as dative, the event denoted by the verb acquires a connotation of involuntariness (Melis and Flores 2012). The data available from the CORDE show that the dative construction begins to compete with the older transitive schema very early on and becomes the preferred expression over time. This comes as no surprise, given the negative semantic prosody of cognitive *alcanzar*: the failure to understand something is adequately construed as an event over which one has little control.

- (9) Dos o tres vasos al día de este elixir blanco *bastan para* reforzar tu bienestar
[Two or three daily glasses of this white elixir are enough to enhance your
well-being].
(1988, *Cuerpo de mujer*, 8, CREA)

It is clear from looking at (9) that the distance separating the concept of sufficiency from the older senses of *alcanzar* is wide, in light of which it is easy to suppose that, in comparison to the previous case, the path leading to the new polysemy was not as straight or direct. To account for the development of *alcanzar*'s sufficiency sense, as we shall see, an appeal will indeed have to be made to the converging influence of a variety of constructions (for multiple sources interacting in language change, see De Smet, Ghesquière and Van de Velde 2015).

The four constructions relevant to our analysis instantiate different meanings of polysemous *alcanzar* – some now familiar and other ones not yet mentioned – which go back to the medieval period of Spanish (13th – 15th cent.) and may therefore be viewed as precursors of the innovative use of the verb, associated with the classical epoch of the language (16th–17th cent.). The crucial feature shared in common by the four constructions, notwithstanding their differences, lies in the availability of a pragmatic inference of sufficiency induced in certain contexts. The constructions are first enlisted and then treated in greater detail:

1. In spatial contexts, *alcanzar* expresses a notion of 'extent' along a horizontal or vertical axis, with an invited inference of sufficiency in some examples.
2. *Alcanzar* 'reach' takes as its Goal a physical object located high up or far away and allows for a similar inference.
3. The conceptualization of a scale, with desirable goods situated at the top, underlies some of the occurrences of *alcanzar* 'reach' in contexts where the high position of the abstract Goal generates a connotation of (in)sufficiency.
4. The scalar vision is passed on to *alcanzar* 'understand' and motivates explicit references to the insufficiency of the faculty of reason.

Extent function

Since the recorded beginnings of Spanish, *alcanzar* shows the development of a static 'extent' function, not unusual for a verb of motion (Jackendoff 1990: 94). This meaning is illustrated in (10):

- (10) a. les puso una vara de diez cobdos que *alcançava* de pared a pared [he
installed for their benefit a pole of ten cubits stretching from wall to wall].
(1275, Alfonso X, *General Estoria*, I, CORDE)
- b. e en la cibdat una torre tan alta que *alcance fasta*'] cielo [and in the city [let
us build] a tower so high that it may extend all the way up to the sky].
(1275, Alfonso X, *General Estoria*, I, CORDE)

The examples in (10) entail a shift of focus with respect to *alcanzar* ‘reach’. Instead of centering attention on the endpoint of a trajectory, *alcanzar* ‘extend, stretch’ activates the image of a continuous series of locations on a horizontal (10a) or vertical (10b) axis (cf. Langacker 1986), and is accompanied by a directional complement (with *a* ‘to’ or *hasta* ‘until’) which highlights the speaker’s mental progression from Source to Goal along the path-like set of points. Most significant for our purposes is the suggestion in (10b) that extending to the sky is contingent on the possession of a certain necessary height and that the tower will meet this requirement: it will be high enough to touch the sky.

Reaching distant objects in space

As mentioned in Section 2, dynamic *alcanzar* ‘reach’ does not often select a physical location or object as its Goal argument. An exception to this tendency is exemplified in (11), where the eggs of crocodiles fulfill the role of the Goal:

- (11) e estas coçatrizes [...] ponen sus huevos donde creçiendo el rio non los pueda *alcançar* [and these crocodiles ... lay their eggs where the rising [Nile] river cannot reach them]. (1350, Anonymous, *Traducción de la “Historia de Jerusalem abreviada” de Jacobo de Vitriaco*, CORDE)

Of interest here is the invited reading that the distance put between the eggs and the tidal region of the Nile is sufficiently long to prevent the eggs from being flooded. More examples of this kind appear in the medieval records allowing for similar inferences about spatial Goals located far away or high up.

Scalar construal of abstract Goals

In various examples of *alcanzar* ‘reach’, the abstract Goal is accompanied by an adjective or quantifier which helps situate the abstract entity on an implicit scale of religious or temporal values.⁸ Usually, as shown in (12), the location profiles the upper region of the visualized scale:

- (12) a. la osadia que el omne toma en bien fazer para *alcançar* grand galardón o grande honrra [the boldness of men when performing their good deeds with the intention of reaching a great reward or great honor]. (1293, Anonymous, *Castigos*. BNM ms. 6559, CORDE)

8. The scalar modifiers are not as frequent in the earliest texts, but by the 14th century they occur in approximately 15% of the examples with abstract Goals.

- b. a quien Dios quiere dar paciencia & sufrimiento mucha merced *alcança* [he to whom God chooses to grant patience and suffering reaches (obtains) many favors]. (1300–5, Anonymous, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*, CORDE)
- c. por la *esperança* confiamos *alcançar* nuestro soberano bien [the virtue of hope is what makes us confident that we will reach our sovereign good]. (1456, A. de Cartagena, *El Oracional*, CORDE)
- d. con grandes *aflecciones* *alcançan* los fuertes onbres estos perfectos renombres, e non oyendo cançiones [it is through great torments that strong men reach their impeccable fame, and not listening to music]. (1424–1520, Anonymous, *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Íxar*, CORDE)

What is important to observe in these examples is how the highly ranked Goals become linked to the idea that they are not easy to reach: They require “good” actions – cf. *bien fazer* in (12a) –, or depend on the practice of Christian virtues – cf. *esperança* ‘hope’ in (12c) –, and in some cases the price to be paid for their attainment – cf. *sufrimiento* ‘suffering’ in (12b), *aflecciones* ‘torments’ in (12d) – turns out to be equally high. Evidently, these observations fit in with what was said in Section 2 about the association between *alcanzar* and a notion of obliged effort, stemming from the verb’s original meaning and running through its uses.⁹ At the same time, I do not mean to claim that ideas of difficulty and effort induce an inference of sufficiency as salient as in the previous constructions. Nevertheless, a reading to this effect becomes available if we are able to see that the individuals who do not have the “necessary” qualities – who fall short in their actions, their faith, their capacity for endurance or who do not try hard enough – will not reach the Goal to which they aspire.

The capacity for rational thought and its insufficiency

By contrast, in the contexts where *alcanzar* ‘reach’ approximates the sense of ‘know’ or ‘understand’, the objects of intellectual pursuit are almost never accompanied by a scalar modifier, but are openly evaluated as not easily apprehensible due to a deficiency of the human mind:

9. An explicit connection between highly ranked Goals and a notion of effort is drawn in this example: *ni las muy grandes cosas sin muy grand trabajo se alcanzan* ‘and very great things are not reached without a very great effort’ (1492, J. de Lucena, *Epístola exhortatoria a las letras*, CORDE). We may note in passing that present-day *alcanzar* continues to be associated with phrases that convey a notion of effort (*a duras penas* ‘with great difficulty’, *contra viento y marea* ‘through hell and high water’, *a trancas y barrancas* ‘in spite of all the obstacles’), as shown in Bosque’s (2004) collocational dictionary of contemporary Spanish.

- (13) a. en estas cosas que me vos preguntades yo he pensado, quanto el mi flaco entendimiento *alcançar* puede, commo responda a ellas [with respect to the things you ask me, I have thought – in so far as my meager (lit. ‘thin’) intelligence is able to reach – about how to respond to them].

(1326, J. Manuel, *Libro del caballero y del escudero*, CORDE)

- b. por nuestra cortedat de *alcançar* la grandeza de las cosas segunt son fablaua Dios con nos en lo oscuro por enxemplos & fablillas [because of our scant (lit. ‘short’) capacity to reach the greatness of things as they are, God would speak to us in obscure ways through examples and stories].

(1419–32, P. de Toledo, *Guia de los Perplejos de Maimónides*, CORDE)

The inadequacy of the faculty of reason for the task of encompassing the mysteries of the universe is a recurrent theme in the later medieval texts, and in all cases it is possible to infer that the necessary dimension required by the task at hand is lacking: our thoughts are not sufficiently broad or profound. Implicit in these contexts is the visualization of a scale, inherited from *alcanzar* ‘reach’, according to which the insufficiency of human intelligence is measured in relation to the high position occupied by the objects of knowledge.

In retrospect, the four types of constructions afford a view of the manner in which *alcanzar* was led to intertwine with a notion of sufficiency through mechanisms of inference. A tangible proof that over time a connection along these lines was established in the mind of the language users comes from examples like those in (14), attested towards the end of the Middle Ages, in which *alcanzar* and a sufficiency word keep close company. In (14a) *alcanzar* conveys the meaning of ‘reaching’ an object of sexual desire; (14b) shows the extension of *alcanzar* ‘reach’ to the semantic field of visual perception (a minor phenomenon not treated in this paper); and (14c), once more illustrative of a cognitive context, has *alcanzar* coordinated with *bastar* ‘be enough or sufficient’ in the interior of a structure that foreshadows the formal change we will discuss below:

- (14) a. que mis pasiones bastasen para *alcançar* dama de tales façiones, virtudes e condiçiones que jamas fuesen sin par [[making it possible] that my passions should suffice to reach a woman of incomparable features, virtues and disposition].

(1434–70, VV.AA.,

Cancionero castellano de París (PN12), CORDE)

- b. sus ojos non son suficientes en alguna manera para *alcançar* y veer su grandeza nin mirar su profundidad [his eyes are in some way insufficient to reach and see its [the ocean’s] magnitude or gaze at its depth].

(1456, A. de Cartagena, *Traducción del “Tratado que demuestra que no es dañado alguno sino por sí mismo”, de san Juan Crisós*, CORDE)

- c. puesto que natural mente los entendimjentos humanos non *alcançen* nin basten para entender la manera commo los spiritus toman los tales cuerpos [given that the intelligence of human beings does not naturally reach nor suffice to understand the way spirits take hold of these bodies].

(1445, L. de Barrientos, *Tratado de adivinar y de magia*.

BNM. ms. 6401, CORDE)

Another piece of evidence, dating around the same time but of a slightly different type, is Example (15). In this case, we understand that the speaker trusts the capacity of his interlocutor to infer the intended reading of sufficiency:

- (15) las rentas ordinarias de vuestros Reynos non *alcanzan* a vuestros gastos [the ordinary revenues of your kingdoms do not extend to your expenses].

(1439, Conde de Haro, *El Seguro de Tordesillas*, CORDE)

On the surface, (15) instantiates the ‘extent’ sense of *alcanzar* (cf. the directional form *a* ‘to’). The underlying image is that of a numerical scale, in which the incoming money (*rentas*) occupies a lower position with respect to the outgoing money (*gastos*) situated higher up, and on the basis of this implicit scenario the addressee is expected to reconstruct the unbridgeable distance lying between the two points. Put more simply, the intended, but less courteous, message is that the Treasury does not have enough funds to back the spending habits of his Highness.

Inferences have been shown to play an important role in semantic change, gradually leading up to a situation in which the inferred meaning becomes part of the polysemies of a lexical item and is the only reading available in certain contexts (Traugott and König 1991; Traugott and Dasher 2002). With respect to *alcanzar*, the shift from an attached implicature to a “new” meaning can be observed in some (occasional) examples distributed across the 16th and 17th century. What the examples reveal is that the new meaning was triggered not by some type of semantic incompatibility between one of the older senses of *alcanzar* and the context, but by the appearance of the verb in a formal structure stripped of the Goal argument:

- (16) a. porque las mercadurías de V. M. son de mucho prescio, é la gente de la tierra de poca moneda, que no *alcanza para* comprar una vara de paño [because the goods of your grace are expensive, and the people of this land of small means, which are not sufficient for buying a yard of cloth].

(1528, H. de la Torre, *Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...*, CORDE)

- b. estando apartados de los poblados, aun hojas de árboles no *alcanzaban para* cubrir sus carnes [living far away from the wooded countryside, even the leaves of trees were not enough to cover their bodies].

(1606, San J. B. de la Concepción, *La regla de la orden de la Santísima Trinidad*, CORDE)

- c. Toda su fatiga y sudor se va en pagar las rentas, y ¡ojalá que *alcanzase*! [All their weariness and sweat goes into paying the lease, and would to God that it were sufficient!]. (1617, C. Suárez de Figueroa, *El pasajero*, CORDE)

As the examples show, the possibility of accommodating one of the older senses of the verb is excluded – there is nothing to be ‘reached’ or to ‘extend to’ – and in all cases the context suggests that *alcanzar* has come to mean ‘to be enough or sufficient’. The new meaning is forced upon us with special cogency in (16a) and (16b), where the clausal structure has been augmented with a *para* phrase echoing the behavior of *bastar* (cf. (9) above). While strengthening the intended reading, the *para* complement may also be taken as a signal that in the course of time language users had grown sensitive to the relation established between *alcanzar* and the verb specialized in expressing a notion of sufficiency. Evidently, in the absence of prior events of this type, it is most unlikely that a change of meaning activated by an abrupt change in form, as shown in (16), could ever have taken place.

In fact, the data suggest that the use of *alcanzar* in the sense of ‘be enough or sufficient’ took considerable time before becoming entrenched. Examples like (16) are extremely scant throughout classical Spanish, and one has to wait until the 18th century to witness the beginnings of the expansion of the new construction.¹⁰ Once the process was set in motion, however, the new polysemy continued to evolve along a gradual path of increasing frequency, in contrast to the decline experienced by *alcanzar* ‘understand’. As a result, the sense of sufficiency has been incorporated into the polysemous network of the verbal form, with some variation in the degree to which the distinct Hispanic regions favor the use of *alcanzar* to express this meaning.¹¹ As a final note, it is interesting to observe that the new meaning of sufficiency, much like the cognitive extension of *alcanzar*, has a tendency to appear in negative contexts. The examples in (16) show that a feature of “negative semantic prosody” was associated with the new polysemy at the early stage of its

10. My search through hundreds of examples in the CORDE led me to conclude that the new meaning was barely emerging during the 16th and 17th century. To verify this conclusion, I localized all the constructions of *alcanzar* ‘be enough or sufficient’ with a *para* complement and obtained the following results: 2 examples (in a total of 15,328 tokens of the verb) in the 16th century, 14 examples (in a total of 11,355 tokens) in the 17th century, and 34 examples (in a total of 2,180 tokens) in the 18th century. In light of these results, to be evaluated with regard to the totals of recorded uses of *alcanzar*, it is possible to argue that the new polysemy began to grow and diffuse in the 18th century.

11. As suggested by the following data: in a panhispanic corpus, the sufficiency sense was found to cover 3.8% (195/5035) of the uses of *alcanzar* (Melis 2011a), but in a quick survey of exclusively Mexican examples the proportion rose to 10.4% (33/316).

development, and the propensity for *alcanzar* ‘be enough or sufficient’ to be used in negative polarity contexts continues to be highly noticeable today (Melis 2011a). With *alcanzar*, things are commonly evaluated as not being sufficient for the relevant state of affairs.

We are now in a better position to compare the two polysemous developments of Spanish *alcanzar*. In both cases, we were able to observe that semantic shifts, as repeatedly noted in the literature, have their origin in specific collocational environments. In this way, depending on the elements *alcanzar* combined with, the basic sense in which the verb was used became extended in one direction or another. With *alcanzar* ‘understand’, it was the accompanying Goal argument that played the instrumental role in pushing the verbal semantics towards a distinct conceptual domain, from an (abstract) motion event to an activity of intellectual grasping; with *alcanzar* ‘be enough or sufficient’, context-induced inferences linked to a variety of constructions were crucial in giving shape to a peculiar association of the motion verb with an idea of sufficiency. These semantic shifts, functioning as potential, though not necessary, precursors of the rise of a “new” meaning, were the attributes our two case studies had in common. How form came to interact with these meaning shifts, on the other hand, was what introduced the fundamental difference between the two evolutionary pathways. In both cases, structural changes were found to correlate with the change in meaning. Significantly, however, form and meaning appeared at distinct moments in the sequence of events. With *alcanzar* ‘understand’, we had a phase of development in the course of which the possibility of replacing ‘reach’ by ‘know’ or ‘understand’ was available and coherent in contexts where no formal changes were registered. From this perspective, the clausal complements that began to surface at a somewhat later stage simply acted as a signal that the change in meaning had happened and that the syntactic behavior of *alcanzar* had been modified in response to the semantic change. In the case of *alcanzar* ‘be enough or sufficient’, by contrast, no contexts allowing the new reading were found prior to the formal change, due to the steady presence of a Goal argument that continued to impose the older senses of the verb (reach or extend to “something”). Here, a sudden alteration at the structural level (valency reduction + specific adjunct) played the decisive role in activating the new polysemous sense. Our second case study, in other words, provided us with an example of syntactic change triggering semantic change.

4. Conclusions

The question of how form and meaning interact in processes of change is of particular significance to historical linguists. When addressed from the vantage point of a functional approach to language – the view adopted in this paper – the consensus among researchers seems to be that changes in meaning lead the way and changes in form follow as a consequence or happen at the very least simultaneously. The possibility of a formal change being responsible for the emergence of a new meaning is seldom envisaged.

The main conclusion to be drawn from our historical study of the Spanish polysemous verb *alcanzar* is that the latter possibility should not be ruled out *a priori*. The interplay between form and meaning turns out to be slightly more complex than is generally supposed, and more careful inspections of particular instances of change will be necessary to obtain a clear picture of the phenomenon. For the moment, the point to be stressed is that our study of Spanish *alcanzar* afforded insight into a change of meaning that was set off by a structural change, contrary to prevailing expectations. At the same time, however, it is important to recognize that the new polysemy that was generated in this manner – *alcanzar*'s sufficiency sense – did not arise in the middle of a void, but was preceded, as we saw, by a string of implicit and, on occasion, overt associations drawn between *alcanzar* and the semantic category of sufficiency in the course of various centuries. For a true assessment of the effect of form on semantic change, it is clear that these facts cannot be ignored. They raise the central question of whether structural change can really be viewed as capable of producing a change in meaning in the absence of previous semantic support. I will close this paper by proposing that a useful distinction may reside in separating the precursory steps from the immediate trigger of a semantic change.

References

- Bergs, Alexander, and Gabriele Diewald. 2009. "Contexts and Constructions." In *Contexts and Constructions*, ed. by Alexander Bergs, and Gabriele Diewald, 1–14. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.9.01ber>
- Boogaart, Ronny. 2009. "Semantics and Pragmatics in Construction Grammar: The Case of Modal Verbs." In *Contexts and Constructions*, ed. by Alexander Bergs, and Gabriele Diewald, 213–242. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.9.09boo>
- Bosque, Ignacio. 2004. *Redes. Diccionario combinatorio del español contemporáneo*. Madrid: SM.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1988. *The Development of English Aspectual Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Bybee, Joan L. 2003. "Mechanisms of Change in Grammaticization: The Role of Frequency." In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph, and Richard D. Landa, 602–623. Oxford: Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch19>
- Bybee, Joan L. 2010. *Language, Usage and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511750526>
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Corominas, Joan, and José A. Pascual. 1980. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, vol. 1. Madrid: Gredos.
- De Smet, Hendrik, Lobke Ghesquière, and Freek Van de Velde (eds). 2015. *On Multiple Source Constructions in Language Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/bct.79>
- Diewald, Gabriele. 2002. "A Model for Relevant Types of Contexts in Grammaticalization." In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, ed. by Ilse Wischer, and Gabriele Diewald, 103–120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.09die>
- Fernández Jaén, Jorge. 2014. *Principios fundamentales de semántica histórica*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Fischer, Olga. 1994. "The Development of Quasi-Auxiliaries in English and Changes in Word Order." *Neophilologus* 78:137–164. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00999959>
- Fischer, Olga, and Anette Rosenbach. 2000. "Introduction." In *Pathways of Change. Grammaticalization in English*, ed. by Olga Fischer, Anette Rosenbach, and Dieter Stein, 1–37. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.53.03fs>
- Fischer, Olga, Muriel Norde, and Harry Perridon. 2004. "Introduction: In Search of Grammaticalization." In *Up and Down the Cline – The nature of Grammaticalization*, ed. by Olga Fischer, Muriel Norde, and Harry Perridon, 1–16. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.59.02fs>
- Fortson, IV, Benjamin W. 2003. "An Approach to Semantic Change." In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph, and Richard D. Landa, 648–666. Oxford: Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch21>
- Granger, Sylviane, and Magali Paquot. 2008. "Disentangling the Phraseological Web". In *Phraseology. An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. by Sylviane Granger, and Fanny Meunier, 27–49. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/z.139.07gra>
- Harris, Alice C., and Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620553>
- Heine, Bernd. 2003. "Grammaticalization." In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph, and Richard D. Landa, 575–601. Oxford: Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch18>
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. "From Cognition to Grammar: Evidence from African Languages." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization I*, ed. by Elizabeth C. Traugott, and Bernd Heine, 149–187. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.09hei>
- Hernández Caro, Ana Paula. 2007. *Estudio diacrónico de los verbos pseudoimpersonales del español (estativos de existencia)*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Mexico: UNAM.

- Himmelman, Nikolaus. 2004. "Lexicalization and Grammaticalization: Opposite or Orthogonal?" In *What Makes Grammaticalization – A Look from its Fringes and its Components*, ed. by Walter Bisang, Nikolaus P. Himmelman, and Björn Wiener, 21–42. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. "On Some Principles of Grammaticalization." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization I*, ed. by Elizabeth C. Traugott, and Bernd Heine, 17–35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.04hop>
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139165525>
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1990. *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Kittilä, Seppo, and Jussi Ylikoski. 2011. "Remarks on the Coding of Goal, Recipient and Vicinal Goal in European Uralic." In *Case, Animacy and Semantic roles*, ed. by Seppo Kittilä, Katja Västi, and Jussi Ylikoski, 29–64. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.99.02kit>
- Langacker, Ronald. 1986. "Abstract Motion." In *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, ed. by Vassiliki Nikiiforidou et al., 455–471. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1985. "Grammaticalization: Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change." *Lingua e Stile* 20(3):303–318.
- Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations. A Preliminary Investigation*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Levin, Beth, and Malka Rappaport Hovav. 2005. *Argument Realization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511610479>
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1991. "On the Gradualness of Grammaticalization." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization I*, ed. by Elizabeth C. Traugott, and Bernd Heine, 37–80. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.05lic>
- Lindstromberg, Seth. 2010. *English Prepositions Explained*. Revised Edition. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/z.157>
- Luraghi, Silvia. 2011. "The Coding of Spatial Relations with Human Landmarks. From Latin to Romance." In *Case, Animacy and Semantic Roles*, ed. by Seppo Kittilä, Katja Västi, and Jussi Ylikoski, 209–234. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.99.08lur>
- Melis, Chantal. 2011a. "El cambio semántico, sus contextos y los verbos de 'suficiencia' del español." Paper presented at the *XIII Coloquio Internacional de Lingüística Iberorrománica*, Leuven, Belgium, February 2011.
- Melis, Chantal. 2011b. "Los verbos de suficiencia." *Lingüística Mexicana* 6(2):29–59.
- Melis, Chantal. 2014. "The Modal Category of Sufficiency." In *Modes of Modality. Modality, Typology, and Universal Grammar*, ed. by Elizabeth Leiss, and Werner Abraham, 353–376. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.149.12mel>
- Melis, Chantal, and Marcela Flores. 2012. "Emergence and Grammaticalization of Constructions within the *Se Me* Network of Spanish." In *Grammaticalization and Language Change. New Reflections*, ed. by Kristin Davidse, Tine Breban, Lieselotte Brems, and Tanja Mortelmans, 249–270. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.130.10mel>
- Morimoto, Yuko. 2001. *Los verbos de movimiento*. Madrid: Visor Libros.
- Real Academia Española. 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. 2 vols. Madrid: Espasa.
- Sweetser, Eve E. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics. Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620904>

- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2005. "Historical Aspects of Modality." In *The Expression of Modality*, ed. by William Frawley, 107–139. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Ekkehard König. 1991. "The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited". In *Approaches to Grammaticalization I*, ed. by Elizabeth C. Traugott, and Bernd Heine, 189–251. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.10clo>
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Graeme Trousdale. 2015. *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corpus

CREA = Real Academia Española, *Corpus de referencia del español actual*, <<http://www.rae.es>>
 CORDE = Real Academia Española, *Corpus diacrónico del español*, <<http://www.rae.es>>

Something seems to have changed

Diachronic evidence for the semantic shift of *parecer* + infinitive

Dorien Nieuwenhuijsen
Utrecht University

This paper examines the claim that when a full verb is grammaticalized and becomes an auxiliary it is subjected to a process of desemanticization or semantic bleaching. For this matter, the Spanish periphrasis *parecer* + infinitive ('to seem') is analysed on the basis of the three semantic-pragmatic tendencies proposed by Traugott (1989). It is shown how in the course of time the original meaning of physical appearance of the periphrasis developed into the current epistemic and evidential meaning, shifting from a concrete to a more abstract meaning. The semantic shift, so it is argued, does not involve a loss of meaning but constitutes a case of generalization, allowing for the use of the periphrasis with all six grammatical persons.

Keywords: Spanish, verbal periphrases, *parecer* + infinitive, epistemic modality, evidentially, semantic bleaching, subjectification, speaker-oriented

1. Introduction

Although there is much debate about the sequences that can be classified as verbal periphrases, i.e. constructions composed of a finite verb followed by a non-finite verb and often connected by a preposition (cf. Fernández de Castro 2003; Fontanella de Weinberg 1970; García Fernández 2006; Gómez Torrego 1999; Olbertz 1998; RAE, and ASALE 2010a: 2105–2222; Roca Pons 1958; Squartini 1998; Yllera 1980), studies on this topic usually agree about the fact that the meaning of this type of multiverb expressions is not representational and computational, but conceptual and procedural, i.e. these expressions provide the hearer with some sort of guideline for the interpretation of the utterance (Blakemore 1987: 144; Escandell-Vidal, Leonetti, and Ahern 2011; Wilson, and Sperber 1993). Moreover, the majority of the authors claim that the auxiliary verbs of periphrases have undergone a process

of grammaticalization, being at the same time subjected to desemanticization. Desemanticization, also known as semantic bleaching, denotes the loss of lexical, semantic content of a linguistic form in favour of a grammatical function (Heine 1993: 54 ff.). However, this last claim is not totally undisputed, since over the years some convincing examples of grammaticalized constructions that did not involve bleaching have been identified (cf. Garachana Camarero 2017; Hopper, and Traugott 2003: 94ff; Traugot, and König 1991).

In this paper we will explore the claim regarding the desemanticization of the auxiliaries of periphrases, studying the case of *parecer* + infinitive ('to seem'), particularly the degree to which the meaning of this construction has been bleached. We will first discuss the periphrastic character of *parecer* + infinitive in order to justify its place in the category of verbal periphrases (Section 2). Subsequently, in Section 3, we will trace the origin of this periphrasis and its syntactic evolution, followed in Section 4 by an analysis of its semantic evolution, taking as our starting point similar Latin constructions and the original meaning of the lexical verb *parecer*. Section 5 elaborates on the particular meaning of the periphrasis, while Section 6 discusses the use of the first person singular in this construction. Finally, in Section 7 we summarize our main findings and put forward our conclusions while reflecting on the desemanticization of *parecer* + infinitive.

2. The periphrastic nature of *parecer* + infinitive

Despite the fact that there is general consensus about the meaning of the multiverb expression *parecer* + infinitive (see Section 4 below), there is much less agreement on the nature of the sequence as exemplified in (1) and (2):

- (1) Tampoco me había compenetrado nunca con nadie como con aquel chico, que tenía la misma edad que yo, veintidós años, y *parecía adivinarme* el pensamiento. [Neither had I ever identified myself with someone like with that boy, who had the same age as me, twenty-two years, and seemed to read my thought(s).] (Almudena Grandes, *Inés y la alegría*, 21C)
- (2) Desde allí un panorama de azoteas y tejados se veía envuelto en vapores rojizos y las torres de las iglesias antiguas *parecían navegar* entre olas. [From there a view of terraces and roofs was covered in reddish vapours and the towers of the old churches seemed to sail between the waves.]. (Carmen Laforet, *Nada*, 20C)

In different studies on the topic, *parecer* has been classified as a copula (Fogsgaard 2002; also cf. RAE, and ASALE 2010a: 2774, 2827 ff. for a justification of this posture), as a semi-auxiliary (Cornillie 2007, 2012) or as a modal verb (Ausín, and

Depiante 2000; RAE, and ASALE 2010a: 2831–2832). Fernández Leborans and Díaz Bautista (1990: 365 ff.) offer four possible interpretations of *parecer* + infinitive, being one of them a verbal periphrasis with a semi-auxiliary verb. Furthermore, in the *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE, and ASALE 2010a: 2832–2833) *parecer* + infinitive is classified as a verbal periphrasis.¹ In accordance with this view, Fernández de Castro (2003: 21) assigns *parecer* to the class of auxiliaries that may function independently but can also be part of a verbal complex, which leads him to claim that *parecer* + infinitive shows a regularly periphrastic behaviour (Fernández de Castro 1990: 61) or is a verbal periphrasis (Fernández de Castro 2003: 21). By contrast, Olbertz (1998: 64–66), as well as Gómez Torrego (1999: 3341–3342) strongly disagree with the above classification. In their view, *parecer* is a one-place verb (Olbertz 1998: 65) or a syntactically full verb followed by a nominal-like infinitive with attributive function (Gómez Torrego 1999: 3341).

In this paper we will follow the classification of the RAE and ASALE (2010a: 2832–2833) and Fernández de Castro (2003: 21) in that *parecer* + infinitive belongs to the category of verbal periphrases. Particularly, our claim relies on the following criteria (Garachana Camarero 2017):

- i. the meaning of the multiverb expression is procedural or instructional, not compositional;
- ii. none of the components of the sequence can be substituted for another component;
- iii. the selection of arguments depends on the predicate as a whole.

Regarding the first criterion, Examples (1) and (2) undoubtedly show that in both the author informs the reader of the way to interpret the act expressed by the infinitive that follows *parecer*. In (1) the boy was not actually reading the speaker's mind but only seemed to be able to do so, while in (2) the towers of the old churches looked like if they were sailing between the waves although, in reality, they obviously were not acting in this way.

As for the second criterion, a simple test suffices in order to check whether the infinitive allows replacement with a nominal word class (noun, pronoun, complete clause), in which case the infinitive has nominal features and, consequently, the sequence is not classified as a periphrasis (cf. also Fontanella de Weinberg 1970: 63; Olbertz 1998: 39–40). In spite of the fact that the infinitive with its complements can easily be substituted for a subordinate clause introduced by the connective *que* (*parecía adivinarme el pensamiento* > *parecía que me adivinaba el pensamiento*),

1. Interestingly, in the *Manual de la Nueva Gramática*, a concise version of their grammar, the RAE, and ASALE (2010b: 541) state that *parecer* + infinitive is a semi-periphrasis, since it does not exhibit all the characteristics of a periphrasis.

(cf. also Fernández Leborans 1999: 2448; Fernández Leborans, and Díaz Bautista 1990: 369; Olbertz 1998: 65), in our view the meaning of the two utterances is not exactly the same. The difference lies in the degree of assertion the writer or speaker conveys with both constructions. Whereas the periphrasis has a non-factive value, the impersonal construction with *parece que* expresses near factivity (Cornillie 2007: 15; Fernández Leborans 1999: 2453; Fernández Leborans, and Díaz Batista 1990: 370, 391; Hernanz 1999: 2232; Porroche Ballesteros 1990: 136).² Besides, if the periphrasis has an overt subject and if it is plural the replacement implies more changes, i.e. the transposition of the subject to the subordinate clause, and the change of the plural verb form of *parecer* into singular (*las torres de las glesias antiguas parecían navegar entre olas* > *parecía que las torres de las glesias antiguas navegaban entre olas*).

Finally, considering the third feature, it is the construction as a whole that selects its arguments, a process in which the infinitive plays the leading part and the auxiliary functions as a grammatical device (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg 1970: 62; Gómez Torrego 1999: 3327–3328; RAE, and ASALE 2010a: 2124). In Example (1), the direct object *el pensamiento* ('the thoughts') as well as the indirect object *me* ('me') depend on the infinitive *adivinar*, in the sense that *adivinar* is a two-place verb and that it semantically can select both *el pensamiento* and *me*. If the indirect object would have been selected by the auxiliary *parecer*, it would have appeared before this verb and would have received an experimenter lecture (cf. *me pareció ver el piloto verde de un taxi libre*, 'it seemed to me to see the green sign of a free cab').

On the bases of the previous analysis, it seems justifiable to incorporate *parecer* + infinitive in the category of periphrases, particularly in the subclass of modal periphrases (cf. RAE, and ASALE 2010a: 2140–2150), since it complies with two of the three determinant criteria discussed before. However, the fact that the components of the sequence are susceptible to some kind of replacement (criterion 2) suggests that *parecer* + infinitive is not situated at the heart of the category.³

2. Cornillie (2007: 25ff.) analyses the two constructions on the basis of the parameters 'source of information, 'speaker commitment' and '(inter)subjectivity'.

3. For a more detailed discussion of the periphrastic nature of *parecer* + infinitive and, more in general, of the criteria that define the class of periphrases and the extent to which the members of this class are regarded as prototypical or peripheral, see Nieuwenhuijsen (2017) and Garachana Camarero (2017).

3. The origin of *parecer* + infinitive

Although a small number of periphrases was available in Latin (cf. Bassols de Climent 1956: I, 339–346), the evidential meaning of ‘to seem’, ‘to appear’ was expressed by the passive form of the verb VIDEO (‘to see’) > VIDEOR. According to Pinkster (2015: 208, 213) this passive could behave more or less like a copular verb and could be combined with infinitives, as in GEMINOS IN VENTRE HABERE VIDEOR FILIOS (Plautus, *Curculio*, 221, ‘I seem to have twin sons in my belly’) (cf. also Bassols de Climent 1956: II, 16; Ernout, and Thomas 2002: 331; Glare 1976: 2060, s.v. VIDEŌ, 20).⁴

The verb *parecer*, auxiliary of the Spanish periphrasis, stems from the vulgar Latin verb *PARĒSCĒRE, an inchoative form of the verb PARĒRE (Corominas, and Pascual 1985: 400). For this last verb, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Glare 1976: 1296, s.v. PĀREŌ) gives as its fifth meaning: ‘to be visible, be seen’. Moreover, the *Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Souter 1957: 286) reports for PĀREO: ‘= APPAREO, be visible, show up’. In addition, this glossary contains an independent entry for PĀRESCO, with the meaning of ‘to make an appearance’ (Souter 1957: 286).⁵

At first sight, thus, the Spanish periphrasis seems to be a kind of syntactic calque of the Latin evidential construction with VIDEOR, in so far as both VIDEOR and PĀREO/PĀRESCO convey the meaning of ‘to be visible’, look like’. However, whereas the former actually is attested with infinitives, in the case of PĀREO reference works only list the possibility of the impersonal PĀRET to take on an infinitive, not the personal PĀREO (cf. Lewis and Short 1879, who state that PĀRET = VIDETUR; the same comment is made by Ernout and Meillet 1932: 697). Therefore, the fact that *parecer* admits an infinitive in Spanish is not self-evident and obviously requires a more thorough explanation.

Cornillie (2007: 76, 2012: 7) claims that the periphrasis is the outcome of an extension of the copular construction of *parecer* + adjective (*parece lógico, difícil*, etc., ‘it seems logical, difficult’), a view that is shared by Bolinger (1991: 38), although

4. Souter (1957: 443) lists VIDEOR as a separate entry with the comment “often otiose”. Besides VIDEOR, Pinkster (2015: 209) gives APPAREO (‘to be found, prove to be’) as one of the copular verbs in Latin that could be used with subject complements (cf. also Bassols de Climent 1956: II, 16). The examples Pinkster presents with APPAREO do not contain infinitives, but he does list the impersonal APPARET among the one-place verbs that are used with an infinitive (Pinkster 2015: 93; also Bassols de Climent 1956: II, 224; Ernout, and Thomas 2002: 321; Glare 1976: 149, s.v. APPĀREŌ, 11; Lewis, and Short 1879, s.v. APPAREO).

5. In Ernout and Meillet (1932: 698, s.v. PĀREO) the verb *PĀRĒSCERE is assumed but not attested. These authors further state that only APPARĒSCŌ is attested in Latin. See also Lewis, and Short (1879, s.v. APPĀRESCO, ‘to begin to appear’); Prinz, and Schneider (1967: 776, ‘sich zeigen, sich herausstellen’); Souter (1957: 7, ‘show oneself’).

this author adheres to the idea that the periphrasis has its origin in the impersonal construction with *parece que*, also suggested by Keniston (1937: 505) in his standard work about the Spanish language in the sixteenth century.⁶

In order to examine the origin of *parecer* + infinitive, particularly the infinitives it occurs first and/or most with, we compiled a corpus of examples extracted from the *Gradia* corpus, which contains 487 documents of different text genres and covers the period from the twelfth century to the present. In this corpus, we collected all instances of *parecer* + infinitive, excepting cases in which *parecer* comes with an indirect object in the capacity of experimenter or conceptualizer (cf. *me pareció ver el piloto verde de un taxi libre*).⁷ The total number of examples that follow the selection criterion amounts to 1004.

Table 1 exhibits the number of cases and percentages for the eight most frequent infinitives occurring with the periphrasis. We ordered the cases chronologically by century starting in the thirteenth century with the oldest one.

Table 1. Percentages and absolute numbers of infinitives with *parecer* + infinitivo per century in the *Gradia* corpus

C	Confirmar	Dar	Estar	Haber	Indicar	Querer	Ser	Tener	Other	Total
13	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	100% (1)	100% (1)
14	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	93.8% (15)	0% (0)	6.3% (1)	100% (16)
15	0% (0)	0% (0)	6.1% (5)	8.5% (7)	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	43.9% (36)	3.7% (3)	36.6% (30)	100% (82)
16	0.7% (1)	0% (0)	4.3% (6)	22.9% (32)	0% (0)	1.4% (2)	51.4% (72)	3.6% (5)	15.7% (22)	100% (140)
17	0% (0)	0% (0)	6.8% (5)	21.9% (16)	0% (0)	2.7% (2)	49.3% (36)	5.5% (4)	13.7% (10)	100% (73)

6. Gómez Torrego (1999: 3341) argues that *parecer* presents the peculiarity, derived from the Latin verb *VIDEOR*, of admitting two structures: one with agreement (with its own subject) and another without agreement (with a null subject). Possibly, part of the explanation of the almost total absence of instances of *parecer* + infinitive in first and second person until the twentieth century (see Section 6) lies in the coexistence of the impersonal and personal construction with *parecer*. In any case, since the first attestation of the periphrasis in the thirteenth century, instances of the third person singular have always been more frequent. For a detailed discussion of this topic see Nieuwenhuijsen (2017).

7. In line with Ausín and Depiante (2000), Fernández Leborans (1999: 2443–2446), Real Academia Española (2005, *s.v. parecer*) and RAE, and ASALE (2010a: 2827 ff.) we presume that when *parecer* is accompanied by an indirect pronoun it is not a modal verb denoting perception but a lexical verb expressing opinion.

Table 1. (continued)

C	Confirmar	Dar	Estar	Haber	Indicar	Querer	Ser	Tener	Other	Total
18	3.4% (1)	0% (0)	6.9% (2)	27.6% (8)	3.4% (1)	0% (0)	20.7% (6)	3.4% (1)	34.5% (10)	100% (29)
19	1.2% (4)	2.5% (8)	2.2% (7)	17.3% (56)	1.2% (4)	4% (13)	8% (26)	5.3% (17)	58.2% (188)	100% (323)
20	2% (6)	1% (3)	4.6% (14)	10.6% (32)	2.6% (8)	0.3% (1)	15.2% (46)	5.6% (17)	57.9% (175)	100% (302)
21	0% (0)	0% (0)	2.6% (1)	15.8% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)	2.6% (1)	10.5% (4)	68.4% (26)	100% (38)
Total	1.2% (12)	1.1% (11)	4% (40)	15.6% (157)	1.3% (13)	1.9% (19)	23.7% (238)	5.1% (51)	46.1% (463)	100% (1004)

$X^2(64, N = 1004) = 310.065, p = 0.000^{**}$

Table 1 shows that while the infinitive *ser* is not the first one to appear with *parecer*, it certainly is the most frequent infinitive in the first centuries, with 15 instances in the fourteenth century (see Example 3) and 36 in the fifteenth century (see (4)).

- (3) En-p<er>o la opinyon del arcebispe do<n>Rodrigo *parece seyer* mas ra-zonable ... [But the opinion of the archbishop don Rodrigo seems to be more reasonable ...]. (Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Crónica de los conqueridores I*, 14C)
- (4) Este rey don alfonso bien *parescio ser* infortunado en sus fechos, ca fue elegido por emperador de alemania. & por su soberuia/ & jactancia non ouo el imperio. [This king don Alfonso seemed to be unfortunate in his deeds, for he was elected emperor of Germany, and because of his arrogance and boasting he did not get the empire.]. (Diego Rodríguez de Almela, *Valerio de las historias eclesiásticas y de España*, 15C)

The two cases of other infinitives registered in the thirteenth and fourteenth century are *morir* (see (5) below) and *mostrar* respectively.⁸

It is not surprising that the first infinitive to occur with a certain frequency with *parecer* is *ser*, as this verb probably qualifies as the most prototypical copula.⁹ If we argue that the origin of the periphrasis is to be found in an extension of the copular

8. The example with *mostrar* reads: ... tomaredes por senor al mj sobryno pago fijo de ana a quien la ventura *pareçe mostrar* su cara alegre. (Anonymous Work, *Sumas de la Historia Troyana*, 14C) (... take as your lord mi nephew Pago son of Ana to whom the good fortune appears to show its cheerful face'). Note that the subject of *parecer* is a personified abstract noun (*la ventura*). For more details on the nature of the subject of *parecer* see Section 6.

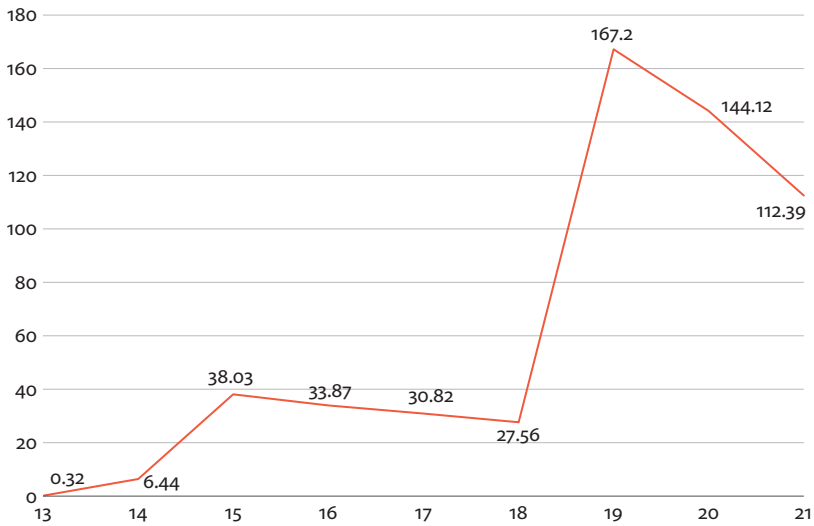
9. Cf. Bolinger (1991: 38), who wonders whether the copula *ser* and *estar* were the first infinitives to appear with *parecer*. Note that in our corpus *estar* only makes its entrance in the fifteenth century with 5 cases.

construction *parecer* + adjective, then we may expect a typical copula to appear first marking the syntactic relation between *parecer* and the adjective. Thus, the process by which *parecer* attracts an infinitive can be conceived as a case of syntactic explicitation or ‘overtification’, i.e. a diachronic process in which previously inferred meanings may be overtly expressed (Grossman, and Rosemeyer 2015). However, note that in this particular case, it is not the meaning of *parecer* + adjective that is overtly expressed but rather the syntactic relation between the two components. Overt marking of this relation does not lead to a more informative utterance, since it is exactly what the hearer or reader expects on the basis of his prior knowledge of the link between the copula *parecer* and the adjective (Grossman, and Rosemeyer 2015; Traugott, and König 1991: 191). In this respect, consider Examples (3) and (4) again; if the writer in both instances would have left out the infinitive *ser* it would not have altered the overall meaning of the utterance and the reader probably would not have had difficulties inferring the copular relation between the verbal form of *parecer* and the adjectives (*mas*) *razonable* and *infortunado*.

Even so, because of the low degree of informativeness of the insertion of *ser* and the expectedness of the relation marked by this infinitive, hearers or readers may come to think that the presence of the infinitive must be motivated by some other reason, in line with the principle of informativeness or relevance, which implies that the speaker should be as informative as possible, given the needs of the situation, and consistent with the principle of economy will say no more than he must (Blakemore 1987: 54–63; Traugott, and König 1991: 191). Therefore, the hearer may make the inference that the infinitive is there to highlight the state of the subject of *parecer* or to emphasize the act performed by this subject. Once this inference is made, the construction will be receptive to all kinds of infinitives, and this is precisely what our data show. When the path is cleared with *ser*, with 15 cases in the fourteenth century, a wide range of other infinitives join in as well (46 in the fifteenth century, 297 in the nineteenth century, see Table 1), ranging from infinitives denoting states, such as *estar* (‘to be’), *desear* (‘to want’), to activities (e.g. *mostrar* ‘to show’, *pugnar* ‘to fight’, *mandar* ‘to command’), accomplishments (e.g. *morir* ‘to die’, *poner* ‘to put’) and achievements (i.e. *nascer* ‘to be born’, *salir* ‘to leave’) (cf. also Cornillie 2007: 75, 2012: 8).

The increase of the use of other infinitives than *ser* with *parecer* is particularly evident from the fifteenth century onwards, coinciding with the period when the periphrasis is expanding its use considerably, as Graphic 1 shows. From the fourteenth to the fifteenth century the frequency of *parecer* + infinitive rises from 6.43 to 38.03 per million words.¹⁰

10. If not stated otherwise, in this paper, with ‘frequency’ we refer to ‘token or text frequency’, i.e. the frequency of occurrence of a word or construction in a text or several texts.



Pearson correlation (time-proportion): 0.819**, $p = 0.007$

Graphic 1. Proportion per million words and per century of *parecer* + infinitive in the *Gradia* corpus

Following the well-known and much-cited saying of Bolinger (1980: 297): “[t]he moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliarity”, we take the appearance of the infinitive *ser* with *parecer* as the first sign of the latter becoming an auxiliary.

Moreover, frequency is considered an important factor in the process of grammaticalization. As Hopper and Traugott (2003: 106) state: “the more frequently a form occurs in texts, the more grammatical it is assumed to be.” In addition, Bybee (2003) argues that frequency is not just a result of grammaticalization but plays a crucial role in the process of a morpheme or construction becoming grammaticalized, being one of the leading forces to set the changes in motion.

Therefore, the statistically significant expansion of *parecer* + infinitive, with a first considerable increase in the fifteenth century (see Graphic 1) points to a generalization of the use of the periphrasis and can be conceived as an indication of its grammaticalization in the sense of Bybee (2003: 602), who maintains that the traditional definition of this process – a lexical item acquires a new status as grammatical form (cf. for example Hopper, and Traugott 2003: 2) – is not completely accurate. Grammaticalization occurs in the context of a particular construction and it is this construction that becomes grammaticalized, not only the lexical item(s) in it. Besides, according to Bybee (2003: 604–605) when a construction is grammaticalizing, the number of contexts in which it is appropriate increases, changing from

very specific to more general ones. Thus, a grammaticalizing construction increases in type frequency, the number of different lexical items with which a construction can be used. This is precisely what happens with *parecer* from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, when the number of different infinitives noticeably grows.¹¹

Given the fact that *parecer* + infinitive evidently has grammaticalized throughout its history, we expect the periphrasis to have gone through some sort of semantic shift, which will be the topic of the next section, where we will analyse its meaning.

4. The semantic evolution of *parecer* + infinitive

The dictionary information given by the *Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Souter 1957: 286) suggests that originally the basic meaning of *parecer* must have been more like or identical to that of the modern *aparecer* ('to appear', 'to show up'). Indeed, in the tenth-century *Glosas Emilianenses* as a gloss of the verb form *MANIFESTAT* we find *parescen: ubi [obe] manifestat [parescen] beatitudinem [enna felicitudine]* ('where he shows happiness') (Menéndez Pidal 1980: 8). Further attestations of this meaning are to be found in the twelfth-century epic poem *Poema de Mio Cid*: *allí pareçrá el que mereçe la soldada* (l. 1126; 'there it will be seen who is worth the pay'); *fincadas son las tiendas e pareçen los alvores* (l. 1657; 'The tents are put up and the dawn shows itself') (Menéndez Pidal 1977: 785), as well as in Covarrubias's dictionary from 1611, which for *parecer* states: "from the verb *pareo*, *is*, although it is no so much used as its compound form *appareo*" (Covarrubias 1611/2006: 1345; the translation is mine). According to the grammar of the RAE, and ASALE (2010a: 2828), *parecer* was used with the meaning of 'to appear' until the nineteenth century and, indeed, the Real Academia's Dictionary (2014) still registers as the second meaning of the intransitive verb *parecer*: 'Dicho de una cosa: Aparecer o dejarse ver' ('Said of a thing: to appear or let oneself be seen').

On the basis of these attestations we may conclude that in the course of time *parecer* must have undergone a semantic change or shift, from 'to appear, become visible' to 'to look like, seem', i.e. from a meaning describing an external situation to a meaning based in an internal situation (Traugott 1989: 34; Traugott, and Köning 1991: 208).

Interestingly, various historical bilingual dictionaries reflect this double meaning of the verb. For example, in the Spanish-English-Latin dictionary of Percival (1591), *parecer* is translated as 'to be like', 'to appeare', 'to seem', 'videri', 'apparere'. In the *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española*, compiled by Oudin in 1607,

11. Because of limits of space, we will not discuss the type frequency of the periphrasis in more detail. For the role of these two types of frequency, see e.g. Bybee (2003).

as well as in the Spanish-French dictionary of Sobrino (1705), for *parecer* we find: ‘paroistre’, ‘comparoistre’, ‘sembler’, ‘ressembler’, ‘se monstrier’. Moreover, in his *Vocabulary of the two languages Toscan and Castilian* De las Casas (1570) lists two entries for *parecer*, giving for the first one ‘comparere’ and for the second ‘Parescer ò semejar. Assemblare, assemprare, parere, sembrare, sembrare’. Finally, Mez de Braidenbach (1670) translates the verb *parecer* into German as ‘Das ansehn haben’.

We will now turn to discuss some examples of *parecer* + infinitive in order to look into the assumed semantic change of *parecer*. In our discussion we will take into account the three tendencies for semantic change proposed by Traugott (1989: 34 ff.) and Traugott and König (1991: 208 ff.):

- Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.
- Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.
- Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition.

The three tendencies are closely related, in the sense that the first can prompt the second and either of them can lead to the third. They have in common that the later meanings refer to values and linguistic relations that do not exist in the outside world, but are intrinsically related to the function of language (Traugott 1989: 34, 35). The first semantic-pragmatic tendency implies a shift from reference to a concrete, physical situation to reference to a cognitive, perceptual situation and includes all kinds of metaphorical changes. The second tendency especially applies to the development of markers of textual, cohesive relations, whereas the third tendency refers to the development of expressions that reflect the speaker’s attitude towards what is being said and how it is being said, including the development of epistemic meaning.

First, consider Examples (5) and (6), two early instances of the periphrasis documented in our corpus.

- (5) ... & el q<ue> no[]lo fiziere & finare si<n> co<n>fesio<n> & si<n> comunio<n> podie<n>dolo fazer porq<ue> *pareçe morir* sin fe q<ue> pierda la meytad d<e>sus bienes p<ar>a la camara del Rey ... [... and he who would not do it and would pass away without confession and without communion being able to do it because he appears to die without faith that he shall lose half of his possessions to the chamber of the King ...].

(Alfonso X, *Primera Partida*, 13C)¹²

12. Interestingly, an identical instance of this sequence with *parecer* is found in the fifteenth-century legal text *Ordenanzas Reales* by the Spanish jurist Alfonso Díaz de Montalvo.

- (6) Asy el fablar se deue escusar destos moujmjentos & que non ayan enello saña. njn alguna codiçia njn pereza. njn delexamjento njn otra cosa tal &' es mucho de curar. que *parezcamos honrrar & amar* aaquellos con quien fablamos & alas vezes son nesçesarias algunas Reprehensiones. enlas quales por ventura es de vsar de mayor contençion de boz & de mas agra graueza de palabras. [Thus the speaking must avoid these movements and that there is no rage in it nor any greed nor laziness nor laxity nor other such thing and we must make very sure that we appear to honour and love those with whom we speak and from time to time some reprimands are necessary in which perhaps a greater intensity of the voice must be used and a more acid seriousness of words.].

(Alonso de Cartagena (tr.), *De los oficios*, 15C)

From the context previous to (5) we learn that king Henry III has ordered that every good Christian must confess his sins and receive the extreme unction before dying, as prescribed by the Holy Church. In addition, he who dies deliberately refraining from confession or refusing the last sacrament, will lose half of his goods to the King's chamber. Motivating this penalty, the writer argues that this person noticeably dies without faith. Thus, the adduced reason in a way is based on the physical appearance of the dying man and constitutes a description of the external situation, for it can be easily seen that the deceased did not confess and/or receive Holy Communion, a prove which obviously is necessary to impose a punishment.

In (6) it is explained how we should behave when speaking to others, particularly that we should avoid *moujmjentos Rezios* ('fierce movements') and bear in mind that we must show honour and love to the persons to whom we speak. The writer advises us to behave respectfully and friendly, in spite of the fact that we sometimes need to raise our voice, but he arguably does not suggest us to merely pretend to be honourable and affectionate. Therefore, the periphrasis with *parecer* refers to a concrete, external situation: the physical appearance or behaviour of the plural 'we'.

Example (7) is slightly different from the previous two in the sense that its interpretation is less unequivocally clear.

- (7) Et brenyo assi mismo quando lo sopo se apparello & sallio les al encuentro en vn campo et segunt dize Maestre Godofre que quando el vido allí allucio dictador que el et toda su huest huuiero<n> grant miedo et luego *parescieron seyer* couardes. [And likewise when Brennius came to know it he got ready and left to meet them in a field and as Master Geoffry says that when he saw the dictator Lucius there that he and his whole army got very frightened and then they appeared/seemed to be cowardly.].

(Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Crónica de los conqueridores I*, 14C)

In this example the writer describes what happened when Brennius was confronted with the dictator Lucius: he and his whole army became so terrified that they

decided to flee. This behaviour is qualified by the writer as cowardly. The part of the utterance in which he states this *et luego parescieron seyer couardes* can be interpreted as the description of an external situation, i.e. the terrified Brennius and his men visibly behaved like cowards, since they ran away for the enemy. At the same time however, the passage lends itself for an alternative reading, in the sense that the author is evaluating the behaviour of Brennius and his fellow warriors based on his own perception or assessment of the situation. Therefore, (7) reflects the possible operation of Tendency I, and can be considered a bridging context (Heine 2002) in the shift from the mention of a concrete, physical situation to the reference of a situation as perceived or understood by the enunciator of the utterance. Also, note that the suggested semantic shift corresponds to a metaphorical process, since a more concrete meaning, i.e. describing an external situation, a physical appearance, changes to a more abstract one, i.e. assessing an internal situation, creating a mental image of an appearance.¹³

By contrast, Example (8), dating from the sixteenth century, is a clear instance of *parecer* referring to a situation as perceived by the speaker.

- (8) En tal manera fue y tal priessa nos dimos, que sin duda, por esto se deuio dezir, donde vna puerta se cierra otra se abre, finalme<n>te *parecíamos tener* a destajo la tela de Penelope, pues quanto el texia de dia, rompía yo de noche, ... [It was in such a way and we were in such a hurry, that without doubt, therefore it must be said, where a door is closed another is opened, finally we seemed to have at piecework the cloth of Penelope, since all he wove during the day, I unpicked at night, ...]. (Anonymous Work, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, 16C)

In this fragment, the scoundrel Lazarillo relates what happened during his stay with a priest. Every night Lazarillo opened the chest where the priest had stored the bread making a hole in it and every day the priest repaired the chest in order to secure his stock. Lazarillo compares this repetitive process with the myth of Penelope, who used to unpick the cloth she had woven during the day, adding that it was as if they were doing piecework. The passage clearly reflects the perception of the central character, and the clause with the periphrasis makes only reference to a metaphorical situation. Hence, Example (8) can be considered an instance of Tendency I.

13. Cornillie (2007: 70) also points to metaphor as the process involved in the semantic shift of *parecer* when he states: "In the 13th century, *parecer* is often used as a verb denoting appearance or location, which can be understood both physically or metaphorically." Later on he asserts (2007: 76; also 2012: 7): "My corpus data indicate that *parecer* does not undergo major metonymic changes: the only possible one is the shift from a physical appearance reading to a subjective impression reading."

In Example (9) below the author claims that many man and women are like animals. Evidence for his statement comes from his observation of their habits, which prove they have been moving away from (the use of) human wisdom. Therefore, the periphrasis in this case may be interpreted as conveying evidential meaning (cf. Cornillie 2007: passim). Evidentials are defined by Bybee (1985: 184), among many others, as markers that indicate something about the *source* of the information in the proposition. Hence, evidentiality “concerns the speaker’s indication of the nature (the type and quality) of the evidence invoked for (assuming the existence of) the state of affairs expressed in the utterance” (Nuyts 2001: 27).

- (9) Y hay muchos animales a los cuales por una consuetud muchos hombres y mugeres parecen, por sus bestiales costumbres fuera de todo uso natural; empero no dezimos que los hombres sean brutos animales, mas llamámoslos bestias en cuanto *parecen errar y apartarse* del uso de la humana sabiduría. [And there are many animals many men and women seem to resemble, because of their beastly habits away from any natural use; however we do not say that men are brutish animals, but we call them beasts in so far as they seem to be mistaken and move away from the use of human wisdom.].

(Juan de Burgos, *Tratado de fisonomía*, 15C)

In terms of Willet’s classification (1988: 57) of the kinds of evidence that languages tend to differentiate, in (9) the evidence is clearly indirect and the utterance has a speaker-oriented inferential reading stemming from reasoning (cf. Cornillie 2007: 19 ff.).¹⁴

Next, consider Example (10), which comes from a treatise about the plague. The author discusses possible causes of this much feared and fatal disease and then remarks:

- (10) La causa de todas estas cosas son las influencias celestiales: y esto *parece dezir* Auicenna en el lugar suso allegado. [The cause of all these things are the celestial influences: and this seems to say Avicenna in the above cited place.].

(Vasco de Taranta, *De epidemia et peste. Tratado de la peste*, 15C)

14. In order to test the degree of speaker-orientedness Cornillie (2007: 25–26) tries to combine the utterance with the comment ‘but I don’t see it that way’. If the combination is infelicitous, he concludes the proposition is speaker-oriented. In addition, he applies the speaker-oriented questions ‘Who says that’ and ‘Do you think so?’ to test whether the information is based on hearsay or on inference or belief respectively. Obviously, in Example (8) (*parecíamos tener a destajo la tela de Penelope*) the comment ‘but I don’t see it that way’ results in an infelicitous combination, whereas the question ‘Do you think so?’ renders a perfectly coherent sequence. Therefore, (8) can be understood as a speaker-oriented statement based on inference.

While the author may imply with the use of the periphrasis that the situation as described (i.e. *Avicenna says this in the above cited place*) is perceived or understood in this way by him (in line with Tendency I), his utterance also, or rather particularly, has to do with “knowledge and belief about possibilities, probabilities” (Traugott 1989: 32) and involves “an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring, or has occurred in a possible world” (Nuyts 2001: 27), since the author is not sure if Avicenna actually meant to say that ‘the causes of all these things are the celestial influences’. Example (10), therefore exhibits the operation of Tendency III, in the sense that it reflects the speaker’s belief state or attitude towards the proposition, characteristic of epistemic meanings. Indeed, this is the generally accepted contemporary meaning of the periphrasis *parecer* + infinitive (cf. Fernández de Castro 2003: 21; RAE, and ASALE 2010: 2141; see also Cornillie 2007: 3–5 for an account of the different interpretations of the meaning of the periphrasis).

5. Epistemic and evidential meaning

There is much debate about the difference between the notions of epistemic meaning and evidential meaning. In this respect, Traugott (1989: 32) cites Lyons’ definition of epistemology, who suggests that epistemic modality and evidentials are related linguistically, since both are “concerned with the nature and source of knowledge”. Palmer (2001: 24 ff.) asserts that epistemic modality and evidential modality both relate to the speaker’s attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition, but that their basic difference lies in the fact that epistemic modality implies a speaker’s judgment about the factual status of the proposition, whereas evidential modality deals with the evidence for this proposition. In spite of the different definitions, he also admits that in practice epistemic modality and evidentials are not always completely distinct. On the other hand, Nuyts (2001: 27), while drawing attention to the fact that sometimes the two notions are mixed up, states that evidentiality refers to the nature of the provided evidence, without making any explicit judgment about the truthfulness of the state of affairs. In the same vein, Cornillie (2007: 1) explains that “[t]he study of sources of information and modes of knowing (evidentiality) and the analysis of the speaker’s judgments of the likelihood of the proposition (epistemic modality) are two ways of dealing with the speaker’s stance in discourse”.

Although basically we agree with Nuyts (2001: 27) and Cornillie (2007: 1) that epistemic modality and evidentiality are different notions, in the present account of the semantic evolution of *parecer* + infinitive we take the perspective that they are intrinsically related, since if the speaker’s utterance is grounded in an indirect

or subjective source of information, the hearer may doubt the truthfulness of it and may come to think that the speaker actually wants to focus on the possibility or probability of the expressed state of affairs. In our view, in principle the periphrasis can imply both meanings, but depending on the specific context one of them will be more plausible than the other. In Example (9), it does not seem relevant to highlight the epistemic reading, since the context is sufficiently pregnant or redundant to convey a non-factive meaning (the use of *parecen* ‘they seem’ in the previous clause and the modifying prepositional phrase *en cuanto* ‘in so far as’ immediately before the periphrasis). However, the inference that the expressed state of affairs is grounded in reasoning and stems from a particular kind of evidence, i.e. the observed resemblance between these people and animals, obviously does make sense.

On the other hand, in (10) it is more likely that the utterance expresses the speaker’s belief state towards the proposition, in the sense that the author indicates that he deems it possible that Avicenna proposed such an explanation without this being a matter of record.

Because of the entangledness of the two notions of epistemic modality and evidentiality, sometimes it is fairly difficult or impossible to determine what reading is implied or should be inferred in a specific utterance.

To exemplify this, consider (11) below.

- (11) Y después de haber andado dos leguas por la población sin saber della llegué a un asiento algo más llano donde *pareció estar* el señor de aquel valle, que tenía las mejores y más bien labradas casas que hasta entonces en esta tierra habíamos visto porque eran todas de cantería labradas y muy nuevas. [And after having walked two leagues through a village without having knowledge of it I came to a slightly flatter place where the lord of that valley seemed to stay, that had the best and most worked houses that we had seen in this land until then because they were all of worked masonry and very new.].

(Hernán Cortés, *Segunda carta de relación*, 16C)

In this example taken from one of the letters of the famous conqueror of Mexico, Hernán Cortés describes how he and his men upon arriving in a village find a spot with the best houses. The sight of these houses and the fact that the place is flatter than elsewhere induces him to conclude that this must be the place where the lord of the valley had settled. Therefore, the periphrasis can be interpreted as conveying an evidential meaning. At the same time, however, it is conceivable, even likely, that Cortes wants to state he is not sure about this spot being the home of the lord of the valley. Consequently, he uses the periphrasis to indicate that the proposition is possible but not factive.

6. *Parecer* + infinitive in first person singular

According to Bolinger (1991: 38–39) native speakers of Spanish do not find utterances of the periphrasis in the first person singular (*parezco* + infinitive) acceptable. The author adduces two arguments for their rejection, a syntactic and a semantic one. For the purpose of the present article we will only focus on the semantic argument, i.e. the fact that an utterance with epistemic meaning concerning the speaker is rather odd, since it means that he indicates the non-factivity of a state of affairs regarding himself, whereas we would expect him to trust his own experiences or feelings (Bolinger 1991: 40).

Our diachronic data show that, indeed, the periphrasis is not used with the first person singular. Instead, we do find examples of the similar impersonal construction with the verb *parecer* followed by a conjugated verb in first person (*parece que estoy trastornado*, etc., ‘it seems I am disturbed’) (cf. Nieuwenhuijsen 2017). Besides, we also have some attestations of the first person plural (6 out of 1004 cases), for which the same semantic argument partially holds. Moreover, utterances in first person singular will typically occur in direct speech, particularly in oral communication, which obviously is at odds with the text genres that are usually part of a diachronic corpus. Indeed, although our corpus contains theatrical texts, the majority of the texts comprises narrative discourse and reported speech.

In order to discount the possibility that the total absence of *parecer* + infinitive in the first person singular is caused by the particular composition of our corpus, we searched for cases of the periphrasis in first and second person in the two contemporary corpora of the Real Academia, *CREA* and *CORPES XXI*, that cover the twentieth and twenty-first century respectively. Our search rendered the following data (Table 2):

Table 2. Percentages and absolute numbers of grammatical persons with *parecer* + infinitive per century in the *CREA* and *CORPES XXI* corpora

C	1st s.	1st pl.	2nd s.	2nd pl.	Total
20	14.3% (12)	28.6% (24)	54.8% (46)	2.4% (2)	100% (84)
21	11.9% (22)	36.2% (67)	49.2% (91)	2.7% (5)	100% (185)
Total	12.6% (34)	33.8% (91)	50.9% (137)	2.6% (7)	100% (269)

$$X^2 (3, N = 269) = 1.635, p = 0.651 \text{ ns}$$

The results of Table 2 allow for two conclusions. First, in spite of the Spanish speakers’ intuition about the use of *parecer* + infinitive with first person singular, in Modern Spanish the periphrasis is actually used with this grammatical person. The numbers are lower with first person singular than with first person plural and second person singular, but the attestation of the 34 cases in *CREA* and *CORPES*

XXI cannot be denied. Secondly, the lack of instances of first person singular in our diachronic corpus is arguably due to the specific features of the *Gradia* corpus.

We will now have a closer look at some of the contemporary instances of *parecer* + infinitive in first person singular in order to examine if they really are as strange as Bolinger (1991: 40) claims. First of all, consider Examples (12) and (13).

- (12) Sé que *parezco ir* a contrapelo de la moda, y mis vecinos, los Seymour, ya están criando ovejas, mas yo me llevo mejor con las vacas, ... [I know I seem to go against fashion, and my neighbours, the Seymours, are already raising sheep, but I get on better with cows, ...].

(Cristina Loza,
El revés de las lágrimas, 21C)

- (13) Y ahora, cuando *parezco despertar* porque me reengancho a la rutina cotidiana, me apresuro a escribir. [And now, when I seem to wake up because I cling to daily routine again, I hasten to write.].

(José Luis Sampedro,
and Olga Lucas, Cuarteto para un solista, 21C)

Neither in (12) nor in (13) an epistemic reading seems feasible, since it raises the question why the speaker would mark as non-factive his personal state of affairs as expressed by the infinitive, having direct access to it. On the other hand, an evidential reading is perfectly acceptable and logical, given that in (12) the speaker strengthens his assertion that he does not seem to keep up with fashion trends adding that he knows it, implicitly comparing his habits with those of his neighbours. Moreover, in (13) the speaker's feeling that he is waking up, is grounded in the fact that he is getting back to his daily routine of writing.

Noticeably, all our instances of the first person singular are receptive to an evidential reading, as in (12) and (13), and, thus, display the operation of Traugott's Tendency III, according to which meanings increasingly tend to code the speaker's attitude and, as a consequence, tend to become more subjective (Traugott 1989: 35 ff; 2003).¹⁵

One may think that nowadays *parecer* + infinitive can only receive an evidential interpretation and has lost its epistemic reading altogether.¹⁶ However, with all the other grammatical persons, besides the evidential, the epistemic reading is still possible and likely, depending on the context which meaning prevails. For this purpose, consider Examples (14) and (15).

15. Traugott (1989: 36) argues that utterances like 'It is possible that', 'It is to be concluded that', 'It is said that', and 'It appears that' are all less subjective, while 'I think that' and 'I conclude that' are more subjective.

16. Cf. Cornillie (2007, 2012) who only assigns an evidential value to *parecer* and the corresponding periphrasis.

- (14) Ni que decir tiene que el ogro Theodore, que pese a estar sordo como una tapia *parecía escuchar* a través de las paredes, descubrió el plan ... [It goes without saying that the ogre Theodore, who in spite of being deaf as a post seemed to hear through walls, discovered the plan ...]. (Carlos Ruiz Zafón, *El príncipe de la niebla*, 20C)
- (15) Estamos viviendo un momento muy singular de la historia. Es un momento de crisis en el sentido literal de la palabra. En cada rama de nuestra civilización espiritual y material *parecemos haber llegado* a un momento crítico. [We are living a very extraordinary moment in history. It is a moment of crisis in the literal sense of the word. In every branch of our spiritual and material civilization we seem to have arrived at a critical moment.]. (Eric Hobsbawm, *Historia del siglo XX*, 20C)

In (14) the speaker tells us that the so-called ogre Theodore (the father of the girl he has fallen in love with) seems to be able to hear through walls. The speaker cannot present this information as factive, because it would be inconsistent with the previous comment that the man is deaf, but he uses the periphrasis to state that the utterance may be possible. At the same time, the fact that the father discovers their plan to go out and get drunk, can be considered a kind of evidence for the claim that he is able to hear through walls. Furthermore, based on observation and reasoning, the writer in (15) is inclined to think that we have come to a critical moment in history, but however probable or possible, he does not present his claim as factive or true.

The instances of the periphrasis in first person singular are completely and exclusively speaker-oriented, in the sense that they refer to a subjective evaluation on the part of the speaker, who “assumes strictly personal responsibility for the information provided” (Nuyts 2001: 122). This becomes particularly clear if we apply a paraphrase test to these examples. According to the Dictionary of the Real Academia (2014), the first meaning of the copula *parecer* is ‘to have a certain appearance or look’. The *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (RAE 2005) adds to this meaning ‘to give the impression to be in a certain way’. Indeed, in all the examples presented so far, except for (5) and (6), which denoted physical appearance, we can paraphrase the instances of *parecer* with: ‘someone or something (the subject of *parecer*) gives the impression (to the implied communicator or conceptualizer) that he/it is acting or is in a state as expressed by the infinitive’. For this matter, consider (1) and (2) again, with which we started our exposition. Example (1) can be paraphrased as: ‘he gave the impression that he was reading my thoughts’, (2) as ‘the towers of the old churches gave the impression that they were sailing between the waves.’

On the other hand, in (12) (*parezco ir a contrapelo de la moda*) the “I” gives the impression he goes against fashion, since he behaves differently from other people,

and in (13) (*parezco despertar*) the speaker reports he gives the impression that he is waking up, since he is returning to daily routines. However, the subject of these periphrases is at the same time the conceptualizer of the utterance, which means the “I” gives the impression to himself. Taking this into account, a more proper paraphrase for these cases in first person would be: ‘someone (the subject of *parecer*, the “I”) has the impression that he is performing an act or finds himself in a state as expressed by the infinitive’. Examples (16) and (17) show the suitability of this alternative paraphrase.

- (16) Es Germán. Sonríó sin aliento. Transparente me siento y aun *parezco flotar*. [I it German. I smile breathlessly. Transparent I feel and I even seem to float.].

(Mercedes Castro, Mantis, 21C)

- (17) Me paro frente a él, para hacerle de público. Pero *parezco no importarle* mucho. Apunta con el megáfono hacia los demás transeúntes. [I stop in front of him, to serve as his audience. But I do not seem to matter much to him. He points with the megaphone to the rest of the passers-by.].

(Pedro Antonio Valdez, Palomos, 21C)

Thus, the utterance in (16) (*parezco flotar*) is not concerned with the impression someone else (the conceptualizer) gets while observing the speaker, but it reports the feeling or impression of the very speaker. Additionally, in (17) (*parezco no importarle*), the “I” has the impression that he or his presence does not matter to the preacher.¹⁷

The periphrasis *parecer* + infinitive in first person, then, constitutes the utmost expression of a speaker-oriented view, since, on the one hand, the implied communicator is the speaker and the proposition only applies to him, whereas, on the other hand, the source of information on which the utterance is based is the speaker’s own experience of feeling.

7. Summary and conclusions

In the present paper we have examined the syntactic and semantic nature of the verbal periphrasis *parecer* + infinitive. First, we justified the claim that this construction belongs to the category of periphrases, although, as was shown, it does not count as a prototypical class member, since it does not comply completely with the three identifying criteria.

17. Examples of the periphrasis in first person singular resemble another construction, with impersonal *parecer* and an overt experimenter or conceptualizer: *me pareció ver el piloto verde de un taxi libre*. Due to limitations of space we cannot explore this issue further. Cf. Cornillie (2007: 80–82).

Subsequently we argued that the periphrasis presumably originates in the copular construction with an adjective, given that the first infinitive that frequently appears with *parecer* is the copula *ser*. The insertion of *ser*, which apparently serves to reinforce the copular relation between the verb and the adjective without adding additional information, leads the hearer to reinterpret the presence of the infinitive, from stressing the state of the subject of *parecer* to pointing at the act performed by this subject. Once this reinterpretation is made, the path is cleared for any other infinitive to co-occur in the construction. In the fifteenth century, our data show an increase in the use of the periphrasis in terms of token frequency as well as type frequency, i.e. the overall use of *parecer* + infinitive rises accompanied by an extension of the range of infinitives attested with *parecer*. These statistically significant data are to be taken as important hallmarks of, on the one hand, the increasing auxiliary-ness of *parecer* and, on the other hand, the grammaticalization of the periphrasis.

As a function of the grammaticalization process we expected the meaning of the periphrasis to have undergone a semantic shift. Therefore, we carried out a qualitative analysis in order to describe the semantic evolution of the construction, which can be summarized on the basis of the semantic-pragmatic tendencies of Traugott (1989: 34ff) and Traugott and König (1991: 208 ff.). We identified a shift from the meaning of physical appearance to a meaning based in the internal perceptual situation, and then, to a meaning based in the speaker's belief state. The latter shift gave rise to an epistemic and evidential meaning, thus entailing an increasing subjectification of the proposition. Interestingly, in this process, the periphrasis does not seem to have been amenable to Traugott's Tendency II, since we have not been able to establish a meaning based in the textual and metalinguistic situation. Hence, we may conclude that Tendency I fed Tendency III without the operative mediation of Tendency II, a route explicitly mentioned by Traugott (1989: 35).

A closer look at the dating of our examples shows that the various meanings of *parecer* + infinitive must have coexisted in time (cf. Traugott 1989: 33; 2003: 134);¹⁸ within a timespan of three centuries the physical, internal perceptual and the epistemic and evidential meanings are all documented, dating the two examples denoting physical appearance from the thirteenth and fifteenth century, while the example exhibiting the perceptual reading comes from a sixteenth century text and the ones with epistemic and evidential meaning date, again, from the fifteenth century.

18. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 124–126) call the coexistence of older forms and meanings alongside newer forms and meanings 'layering' or 'variability'. According to these authors, layering constitutes the synchronic result of grammaticalization processes. It should be noted that they primarily refer to changes in the morphosyntactic domain.

It should be noted that, in so far as verbal periphrases in general are considered to have a conceptual or procedural meaning, which obviously is the case for modern *parecer* + infinitive, the first examples of the construction attested in our corpus, strictly speaking, are not instances of the periphrasis, given that they designate the physical appearance of the subject of *parecer* instead of encoding processing instructions for the hearer. However, the procedural meaning of the construction is present, the moment Tendency I becomes operative.

Next, we alleged that the notions of epistemic modality and evidentiality are so closely related that in many instances of *parecer* + infinitive it is hard to determine which meaning prevails, i.e. if the reading is either epistemic or evidential. Actually, the periphrasis frequently allows for an epistemic as well as an evidential reading, as was illustrated by one of the examples.¹⁹

Notwithstanding the fact that instances of *parecer* + infinitive frequently can be interpreted at the same time as epistemic and evidential, we argued that the first person singular only licenses an evidential reading, a meaning which prevents the periphrasis from being qualified as odd or grammatically unacceptable. Moreover, it may even not be too far-fetched to suppose that the evidential interpretation has decisively contributed to the emergence of the periphrasis in first person singular at all.

By means of a paraphrase test, it was shown that instances of the periphrasis in first person singular arguably constitute the ultimate expression of speaker-orientedness, to the extent that there is no other person involved in the utterance than the speaker, who performs the act expressed by the periphrasis and, at the same time, is the conceptualizer of the utterance, being the source of information his own experience.

We now turn to the question whether the semantic evolution of *parecer* + infinitive can be conceived as a case of semantic bleaching, i.e. whether the auxiliary has desemanticized in the grammaticalization process. Heine (1993: 58ff) distinguishes three different stages in the desemanticization of auxiliaries. In stage A the verb has its full lexical meaning and its complement typically refers to a concrete object. Next, in stage B, the stage in which the full verb is becoming an auxiliary, the complement refers to a dynamic situation and the complement can be a nonfinite verb. Finally, in stage C the subject is no longer associated with willful, human referents and the verb comes to express a grammatical function, such as tense, aspect or modality. Also, in this stage, unlike in stage B, subject reference identity between verb and complement is a requirement.

19. For that reason, we do not share Cornillie's view (2007: 78) that "[f]urther research should spell out whether *parecer* + infinitive also shifts from an evidential reading to a more epistemic reading, in line with what Traugott (1989) points out for the modal verbs".

The earliest attestations of *parecer* + infinitive, where the verb denotes the physical appearance of the subject, can be taken as instances of stage A, in so far as *parecer* maintains its full lexical meaning. However, when after the fifteenth century this concrete meaning in the periphrasis is lost and gives way to a metaphorical meaning based in the mental image created by the speaker, we clearly have arrived at stage B. At the same time, the epistemic and evidential meaning emerge, which presumably belong to stage C. In line with this stage, from the fourteenth century onwards *parecer* + infinitive can take non-human referents as its subject (e.g. *aquella obra parecie seyer de dios*, ‘that work seemed to be of God’; *las torres de las iglesias antiguas parecian navegar*, ‘the towers of the old churches seemed to sail’). Furthermore, it should be noted that the subject reference identity between verb and complement has been present throughout the entire history of the periphrasis. Besides, according to Heine (1993: 60) the shift from lexical/verbal to grammatical function has the effect that the verb can take a complement having the same etymon as its nucleus (e.g. *Rachel has to have a new flat*). Although, as far as we know, no instances of *parecer* + *parecer* are attested, the contemporary corpora CREA y CORPES XXI render two interesting cases of the periphrasis with the infinitive *aparecer*: *pero parecían aparecer como por acto de magia*, ‘but they seemed to appear as if by magic action’; *Este asombrarse parece aparecer cuando un suceso entra en conflicto con ...*, ‘This amazement seems to appear when an event comes into conflict with ...’.

If desemanticization or semantic bleaching is defined as “the process whereby in specific contexts a lexical item is emptied of its lexical semantics and acquires a grammatical function” (Heine 1993: 54), we may conclude that the only ‘emptying’ at stake in the case of the periphrasis is that of the meaning of physical appearance. In this respect, we prefer to speak of generalization (Bybee 2003: 605–607) instead of desemanticization, given that, due to the fact that the meaning of the periphrasis becomes more abstract, the construction can be more widely applied and, as a result, more frequently used. As stated before, the evidential meaning of *parecer* + infinitive licenses the emergence of instances of the periphrasis in first person singular and, consequently, warrants a more general use of the construction with all grammatical persons.

Therefore, the periphrasis can be considered another instance of the claim that grammaticalization and semantic bleaching need to be separated, since the first process does not automatically and unavoidably imply the second one (Traugott, and König 1991: 190–191). In fact, in our opinion *parecer* + infinitive constitutes a case in point of the alternative view on the relation between grammaticalization and semantic bleaching, i.e. that the former does not involve semantic loss and impoverishment but rather enrichment and gain, because a new semantic value is added to the existing one(s). As we hope to have demonstrated, in this particular

case the new meaning is concerned with the nature and source of the speaker's knowledge and strengthens the expression of his involvement (Traugott, and König 1991: 190–191).

References

- CORPES XXI = Real Academia Española, Banco de datos CORPES XXI. *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI*. Accessed June 2016. <http://web.frl.es/CORPES/view/inicioExterno.view>
- CREA = Real Academia Española, Banco de datos CREA. Annotated version. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. Accessed June 2016. <http://web.frl.es/CREA/view/inicioExterno.view>
- GRADIA = Corpus compiled by the research group GRADIA. <http://gradiadiacronia.wix.com/gradia>
- Ausín, A., and M. Depiante. 2000. "On the Syntax of Parecer ('To Seem') with and without an Experiencer." In *Hispanic Linguistics at the Turn of the Millennium. Papers from the 3rd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, ed. by H. Campos, E. Herburger, A. Morales-Front, and T. J. Walsh, 155–170. Somerville: Cascadia Press.
- Bassols de Climent, M. 1956. *Sintaxis Latina*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Bolinger, D. 1980. "Wanna and the Gradience of Auxiliaries." In *Wege zur Universalienforschung: Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum 60. Geburtstag von Hansjakob Seiler*, ed. by G. Brettschneider, and C. Lehmann, 292–299. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Bolinger, D. 1991. *Essays on Spanish: Words and Grammar*. Newark Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta.
- Blakemore, D. 1987. *Semantic Constraints on Relevance*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Bybee, J. 1985. *Morphology: A Study of the Relation between Meaning and Form*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins (online resource). <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.9>
- Bybee, J. 2003. "Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization: The role of frequency." In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by B. D. Joseph, and R. D. Janda, 602–623. Malden: Blackwell (online resource). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch19>
- Casas, C. de las. 1570. *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*. Accessed December 2016. <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/>
- Cornillie, B. 2007. *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (semi-) auxiliaries: A Cognitive-functional Approach*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter (online resource).
- Cornillie, B. 2012. "La historia de la complementación con *parecer* y *resultar*. Apuntes sobre la (inter)subjetivización." *RASAL Lingüística* 1: 77–94.
- Corominas, J., and J. A. Pascual. 1985. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Covarrubias Horozco, S. de. 1611/2006. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid: Ibero-americana/Vervuert.
- Ernout, A., and A. Meillet. 1932. *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Ernout, A., and F. Thomas. 2002. *Syntaxe latine*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Escandell-Vidal, V., M. Leonetti, and A. Ahern. 2011. "Introduction: Procedural Meaning." In *Procedural Meaning: Problems and Perspectives*, ed. by V. Escandell-Vidal, M. Leonetti, and A. Ahern, xvii–xiv. Bingley: Emerald (online resource). [https://doi.org/10.1108/S1472-7870\(2011\)0000025004](https://doi.org/10.1108/S1472-7870(2011)0000025004)
- Fernández de Castro, F. 1990. *Las perífrasis verbales en español*. Oviedo: Departamento de filología española.

- Fernández de Castro, F. 2003. "El lugar de las perífrasis verbales en la descripción de las lenguas: los verbos auxiliares y la determinación del verbo." In *Verbalperiphrasen in den (ibero-) romanischen Sprachen/ Perífrasis verbals en les llengües (ibero-)romàniques/ Perífrasis verbales en las lenguas (ibero-)románicas*, ed. by C. D. Pusch, and A. Wesch, 11–22. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Fernández Leborans, M. J. 1999. "La predicación: las oraciones copulativas." In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, ed. by I. Bosque, and V. Demonte, 2357–2460. Madrid: RAE/Espasa Calpe.
- Fernández Leborans, M. J., and M. C. Díaz Bautista. 1990. "Sobre la sintaxis del verbo español «parecer»." *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* LXX: 353–420.
- Fogsgaard, L. 2002. *Algunas perífrasis aspectuales del español*. Alicante: Publicaciones Universidad de Alicante.
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. 1970. "Los auxiliares españoles." *Anales del Instituto de Lingüística* X: 61–73.
- Garachana Camarero, M. 2017. "Los límites de una categoría híbrida. Las perífrasis verbales." In *La gramática en la diacronía. La evolución de las perífrasis verbales modales en español*, ed. by M. Garachana Camarero, 36–80. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert.
- García Fernández, L. (dir.). 2006. *Diccionario de perífrasis verbales*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Glare, G. W. (ed.). 1976. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gómez Torrego, L. 1999. "Los verbos auxiliares. Las perífrasis verbales de infinitivo." In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, ed. by I. Bosque, and V. Demonte, 3323–3389. Madrid: RAE/Espasa Calpe.
- Grossman, E., and Rosemeyer, M. 2015. "Presuppositions and language change. The grammaticalization of FINISH anteriors in Spanish and beyond." Paper presented at the 48th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, Leiden, September 2–5.
- Heine, B. 1993. *Auxiliaries: Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, B. 2002. "On the role of context in grammaticalization." In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, ed. by I. Wischer, and G. Diewald, 83–102. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins (online resource). <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.08hei>
- Hernanz, M. L. 1999. "El infinitivo." In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, ed. by I. Bosque, and V. Demonte, 2197–2356. Madrid: RAE/Espasa Calpe.
- Hopper, P. J., and E. C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139165525>
- Keniston, H. 1937. *The Syntax of Castilian Prose. The Sixteenth Century*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis, C. T., and Ch. Short. 1879. *A Latin Dictionary; Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary*. Accessed December 2016. <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.0:3122.lewisandshort>
- Menéndez Pidal, R. 1977. *Cantar de Mio Cid. Texto, gramática y vocabulario. Tercera parte: Vocabulario*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Menéndez Pidal, R. 1980. *Orígenes del español*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Mez de Braidenbach, N. 1670. *Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y alemana*. Accessed December 2016. <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/>
- Nieuwenhuijsen, D. 2017. "Parece ser perífrasis: categorización y evolución diacrónica de *parecer + infinitivo*." In *La gramática en la diacronía. La evolución de las perífrasis verbales modales en español*, ed. by M. Garachana Camarero, 287–328. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert.

- Nuyts, J. 2001. *Epistemic modality, language, and conceptualization: a cognitive-pragmatic perspective*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins (online resource).
<https://doi.org/10.1075/hcp.5>
- Olbertz, H. 1998. *Verbal Periphrases in a Functional Grammar of Spanish*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110820881>
- Oudin, C. 1607. *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española. Thresor des deux langues françoise et espagnolle*. Accessed December 2016. <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/>
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139167178>
- Percival, R. 1591. *Bibliothecae Hispanicae pars altera. Containing a Dictionarie in Spanish, English and Latine*. Accessed December 2016. <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/>
- Pinkster, H. 2015. *The Oxford Latin Syntax. Vol. 1 The Simple Clause*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199283613.001.0001>
- Porroche Ballesteros, M. 1990. *Aspectos de la atribución en español*. Zaragoza: Libros Pórtico.
- Prinz, O., and J. Schneider (eds). 1967. *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Real Academia Española. 2005. *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas*. Accessed December 2016. <http://www.rae.es/recursos/diccionarios/dpd>
- Real Academia Española. 2014. *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Accessed December 2016. <http://dle.rae.es/>
- Real Academia Española, and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. 2010a. *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española*. Segund Edition. Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- Real Academia Española, and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. 2010b. *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española. Manual*. Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- Roca Pons, J. 1958. *Estudios sobre perifrasis verbales del español*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Sobrino, F. 1705. *Diccionario nuevo de las lenguas española y francesa*. Accessed December 2016. <http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle/>
- Souter, A. (ed.). 1957. *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Squartini, M. 1998. *Verbal Periphrases in Romance. Aspect, Actionality, and Grammaticalization*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110805291>
- Traugott, E. C. 1989. "On the Rise of Epistemic Meanings in English: An Example of Subjectification in Semantic Change." *Language* 65 (1): 31–55. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/414841>
- Traugott, E. C. 2003. "From subjectification to intersubjectification." In *Motives for Language Change*, ed. by R. Hickey, 124–139. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (online resource). <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486937.009>
- Traugott, E. C., and E. König. 1991. "The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Vol. I. Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, ed. by B. Heine, and E. C. Traugott, 189–218. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins (online resource). <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.10clo>
- Willet, T. 1988. "A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality." *Studies in Language* 12 (1): 51–97. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.12.1.04wil>
- Wilson, D., and D. Sperber. 1993. "Linguistic Form and Relevance", *Lingua* 90 (1–2): 1–25. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841\(93\)90058-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841(93)90058-5)
- Yllera, A. 1980. *Sintaxis histórica del verbo español: Las perifrasis medievales*. Zaragoza: Departamento de Filología Francesa, Universidad de Zaragoza.

In substance, they came from above

On the acquisition of discourse particles in Medieval Spanish

Lola Pons Rodríguez

University of Sevilla

This paper presents a study on discourse particles in the history of the Spanish language. The research focuses on explaining the socio-cultural context which led to the appearance of some particles by means other than those contemplated in the theory of grammaticalization. By monitoring the history of the discourse particle *en sustancia* we explain how many of the changes undergone in the Spanish language in the plane of textual construction came from above, were taken directly from the medieval Latin of books and inserted into communicative distance texts, subsequently spreading to become standard.

Keywords: Medieval Spanish, discourse traditions, historical sociolinguistics, *en sustancia*, discourse particles

1. Discourse particles: *Ausbau* and linguistic elaboration

1.1 The social gap of grammaticalization theory

Diachronic studies on the history of discourse particles in the Spanish language have revolved around two main themes. On the one hand, case studies of particles or groups of particles used in a specific period have been carried out, while on the other the origin of current discourse particles, especially conversational ones, has been sought in medieval texts. In the case of this last category, the theory of grammaticalization has been invaluable as the analysis of *clines* of change has been explained as a lexical element which gradually acquired a grammar and discourse function.¹

1. As is known, this has given rise to an interesting theoretical discussion on whether it is possible to place the origin of discourse particles in the classic theory of grammaticalization. In fact, while in the processes for origin and fixation of markers we studied some of the structural

The study of discourse particles has resulted in the theory of a grammaticalization framework – with its functionalist pragmatic-discourse foundations – which can be remodelled after being applied to a corpus of examples which are out of the ordinary. Thus, while the theory of grammaticalization worked for years for cases of evolution typically resulting in auxiliaries, clitics, and adverbials, in the case of the origin of discourse particles it encountered some features which fitted the classic criteria of theory while others appeared to contradict it. This led to a reformulation of the limits of grammaticalization. The key lies in distinguishing whether or not the origin and development of these elements fall within the category of grammaticalization. As this simultaneous and parallel debate on whether the appearance of a new discourse particle is due to grammaticalization has coincided with this research and other related case studies, new examples have appeared for use in further research. However, due to limitations in length, this is not the place to expound on the theory of grammaticalization and the debate on which types of processes represent such changes or the controversy over their characteristic features.² Nevertheless, although many of the elements which form part of the current repertoire of Spanish particles are the result of semantic changes stemming from updated inferences linked to specific constructions (cfr. for one of the first particles studied, *encima*, Garachana 2008), other discourse particles did not come to be in the same way. It is

changes that are characteristic of grammaticalization processes (decategorization, syntagm fixation, semantic bleaching), other parameters like the reduction of syntactic freedom do not occur. Discussion on this has led to the reorganization of the formal parameters seen as typical of grammaticalization as well as the formulation of a new cline model (cf. Ajmer 1997; Dostie 2004; Mosegaard Hansen / Rossari 2005; Traugott 1997; Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2001–2002 among others).

2. In the transition from nominal or verbal elements or deictic expressions to discourse particles we can observe some structural changes associated with a grammaticalization process: decategorization, syntagm fixation, generalization of meanings. However, these are contradicted by equally important elements such as an increase in syntactic freedom and scope gain, as units with more positional freedom than their starting points appear. This has led to the theory that the appearance of discourse particles cannot be grammaticalization, as these are not strictly speaking part of grammar. That is to say, if grammaticalization creates a system, discourse particles cannot be considered strictly speaking part of the system. Therefore, the question arises as to whether the appearance of discourse particles ought to be understood as a grammaticalization phenomenon or as a different mechanism (alternative or even opposed to grammaticalization), in which discourse is created from the system. Traugott's (1997) contribution is one of the most frequently cited contributions to this debate for its proposal to redefine the classic parameters of grammaticalization, examining the proposed obligatory nature of some of these. This is the case of the role awarded to unidirectionality within grammaticalization channels. It has gone from being presented in standard theory as a constant principle to being considered a very common index in this type of process, but not a criterion used to refute whether or not a change constitutes grammaticalization.

at this point that it becomes necessary to fall back on the explanation of the social diffusion (which is textual after all) of any linguistic change.

Without denying the vital importance of the theory of grammaticalization in the explanation of how specific particles come to be, attention should be drawn to the gap in this theory as regards the explanation of the social diffusion of linguistic change. Dissemination in texts – in itself an echo of the spread through the linguistic system – can provide very interesting information on the possible relation between the origin of specific particles aimed at textual construction and cohesion, and the macroprocesses for linguistic elaboration periodically found in Romance languages.

1.2 Discourse particles that came from above: Social context and elaboration

Many grammaticalizations of discourse particles have as starting point a semantic change resulting from updated inferences linked to a specific construction. These semantic changes arise in dialogic interaction, and as they are born from the subjectivization of a context, they reach the less elaborate texts first and are later transferred to more cultured ones. However, there is an alternative to this conventional method for the appearance of particles: particles which, due to an idiomatic elaboration process, come into the language directly to be incorporated with fully formed discourse meanings into texts. It is impossible to verify the existence of semantic change due to associated inferences, as there is no progression towards the systematic coding of an occasional inferential meaning found between its first use and use as discourse particles.

These appear because there is a new discourse tradition requiring these markers in some way (usually as a cohesive device) and they are adapted, loaned or translated from another language in which they already circulate. The diffusion of discourse particles resulting from the grammaticalization of discourse inferences ranges from communicative immediacy to communicative distance (without necessarily reaching the latter), given that discourse particles deriving from processes of elaboration through loans have a different conceptual profile. They are linked to the sphere of conceptual writings and are socially diffused from above (cfr. Jacob, and Kabatek 2001: X).

This type of change has been studied for other languages, and can be usefully applied to Romance languages and the elaboration processes brought about by the recording in Romance of discourse traditions secularly written in Latin from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

An alternative theoretical model to that of grammaticalization is the sociolinguistic theory of elaboration (Kloss 1952 [1978]; Muljačić 1986), which explains

how languages expand their possibilities for use following the arrival of new elements and new types of text. In fact, at a functional level this enriching can result from *extensive elaboration* (Koch, and Oesterreicher 2007: 17) which allows the language to attain new discourse characteristic of communicative distance. It can also occur at a formal level, with *intensive elaboration* which increases the volume of terminological lexical elements, pieces for the construction of textual cohesion, syntactic structures... As linguistic change is a constant factor in living languages the elaboration processes often occur at specific periods. After a macrostage of elaboration, the language affected develops a greater capacity to express communicative distance, reduces linguistic variation, and reinforces textual architecture.

Labov's theoretical model was reused by German variational linguistics, as inspired by Coseriu, to provide an explanation in the specific field of Western languages for the importance of the precedent of Latin as a model for written production. In fact Latin has provided the written models for its daughter languages, giving rise to linguistic transfers (in both directions, also from Romance to neo Latin, cfr. Ijsewin, and Sacré 1998) of forms and structures transferred directly from the Latin of texts to the Romance of books. This type of transfer from Latin is not only observed in Romance languages as demonstrated in recent studies on structures of discourse cohesion loaned from Latin to English (Del Saz, and Pennock 2005; Rissanen 2006; Weber 2009). In fact, the reading in Latin of religious, philosophical, and historiographic works, the influence of the Roman Legislative corpus, and the circulation of the *Vulgate* define a linguistic area transcending the genealogical family of Romance languages, and in which Latin is a model of intensive and extensive elaboration.

In the case of Spanish, it has been recorded that discourse particles such as *así las cosas* (Pons Rodríguez 2015), *esto es* (Pons Bordería 2008), *respecto a* and associated structures (Pons Rodríguez 2017) or *vale decir* (Garrido Martín 2015), are some of the forms born in the *locus* of communicative distance, outside dialogic interaction, and disseminated directly in texts as discourse particles, thus demonstrating linguistic change *from above*. Syntagms such as *SIC STANTIBUS REBUS*, *ID EST*, *CUM RESPECTU AD* or *DICERE VALET* have passed directly from Medieval Latin to Medieval Romance, transferring meanings and equivalences or expanding functions.

This new approach to the generation of resources of internal elaboration of the language calls for philological studies on the history of linguistic change. That is, we hold that it is impossible to carry out a lineal and intrinsic historical study of discourse particles. Analyses need to be anchored on social and cultural phenomena such as the birth or development of new directions in discourse, the study of communicative space of speakers and others. One of the discourse particles which spread from Medieval Latin to the Romance languages was *en sustancia*, as studied below.

2. The history of the Spanish discourse particle *en sustancia*

2.1 SUBSTANTIA and its legacy

The Latin word SUBSTANTIA left its legacy in Romance (1) and in non-Romance Western languages (2). In all of these it has as a common meaning with the idea of ‘matter, basic component of an element’.

- (1) *substancia* (Galician); *substance* (French); *sostanza* (Italian); *substanță* (Romanian).
- (2) *substans* (Norwegian, Swedish); *substantzia* (Basque); *substance* (English); *supstanca* (Bosnian); *substanz* (German); *sustanza* (Maltese).

These uses are clearly derived from the meaning of the Latin term SUBSTANTIA (3), which can be grouped into fixed locutions. In the case of legal Latin we observe ERROR IN SUBSTANTIA, a term applicable to sale and purchase contracts which refers to a problem in the material composition of the element bought (Petrak 2011). In Medieval Latin this noun is especially frequent in theological discourses which debate on the human or divine nature of the person of Jesus Christ and matters of Christian dogma. As is seen in the examples of (3) and (4), there are instances of SUBSTANTIA preceded by the preposition IN and apparently not fixed as a locution. The examples in the prose of Thomas Aquinas offer instances of IN SUBSTANTIA as mere modal circumstantial complement. Other similar 13th century Latin examples are also found in philosophical works:

- (3) *In substantia autem intellectuali creata inveniuntur duo: scilicet substantia ipsa; et esse eius, quod non est ipsa substantia, ut ostensum est (Summa contra gentiles lib.2, 553, 2, 6) || Cum enim sit sancta Trinitas unus et solus Deus, in substantia solus, in personis tria quaedam, cum multa uoluit esse, non illud ‘esse’ ea uoluit esse quod ille ipse est, dum ea quae uoluit esse originem habent; illi siquidem sine origine est esse.*

(Alcuino, *De fide sanctae et indiuiduae trinitatis*,
liber 2, capitulum 1, 47, 16)

- (4) *In substantia tangit, cum dicit subsistens per se, sicut convenit personae subsistere.* (Alberto Magno, *Commentarii in primum librum Sententiarum*,
distinctio: 27 G, 4, 26, 43, 1, 36)

In contrast, in Latin from the Early Middle Ages, IN SUBSTANTIA is frequently recorded linked to a *verbum dicendi*. The wealth of documentation suggests that this use spread from the prose of the scholars of monastic universities and schools, who wrote about theology in books that circulated throughout Europe. Latin, universal

language of culture in the Middle Ages, invented a locution which neo Latin continued to use profusely:

- (5) Hanc sententiam sequitur Scotus in tertio, dictinctione decimatercia, ad argumenta circa tertiam conclusionem, vbi *in substantia* respondet ad idem argumentum. (1589, Conradus Koellin, *Expositio commentaria prima...*)
- (6) Vbi relatis aliis distinctionibus secundum Theologos dixit superstitionem esse [...] & idem in substantia, dixit Eymeric. (1616, Prosperi Farinacii, *Tractatus de haeresi*, p. 62)
- (7) Probo, quia Praelatus consentiens vt suffragia darentur pro illo, fecit actum contrarium illi, quem antea fecerat acceptando renunciationem, & *in substantia* dixit per hoc factum. (1640, *Responsiones aliquorum casuum moralium*, p. 677)

Its use with verbs such as DICERE, RESPONDERE or others are, as we will see, key to the transformation of this syntagm into a discourse particle. The texts produced in Medieval and Golden-Age Spain in written contexts establish a dialogue between Latin and Romance languages, as can be seen from the continued transfer of written elements to the daughter language (for example, in the form of graphic representations, syntactical and lexical loads or learned expressions) as well as in the appearance of vernacular elements in the mother language, morphologically disguised as Latin.

2.2 Use of *in sustancia* in current Spanish

Words belonging to the lexical family of *sustancia* (*sustancial*, *sustancioso*, *sustanciar*) can be written in two forms in Spanish: with the etymological consonant group sometimes simplified to *s* alone, despite the fact that the most frequent phonic use in Spanish as stated in the Spanish spelling system (specifically in *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* published by the Spanish regulatory body, the Real Academia Española (s.v. *sustancia*) states that “se recomiendan las grafías simplificadas, por ser acordes con la articulación real de estas palabras y las más extendidas en el uso actual”). Among the examples considered, mostly taken from the CORDE and CREA databases, also drawn up by the Real Academia Española, we searched for examples of the form in all the numerous spellings possible.

At present, *en sustancia* is used in Spanish with two possible functions. It can act as a circumstantial complement affecting a verb or noun within a construction where the noun *sustancia* has preserved its full meaning. This can be seen in cases such as:

- (8) Aunque la ley ha de ir a la Cámara de los Lores, parece improbable que la modifique *en sustancia* dado el amplio apoyo (413 votos contra 129) con que fue aprobada anoche en los Comunes.

(España, Walter Oppenheimer en www.elpais.com 15/II/2006)

- (9) Pues bien, planteada así la cuestión, el voto particular, sancionado ahora *en sustancia* por la sentencia del TC, responde que esa parte de Bildu sucede a Batasuna.

(España, José Luis Zubizarreta, in www.diariovasco.com, 8/V/2011)

In these examples *en sustancia* is equivalent to the adverb ‘substantially, in depth’. Equally, *sustancia* is not a particle when it refers to the content of something contrasted to its form:

- (10) Sin embargo, al final no se cumplió este anuncio *ni en forma ni en sustancia*.

(España, M. Tejero in www.diariodesevilla.es, 31/III/2015)

Another use allowing the construction to be labelled a discourse particle is that in which in *en sustancia* presents the subject of the discourse it appears in as the nuclear, basic, or most important idea of something indicated previously or subsequently:

- (11) La llamada piratería editorial, que es *en sustancia* la edición clandestina de libros con desconocimiento total de los derechos de autor, ha tomado especial auge en el país en los últimos tiempos.

(Colombia, www.eltiempo.com, 5/I/1998)

This use requires further comment. At times the linguistic statements presented as compendium expressions or main expressions of what preceded do not sum up their antecedents in abbreviated form, but rather highlight a new set of information, presenting it as the key basic element of the extensive references:

- (12) Ese año cumplió don José sus setenta, la edad de la jubilación, y con tal motivo solicitamos de él una entrevista Sánchez Cantón, en tanto que Decano de Filosofía y Letras, y yo, como Rector de la Universidad donde Ortega había enseñado. He aquí, *en sustancia*, nuestro diálogo: “Aunque por tantas razones nos duela -dije yo-, comprendemos, don José, su apartamiento de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras [...]”.

(1976, Pedro Laín Entralgo, *Descargo de conciencia*, ap. CREA)

Given its generalizing nature in modern Spanish, *en sustancia* can reinforce the argument which precisely specifies what has been said, and thus can be paraphrased by *en realidad* or *en el fondo*:

- (13) Las medidas que España debe de adoptar para preparar su integración en las Comunidades Europeas no son, *en sustancia*, muy distintas de las que de manera autónoma debería tomar para tratar su propia crisis económica.
(España, *El País*, 10/X/1980, ap. CREA)

It is possible to establish a nucleus of basic meaning that is maintained in the discourse particle *en sustancia*: concentrated in a basic notion that can be used to recapitulate extensive strata of information in discourse. Found mostly in preceding positions and with a previously defined information load, the argumentation scheme offered by *en sustancia* is shared by other languages. We specifically find other locutions that are related to the Spanish one. Thus, the locutions *em substância* from the Portuguese and *en substància* from Catalan show similarities to Spanish, but this connection is not limited to the Ibero Romance languages, as can be seen from the current use of *in substance* in English or *in sostanza* in Italian. This invites us to reassess history in search of a possible legacy left in the history of languages with examples such as those referenced from (5) to (7).

3. Diachronic evolution of Spanish

3.1 Explanation of the linguistic change of *en sustancia*

In Spanish the word SUBSTANTIA is a learned word recorded from the 13th century by writer and cleric Gonzalo de Berceo (Corominas-Pascual, DCECH, s.v. *estar*). In the sense of ‘matter or essential part of something’ we find this form combined with the preposition *en* in a wide number of examples, particularly in the 15th century, and sometimes in specialized form in treatises on medicine or philosophy, disciplines that refer to *sustancia* contrasted to *forma*, *cualidad* and similar:

- (14) [las aguas delos estancos enchartados] aunque parecen tenpladas en qualidad a primera vista: assi acaesce al ayre de ser enconado *en su sustancia*: maguer que non pequen en qualidad: y si por aventura dixerdes: como puede ser corrupto *en sustancia e non en qualidad*: y respondo que puede ser assi [At first glance the water of the ponds appears warm, because the air within is corrupt in substance and not in property]. (c. 1418, *Sevillana medicina*, ap. CORDE)
- (15) La mejor cañafistola es aquella que es graue en peso y *pingüe en sustancia*, y luziente y negra en color [The best of the plants called *cañafistola* is that which weighs a lot and is substantial, brilliant and black]. (1515, Alfonso Rodríguez de Tudela, *Traducción del Compendio de boticarios*, ap. CORDE)

In the 15th century three specialist uses of the syntagm *en sustancia* can be distinguished. Firstly, the noun itself (outside and inside a prepositional construction)

is often found in theological discourse, particularly in explanations of the material nature of divine beings and the dogma of the Trinity (three beings but one *en sustancia*) (16). Secondly, we identify numerous examples in texts offering technical explanations for issues relating to the production of medicines, treatment of plants with healing purposes or similar (17). It should be noted that in the 15th century this noun was rarely found outside these universes of discourse, so it can be clearly stated that the noun was traditionally found in the discourse of specific types of text in circulation in the Spanish Early Middle Ages.

- (16) Vn solo Dios en esençia, / tres personas *en sustançia* / separadas syn distançia / e juntas syn diferençia [A single God in essence, / three people in substance / separated by no distance / and together with no difference].

(1445, Gómez Manrique, *Poesías*, ap. CORDE)

- (17) E porque los postemas son malos por la conuersion de la materia dellos en sustancia poçoñosa [Scars are bad because they transform into poisonous substance]. (1410, Velasco de Taranto, *Tratado de la epidemia*, ap. CORDE)

The third use identified in the 15th century is found in the works of a single author: Enrique de Villena (also known as Enrique de Aragón), a Spanish aristocrat who was the precursor of the movement reconsidering the classic works of the Italian Renaissance. He himself had translated *The Aeneid*, Cicero's *Rhetorica*, and *The Divine Comedy*. In the examples identified for *en sustancia* in his written production we find uses not to be found in other Romance works of the time: linked to a verbum dicendi, specializing in explaining or recapitulating discourses or texts mentioned previously... (18). In these uses within works which were of limited importance at the time, Enrique de Villena was copying a similar use to that of the syntagm *en sustancia* in the final stages of Medieval Latin (5, 6, 7):

- (18) a. E así congregados, proponga el rey, endereçandolas palabras al que este ofiçio encomendar quiere, diziéndole *en sustançia* por las mejores palabras que pudiere cómo ya sabe qu'el ofiçio de cortar ant'él está vacado por fulán [In the gathered presence of everyone, the King will address whoever wants to take on this task, telling them in substance as best possible that the post of carver is free]. (1423, Enrique de Villena, *Arte cisoria*, ap. CORDE)
- b. Bevid. etc. En estas palabras se contiene en sustancia los argumentos por los cuales se puede judgar cuánta serenitat ha obtenido el que las virtudes proseguía en su entendimiento [In the words *Bevid...* are in substance the reasons to understand the good fortune obtained by whoever follows the virtues]. (1427, Enrique de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida*, ap. CORDE)

- c. E por eso el capitán Androgeo, como dize el texto, con amigables palabras, es a saber pacíficas, les persuadía la vastación de la çibdat *en substancia* diziendo aquexarse de invadir la çibdat [This is the reason why captain Androgeus, according to the text, with good words, convinced them to ransack the city, saying in substance that he was complaining about his invasion].
(1427, Enrique de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida*, ap. CORDE)

Villena, a good Latinist, added to the Spanish text a resource he had become acquainted with in his Latin readings. This use also appears in 16th- and 17th-century neo Latin. These two centuries were a crucial period for this discourse particle. It ceased to be a learned word or expression restricted to the fields of medicine and theology – as it had been in the 15th century – and spread to the Romance language. A cosmographer, fluent in Latin, used it in his historiographic work (19), and it also frequently appeared from the mid 16th century in administrative or jurisprudence texts, as we see in the proceedings of a legal process of (20). By the end of that century the expression *en sustancia* was well established in learned praise poetry (21) and in the 17th in chronicles and historiographical writing (22). Cases such as those below show how it operated as a discourse particle, particularly in metalinguistic contexts for explaining, reformulating and abbreviating definitions, one's own words or those of others, parts of a discourse, written texts:

- (19) fué asentado con el rey don Juan nuestro sobrino una capitulación que el dicho nuestro capitán general perseguía. La qual es *en sustancia* que el dicho nuestro capitán en la enpresa que proseguía contra los dichos... [with my nephew the king don Juan I settled an agreement, as the general captain wanted. This agreement is, in substance, that this captain would continue...].
(1491–1516, Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*)
- (20) Preguntado si se acuerda haber depuesto en este Santo oficio algunas cosas tocantes á la fee contra alguna persona, dixo que sí y refirió vocalmente *en sustancia* todo lo contenido en esta testificación contra Pedro Charte [He was asked if he had presented to the tribunal of the Inquisition any matter regarding the matter of faith of another, he said yes, and orally presented in substance what he had testified against Pedro Charte].
(1572, *Proceso de Pedro de Ocharte*, México)
- (21) Manifestóles con gentil crianza / Sus trazas, sus intentos y cuidados; / Y las palabras del razonamiento / *en sustancia* son estas que yo cuento [Very politely he told them his plans and concerns, and the words of what he said are in substance those which I will now refer].
(1589, Juan de Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*)

- (22) A estos respondió muy a lo largo, pero *en substancia* fue que aceptaba ser Alcayde de Fuende-Ravía [His answer to them was extensive, but in substance he said he accepted the post of mayor of Fuenterrabía].

(1639, José Pellicer, *Avisos*)

Therefore, from the 16th century the noun *sustancia* within the expression *en sustancia*, appears to be well established and with no distinguishable transition phase as a discourse particle. It was first applied to metalinguistic matters, and then from the 18th century on clearly applied to metadiscourse matters, and so to events occurring in reality, having broken the previous necessary association to metadiscourse:

- (23) No fue largo el paso / pero bonito. *En sustancia*, / entró esta niña con sorna [The scene was not long. In essence, this girl came in gracefully].

(1773, Ramón de la Cruz, *Las escofieteras*)

Its lexicographical appearance as a proper lemma suggests that in the 18th century the syntagm *en sustancia* was already considered an independent element, and not just the sum of its parts. This is clear in the first dictionary of the Real Academia Española, known as *Diccionario de Autoridades*, which as early as 1739 mentioned *substancia* as a term characteristic of Philosophy (as stated in the definition) and includes the sublemma with a different meaning in *en substancia*:

- (24) SUBSTANCIA. Term. Philosophico. La entidad, o essencia, que subsiste, ò existe por sí. Es voz puramente Latina.

[...]

En substancia. Modo adverbial, que vale sumariamente, en compendio, ù extracto.

The process of evolution for IN SUBSTANTIA shows the permanent focus of linguistic changes brought about by Latin and Romance contact in the Middle Ages. The linguistic model of expositive Latin (of Theology and Jurisprudence), indubitably encouraged transfers between similar discourse traditions in different languages. The Medieval Latin expression examined here, and initially limited to non-Romance discourse traditions, overcame this exclusive written linguistic barrier which took the original Latin model as a starting point. From Romance it spread to other textual models, causing the initial conceptual profile to disappear. This explains why the chronology, meaning, and use of the expression in Spanish are similar to those of other languages which also took the particle directly from late Latin. This is the case of the Portuguese language, which provides examples from the 17th century on:

- (25) [...] enquanto este habitual pecado se não remediase, todas as almas dos portugueses deste Estado iam e haviam de ir para o inferno. Propus finalmente o remédio, que veio a ser *em substância* as mesmas resoluções da nossa resposta [as this sin was not resolved, the souls of the Portuguese were to go to hell. The remedy was finally proposed and it consisted in substance of the same decisions of our response]. (1626–1692, Padre Antonio Vieira, *Cartas*)

Thus, we see that modal circumstantial complements become routine in discourse (understanding them as *conventionalized uses of form-meaning pairings*, Gast / Van der Auwera 2012) and go from one language to another. In this case it seems opportune to insist on the concepts of *elaboration* and *discourse tradition* as channels for the change, dominating both cause and documentation (in the case of the latter at least when referring to the text locations of early examples). This is why I believe it is justified to demand that the conceptual *locus* of appearance of a marker be taken into account. If these markers result from the dialogic interaction giving rise to discourse uses, their inferences place them in communicative immediacy. However, where markers are not the result of interaction or spreading from below, but rather have arrived in texts from above, these can be placed in the conceptual *locus* of communicative distance. The innovation of the expression, its purely Latin origin, explains the repeated appearance of the form *en sustancia* in the 16th–17th centuries, reinforced by other abbreviating elements which help clarify its meaning. Thus, in (26) the adverb *brevemente* is added and in (27) the syntagm *en sentencia* ('en suma') is added:

- (26) Bramona, en lenguaje de tahures, lo mismo es que, en la nuestra, desgarros, bravatas, desafueros contra Dios y contra el prójimo, tomar el cielo con las manos, maldecirse a sí mismos y otras cosas semejantes. Esto es, *brevemente en sustancia*, porque decirlos en el modo sería nunca acabar.

(1603, Francisco de Luque Fajardo, *Fiel desengaño conra la ociosidad y los juegos*)

- (27) Yo hube en mi poder algunas de ellas [las cartas] [...] y las traje conmigo harto tiempo para aprovechar, e de los curiosos vocablos y maneras de hablar que contenían en su lengua. *En sustancia y sentencia* me acuerdo que entre otras muchas cosas decían estas palabras.

(1604, Fray Jerónimo Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*)

One of these reinforcing variants is taken from Latin itself and its history continues up to the present day. Although seldom documented, the variation *en suma y sustancia* is still found in an inverted form, *en sustancia y suma* (even rarer), both cases of Latin formulae which find cognates in other European languages (Eng. *sum and substance*):

- (28) y allí por medio de su Chanciller leyeron la espuesta, la qual abraçaua *en suma y sustancia* lo que arriba tengo puesto de la ayuda y socorro contra Francia.
(1614, Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*)
- (29) Lo que le dijo el co-conspirador #2 a la CONCACAF, *en suma y sustancia*, fue que Traffic podría replicar el éxito comercial y deportivo que había tenido con la Copa América y hacer de la Copa de Oro un éxito similar.
(Paraguay, Armando Rivarola, en www.abc.com.py 24/VI/2015)

4. Conclusions

The theory of grammaticalization has allowed us to describe and understand the gradual transition processes which lead lexical forms to acquire grammatical and abstract meanings, but the circumstances in which the activity of speech takes place have not always been taken into account. Overcoming this apparent *barrier* in the theory of grammaticalization has led it to be associated with other perspectives which take into consideration the socio-historical conditioning factors of the linguistic statements driving the dissemination of the change. The studies carried out confirm that the processes of idiomatic elaboration can lead to the enrichment, consolidation and purification of the processes for discourse construction. Such enrichment benefits fully from the resources of the mother language: there are elements which move away from the texts and functions in which they occurred, acquiring new discourse functions through grammaticalization. This also borrows from the resources of Medieval Latin language, in this case creating the discourse particle tailored to the mother language.

As a discourse particle, the evolution described for *en sustancia* shows how a learned form brought directly from Latin has two already pre-existing meanings in Spanish (one more specific and another more abstract and derived from the first). This is not a case of one evolving from the other, as the initial changes occur outside conventional inferences.

We cannot assume that all the markers emanating from communicative distance are the result of loans, as there are also grammaticalizations of elements characteristic of elaborated, restricted, or highly technical varieties. It appears that processes of idiomatic elaboration tend to lead to enriching, purifying, and consolidating the procedures for discourse construction. For this reason we resort to resources from the language itself which go beyond the texts in which they were used and over time acquire discourse functions (vernacular elaboration). Alternatively, a marker is created to fit what exists in the other languages it is in contact with (elaboration through contact), as is the case of Medieval Latin which is clearly the base of the discourse particle *en sustancia*.

Funding

This study is the result of the project FFI2013-45222-P “La escritura elaborada en español de la Baja Edad Media al siglo XVI: traducción y contacto de lenguas” (HISTORIA15, FFI 2016-74828p) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

References

- Aijmer, Karin. 1997. “*I think* –an English modal particle.” In *Modality in Germanic Languages: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by T. Swan, and D. J. Westwick, 1–47. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110889932.1>
- Del Saz Rubio, M^a Milagros, and Pennock Speck, Barry. 2005. “Discourse markers of reformulation from the perspective of Grammaticalization.” In *Perspectivas interdisciplinarias de la lingüística aplicada*, vol. 2, ed. by M. L. Carrió, 89–100. Valencia: Asociación Española de Lingüística Aplicada, Universidad Politécnica de Valencia.
- Dostie, Gaétane. 2004. *Pragmaticalisation et marqueurs discursifs. Analyse sémantique et traitement lexicographique*. Bruxelles: De Boeck&Larcier, Éditions Duculot.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 2008. “En los límites de la gramaticalización: la evolución de *encima* (de *que*) como marcador del discurso.” *Revista de Filología Española* LXXXVIII: 7–36. <https://doi.org/10.3989/rfe.2008.v88.i1.43>
- Garrido Martín, Blanca. 2015. “La historia de *vale decir* como un marcador discursivo de reformulación.” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 38: 187–206.
- Ijsewijn, Jozsef, and Dirk Sacré. 1998. *Companion to neo-latin Studies. Part II: Literary, linguistic, philological and editorial questions*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia XIV, 2nd. edition.
- Jacob, Daniel; Kabatek, Johannes. 2001. “Introducción.” In *Lengua medieval y tradiciones discursivas en la Península Ibérica. Descripción gramatical, pragmática histórica, metodología*, ed. by D. Jacob and J. Kabatek. Madrid: Vervuert, VII–XVIII.
- Kloss, Heinz. 1952 [1978]. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950*. München: Pohl.
- Koch, Peter, and Wulf Oesterreicher. 1990 [2007]. *Lengua hablada en la Romania: español, francés, italiano*. Madrid: Gredos (Biblioteca Románica Hispánica).
- Mosegaard Hansen, Maj-Britt, and Corinne Rossari. 2005. “The evolution of pragmatic markers.” *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 6/2: 177–187.
- Muljačić, Zarko. 1986. “L’enseignement de Heinz Kloss (modifications, implications, perspectives).” *Langages* 83 : 53–63. <https://doi.org/10.3406/lgge.1986.2495>
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2001–2002. “¿Un viaje de ida y vuelta?: la gramaticalización de *vaya* como marcador y cuantificador.” *Anuari de Filologia* 11–12: 47–71.
- Petrak, Marco. 2011. “Error in substantia in classical Roman law.” *Collected Papers of Zagreb Law Faculty* 61/6: 1837–1880.
- Pons Bordería, Salvador. 2008. “Gramaticalización por tradiciones discursivas: el caso de *esto es*.” In *Sintaxis histórica del español. Nuevas perspectivas desde las tradiciones discursivas*, ed. by J. Kabatek, 249–274. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

- Pons Rodríguez, Lola. 2010. "La historia de los marcadores discursivos en español." In *Los estudios sobre marcadores del discurso en español, hoy*, ed. by Ó. Loureda, and E. Acín, 523–615. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Pons Rodríguez, Lola. 2015. "Prejuicios y apriorismos en la investigación histórica sobre marcadores discursivos (con algunas notas sobre *así las cosas*)." In *Les marqueurs du discours dans les langues romanes: une approche contrastive*, ed. by Margarita Borreguero, and Sonia Gómez-Jordana Ferrary, 285–303. Limoges: Lambert Lucas.
- Pons Rodríguez, Lola. 2017. "Deudas latinas y variaciones romances en la creación del marcador de topicalización *respecto*", *Verba* 44, 133–167.
- Rissanen, Mati. 2006. "Latin Influence on an Old English Idiom: To Wit." In *Inside Old English: essays in honour of Bruce Mitchell*, ed. by J. Walmsley, 222–241. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470776360.ch11>
- Traugott, Elisabeth C. 1997. "The role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization." Conference in 12th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Manchester 1995; [<http://www.stanford.edu/~traugott/papers/discourse.pdf>]
- Weber, Beatrix. 2009. "Evidence of language contact in the Parliament Rolls of Medieval England." *Workshop "Multilingual Discourse Production"* (6–7 November 2009, University of Hamburg. Research Centre on Multilingualism). [<http://www.uni-hamburg.de/sfb538/mdpprogram.pdf>]

Grammaticalization of *en vías de*

A multidimensional linguistic change

Herminia Provencio Garrigós
University of Murcia

The aim sought with this research is to show the process of grammaticalization experienced by the prepositional locution *en vías de*, originated in the prepositional phrase *en vía de*. The study was carried out through work with diachronic and synchronic corpora which provides evidence that the history of the linguistic change occurred in *en vías de* has a multidimensional nature, since semantic-pragmatic, morphological, syntactic and textual factors linked by the concepts of 'process,' 'progression,' and 'development' interact in it. The analysis shows that four aspects impact directly on the linguistic innovation of *en vías de*: semantic change, which revolves around the prototypical and marginal meanings of the Latin noun *vía*; the diachronic diffusion of the prepositional locution and the contexts that it selects between the 14th and 21st centuries, which favor the routinization of prototypical collocational structures; the degree of morphological, syntactic and lexical-diatopical fixation; and finally, the texts where the prepositional locution originated and became widespread and the topics they deal with.

Keywords: grammaticalization, prepositional locution, diachrony, corpora, semantic change, routinization, variation, discursive tradition, multidimensional change

1. Introduction

When studying routinization it comes as no surprise to see that Roman roads or ways appear amongst the great works of engineering that the Roman Empire bequeathed us, with which the following characteristics are associated: rectilinear, without any obstacles, with a longitudinal profile that has no big slopes, etc. – features which guarantee fast, safe and long-lasting journeys (Gil Montes 2004: 88). However, the Romans not only left us their road infrastructure but also the word *vía* with its meanings and conceptualizations. Curiously enough, one can check

that the first meaning of *vía* in *DRAE* (RAE 1869) specifies the following: “Dícese en particular de los grandes caminos contruidos por los antiguos romanos desde su capital hasta las extremidades de Europa.” [“Used in particular to describe the large roads built by the ancient Romans from their capital to the ends of Europe.”].

The meanings of *vía* refer both to a specific conceptual domain (spatial) and to more abstract conceptual domains (temporal and notional or figurative):

1. A track made for the purpose of travel from one place to another, road; *vía pública*, a road, i.e. on one’s way; *in viam*, on to the road, i.e. for a journey *inter vias*, on the way.
 2. A passage between blocks of seats in the theatre, gangway.
 3. A channel, duct, course.
 4. The fact of travelling or an instance of it, a journey, march, etc.; (abl.) on its way (fig.).
 5. Opportunity or facility for going, way, passage.
 6. The line of travel leading to a particular destination, way, course; the course, path (of heavenly bodies, atoms, etc.); (abl.) in the proper way, methodically.
 7. A course of action or conduct.
 8. (w. gen.) A way of achieving or attaining, a path (to).
 9. A means of achieving some object, expedient.
 10. A way of proceeding, method; (w. gen.) a way, method (of doing something).
- (Glare 1968–1982: 2053)

According to Corominas (1980–1990), the noun *vía* is “de uso general en todas las épocas y conservado en todos los romances de Occidente, aunque *camino* y sus equivalentes han limitado considerablemente su extensión semántica en todas partes. En la Edad Media se encuentran casos de *vía* empleado donde hoy diríamos más bien *camino*.” [“generally used in all periods and preserved in all Western Romance languages, even though *camino* and its equivalents have considerably limited its semantic extension everywhere. In the Middle Ages, *vía* appears in cases where we would prefer *camino* nowadays.”]. The *Glosas Emilianenses* already glossed *uia* for *iter* (‘way’). The first occurrence of *vía* with the meaning of ‘way’ is documented by CORDE in a notarial text dated in 938 (1).

- (1) ... alia terra que est inter illa kareira que discurrit ad illo poz et fiet se in kareira que uadit a Petraza... et alia super ipsa uia fiet se jnilla Boca...

(Anónimo [938]: *Donación de la iglesia de Ampudia hecha a Santa María de Husillos por Ebohamor, su mujer Especiosa y su hermano Zalama*, Cited by Menéndez Pidal 1986 [1926]: 29–30)

The variety of meanings and contexts where *vía* appeared in Latin warn us about the lexical, semantic and morphological potential that it will have in Spanish: *antuviar*, *autovía*, *aviado*, *aviar*, *desviación*, *desviar*,¹ *enviado*, *evitar*, *extraviado*, *inviable*, *quadrivium*, *todavía*, *tranvía*, *trivialidad*, *trívium*, *vía crucis*, *vía estrecha*,

1. To check the semantic and morphological potential of *vía* in verbal derivatives, see Gibert Sotelo (2015a, 2015b).

Vía Láctea, vía muerta, viabilidad, viable, viador, viaducto, viajante, viajar, viaje, viajero, vial, viandante, viario o viático (Del Hoyo 2013: 55–60). The productivity of the noun *vía* also expands to actas: (1) a preposition, resulting from a grammaticalization process, which serves to introduce “en su sentido estrictamente físico, el lugar por el que se pasa o en que se hace escala en un desplazamiento: [...] ¿Usted va a Trípoli *vía* París? (Soriano, *León*)” [“in its strictly physical sense, the place one passes through or where a stopover is made during a journey: [...] ¿Usted va a Trípoli *vía* París? [Are you travelling to Tripoli via Paris?] (Soriano, *León*)”] (RAE & ASALE 2009: 2232); in other words, it focuses on the intermediate place between the origin or starting point and the end or the destination of a process or a change (RAE & ASALE 2009: 2252); however, in the language of politics, jurisprudence or journalism, *vía* is also used with the meaning of *mediante* [by means of] o *a través de* [through] (RAE & ASALE 2009: 2232); and (2) the nucleus of locutions such as *en vías de*, which expresses that something is “en curso, en trámite, en camino de” [“in progress, in process, on the way to”] or *por vía (de)*, utilized to mean “de forma, a manera y modo” [“in the way, by way or manner of”] (RAE & ASALE 2014);² consequently, the noun *vía* is integrated into constructions which have experienced linguistic changes that can be explained through a grammaticalization process. The aim of this work is to analyze the process of grammaticalization undergone by the prepositional locution (PL) *en vías de*³ and its morphological variation *en vía de*. The diachronic analysis will make it possible to identify the specific development through which the prepositional phrase (PP) with a locative value has become a PL.

Locutions, as phraseological units, are considered the “núcleo más firme de la fraseología” [“most solid nucleus of phraseology”] (Echenique Elizondo, Martínez Alcalde & Sánchez Méndez 2016: 20). The research into prepositional locutions in Spanish became revitalized in the early years of the 21st century thanks to the synchronic works of Cifuentes Honrubia (2003) and Montoro del Arco (2006), amongst others. In recent years, important contributions have been made to the diachronic study of PLs, especially in the publications of the HISLEDIA research group⁴ (Echenique Elizondo 2008; Echenique Elizondo, Martínez Alcalde, Sánchez Méndez & Pla Colomer 2016; Echenique Elizondo & Martínez Alcalde 2017). From the point of view of its structure [preposition + noun + preposition], the locution *en vías de*

2. *En vías de* was first recorded in the *Suplemento* [Supplement] of *DRAE* (RAE 1947) in the entry *vía*, and *por vía de* in *DRAE* (RAE 1803).

3. *En vías de* has its semantic equivalent in the Latin locution *in fieri* ‘on doing it,’ which in Spanish is an adjectival locution used “para indicar que algo está en vías de hacerse o haciéndose” [“to indicate that something about to be done or being done”] (RAE & ASALE 2014).

4. Coordinated by M.^a T. Echenique Elizondo (<http://frasledia.webnode.es/>).

belongs to the group of the most frequent and productive ones in the history of the Spanish language (Codita 2016: 138; García Valle 2016: 202; García-Page 2008: 131; Porcel Bueno 2016: 227, 228, 230; Ricós Vidal 2016: 241; RAE & ASALE 2009: 2280).

The bibliography has shown that grammaticalization is a holistic and dynamic *macrochange* which affects a variety of linguistic descriptive levels (Company 2003: 11, 2004a: 65, 2008; Garachana 2008: 7); in fact, the linguistic change experienced by *en vía de* evidences the interaction of semantic-pragmatic, syntactic, morphological and textual or discursive factors. The synergy that each one of these factors has in the evolution of the linguistic change undergone by *en vía de* is diverse. All factors are connected by the concepts 'process' and 'progression'; hence our decision to examine some of the aspects directly impacting on the linguistic innovation of *en vías de* that we regard as indicators of its grammaticalization process.

The theoretical framework used for this study is the one provided by studies on grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 1993; Traugott 2003; Traugott & Dasher 2002), the semantic-cognitive proposals (Geeraerts 1997; Santos Domínguez & Espinosa Elorza 1996; Langacker 1987, 2000; Lakoff 1987) and discursive traditions (Jacob & Kabatek 2001, Kabatek 2008). The adoption of these perspectives has methodological implications, since their use forces an approach to linguistic changes based on usage, which can be identified through work *with corpora* (Kabatek 2016: 3).

Seeking to make this research as empirical as possible, we prepared a corpus of the construction *en vías de*, as well as of its morphological variant *en vía de*. The examples collected in this work come from several diachronic and synchronic corpora: *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE); *Corpus del Español: Género Histórico* (CEGH); *Corpus del Nuevo Diccionario Histórico* (CDH); *Biblia Medieval* (BM); *Textos Médicos Españoles, Biblioteca Digital de Textos del Español Antiguo* (TME/HSMS); *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América* (CORDIAM); *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA); *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES); *Corpus del Español Mexicano Contemporáneo* (CEMC); *Corpus del Español: Web Dialectos* (CEWD); *Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica* (BVPH) and *Google Books*.⁵ Nevertheless, only the academic corpora were taken into account (CORDE, CREA, CORPES) to obtain the frequency data which appear in the tables and graphs of this work,⁶ because they allow us to weight the frequency of

5. The consultation in other corpora (*Corpus de Documentos Españoles Anteriores a 1800*, CODEA; *Corpus diacrónico del español del reino de Granada*, CORDEREGR; and *Corpus Histórico del Español de México*, CHEM) provided no results.

6. Buenafuentes de la Mata and Sánchez Lancis (2012: 157–161) highlight the relevance of the corpora CORDE and CREA when it comes to analyzing the process of grammaticalization experienced by PLs in Spanish.

appearance corresponding to *en vía/vías de* by periods with the volume of words and highly disparate texts.⁷ However, some parts of this work compare the data drawn from academic corpora with the data of other corpora⁸ in an attempt to avoid, as much as possible, what has come to be known as *apriorismo de corpus* [*apriorism of corpora*] as a methodological drawback (Pons Rodríguez 2015: 293–294; Octavio de Toledo 2016c).

The history that corpora show about the construction *en vías de* has gone through four stages: (1) origin as a locative construction (PP); (2) functioning as a PL; (3) tendency to appear almost exclusively in the collocative construction *en vía/vías de desarrollo* [developing]; and (4) tendency to appear in the collocative construction or syntagmatic compound of a nominal nature: *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo* [developing country(ies)]. This somehow reveals the specific lexical selection as well as the syntactic and semantic impoverishment that the PL has gradually suffered. Several underlying facts stand out throughout these four stages – which were concomitant from the second half of the 20th century –: morphological, syntactic and lexical-diatopical variation; the importance of those contexts where the linguistic change takes place; the relevance of the textual types in which the PL arises and is projected as well as the intertextual and intratextual filiations; and finally, the fact that the semantic changes affecting these four stages are located in three conceptual contexts inherited from the Latin meaning of the noun *vía*: space, time and quality.

This chapter is structured into the following sections: firstly (§ 2), we describe the process of semantic change experienced by *en vía/vías de* in its diachrony, which has the prototypical Latin meaning ('way') as its axis. Secondly (§ 3), an explanation and justification are provided for the frequency parameter utilized in this research. Thirdly (§ 4), an analysis about the diachronic diffusion of *en vía/vías de* (13th to 21st centuries) serves to examine the contexts where the PL arises; more precisely, the focus will be placed on the contexts that it selects and, above all, on the terms subordinated by the PL. It will be seen how the repetition of the subordinated element and of the elements related by the PL lead to a process of routinization and conventionalization in prototypical collocational structures. Fourthly (§ 5), we study the process of fixation of the PL placing the emphasis on its morphological, syntactic and lexical-diatopical variation. The fifth Section (§ 6) carries out the textual diffusion of the PL *en vía/vías de* to check whether an interdependence between textual tradition and grammaticalization exists or not. Our main interest

7. We follow the methodological proposal made by Octavio de Toledo (2014, 2016b).

8. Codita (2016b: 278–281) showed the statistical divergences that CREA and CEGH offer about the frequency of the PL *so pena de* [lest/failing which].

consists in proving that the discursive traditions, the textual types and the themes where *en vía/vías de* originated and spread were essential in its grammaticalization process; we thus follow the approach of Company (2016b: 388), according to whom “las evidencias diacrónicas del condicionamiento textual del cambio son, a la fecha, escasas” [“there is little diachronic evidence of textual conditioning to date”]. Finally, the general conclusions drawn from our study will be summarized in § 7.

2. Grammaticalization of *en vías de*: Reanalysis and semantic change

The grammaticalization of the PL *en vías de* can be found in the PP *en vía de* (‘en la vía de’, ‘en el camino de’ [‘in the path to’, ‘in the way to’]) and is determined by the locative meanings of the preposition *in* and the noun *vía* in Latin. CORDE documents 33 occurrences of *en vía de* (*in uia de*) from the 10th to the 13th century in notarial documents (2), ordinances and legal codes (3) and religious texts (4). *En vía de* acts as a circumstantial object with a locative value in these first examples.

- (2) *In uia · de aquilonis et de meridie suue de occiduo In terras de te emptore...*
(CORDE. [a. 996]: *Escritura de venta de una viña situada en provençals...* Mateu Ibars & Mateu Ibars [1991: 426])
[In the northern way...].
- (3) & per uiam eundo ad carreram de uillela & carrera ajuso transuerssando caminum de ssaga ad pennuecum grande quod est in uia de castro sico.
(CORDE. [1099]: *Fuero de Miranda de Ebro*.
Cantera Burgos [1945: 44])
[... in the way to Castrilseco].
- (4) Agora an | daremos en via de .iij días. en | el desert & sacrificaremos al nuestro
| sennor dios. (BM, ca. 1230, *La Fazienda de Ultramar*)⁹

The process of grammaticalization of *en vías de* has entailed not only semantic changes but also changes in the structure of the elements that shape it or *reanalysis*.¹⁰ As for *reanalysis*, *en vías de* will not externally or superficially show the change; however, it does experience a formal reorganization which implies new grammatical relationships between the elements of the expression (5) (Garachana 2015: 336; Cifuentes Honrubia 2003: 38):

9. Cited from the corpus *Biblia Medieval*.

10. It is worth recalling the definition offered by Langacker (1977: 58) about this aspect: “Change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface structure.”

- (5) a. [P] + [N] + [P] + [NP]
 b. En éstos, la carga corriente sancionada por la práctica, *en vías de* rasantes poco inclinadas, es de 1.000 kilogramos por caballería [In these, the usual load sanctioned by practice, in roads with gentle slopes, is 1.000 kg per group of horses]. (CORDE. Pardo, M. [1892]: *Carreteras*. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello)
 c. [P + N + P] + [NP]
 d. Pero lo que más revela que los godos tenían una organización económica, administrativa y militar *en vías de* progreso, es la existencia de cargos [But what is most revealing about the fact that the Goths had an economic, administrative and military organization which was *on its way to* progress is the existence of (specific important) ranks]. (CORDE. Villamartín, F. [1862]: *Nociones del arte militar*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 1989)

When it comes to the semantic change of *en vías de*, it is worth highlighting the semantic *persistence* (Hopper 1991: 28–30) of the etymological meaning of *vía* ('way') in the PL. The bibliography has demonstrated that some of the linguistic units included in prepositional locutions provide their initial meaning to the locution; in other words, they keep part of their original lexical value (Borillo 1998, 2001; Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991a: 32–36, 1991b: 151–154; Svorou 1994: 70–89). Such linguistic units, also referred to as *source concepts* (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991a: 32), are linked to basic human experiences (e.g. corporeality and spatiality) and help to understand more abstract concepts through cognitive processes of a metaphorical nature (Cifuentes 2003: 29).¹¹ Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991a: 46) represent the processes of abstraction and progression of conceptual domains in the already classical metaphorical change of grammaticalization:

person > object > activity > space > time > quality

The Latin semantic network of *vía* includes a spatial prototypical meaning ('way') and more abstract peripheral meanings (metaphorical sense of 'way'); a transparent semantic relationship exists between both meanings. Castilian has inherited both meanings: concrete (6) and abstract (7).

11. A very clear example can be found in the metaphors that we use to explain something as abstract as our LIFE (Lakoff & Johnson 1986), in which two overlapping concepts are inherent: 'space' and 'time': our life implies following a path (a way) with a beginning, of which we know when and how it happened (as certified by our passport and official documents), and an end, of which we do not know when and how it will happen.

- (6) Si este verano su viaje de vacaciones tiene como destino Murcia y su zona costera, la ruta que surge en nuestras cabezas es la A-4. Pero si [...] quiere evitar esta *vía* y sus posibles retenciones por la densidad de tráfico, le ofrecemos posibles alternativas... [If your holiday trip this summer has Murcia and its coastal area as its destination, the route which arises in our heads/minds is the A-4. But if [...] you want to avoid this *road* and its possible traffic jams caused by traffic density, we offer you possible alternatives...].

(Dirección General de Tráfico [2016]: “Destino Murcia: ruta y alternativas”. <http://revista.dgt.es>)

- (7) La *vía* francesa para salir de la crisis. Francia se resiste a hacer reformas y opta por un ajuste medido, limitado y sin austeridad. Francia tiene su propia *vía* para salir de la crisis. [The French *way* to get out of the crisis. France is reluctant to make reforms and chooses a moderate and limited adjustment – and without austerity. France has its own *way* to leave the crisis behind].

(Yárnoz, C. [2013]: “La vía francesa para salir de la crisis”. <http://elpais.com>, 12/10/2013)

The metaphorical projection from the conceptual domain of space to the conceptual domain of time can easily be seen in *vía*. Santos Domínguez and Espinosa Elorza (1996: 81) showed that from an early time “las expresiones espaciales sirven de base para comprender y hablar sobre el tiempo” [“spatial expressions have served as the basis to understand time and to speak about it”]; the examples they adduce include the Latin expression *tota via* (“por todo [el] camino” [“throughout the way”]), which gave rise in Spanish to the durative progressive aspectual adverb *todavía* [still]. We must add that the temporal use of *vía* extends, for instance, to the adjective *aviado* [ready] when it forms the conjunctive group with a lexicalized conclusive value and *aviado*¹² to unmistakably mark the end of an action or discourse (8) (RAE & ASALE 2009: 2406, 2519).

- (8) Maestro Reverendo, echa mano del guión y dinos ¿qué canción vamos a interpretar esta noche? La de siempre. Muy bien, [...], le doy la chocolatina y *aviado*. ¡Hay que ver! ¡Eso!, aplaudan [Master Reverend, take the script and tell us: which song are we playing tonight? The usual one. Very well, [...], I (will) give him the chocolate bar and *ready*. It’s amazing! Yes! (please) applaud].

(CREA. Oral, *El peor programa de la semana*, 08/1/1993)

The adjective *aviado* also experiences a semantic change towards a third more abstract domain (quality) when it forms part of the colloquial verbal locutions

12. Equivalent to the interjective locutions *y punto*, *y ya está*, *y listo* o *y se acabó* [that’s it], frequently used in oral discourse.

estar or *ir aviado*, which *DLE* (RAE & ASALE 2014) associates with *estar apañado* ‘to express that someone is wrong about something that he/she believes or expects and is thus going to find himself/herself in an uncomfortable or difficult solution’, as shown in (9).

- (9) Si lo que pretendes es atacarme, vas *aviada*, hija. [If what you plan is to attack me, then you are *done* (*you’ve had it*), daughter]. (CREA, Vázquez, Á. [1976]: *La vida perra de Juanita Narboni*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1990)

The metaphorical progression of *vía* described above – from the concrete meaning (‘space’) towards the acquisition of abstract values (‘time’ and ‘quality’) – moves to the process of grammaticalization of the PL *en vías de* which activates three *image schemata* in the speaker’s mind (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987): WAY or TRAJECTORY (implicit in the prototypical meaning), PROCESS¹³ and CONTAINER. All three schemata coherently underlie the meanings that *vía* had in Latin (§ 1) and they are the ones giving access to changes of domain (space > time > quality).

The scheme of WAY or TRAJECTORY has the following structure: an origin point, a final point or goal and a number of intermediate points which connect them and through which it is necessary to travel during a period of time in order to reach the end of the way; it follows from this that if something moves forward in space with a rectilinear, obstacle-free trajectory, it also moves forward in time; hence why the metaphor TIME IS SPACE underlies the WAY scheme. The PROCESS scheme is closely linked to the previous one (Peña Cervel & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2010): achieving an aim requires carrying out actions which take place in successive stages within a course of time.¹⁴ The definition of *process* given by *DLE* (RAE & ASALE 2014) is highly clarifying and implies the concepts of ‘space’ and ‘time’: “la acción de ir hacia delante” [“the action of going forward”], “transcurso de tiempo” [“course of time”] and “conjunto de fases sucesivas de un fenómeno natural o de una operación artificial” [“set of successive stages of a natural phenomenon or of an artificial operation”]. As exemplified in (10), the character thinks that succeeding in the algebraic analysis exam means moving forward on the path that will take him to his ultimate goal: becoming a man of science. The metaphor “PROCESO REALIZADO ES DISTANCIA RECORRIDA” [“PROGRESS MADE IS (EQUALS) DISTANCE COVERED”] underlies this scheme (Santos Domínguez & Espinosa Elorza 1996: 15).

13. Peña Cervel and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2010: 270) make it depend on the scheme of WAY. It was seen in § 1 that the dictionary collects the meanings “en proceso de” [“in process of”] and “en camino de” [“in the way to”].

14. We could remember the stages in the Road to Santiago, for example.

- (10) Metido ya en la preparación de la primera asignatura complementaria, y por tanto en el Análisis algebraico de Rey Pastor, dije un día a mi padre: « Ea, ya estoy *en vías de* ser un verdadero hombre de ciencia; por tanto, en camino de ganar poco dinero ». [Already busy with the preparation of the first complementary subject, and therefore with Rey Pastor's algebraic Analysis, I told my father one day: « So there, I am *on the way* to become a true man of science; therefore, on the way to earn little money »].

(CREA. Laín Entralgo, P. [1989]: *Descargo de conciencia (1930–1960)*.

Madrid: Alianza, 1989)

In the CONTAINER image scheme, a way or path is conceptualized as a rectilinear container, without any obstacles, delimited by some sides (side limits) which make it easy to avoid straying from the path and reaching the final goal. Let us think of phrases that we have heard since our childhood: “Don’t leave the (right) path,” “If you don’t move away from the (right) path, you will succeed” and other similar ones, where the metaphor A WAY IS A CONTAINER is underlying. Furthermore, the CONTAINER scheme is supported by the preposition *en* which denotes ‘interiority’ and ‘closed limits’ (Cifuentes Honrubia 1996: 147; Morera 1988: 361).

The understanding of the change of cognitive domain from space to time in *en vía/vías de* can be largely clarified by the concept of *zoom* (*zooming in*) which Langacker (2000: 60, 204) uses in his proposal about the role performed by visual perception in conceptualization.¹⁵ *En vía/vías de* focalizes and broadens a specific aspect of the trajectory: the end of the process (Image 1), removing the time limits. This focalization is reflected in the definition for the PL provided by the *Diccionario de uso del Español* (Moliner 1994: s.v. *vía*): “EN VÍAS DE (terminado con « arreglo, solución » o palabra de significado semejante). Se dice del asunto que marcha hacia el final que se expresa: ‘El asunto está en vías de una solución satisfactoria’” [“(finished with « arrangement, solution » or a word with a similar meaning). It is used to describe an affair which moves towards the expressed end: ‘The matter is on the way to (have) a satisfactory solution’”]; and the same can be inferred from the definition included in Gutiérrez Cuadrado (1996: s.v. *vía*): “a punto de, cerca de” [“about to, near”]. It should be remembered that one of the medieval semantic values of the Latin preposition *in* (§ 1) was “denotar el final de un proceso” [“to denote the end of a process”] (RAE & ASALE 2009: 1266).

15. Following Langacker’s proposal, Verhaert (2008) performs an exhaustive study of non-periphrastic gerund in Spanish where he reveals the peculiar conceptualization that using the gerund imposes on a scene. See Romo Simon (2016: 318–404) for the application of Langacker’s proposals to Spanish prepositions.

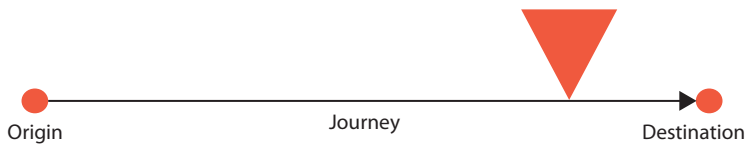


Image 1. Schematic image of *en vías de*

The grammaticalization chain of *en vías de* will reach a higher abstraction level when it expands its meaning to express a quality. The process may have derived from two non-prototypical meanings (Geeraerts 1997) or figurative ones which *vía* had in Latin: ‘*via* (abl.), in the proper way, methodically’ and ‘*via* (abl.) on its way (in quot., fig.)’ (Glare 1968–1982: 2053). In other words, something or someone that is following a suitable, appropriate, solid and safe trajectory which makes it easier to reach what is denoted by the term in the locution (let us think of the characteristics of the ways or roads in the Roman Empire (§ 1)). That qualitative meaning becomes visible in the semantic relationship of the PL with the terms that it relates, above all with the meaning of the term that it subordinates. *En vías de* consequently follows one of the trends identified by Elvira (2009: 170–173) and Santos Domínguez and Espinosa Elorza (1996: 81–82, 100–103) in the evolution of locative expressions: “en español [...] no resulta difícil comprobar que las expresiones locativas tienen una fuerte versatilidad para expresar estados cualitativos de muy diversa índole” [“in Spanish [...] it is not difficult to check that locative expressions have a high versatility to express a wide variety of qualitative states”] (Elvira 2009: 170).

Ever since its earliest documentations, *en vía/vías de* has selected terms of an abstract nature which refer to situations and processes that may unfold. *Perdición* [doom], *salvación* [salvation], *desesperación* [despair] and *razón* [reason] prevailed in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the late 15th century, *en vía de* starts projecting a far more specific semantic specialization reflected in the terms that it subordinates: *sanación* [healing], *curación* [recovery], *resolución* [resolution], *maduramiento* [maturing] and *exidura* [rash, which is suppurating], which refer to curative medical processes. From the mid-19th century, it often subordinates terms such as: *maduración* [maturing], *evolución* [evolution], *desarrollo* [development], *formación* [formation], *regeneración* [regeneration], *descomposición* [decomposition], *germinación* [germination] or *gestación* [gestation] which appear in textual sequences that describe biological (zoological, botanic...) processes.

Therefore, the use of *en vía/vías de* causes the conceptualization of the scene (something or someone follows a trajectory) to be impregnated with a certain degree of subjectivization, since *en vía/vías de* codes the speaker’s attitude and assessment in relation to what he/she is communicating (Company 2004b: 1) and orients the reader towards several specific aspects of the scene: final stage; completion; and scope of a quality.

3. Frequency index

Within the grammaticalization parameters, frequency has stood out as one of the aspects debated upon in the bibliography because of the correlation between increased frequency and the consolidation of the grammaticalization process; by way of example, Rojo (2011: 32–33) makes the following warning:

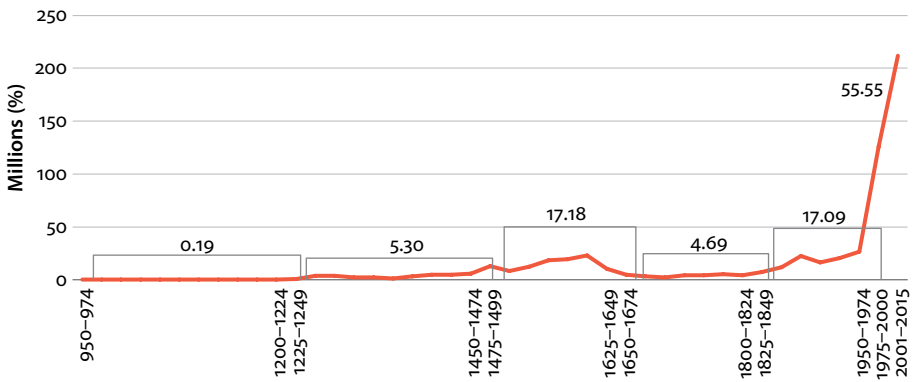
El tema es largo y complejo, dista de estar resuelto en términos estrictamente teóricos y necesita además de un número suficiente de estudios específicos, que, por otro lado, solo pueden hacerse con mucho trabajo adicional sobre corpus amplios, bien contruidos y anotados. Aun con estas precauciones, parece claro que, en la mayor parte de los casos, el avance en el proceso de gramaticalización de una construcción debería ir acompañado del aumento de frecuencia de uso y, sobre todo, del incremento de su frecuencia de inventario. [The topic is long and complex, it is far from being solved in strictly theoretical terms, and it additionally needs a sufficient number of specific studies which, on the other hand, can only be undertaken with a lot of additional work on large, well-built and annotated corpora. Even with these precautions, it seems clear that progress in the grammaticalization process of a construction should in most cases be accompanied by an increased frequency of use and, especially, by an increase in its inventory frequency.].

Our work will treat the frequency of *en vía/vías de* as a relevant piece of information, but only in some stages of its grammaticalization process and, above all, as one of its consequences.

It is necessary to make several clarifications about the frequency parameters which have been considered to properly analyze and reconstruct the use and evolution of *en vía/vías de*. CORDE is known to have an imbalance regarding the textual volume of each period.¹⁶ Graph 1 provides a linear representation corresponding to the volume of words contained in the corpora CORDE (950–1974), CREA (1975–2000) and CORPES (2001–2015), distributed until 2000 in twenty-five-year periods.

Graph 1 shows two representative curves with regard to the larger volume of words between the years 950 and 1974 (CORDE): (1) 1475–1649 (17.18%); and (2) 1825–1974 (17.09%), which contrast with the smaller volume of the periods comprised between 950 and 1224 (0.19%), 1225 and 1474 (5.30%), and 1650 and 1824 (4.69%). The most relevant increase concerning the number of words

16. This is what happens, for example, in what Octavio de Toledo (2007, 2008, 2016a) calls the *primer español moderno* [first modern Spanish] (from 1675 to 1825), with scarce representativeness if compared to other periods of Spanish. Octavio de Toledo (2016b: 63 and ff.) explains the reasons why disparity exists in CORDE as far as the volume of words and texts in the different periods of the history of Spanish is concerned.



Graph 1. Distribution of the number of words in the corpora CORDE (1200–1974), CREA (1975–2000) and CORPES (2001–2015)

takes place from 1975 and, especially in 2001, coinciding in both cases with the change of corpus, accounting for 55.55% of the total volume of words. Therefore, the most significant statistical data are those corresponding to weighted relative frequency (WRF), because this index collects the volume of words in each period;¹⁷ nevertheless, we provide absolute frequency (AF, total number of uses) and relative frequency (RF, percentage over the total uses) as well. The reasons for this decision are: (1) WRF gives us the real diachronic diffusion of *en vía/vías de*, thus preventing us from interpreting the conclusions of this research wrongly; and (2) WRF does not distort the data of the 21st century, which have been divided into three micro-periods of five years due to the 15-year timeframe covered by CORPES. According to Pons Bordería (2014: 1007), these periods would be “*microdiacronías*: pequeños períodos de tiempo de especial relevancia en la datación de un cambio lingüístico” [“*microdiachronies*: short time periods of special relevance when dating a linguistic change”] which are going to be significant for the evolution of *en vía/vías de*.¹⁸

17. Academic corpora do not automatically offer the weighting of data. We acted as follows to obtain the weighted relative frequency of *en vía/vías de*: (1) for each 25-year period, we calculated its weight dividing the number of words in that period by the total of words in the corpus; (2) for each 25-year period, we calculated the absolute weighted frequency dividing it by the weight; and (3) we calculated the weighted relative frequency dividing the weighted absolute frequency of that period by the sum of all weighted absolute frequencies.

18. Azofra Sierra and Enghels (2017) applied the analysis by *microdiachronies* to study the grammaticalization process of the deverbal epistemic marker *sabes* [you know]. For other applications with microdiachronies, see the references included in Pons Bordería (2014, 2016).

4. Diachronic diffusion of *en vía/vías de*

It was said in § 2 that the origin of the PL *en vías de* lies in the locative prepositional phrase (PP) *en vía de*. After discarding from the academic corpora those cases in which *en vía/vías de* is clearly a PP, we found 2,786 occurrences: 2,474 of *en vías de* and 312 of *en vía de*. Table 1 shows: in column A, the distribution by centuries and periods; in column B, the AF corresponding to *en vía de*; in column C, the AF of *en vías de*; and in column D, the AF, RF, and WRF of both expressions together (*en vía/vías de*), that is, without considering morphological variation (the reasons for morphological variation will be explained in § 5). Seeking to achieve a better visualization of Table 1, a decision was made to leave the boxes representing the value 0 blank.¹⁹

Table 1. AF of *en vía de* (B) and *en vías de* (C) and AF, RF, and WRF of *en vía/vías de* (D)

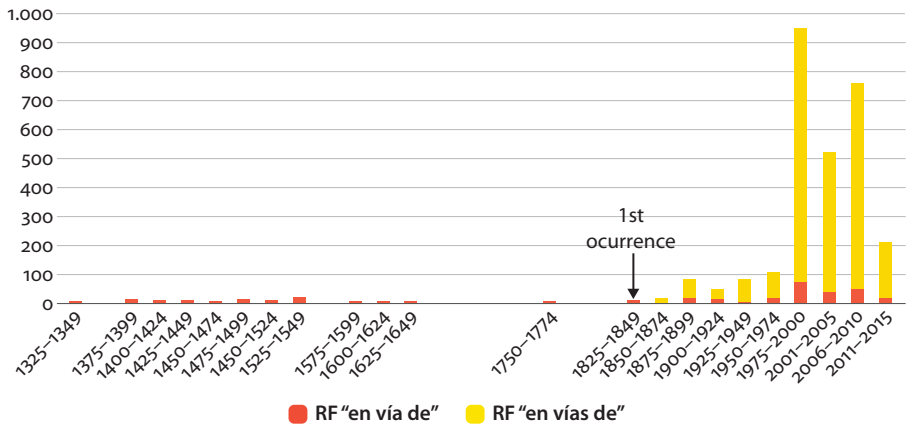
A		B	C	D		
Century	Period	<i>En vía de</i>	<i>En vías de</i>	<i>Total en vía/vías de</i>		
		AF	AF	AF	RF	WRF
14th	1325–1349	1		1	0.04%	0.86%
	1350–1374				0.00%	0.00%
	1375–1399	7		7	0.25%	4.59%
15th	1400–1424	4		4	0.14%	1.66%
	1425–1449	7		7	0.25%	2.96%
	1450–1474	2		2	0.07%	0.70%
	1475–1499	7		7	0.25%	1.06%
16th	1500–1524	5		5	0.18%	1.19%
	1525–1549	14		14	0.50%	2.19%
	1550–1574				0.00%	0.00%
	1575–1599	2		2	0.07%	0.20%
17th	1600–1624	2		2	0.07%	0.17%
	1625–1649	1		1	0.04%	0.19%
	1650–1674				0.00%	0.00%
	1675–1699				0.00%	0.00%

19. The verification of the data contained in the academic corpora with other corpora shows significant discrepancies because of the different creation criteria applied in each database. For example, CEGH documents 281 occurrences of *en vía/vías de* between the 14th and 20th centuries, as opposed to 1.307 occurrences for the same period in CORDE. CORDIAM, which contains documents from 1494 to 1905, records only one example of *en vía de* included in a journalistic text published in Uruguay in 1896.

Table 1. (continued)

A		B	C	D		
Century	Period	<i>En vía de</i>	<i>En vías de</i>	<i>Total en vía/vías de</i>		
		AF	AF	AF	RF	WRF
18th	1700–1724				0.00%	0.00%
	1725–1749				0.00%	0.00%
	1750–1774	1		1	0.04%	0.47%
	1775–1799				0.00%	0.00%
19th	1800–1824				0.00%	0.00%
	1825–1849	3	1	4	0.14%	1.10%
	1850–1874	2	10	12	0.43%	2.02%
	1875–1899	19	55	74	2.66%	6.53%
20th	1900–1924	16	24	40	1.44%	4.83%
	1925–1949	8	71	79	2.84%	7.62%
	1950–1974	21	81	102	3.66%	7.61%
	1975–2000	74	871	945	33.92%	14.72%
21st	2001–2005	44	473	517	18.56%	13.12%
	2006–2010	53	703	756	27.14%	15.05%
	2011–2015	19	185	204	7.32%	11.15%
TOTAL		312	2,474	2,786	100%	100%

Something stands out in the preliminary analysis of the data collected in Table 1: the coexistence of the singular and plural forms of the PL from 1825. Graph 2 shows the RF distribution for the form in the singular (*en vía de*) and that in the plural (*en vías de*) throughout the diachrony.



Graph 2. RF of *en vía de* and *en vías de*

CORDE documents the first occurrence of the plural form (*en vías de*) in 1849. It needs to be clarified in relation to this date that the academic corpora document three cases of *en vías de* prior to 1849: CDH dates (11) in 1489 and (12) in the period comprised between 1578 and 84; and finally, CORDE and CDH date (13) in 1542.

- (11) Acudid, pues, presurosos hacia el bien á cuya entrada os invitamos, pedid de conformidad con la recta razón y el derecho á ella ajustado, sed en el buen concepto que de vosotros tenemos y *en vías de* fácil acceso, y para vosotros de nuestra parte sea la amnistía completa y el perdón general y absoluto [You must head fast towards the good, ask for conformity with reason and law, since we have a good opinion of you and we grant you full amnesty and absolute pardon]. (CDH. Anónimo [1489]: Fragmento. M. Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada*. Granada, Lit. Paulino Ventura Traveset, 1910)
- (12) Y era porque el censor tenía tres hijas feísimas y peligrosamente metidas *en vías de* soltería forzosa. [The censor had three extremely ugly daughters and bound to remain forcibly single (forever)]. (CDH. San Juan de la Cruz [1578–84]: Fragmento. J. M.^a Pemán, *Mis almuerzos con gente importante*, Barcelona, Dopesa, 1970)
- (13) E si el prepucio no se pudiere boluer de tener vlceras dentro es muy buena para xeringar con ella, que muy presto las trahe *en vías de* sanacion. [And if the prepuce has ulcers, it will have to be syringed and it will be in the process of healing.]. (CORDE, CDH. Díaz de Isla, R. [1542]: *Tratado llamado Fruto de todos los autos contra el mal serpentino*. Madrid: BN R2480. M.^a T. Herrera y M.^a E. González de Fauve, Madison, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997)

Examples (11) and (12) must be dated in 1910 and 1970, respectively; i.e. in the dates of publication of the works, as they appear in CORDE; we thus discard 1489 and the period comprised between 1578 and 84.

The example from 1542 (13) requires further explanation because, in our view, it is an error in the process through which the text was inserted in CORDE. We collated fragment (13) with the manuscript of the work printed in Seville in 1539 (*Google Books*) and with the two manuscripts available at the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* (BNE): ms. R13034 de 1542 (Seville) (Image 2) and ms. R4034 de 1501–1600? (Image 3), and it becomes visible that the occurrence of (13) is in the singular, the same as in the other 8 occurrences of *en vía de* identified in Díaz de Isla's work.

ligadura si fuere menester . E si el
 prepucio no se pudiere boluer de tener
 vlceras dentro es muy buena para re-
 ringar con ella / que muy presto las tra-
 be en via de sanacion . Si las vlcera

Image 2. 1542, *Tratado llamado fructo de todos los auctos : contra el mal Serpentino. Venido dela ysla Española. Hecho y ordenado... Por el muy famoso maestro Ruy Diaz de Ysla...* (Ms. 13034. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)

E si el prepucio no se pudiere boluer de
 parte de tener vlceras dentro es muy bue-
 na para xeringar con ella: que muy pres-
 to las trae chiva de sanacion. Si las

Image 3. 1501–1600?, *Tratado llamado fruto de todos los Santos contra el mal de la Isla Española, hecho por... Rodrigo de Isla... para común y general provecho de los pacientes enfermos de la semejante enfermedad que vulgarmente es llamada buvas.* (Ms. R4034. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)

Similarly, the transcription of this fragment collected in the corpus TME/HSMS (14), based on Manuscript R/13034 (Image 1) shows *en via de* está in its singular form:

- (14) E si el / prepucio no se pudiere boluer de / tener vlceras dentro es muy buena para xe-ringar / con ella, que muy presto las tra-he / *en via de sanacion*.

(TME/HSMS. Ruy Díaz de Ysla [1542]: *Tractado llamado fructo de todos los auctos: contra el mal serpentino*. F. Gago Jover (ed.), *Textos Médicos Españoles, Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*, 2012)

Despite having discarded the presence of the form in plural in the 15th and 16th centuries, the date of the first documentation in CORDE must be accepted with a degree of caution and compared with other corpora and textual sources. CEGH records a case of *en vías de* in the 13th century (15); to our mind, it is an error because, although the original composition date is situated in the late 13th century, the edition used by CEGH is the one carried out by the printer Hans Giesser in 1503²⁰ and also available in HSMS:

- (15) ... escudo & perpunte & coberturas traya de sus se-ñales / a uandas menudas *en vías de oro & de azul* [... he brought a shield, a doublet and small coverings / stripes in the shape of gold(en) and blue lines].

(HSMS. Anónimo [1296? (1503)]: *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. F. Gago Jover (ed.), *Textos Cronísticos Españoles, Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*, 2013)

20. Even the original composition date is situated in the late 13th century.

The search in *Google Books* reveals some cases of the plural form (*en vías de*) prior to the occurrences of academic corpora. Thus, an example of *en vías de* appears in a text about ecclesiastical law of 1733 (16) which can be interpreted as a variation of the legal locution *por vía de fuerza* ('coercive procedure').²¹

- (16) Sobre la apelacion de los dos Conventos, y señalamiento de Juez à quarta instancia siguieron los Padres vencedores muchos, y dilatados rodeos *en vías de fuerza*, Monitorios, y otros embarazos, que han suspendido mas de catorce meses la determinación de esta causa,... [About the appeal of the two Convents and the assignation of trial by the Judge, the priests largely beat about the bush as a coercive procedure and seeking to suspend these legal proceedings more than 14 times].

(Google Books. [1733]: *Defensa canonico-juridica de los dos conventos de Recoletos Agustinos...*, Agustins Recol-lectes, Convento de Trinitarios Descalzos, Madrid, pp. 2–3)

Google Books also documents *en vías de* as a part of the legal nominal locution *vía/vías de hecho* [way/s of fact] in a press article published in 1845 in *El Paraguayo Independiente* (17).²²

- (17) ... entre este y el teniendo coronel Don José Joaquín Baltar comandante de las fuerzas fluviales de Corrientes hubo un conflicto, que pudiera degenerar *en vías de hecho* [... between the latter and Lieutenant Colonel Mr José Joaquín Baltar, commander of the fluvial forces of Corrientes, there was a conflict, which might degenerate into ways of fact].

(Google Books. [1845]: *El Paraguayo Independiente*, Asunción, sábado 28 de junio)

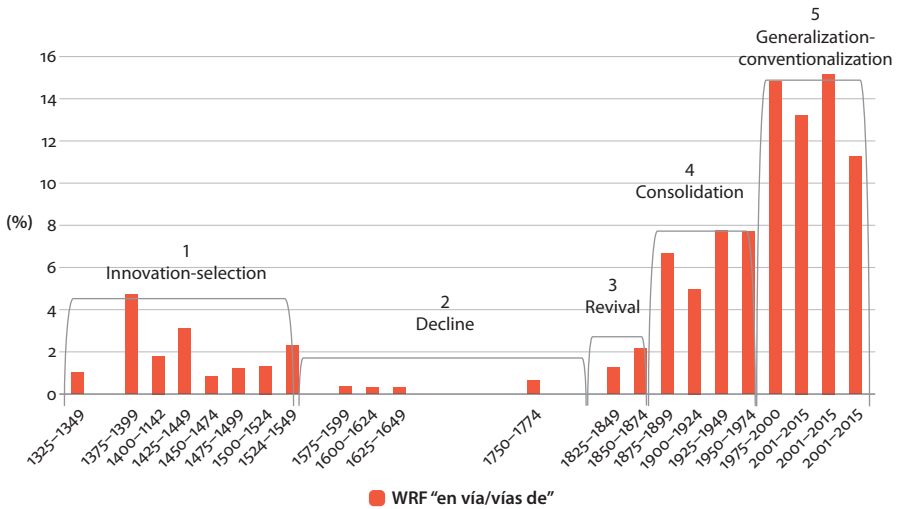
The preceding confusions and variations lead us not only to think about the relativity of dates but also to confirm that examples must not be regarded as absolute, but rather as a sample which permits to see what the tendency was like in the emergence of the pluralized form *en vías de*.

Paying attention to AF, RF and WRF data (Table 1) allows us to see that, from the last quarter of the 14th century (1375–1399), an increased use of *en vía de* takes place which lasts until 1549 (WRF: 15.21%). The period comprised between 1550 and 1824 (almost three centuries) witnesses a clear reduction with only 6 occurrences (WRF: 1.03%). A revival of the PL begins from 1825 and, from 1975, with the change of corpus (CREA), AFs, RFs and WRFs grow to a significant extent, its maximum diffusion being reached in the 21st century. All these data reveal that the PL *en vía/vías de* has had five key moments in its diachronic diffusion

21. The locution *por vía de fuerza* is documented in CORDE between 1514 and 1973 in the legal, historical and religious prose linked to ecclesiastical themes.

22. The locution *vía de hecho* is documented in CORDE from 1510.

(Graph 3): (1) *innovation-selection*; (2) *decline*; (3) *revival*; (4) *consolidation*, and (5) *generalization-conventionalization*.²³



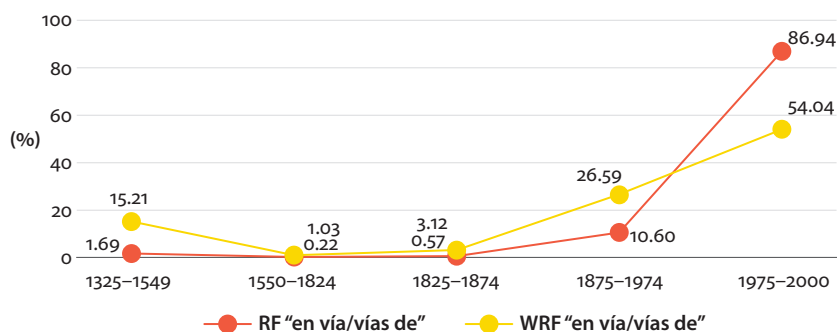
Graph 3. Stages of diachronic diffusion corresponding to the PL *en vía/vías de* (1325–2015) according to WRF

Table 2 compiles the AF, RF and WRF data of the PL *en vía/vías de* for each one of the five diachronic diffusion stages; and Graph 4 represents the diachronic diffusion lines of RF and WRF in the five stages.

Table 2. AF, RF, and WRF of *en vía/vías de* (1325–2015) in each diachronic diffusion stage

Stages of diachronic diffusion	Period	<i>En vía/vías de</i>		
		AF	RF	WRF
1. Innovation-selection	1325–1549	47	1.69%	15.21%
2. Decline	1550–1824	6	0.22%	1.03%
3. Revival	1825–1874	16	0.57%	3.12%
4. Consolidation	1875–1974	295	10.6%	26.59%
5. Generalization-conventionalization	1975–2015	2,422	86.94%	54.04%
TOTAL		2,786	100%	100%

23. The terminology of these five moments is motivated by Company Company and Flores Dávila (2017: 218–220).

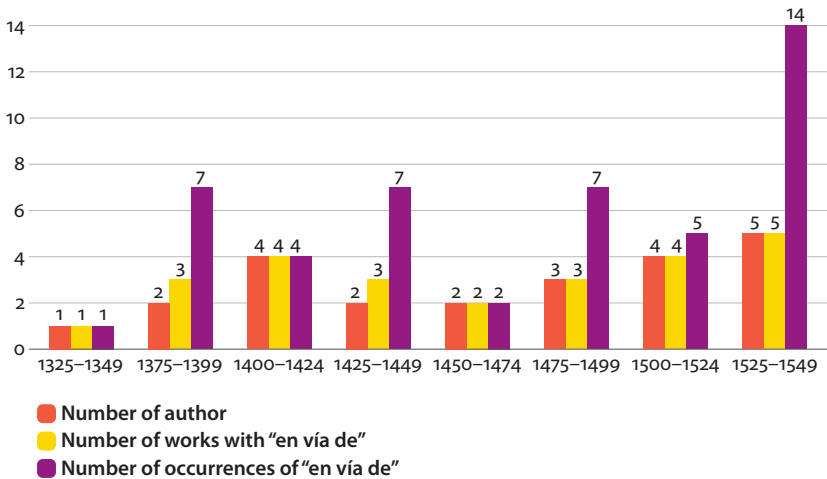


Graph 4. Diachronic diffusion lines of RF and WRF *en vía/vías de* (1325–2015)

The first moment – *innovation* and *selection* – comprises the period going from 1325 to 1549 with 47 occurrences. WRF (15.21%) is high compared to the next two stages (*decline* and *revival*); even the 7 occurrences of the micro-period 1375–1399 are more representative (WRF: 4.59%) than the 14 occurrences recorded between 1525 and 1549 (WRF: 2.19%) or almost as representative as the 40 occurrences during the period 1900–1924 (4.83%). Hence the need to contrast these data with those corresponding to textual diffusion; i.e. the number of texts that include the expression *en vía de*, which in turn reminds us that a large proportion of the examples recorded in some micro-periods appear in only one or two works of the same author. Graph 5 tells us the number of authors who include *en vía de* in their works (AF: 21),²⁴ the number of works where it appears (AF: 22) and the number of occurrences (AF: 47), distributed along the eight 25-year micro-periods of the *innovation* and *selection* stage.

The first outstanding micro-period is the one comprised between 1375 and 1399 with 7 occurrences, 6 of which are concentrated in two works written by Juan Fernández de Heredia: 3 in *Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco* and 1 in *Gran Crónica de España*. The same happens from 1425 to 1449: 7 occurrences correspond to two works by Enrique de Villena, 1 in *Epístola a Suero de Quiñones* and 4 en la *Traducción y Glosas de la Eneida*. Something similar becomes visible in the last micro-period (1525–1549): 14 occurrences are found in *Tratado llamado Fruto de todos los autos contra el mal serpentino* by Ruy Díaz de Isla. Other significant data from this first stage include: 28 occurrences which are translations and 17 which appear in medical treatises (8 which are translations) (Table 3).

24. Enrique de Villena and Fray Antonio de Guevara wrote their works during two micro-periods: from 1400 to 1424 and between 1425 and 1449, and from 1500 to 1524 and between 1525 and 1549, respectively.



Graph 5. Number of authors, works and occurrences of *en vía de* in the *innovation-selection* stage (1325–1549)

The data collected in Graph 5 and Table 2 provide evidence that we can find ourselves before “preferencias individuales” [“individual preferences”] (Octavio de Toledo 2016b: 67, 73) of each author, specific uses of translation or rewritings or even Catalan-Aragonese influences, as will be seen below in § 5 and § 6.

The first documented examples of *en vía de* may be considered *bridging contexts* (Heine 2002: 84–85; Evans & Wilkins 2000: 550; Company 2016a: 523–524; 2016b: 390–393) along the continuum of its grammaticalization chain (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991a: 46; Heine 2002: 84–85), i.e. contexts where it seems complex to distinguish the locative semantic interpretation from the original form (observe the lexical variation between “*en vía de*” and “*en camino de*” in (18) and (19)), or to interpret it with abstract semantic values of the innovative form (20, 21, 22). In these first occurrences it appears with the verbs *ser* [*to be*], *poner* [*to put*] and *ordenar* [*to organize*]. *Poner* and *ordenar* are semantically linked. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* specifies that, when *poner* appears next to the preposition *en* and with some nouns, “significa exercer la acción de los verbos à que los nombres corresponden. como Poner en duda, vale Dudar, Poner en disputa, Disputar.” [“means

Table 3. Textual distribution of *en vías de* (1325–1549)

	Medical treatises	Others	Total
Translations	8	20	28
Other than translations	9	10	19
Total	17	30	47

to exercise the action of the verbs to which the nouns correspond, as in *Poner en duda* = Doubt or *Poner en disputa* = Dispute”. As for the verb *ordenar*, the first meaning in *Autoridades* is: “Poner en orden, concierto y disposición alguna cosa, physica o moralmente” [“To put something in order, harmony and arrangement, physically or morally”]. At the same time, it is worth highlighting that *poner en* must be followed by a concrete or metaphorical locative argumental object (Bosque 1989: 147).

- (18) Et quando el sentio la jntencion de los gallicos, se fue a ellos & los puso en uia de yr contra la Ytalia. [And when he saw the Gallics’ intentions, he went towards them and placed them on the way to go against Italy.].

(CORDE. Fernández de Heredia [1379–1384]:

Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco, III.

J. M. Cacho Blecua, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2002)

- (19) Mas Anthonio, [...] lo puso *en camino de yr* con el a Egipto... [...] placed him on the way (in a position to) to travel to Egypt with him...].

(CORDE. Fernández de Heredia, J. [1379–1384]:

Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco,

I. J. M. Cacho Blecua, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2002)

- (20) ... & haun / aflauido por grant fambre fue puesto / quasi *en uia de deses-peraçion*. & echo / se sobre la tierra & adurmio se alli. [Still hunger-stricken, almost about to disappear, he lay down on the ground and fell asleep.].

(CORDE. Fernández de Heredia, J. [1385]:

Gran crónica de España, I. Ms. 10133 BNM, Regina af

Geijerstam, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, 1995)

- (21) ... no auia spacio de pacificar la ciudat ni de ponerla en orden, mas ordenando las cosas *en uia de saluacion* no pudo uenjr en perfeccion por el grant ergull que Alquiabiado auia, & queriase hondrar. [The city could not be pacified and order could not be imposed either; however, placing things on the way to salvation, he was unable to reach perfection because Alquiabiado was so proud.].

(CORDE. Fernández de Heredia, J. [1379–1384]:

Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco, II,

J. M. Cacho Blecua, Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza, 2002)

- (22) Dezís aver perdido dos hermanos e otros en vuestra carta nombrada paritentes. [...] Bien sabéis o avéis piadosa presumpción, pues murieron en su seso e reçi-bieron los christianales sacramentos, sean *en vía de saluación*. [He says in his letter that he has lost two brothers and other relatives [...] they were conscious when they died and received the Christian sacraments.].

(CORDE. Villena, Enrique de [1424]: *Tratado de consolación*.

P. M. Cátedra, Turner, Madrid, 1994)

It is logically during this stage that the highest number of PL variations will arise (a more in-depth explanation is offered in § 5). Furthermore, these first works show *en vía de* coexisting with *por vía de*, which suggests: variations of the PL, different PLs or translation errors. For example, in his translation of *Guía de los Perplejos de Maimónides*, Pedro de Toledo uses the PL *en vía de* (23) only once, as opposed to the 71 examples of *por vía de*, the 11 occurrences of *por vía de* + article and the 6 cases of *por la vía de* + article.

- (23) ... & la prueua / clara de seer formante las sus maneras / en sise mesmos. quiero dezir la manera delos / çielos non seer *en vía de* rrenunçeos de / varones es lo que diz njn ay dezir njn palabras /non son oydas sus bozes.

(CORDE. Pedro de Toledo [1419–1432]: *Guía de los Perplejos de Maimónides*. Moshé Lazar, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, 1995)

The second moment in the diachronic diffusion of *en vía de* – that of *decline* (1550–1824) – lasted for nearly three centuries. This stage has the least diffusion with little or no presence of *en vía de*: 6 occurrences which account for 1.03% of WRF and 0.22% of RF. This decline stage coincides with the curves showing the highest and lowest volume of words in CORDE (Graph 1). An example from the late 16th century was selected (24).

- (24) Con la qual concordança será rendido el contrario, que es la causa de la alteración y todo lo que ubiere *en vía de* digestión será llegado al fin de ella... [Everything that is being digested will reach its destination].

(CORDE. Santiago, D. de [1598]: *Arte separatoria y modo de apartar todos los licores que se sacan por vía de destilación...*

A. Alonso González, CILUS, Salamanca, 1999)

This stage has four occurrences of *en vía de* to which an instrumental meaning could be assigned ('mode, manner, means'), of PL *por vía de* (25). This feature will be frequent in legal texts until the present day.²⁵ It is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether we are dealing with two different PLs (*en vía de*, *por vía de*) or with a single one that has a variation (*en/por vía de*); the confusion is a process inherent to grammaticalization and generated by the *family similarity* (Lakoff 1987) provided by the nominal nucleus.

25. *Por vía de* arose within the legal tradition and remains alive today.

- (25) ... me llevaron del aposento en que moraba en la casa de mi Padre el Capitán D. Joseph Antonio de Memije y Quirós, como seis mill pesos más que menos, así míos propios como de diferentes obras pías que se hallaban en mí cargo, como Colector y apoderado General, que á la sazón, era de este Venerable Deán y Cavildo de esta Santa Iglesia, la que goza *en vía de* capellanías y aniversarios de diferentes difuntos bienhechores [...] me llevarían y destruyeron otros dos mill pesos, todo lo cual juro, in verbo sacerdotis, sin tener que añadir ni quitar cosa alguna á la realidad del hecho. [...] they took from the chamber where I lived [...] six thousand pesos, mine and from different pious works I was entrusted with [...] of this Holy Church, that it receives through chaplaincy and the anniversaries of various deceased persons]. (CORDE. Anónimo [1764]:

Declaraciones de los damnificados en el saqueo de Manila.

Eduardo Navarro, Imprenta del Asilo de Huérfanos, Madrid, 1908)

After a long period during which the PL was almost absent, a third stage of *survival* starts in 1825 that will continue until 1874. This stage serves to document the form in the plural of the PL, which has coexisted with the singular form until the present day (Graph 2). The 16 occurrences of *en vía/vías de* recorded in this stage account for 3.12% of WRF and 0.57% of RF. One of the first documented examples of *en vía de* in this period appears in a fragment that brings back the medical theme pattern (26) initiated in the 15th century with the translation of the treatises on surgery.

- (26) Cuando llegó al facultativo de Riccia, en busca del cual había salido el hijo del Silencioso, la enferma se encontraba libre de calentura, y fue declarada *en vía de* convalecencia [When he arrived at the practice of the doctor in Riccia, whom the son of the Silent had gone to fetch, the patient had no temperature, and she was declared to be on the way to convalescence]. (CORDE. Gómez

de Avellaneda, G. [1844]: *Espatolino [Novelas y leyendas]*, Cuba.

J. M.^a Castro y Calvo, Ediciones Atlas, Madrid, 1981)

The following stage in the diachronic diffusion of *en vía/vías de* is that of *consolidation*, which goes from 1875 to 1974. The use of the PL grows very significantly (WRF: 26.59%): 23.5 points above the previous stage. This increase of WRF matches that experienced by AF (295 occurrences) and RF (10.6%). An important aspect worthy of mention about this stage is that the PL gradually imposes lexical-semantic restrictions upon the terms that it subordinates (Bosque 2001) and the noun *desarrollo* [*development*] begins to appear as a subordinate term of the PL (*en vía/vías de desarrollo*). Until halfway through the 19th century, the collocation will also appear in scientific texts about nutrition, diets and food hygiene (27), zoology (28), botany (29), and medicine (30);²⁶ from the 20th century, it will be incorporated into texts

26. The search in *Google Books* confirmed that *en vía de desarrollo* is documented in texts about medicine and botany.

about pedagogy and education (32), biology (32), military science, communication, politics and government, energy, mining and industry, economics, law, justice, technology, culture, current affairs and, above all, health.

- (27) Las granulaciones son células *en vía de desarrollo*; cilindraria, ó sustancia medular, es pues sólo lo que forman los nervios en los estados fisiológicos y patológicos que suelen ser reflejos [Granulations are cells *under development*; *cilindraria*, or medullary substance is thus only what the nerves form in the physiological and pathological states which tend to be reflex].

(CORDE. Onduña Rodríguez, T. [1881]: *Manual de higiene privada*. Madrid: Imprenta de Alejandro Gómez)²⁷

- (28) ... pero al ovario y al óvulo *en vías de desarrollo*, ó sea al fruto y á la semilla *en vías de desarrollo*, pues son nociones en botánica que el fruto es el ovario fecundado y maduro, y que la semilla es el óvulo completamente desarrollado [... but to the ovary and the ovule *which is developing*, that is, to the fruit and to the seed *on its way to develop*, since according to the botany notions, the fruit is the fertilized and mature ovary, and the seed is the completely developed ovule].

(CORDE. Ascárate & Fernández, C. [1893]: *Insectos y criptógamas que invades los cultivos de España*. Madrid: Tipolitografía de L. Péant e hijos)

- (29) ... los líquenes son estados completamente desarrollados de vegetales, [...] ciertos hongos se introducen entre ellas y extienden su micelio en un talo *en vía de desarrollo* [... lichens are completely developed states of plants, ... certain fungi come in between them and extend their mycelium in a thallus *still to be developed*].

(CORDE. Lázaro e Ibiza, B. [1896]: *Compendio de la flora española. Estudio especial de las plantas criptógamas y fanerógamas indígenas...* Madrid: Hernando)

- (30) ... en los órganos vegetales *en vías de crecimiento y desarrollo*, es donde existe mayor cantidad de fermento oxidante [... it is the plant organs *which are still growing and developing* that the largest amount of oxidizing ferment exist].

(CORDE. Gómez Pamo, J. R. [1906]: *Discurso de contestación al Sr. D. José Rodríguez Carracido en su recepción*. Real Academia de Medicina, Madrid, 1996)

27. CEGH contains an example of *en vía de desarrollo* dated in 1869 ("El maestro tiene que habérselas con un cerebro en vías de desarrollo [The teacher has to grapple with a brain that is still developing]," in A. Bain: *La ciencia de la educación*). The source from which CEGH extracts this occurrence is the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (BVMC). The date documented by CEGH is wrong, since the date of the BVMC is the one appearing in the original publication: Valencia, Impr. [Printer's] De Carlos Verdejo, 1882.

- (31) Pero puesto que se trata especialmente de medir una inteligencia *en vía de desarrollo*, [...] preguntémonos en qué esta inteligencia puede diferir de la de un adulto. [...] Y precisamente porque está *en vías de desarrollo*, posee el niño un cierto número de cualidades interesantes [However, since this essentially has to do with measuring an intelligence *still to be developed*, [...] let us ask ourselves if this intelligence can differ from that of a grown-up. [...] And precisely because it is *still developing*, the child has a certain number of interesting qualities].
(CORDE. González Llana, F. [1913]:

Traducción de Ideas modernas acerca de los niños, de Alfred Binet.

Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Alicante, 2002)

- (32) ... semilla de maíz de la cual procede la planta que está *en vías de desarrollo* [... a corn seed from which the plant *still to be developed* stems].

(CORDE. Fernández Galiano, E. [1929]:

Los fundamentos de la biología. Barcelona: Labor, 1939)

From the mid-20th century, more or less in 1968, *en vías de* will be integrated into the nominal syntagmatic unit *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo* [developing country/ies] (33, 34); which leads us into the last stage in the diachronic diffusion of the PL: *generalization and conventionalization* (1975–2015).

- (33) No es fácil, de todos modos, concretar los daños y beneficios y sólo el tiempo dirá cuál ha sido el papel jugado por la televisión en esta lucha por un cine nacional en algunos de estos *países en vías de desarrollo* [In any case, it is not easy to specify the damages and benefits and only time will tell what the role played by television was in this fight for a national cinema in some of these *developing countries*].
(CORDE. Almendros, N. [1947-a.1975]:

Cinemanía. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1992)

- (34) La experiencia de lo que ha sucedido en los *países en vía de desarrollo* tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial ha comprobado que tal desarrollo no se consigue abriendo un país las fronteras y dejándose invadir por toda clase de agentes de la febril civilización occidental... [The experience of what has happened in *developing countries* after World War II has provided evidence that such a development is not achieved by a country opening its borders and letting itself be invaded by all sorts of agents of the feverish western civilization...].

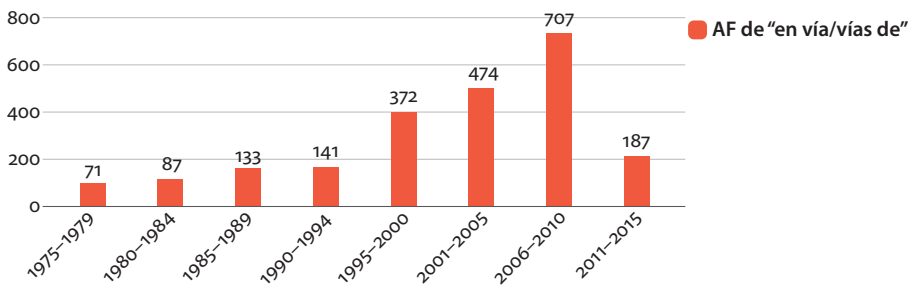
(CORDE. [1953–1974]: Díez del Corral, L. *El rapto de Europa, Una interpretación histórica de nuestro tiempo.*

Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974)

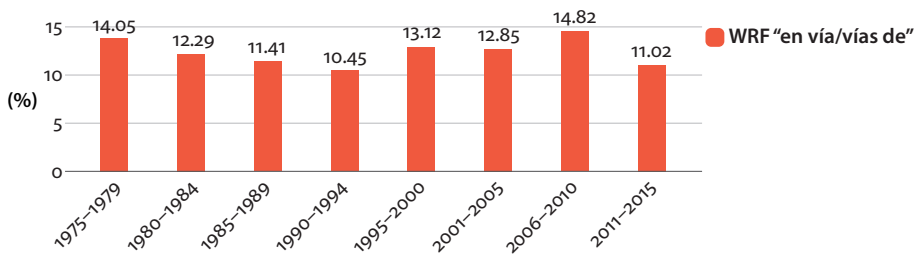
The use of *en vía/vías de* during this stage amounts to 2,422 occurrences which represent 54.04% of WRF and 86.94% of RF. The steep increase in all three types of frequency reflects the generalization of *en vía/vías de*, which starts in 1975 with

a sudden increase in WRF (14.72%), RF (33.92%) and AF (946), and continues into the 21st century with some irregularities that are more visible in the last micro-period (2001–2015), during which frequencies decrease to a large extent (WRF: 11.15%, RF: 7.32 and AF: 204). That is why it seems appropriate to present a detailed evolution of the PL between 1975 and 2015 distributed in five-year micro-periods, which will allow us to identify the usage trend in recent years.

If we only pay attention to the AF of *en vía/vías de* (Graph 6), it becomes evident that the PL grew steadily between 1975 and 2010 – experiencing a dramatic decrease from that year onwards. However, as already highlighted in § 3, AF data lead to erroneous interpretations and fail to show the real diffusion. Analyzing the PL from WRF parameters (Graph 7) enables us to see that frequency oscillations took place from 1975 to 2015. A few years will have to elapse before we can verify whether the downward trend of the period 2011–2015 continues or not.



Graph 6. AF of *en vía/vías de* by five-year periods (1975–2015)



Graph 7. WRF of *en vía/vías de* by five-year periods (1975–2015)

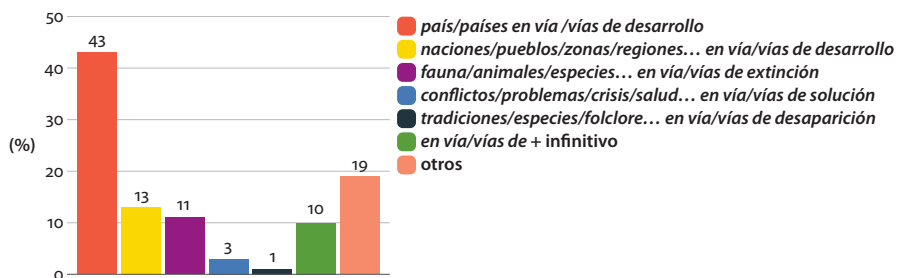
The process of *generalization* of *en vía/vías de* is accompanied by a process of *conventionalization*, favored by its repeated – and almost exclusive – appearance in specific contexts (*ritualization* of Haiman [1994]). Table 4 provides the most recurrent contexts in which the PL appears between 2001 and 2015.

Table 4. Contexts of *en vía/vías de* (2001–2015)

Recurrent contexts of <i>en vía/vías de</i> (2001–2015)		AF	Percentage
<i>...en vía/vías de desarrollo</i>	<i>País/países en vía/vías de desarrollo</i>	1,052	1,365 56%
	<i>Naciones/pueblos/zonas/regiones... en vía/vías de desarrollo</i>	313	
<i>Fauna/animales/especies... en vía/vías de extinción</i>		259	11%
<i>En vía/vías de + infinitive</i>		251	10%
<i>Conflictos/problemas/crisis/salud... en vía/vías de solución</i>		62	3%
<i>Tradiciones/especies/folclore... en vía/vías de desaparición</i>		26	1%
Others		459	19%
TOTAL		2,422	100%

As can be seen in the preceding table, the PL is documented in 2,422 occurrences from 2001 to 2015. *En vía/vías de* selects as subordinate terms both nouns of an abstract nature which denote a process (*desarrollo* [development], *extinción* [extinction], *solución* [solution], *desaparición* [disappearance]) and infinitives which also imply a process (*alcanzar* [to reach], *cambiar* [to change], *consolidar* [to consolidate], *construir* [to build], *convertir* [to convert], *cumplir* [to comply], *desaparecer* [to disappear], *desarrollar* [to develop], *emerger* [to emerge], *fracasar* [to fail], *incorporar* [to incorporate], *incrementar* [to increase], *lograr* [to achieve], *mejorar* [to improve], *publicar* [to publish], *resolver* [to solve], *solucionar* [to settle/resolve], *sucumbir* [to succumb], *superar* [to overcome]). The prototypically selected noun is *desarrollo* [development] (AF: 1,365), which represents 56% of the total percentage of terms subordinated by the PL (see Graph 8 as well). *En vía/vías de desarrollo* can consequently be seen as a preferential collocation (combination) for its frequency, though not as an exclusive one (Bosque 2001: 21); the *Diccionario combinatorio del español contemporáneo* (Bosque 2004: s.v. *desarrollo*) and the *Diccionario Salamanca de la lengua española* (Gutiérrez Cuadrado 1996: s.v. *vía*) record this combination. These data provide evidence that a correlation exists between the increased frequency of the PL and its consolidation in the collocation *en vía/vías de desarrollo*.²⁸

28. Koike (2001, 2005) would label the collocations in which one of their elements is a locution as *complex collocations*.



Graph 8. Contexts of *en vía/vías de* from 1975 to 2015²⁹

Nevertheless, the most significant piece of information shown in Table 4 and Graph 8 is the high frequency (AF: 1,052) of the combination *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo* (43%) (35).³⁰ This combinatory *preference*³¹ can be explained by the need to express a hard-to-conceptualize reality, i.e. the social, political, and especially economic reality that some countries are experiencing. It was because of external factors that *en vías de desarrollo* prevailed and replaced terms such as *países subdesarrollados* [underdeveloped countries] or *países del Tercer Mundo* [Third World countries] due to the negative connotations that their use entails. In recent years, the convenience of using *países en vías de desarrollo* or not is an open debate in international organizations (United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund) because of the difficulty involved in carrying out a classification which can group all countries together, for its expressive wear and tear, and also due to the negative connotations that it is acquiring. In this respect, one can often read and hear *países emergentes* [emergent countries] (36) or *países menos adelantados* [less advanced countries] both in the press and in the reports published by the international economic organizations (37).³² The following data supplied by CEWD can support this information: 3,379 occurrences of *país(es) emergente(s)*, 4,426 of

29. [developing country/ies // developing nations/peoples/areas (zones)/regions... // fauna/ animals/ species... in danger of extinction // conflicts/problems/crisis/health... in the process of being solved // traditions/species/folklore... in danger of extinction // en vía/vías de + infinitive // others].

30. We will not deal here with the different conceptions between *nominal locution* or *nominal syntagmatic compound* to which *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo* could be assigned. Please consult the extensive bibliography about this aspect, amongst which we can cite: García-Page (2008), Ruiz Gurillo (2001) and Corpas (1997).

31. Term used by Bosque (2001: 21).

32. In 2016, United Nations published the outcome of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development under the title of 2016 Report about less advanced countries. (The underlining is ours).

país(es) en vía(s) de desarrollo and 218 of *países menos adelantados*; and in CORPES: 449 occurrences of *países emergentes* (the normalized frequency is higher between 2011 and 2015). Likewise, the *Diccionario del español jurídico* (RAE & CGPJ 2016: s.v. *país* [country]): *país en vías de desarrollo* [developing country], *país emergente* [emergent country], *país desarrollado* [developed country], *país subdesarrollado* [underdeveloped country] and *país insolvente* [insolvent country].

- (35) Se calcula que cada año se presentan en el mundo más de 11 millones de casos nuevos de cáncer, de los cuales cerca del 80% se presentan en *países en vía de desarrollo* [It is estimated that over 11 million new cases of cancer are diagnosed/appear around the world every year, 80% of which are diagnosed/appear in *developing countries*]. (CORPES. Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social, Instituto Nacional de Cancerología [2002]: *Plan decenal para el control del cáncer en Colombia 2012–2021*. Bogotá: Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social)

- (36) Estos [los expertos] señalan por su parte que el crecimiento de Brasil se ha moderado y muchas voces alertan del contagio de la crisis en los *países emergentes* [In turn, they [the experts] point out that Brazil's growth has become more moderate and many voices alert about the contagion of the crisis in *emergent countries*]. (CORPES. Cebrián, J. L. [2012]:

“Las recetas que se están aplicando en Europa llevarán a una recesión brutal”. *El País*. Madrid: elpais.com, 2012-11-18)

- (37) Se alienta a todos los países desarrollados a que fortalezcan su compromiso con las metas y los objetivos del Programa de Acción, en particular sus estimaciones de gastos, y a que hagan todo lo posible por movilizar los recursos financieros necesarios para su ejecución; al hacerlo, deben asignar prioridad a las necesidades de los *países menos adelantados* [All developed countries are encouraged to strengthen their commitment to the goals and objectives of the Action Program, its expense estimates in particular, and to do their best to mobilize the financial resources needed for their implementation; when doing so, they must prioritize the needs of *less advanced countries*].

(CE/WD. “Movilización de recursos”, *Conferencia Internacional sobre Población y Desarrollo*, UNFPA. Perú. <http://www.unfpa.org>)

The use of *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo* activates in the speaker's mind a socio-economic framework which “conlleva una serie de asociaciones relativamente complejas, difíciles de definir en términos muy precisos, pero que suelen alimentar la interpretación, o sea, que contribuyen al significado” [“entails a series of relatively complex associations, hard to define in very accurate terms, but which usually feed the interpretation, that is to say, which contribute to the meaning”] (Delbecque 2008: 32) and which result in: an increased frequency of use, the

fixation of the expression and, in this case, its consideration as an expression which has become almost established as an expressive routine (Elvira 2009: 85). Both *en vía/vías de desarrollo* and *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo* illustrate what Diessel (2007: 124) calls *frequency effects* – based on psychological mechanisms. The case at hand would be a typical example of “the strengthening of linguistic expectation,” i.e. “since linguistic expressions are arranged in recurrent orders, the language user develops expectations as to which linguistic expressions may occur after a particular word or a particular category, which influences the comprehension and production of linguistic units and can give rise to diachronic change” (Diessel 2007: 124). The utilization of the PL *en vía/vías de* generates a number of expectations amongst speakers, either in the terms that it subordinates (*desarrollo*) or in the terms that it relates (*países* and *desarrollo*).³³

The data offered by other corpora about the terms that *en vía/vías* subordinates and relates constitute a reflection of the aforementioned preference for combining with *desarrollo* and *país/países*. CEGH records only one example of *en vía/vías de desarrollo* in the 19th century and 177 in the 20th century, 136 of which are *país/países en vía/vías de desarrollo*. CEMC collects 18 cases of *en vía/vías de*; it subordinates *desarrollo* in 11, 9 of them being *países en vías de desarrollo*.

5. Morphological, syntactic and lexical-diatopical variation of *en vías de*

The degree of variation or fixation in locutions is a criterion which involves certain methodological difficulties; proof of this can be found in the fact that it stands out as one of the most debated issues in the grammaticalization processes of phraseological units in general and, particularly of PLs (Cifuentes Honrubia 2003; Codita 2016a; Corpas 1997; Montoro del Arco 2006; Pavón Lucero 1999; Ruiz Gurillo 2001).

The synchronic works of Cifuentes Honrubia (2003: 115–141) and Montoro del Arco (2006: 190–197), amongst others, are the starting point for some of the research works which analyze PL variation from a diachronic perspective (Codita 2016a: 68; García Valle 2016: 206–221; Porcel Bueno 2016: 230–231; Ricós Vidal 2016: 240). The same general conclusion is reached in both perspectives (synchronic and diachronic): a strong phraseological variation component exists, since

33. It is curious to check that some of the dictionaries most often used by speakers do not exemplify the use of the PL with *desarrollo*, but with *extinción* or *solución*: “Está en vías de solución” [It is in the process of being solved] (RAE & ASALE 2014), “El asunto está en vías de solución” [The affair is in the process of being solved] (Martínez de Sousa 2001), “El conflicto está en vías de solución” [The conflict is in the process of being solved] (Seco 1998), “El incendio está en vías de extinción” [The fire is about to be extinguished] (Gutiérrez Cuadrado 1996).

the fixation is a gradual and dynamic process which has to be analyzed within the *continuum* inherent to grammaticalization, which leads to question the application of this criterion for certain stages of Spanish in which variation is consubstantial (Codita 2016b: 68–70, 151–153; García Valle 2016; Quilis Merín 2016). Despite variation being inherent to a large number of PLs, it is well known that fixed and grammaticalized PLs already existed in the Middle Ages (*en lugar de* [instead of], *por amor de...* [for... 's sake]) which coexisted with others that were undergoing their grammaticalization process (*al pie de* [at the foot of], *a merced de* [at the mercy of]...), as documented in some recent research works dedicated to the process through which these locutions are formed (García Valle 2016).

Work with corpora reveals that the PL *en vías de* has had three types of variations – morphological; syntactic; and lexical-diatopical – although the latter entails changes in its conceptualization, as will be seen below. In order to solve this problem, even if it is in part, we resort with some caution to the prepositional functioning tests proposed by Cifuentes Honrubia (2003: 1115–135) for the *preposition + nominal nucleus + preposition* scheme. These tests make it possible to determine the degree of fixation and internal cohesion achieved by the locution *en vías de*.³⁴

Morphological variation materializes in the pluralization of the nucleus (*vías*), documented in synchronic and diachronic corpora and recorded in lexicographical and academic works since the mid-20th century, the time from which the use in the singular (*en vía de*) is sanctioned and the plural form (*en vías de*) is prescribed for the PL. The specification about the declension of the noun (*vías*) appears in *DPD* (RAE & ASALE 2005): “no debe usarse en singular: *en vía de*” [“it must not be used in the singular: *en vía de*”]; the dictionary of Martínez de Sousa (2001) includes *en vía de* in the macrostructure, though highlighting that it is a “locución propositiva cuya grafía correcta es *en vías de*, ‘en curso, en trámite o en camino” [“propositive locution the correct rendering of which is *en vías de*, ‘en curso [in course], en trámite [under way] or en camino [on its way]”]; the “listado de esquemas complementales de locución prepositiva o asociables a ellos” [“list of

34. In this respect, it deserves to be remembered, as Cifuentes Honrubia (2003: 115–116, 122–123) does, that the twenty-two criteria established are neither necessary nor sufficient for the elements included in the scheme to be regarded as a prepositive locution, but as an index of prepositional functioning or methodological strategy (Santos Río 2001: 859 and ff.). This statement makes logical sense, since grammaticalization is a gradual property, a continuum where no clear-cut dividing lines exist (Ueda 1990: 13); furthermore, the criteria are suggested from a synchronic perspective. Cifuentes Honrubia (2003: 185) specifies that his proposal for PL recognition tests brings together 22 proposals made by other researchers and adds some tests and clarifications of his own. Montoro del Arco (2006: 179–186) provides criteria for PL identification which collect and/or modify the criteria developed by Cifuentes (2003), Koike (1997), Ueda (1990) and Santos Río (2003).

complement propositive location schemes or those which can be associated with them”] prepared by Santos Río (2003) incorporates both the singular and the plural form, even though he refers us back to the latter. Cifuentes Honrubia (2003: 126) points out that, if the PL nucleus is nominal, the usual thing for the PL is to appear in the singular; some cases have been grammaticalized in plural, though: *de espaldas a* [with one’s backs to]. To our knowledge, the reason for criticism with regard to the form in the singular (*en vía de*) has nothing to do with phonological, morphological or syntactic grounds.

NGDL (RAE & ASALE 2009: 173) verifies that “muy numerosas las locuciones preposicionales, adverbiales y adjetivas que incluyen un sustantivo plural” [“a very large number of adverbial and adjectival prepositional locutions include a plural noun”] (2009: 173). It might be conjectured that we find ourselves before the presence of a *estilístico*, *enfático* or *no informativo* [stylistic, emphatic or non-informative] plural (RAE & ASALE 2009: 173), since many stylistic plurals are confined to specific syntactic contexts, e.g. locutions (*tomar las aguas* [to take the waters], *hacer ascos* [to turn one’s nose up to]). It could also be considered that we are dealing with a noun which might be linked in one or two of its meanings to *nombres de objetos dobles* [double object nouns] (RAE & ASALE 2009: 177), or expressed differently, “sustantivos que designan cosas que se presentan duplicadas o constituidas por dos partes iguales, casi siempre formando un solo objeto múltiple” [“nouns designating things which appear duplicated or constituted by two equal parts, nearly always forming a single multiple object.”]. Prototypical examples include: *gafas* [glasses], *lentes* [lenses], *pinzas* [tongs/pliers] or *riendas* [reins], because, as recorded in the specialized and academic dictionaries of the second half of the 19th century (Rodríguez Ortiz 1996: 259–261, 307–310), *vía* refers both to the iron rails on which the steam machine which drives the carriages at great speed is permanently placed and to the physical sliding surface comprised between those two iron rails. One of the meanings included by DRAE (RAE 1884) for *vía* is: “Carril. últ. acep.” (“En las vías férreas, barras de hierro que, en *dos líneas paralelas*,³⁵ determinan y facilitan el curso y movimiento de las locomotoras y carruajes que sobre ellas ruedan”).³⁶ [“Carril [lane, rail]. last meaning” (“In railways, iron bars which, in *two parallel lines*, determine and facilitate the course and movement of the locomotives and carriages that move on them.”)].

35. Italics is ours.

36. The argument *nombres de objetivos dobles* [double object nouns] might be considered for the PLs: *en brazos de* [in the arms of] and *a/en manos de* [in(to) the hands of] or *en alas de* [on the wings of]. The same could be said for *a espaldas de* [with one’s backs to], since the back divides the rear part of the human body into two symmetrical parts/halves. But this argument cannot be extrapolated to other PLs (*a resultados de* [as a result of], *a instancia/instancias de* [at the request of]).

In other Romance languages³⁷ like French (*en voie de*) or Italian (*in via di*), the PL is coded in singular; however, both forms (*em vias de* and *em via de*) coexisted in Portuguese from the 19th century, even though the plural form is more common in the 20th century and the form in singular prevails in the last years of the 21st century, according to the data supplied by Corpus do Português.³⁸

In the corpora, the morphematic variation of the nominal nucleus has been common from the 19th century to the present day. The variation may be intratextual (38) or intertextual, the latter in different works of the same author (39, 40).³⁹

- (38) a. Empezaban ya en el Perú a calentar las cosas políticas y estábamos *en vias de* independizarnos [Political issues were already starting to become heated in Peru and we were *on the way* to become independent].
(CORDE. Palma, Ricardo [1889]: *Tradiciones peruanas, séptima serie*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1969)
- b. Decididamente, los barberos en nuestro siglo del vapor y la luz eléctrica están *en vía de* rehabilitación [Definitely, barbers in our century of steam and electric light are *on their way to be* rehabilitated].
(CORDE. Palma, Ricardo [1889]: *Tradiciones peruanas, séptima serie*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1969)
- (39) a. Para los parados o los que están *en vía de* serlo, esa política que en los últimos años ha ido empeorando a paso de gigante, resulta, pese a todo, una necesidad imprescindible [For the unemployed or those who are *about to become* unemployed, that policy which has been worsening at huge strides is turning out to be an indispensable necessity during the last few years].
(CORPES. Blanco Valdés, R. L. [2011]: “Reivindicación de la política: de la buena, por supuesto”. *La Voz de Galicia.es*. A Coruña: lavozdeg Galicia.es, 2011-01-02)
- b. Para los parados o quienes están *en vias de* serlo, el año nuevo se presenta, sin embargo, trágicamente diferente [For the unemployed or those who are *about to become* unemployed, the outlook for the new year seems tragically different, though]. (CORPES. Blanco Valdés, R. L. [2011]: “Reivindicación de la política: de la buena, por supuesto”. *La Voz de Galicia.es*. A Coruña: lavozdeg Galicia.es, 2011-01-02)

37. I take the chance here to thank Ignacio Bosque for his suggestion.

38. corpusdoportugues.org.

39. Other authors who use the forms in singular as well as in plural in one or several works are: Félix González Llana, Francisco Hernández-Pacheco, Augusto Pi y Suñer, Luis García Arias, León Lopetegui, Enrique Tierno Galván, Juan Goytisolo, etc.

- (40) a. Por allí [las calles] les amanecía a las vacas que ordeñaban en los zaguanes de las casas ricas y en las esquinas de los barrios pobres, entre parroquianos que *en vía de* restablecimiento o aniquilamiento [...] hacían tiempo a la vaca preferida y se acercaban a su turno, personalmente, a recibir la leche... [It was daybreak when they milked the cows at the entrances of rich houses and in the corners of poor neighborhoods, amongst residents on their way to recovery or to be annihilated [...] waiting for their favorite cow to get milk...]. (CORDE. Asturias, M. A. [1933–1946]: *El Señor Presidente*. Barcelona: Gerald Martin, Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, 2000)
- b. Guatemala es un país *en vías de* disolución [Guatemala is a country on its way to dissolution]. (CORDE. Asturias, M. A. [1927]: *Mentalidad y fuerza bruta* [París 1924–1933. Periodismo y creación literaria]. Madrid: Amos Segala, Archivos, 1988)

The presence of *en vías de* in corpora from the mid-19th century forces us to check the extent to which the pluralized form prevails in certain Spanish-speaking areas. According to the data provided by CDH, the normalized frequency⁴⁰ of *en vía de* is higher in American regions (continental Caribbean and the Andes area, especially Colombia). CEMC records 19 occurrences, 17 of which are in the plural. CEWD shows that *en vías de* predominates in every American region, except for Colombia. An important aspect about the singular form is the fact that it prevails in legal and political texts between the late 19th century and 1975 more or less, and from that date, in journalistic texts about topics related to justice, politics, economics and health.

The syntactic variation of the locution is more complex and materializes in the interpolation of the feminine definite article *la*, adjectives and adverbs, and in the variation of initial and final prepositions. PL history is characterized by variation regarding the presence or absence of the article as well as concerning the prepositions which form part of them (Echenique Elizondo, Martínez Alcalde & Sánchez Méndez 2016: 23). The variation of the initial preposition was frequent in the early times of Medieval (Castilian) Spanish, but it becomes less common as we approach the 15th century – this was verified by Codita (2016a: 158). The locution *en vía/vías de* is no exception, above all during the innovation stage and more precisely in the translations and rewritings of medicine treatises from the 15th and 16th centuries, where intratextual and intertextual variations occur in identical or very similar syntactic and semantic contexts.

40. Number of occurrences per million words.

As already explained in § 4, there are 47 occurrences of *en vía de* between 1325 and 1549; 28 of them appear in translations, 9 of them being found in the translation of the surgery treatises written by the Italian Lanfranco de Milano and the French Guy de Chauliac, and 9 in the treatise authored by Ruy Díaz de Isla. With regard to (Castilian) Spanish translations of surgery treatises, it is not known for sure if the sources used by translators were the texts in Latin (the language in which the treatises were originally written) or the translations into Catalan (prior to Spanish editions) (Cifuentes 2001; Grande López 2013; Sánchez González de Herrero 2011: 412–413; Sánchez González de Herrero & Vázquez de Benito 2010: 82–83).

The edition of Guy de Chauliac's treatise in CORDE provides evidence of the following variations: *en la via de*, *en via de* and *a via de* in identical or highly similar contexts; hence our decision to compare some fragments in the manuscripts, incunabula and facsimile editions available at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* (BNE), *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (BVMC) and the digital library of the *Harvard Medical School* (HMS). We selected six editions from the 15th and 16th centuries: one in Catalan (Barcelona, 1495), three in (Castilian) Spanish (Seville, 1498; Saragossa, 1533 and Valencia, 1596) and two in Latin (Venice, 1519 and Lyon, 1585). The comparison shows that some intratextual and intertextual syntactic variations of *en vía de* do not entail variations in meaning (Table 5).

The edition in Catalan documents the variation of the first preposition: *per via de/en via de*. The 1498 (Castilian) Spanish edition (Seville) documents two syntactic variations in the same contexts: modification of the nucleus with the definite article (*en la via de/en vía de*) and variation of the first preposition (*a via de/en vía de*); this last variation is documented in the 1533 edition too; instead, the edition dated in the late 16th century (1596) no longer documents any variations. It is interesting to see how all the selected contexts of the editions in (Castilian) Spanish are identical: *ir en (la) via de exidura/resolución/maduración*; in this respect, the NGLE (RAE & ASALE 2009: 2266) reminds us that the preposition *en* can denote “el final de un proceso que manifiesta el estado en el se encuentra algo o alguien, sin duda restos del valor que tenía « *in* + acusativo »” [“the end of a process which describes the state in which something or someone find themselves, undoubtedly vestiges from the semantic value that « *in* + accusative » used to have”]; representative examples include: *entrar en la ciudad* [to enter the city], *desembocar en el mar* [to flow into the sea]... Medieval Spanish shows numerous cases of the preposition *en* being utilized like this with the verb *ir* (*ir en* [go in]).

Considering that the 1519 and 1585 editions remain faithful to the original Latin edition (1363), it makes sense to state that when *vía* (ablative) is followed by a noun in the genitive, the tendency in the (Castilian) Spanish is *en vía de*; and when the Latin construction is *per viam* followed by genitive (41), the tendency in

Table 5. Collation of *en via de* in six editions of the surgery treatise by Guy de Chauliac

Catalan	(Castilian) Spanish			(Neo) Latin	
1492	1498	1533	1596	1519	1585
Mas si lapostema proseier e va per / via de exidura (fol. 18v)	E si la apostema ⁴¹ va en la via de exidura ⁴² / en el .ij. ad <i>Glauconem</i> . (fol. 29r)	Y si el apostema va en via de exitura en el / ii. Ad <i>Glauconem</i> (fol. LXXVIIIr)	Y si el apostema va en via de exitura, y suppuracion, dize Galeno (fol. 182).	Si <i>vero</i> apostema via incedit / exiture in 2º ad <i>glauconem</i> (fol. 12r).	Si verò apostema via incedit exiturae, in secundo ad <i>Galuconem</i> (fol. 57).
Si laposte / ma proseyer per via de resolucio. Mas si es / deuenia hos determinaue per via de exidu / ra ab los maduratiu (fol. 19v).	Si la apostema va en la /via de resolucio. mas si fuesse en via de exi-/dura con las maduratiuas (fol. 30r)	Si el apostema va en via de resolucio / mas si fuesse en via de exitura con los ma/duratiuos (fol. LXXXVIr)	Si el apostema va en via de resolucio, mas / si fuesse en via de exitura, con los madu / ratiuos (fol. 201)	Si apostema incedit in via resolutionis. Si <i>vero</i> incederet / via exiture cum maturatiuis (fol. 12v).	Si apostema incedit via resolutionis, Si <i>vero</i> incedat via exiture, tunc maturantibus (fol. 60).
En la declinacio ab consumatiu si / proceir per via de resolucio: si per via de exidura / es regut ab maduratiu (fol. 24v)	En la declina//cion con las consumptiuas: si va en via de reso//lucion. si en via de exitura rijase con las ma// turatiuas (fol. 36r).	En la / declinacion con las consumptiuas si va en via / de resolucio. si en via de exitura rijase con / los matu- ratiuos (fol. CIIr).	En la declina-/ cion, con solas defecantes, si va en via de re / solución, si en via de exitura, rijase con los / maturatiuos (fol. 240).	In declinatione cum sumptiuis, si incedit via resolutionis: si via exiture regitur (fol. 14v).	In declinatione, consumptiuis, si incedit via resolutionis: si via exiture, regitur cum maturatiuis (fol.73)

(continued)

Table 5. (continued)

Catalan		(Castilian) Spanish		(Neo) Latin	
1492	1498	1533	1596	1519	1585
E aquestes medicines han loch si la apo / stema va en via de resolucio. Mas quant va / a maduracio (fol. 33v).	E estas han lugar si la apo/-stema va en via de resolucio. mas quando /va a via de maduracion. (fol. 47r).	Y estos han lugar / si el apostema va en via de resolucio. mas / quando va a via de maduracion. (fol. CXIVv).	Y ellos / han lugar si el apostema va en via de reso / lucion : mas quando va en via de maduracion (fol. 283).	Et ista <i>habent</i> locum si apostema incedit via resolutionis . <i>Quando autem</i> tendit ad maturationem <i>praecipit</i> (fol. 19v).	Atque ista <i>habent</i> locum, si apostema incidit via resolutionis . <i>Quando autem</i> tendit ad maturationem, <i>praecipit</i> . (fol. 98).
(BVMC, Chauliac, Guy de [1492]: <i>Chirurgia: vel inventarium seu collectorium in parte chirurgicali medicinae</i> . Alicante: BVMC, Reproducción digital de la ed. de Barcelona, Pere Miquel	(TME/HSMS, Chauliac, Guy de [1498]: <i>Chirurgia, vel inventarium seu collectorium in parte chirurgicali medicinae</i> . Sevilla: por Menardo Ungut [y] Lançalao Polono. BNE, INC/196).*	(BNE, Chauliac, Guy de [1533]: <i>Inuentario o collectorio en cirurgia</i> . Zaragoza: por Juan Falco y Jorge Coci).	(BNE, Chauliac, Guy de [1596]: <i>Cirvrgia de Gvido de Cavliaco con la glosa de Falco...</i> Valencia: por Pedro Patricio).	(BNE, Chauliac, Guy de [1519]: <i>Cyrurgia Gvidonis de Cavliaco...</i> Venecia: por Bernardinum Uenetus de Uitalibus.	(HMS, Chauliac, Guy de [1585]: <i>Chirurgia magna Guidonis de Gauliaco...</i> Lugduni: In off. Q. Philip Tinghi, Flor. apud Simphorianum Beraud et Stephanum Michaëlem)

* CDH and CORDE date this edition – based on the INC/196 of BNE – in 1493.

41. An *apostema* is a “absceso supurado” [“suppurative abscess”] (RAE & ASALE 2014), but in the treatises of the time (Valverde & Bautista Méndez 1984: 145–146), an *apostema* was only the *abscess* “acumulación de pus en los tejidos orgánicos” [“accumulation of pus in the organic tissues”] (RAE & ASALE 2014).

42. *Exidura*: “salida, que está supurando” [“exit, which is suppurating”].

the Spanish is *por vía de* (42), which denotes the implicit instrumental value of the Latin preposition *per* that becomes visible, for example, in the binary structure *por methodo: o via de* (43).

- (41) Caterùm quia medicinae deorsum à multis multae ponuntur, cum distinctione narrabo mihi ma-gis probatas ad sedandum dolorem *per viam* alterationis & resolutionis, & alias *per viam* stupefactionis. (1585)
- (42) E porque las melezinas de / los dientes de muchos muchas se ponen con / distincion recontare las mas a mi proua//--das / para amansar el dolor *por via de* alte-raction / & resolucion. & otras *por via de* stu//--pefacion [Tooth medicines are carefully administered to ease the pain through alteration and resolution]. (1498, TME/HSMS, fol. 147v)
- (43) Porque assi co-mo / ha dicho primero conseyado es de to//--dos [fol. 90r] quasi los antiguos. quales quier que / por razon alguna: o *por methodo: o via de* la cura de las vlceras scriuieron que de cor-tar / es primeramente las causas obrantes / aquellas [fol. 90v] [Those who wrote about the method or way to heal ulcers said that the causes producing them should be firstly stemmed]. (1498, TME/HSMS)

As for the treatise by Lanfranco de Milano, several fragments have been compared in four fifteenth-century editions, checking that no variations of *en vía de* appear in the same contexts. We selected the fragment below as an example:

Table 6. Collation of *en via de* in four editions of Lanfranco de Milano's surgery treatise

1401–1500?*	1481	1495	1495
Ca sy fallares el mjenbro en via de corronpimjento asy commo con eresipila manducatjua... (CORDE, Anónimo [a 1450]: <i>Arte complida de cirugía</i> . BNE, MSS/2165. C. M. Wasick, E. J. Ardemagni, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, 1993).	E asi fallares el miembro & via de corrompimjento assi commo erisipila manducatiua... (TME/HSMS, Lanfranco de Milán, Guido [1481]: <i>Cirugía mayor</i> . Madrid: BNE, MSS/2147. Ed. E. J. Ardemagni. En Gago Jover, F. (ed.). 2012. " <i>Cirugía mayor</i> ". <i>Textos médicos españoles</i> . Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts).	ca sy fallares el mienbro en vía de corronpimiento, asý commo con eresipila manducatiua... (CORDE, Anónimo [1495]: <i>Traducción de la Cirugía Mayor de Lanfranco</i> . C. M. Wasick, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, 1987).	ca si tu fallares el miembro en via de corrupcion assi como con eresipilina cor-rosiua... (BNE, Lanfranco de Milán [1495]: <i>La cirugía del maestre lanfranco mediolanense</i> . Sevilla. Madrid: BNE, INC/2896).

* BNE dates this manuscript between 1401 and 1500? and CORDE dates it in 1450.

The variations in *Tractado llamado fructo de todos los auctos contra el mal serpentino* by Ruy Díaz de Isla also take place in identical or similar contexts with the verbs *estar*, *dexar*, *traer*, and especially *venir*. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (RAE, 1739) specifies that *venir* “junto con la partícula *a*, y algunos nombres, vale estar pronto a la execución, ò executar actualmente lo que los nombres significan” [“together with the particle *a*, and some nouns, means to be in the verge of being executed, or to currently implement what the nouns mean”], and in 1884, *DRAE* broadened the semantic specification with the preposition *en*: “seguido de la preposición *en*, toma la significación del sustantivo á que se junta. VENIR EN *conocimiento*; VENIR EN *deseo*” [“followed by the preposition *en*, it takes the meaning of the noun that it combines with. VENIR EN *conocimiento* [to acquire knowledge]; VENIR EN *deseo* [to wish]”].

Table 7. Collation of *en vía de* in the treatise written by Ruy Díaz de Isla (1542)

Para lo <i>qual</i> es muy bueno & ma-rauilloso /el emplasto, catagenis y el a-zeyte / de mançanilla y de lirio; [...] empero po-cas / vezes se resuelue, sino por las mas / vezes vienen por via de putrefacion, en-tonces / yo procuro de los abrir con lan-ceta / o cauteria o con lo <i>que</i> a ti mejor pa-rezca, /segun la dispusicion del apostema (fol. 9v)	Toda apo-stema / no curandose la enfermedad per-fectamente / como se requiere curar: según /sera dicho en la pronosticacion. Viene /a via de putrefacion; & segun del gene-ro / & humor que fuere el apostema assi / sera la vlcera (fol. 19r)
E si los dexaren sin hazer ningun me-lezinamiento / tambien se sanan aunque turan / algo mas, si fueren apostemas agora /esten en via de resolucion o de putrefaci-on /en ninguna manera sean tocadas con /ningun medicinamiento para las ressoluer / ni para las madurar, (fol. 35r)	Quanto es a todas las apostemas / <i>que</i> se causa desta enfermedad determina-re / vna de dos maneras o por via de res-solucion / o por via de putrefacion (fol. 23r.)
Las quales no vienen a via de / putrefacion hasta termino de qua-tro / o cinco años. (fol. 18v)	
Ha se de notar que la poluora del / mercurio es la mas noble & marauillo-sa / que puede ser para las passiones de / los miembros de primer specie, porque / como ella fuere hechada dos vezes en / qualquier vlcera que se haga en seme-jante / lugar; de ay por delante con qu-alquier / lauatorio o vnguento o poluos} / {CB2. /que les sean puestos vernan en via de / curacion & sanacion. (fo. 10v.)	E quando las vlceras vinieren / via de sanacion te <i>quisieren</i> ayudar de al-guna / de las poluoras dessecatiuas o esti-ticas / para que mas ayna venga en via de / sanacion, puedes vsar de las que están / escriptas en el antidotario. (fol. 10v)
REcipe vna parte de farto de pipas / & dos partes de aluayalde sotil-mente /molido & cernido & desdeque la vl-cera / sea muy bien enxuta & lauada pol-uorealla /sotilmente los dichos poluos /como los sobre dichos & sus hilas & vn-guento /encima: los quales ayudan mu-cho /a venir las vlceras en via de conso-lidacion /muy presto (fol. 69r)	... no pueden las vlce-ras dexar de yr en via de consolidación / & sanación (fol. 21r)

Table 7. (*continued*)

AQueste vino estítico pertenesce /para quando las vlceras viene / en via de sanacion y es muy prouecho-so / mojar en el vn paño doblado mas / limpio y expremido <i>que</i> pueda ser & muy /caliente ponello segun arte encima del /pegado con su ligadura. Este vino a-yuda /mucho a dessecar & a venir las vl-ceras / en via de sanacion. (fol. 69v)	Esta vntura tiene el prin-cipado / y las trae muy presto en via de /sanación (fol. 65r)
---	--

(TME/HSMS. Ruy Díaz de Isla [1542]: *Tractado llamado fructo de todos los auctos: contra el mal serpentino*. En Gago Jover, F. (ed.), *Textos médicos españoles*. Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts).

The interpolation of an adjective modifying the PL nucleus is recorded on few occasions, most of them in the late 20th century (44) and, above all, in the 21st century (45); even though a case appears in the 19th century (46). Cifuentes Honrubia (2003: 126) points out that, despite being very rare, the inclusion of an adjective in a PL is possible.

- (44) ... quisiera analizar algunos de los problemas resueltos, o *en vías* aceptables de resolución [I would like to analyze some of the problems solved, or *in an acceptable situation/process* of being solved]. (CORDE. Morodo, R. [1982]: *Por una sociedad democrática y progresista*. Madrid: Turner)
- (45) a. ... el radicalismo está *en vías* firmes de extinción – si es que todavía existe – no se entiende qué discuten [radicalism is definitely *moving towards* its extinction – if it still does exist – one cannot understand what they are discussing/arguing about] (CORPES. Aliverti, E. [2012]: “Moyano y sus amigos”, *Página/12*. Buenos Aires: pagina12.com.ar.)
- b. ... (por cierto, lo que era Cuba en 1957, un país *en vías* supersónicas de desarrollo) [(by the way, what Cuba was in 1957, a supersonically *developing* country)]. (CE/WD Estados Unidos: Blog, *El portal de Manuel: El desfase*)
- c. Ese es el dinero que se necesita para que las naciones *en vías* rápidas de desarrollo como India y Brasil puedan pasar a tecnologías más caras pero más limpias mientras se industrializan [That is the money which is needed for rapidly *developing* nations such as India and Brazil to be able to adopt costlier but cleaner technologies while they become industrialized]. (CE/WD. España: *El calentamiento global se enfría*, *Cultura* 3.0)

- (46) ... al lado de un edificio valioso, aunque rústico y sencillo, se veían filas de carpas de malos toldos, de barracas de tabla y de casuchos, unos armados y otros *en* activísima *vía de* construcción [Next to a valuable, though rustic and simple/plain building, one could see rows of marquees with bad-quality tents/awnings, plank/wooden booths/huts? and shacks, some already finished and others *in a* highly active *process of construction/very actively under construction*].

(CORDE. Pérez Rosales, V. [1882]: *Recuerdos del pasado (1814–1860)*, A. Calderón Squadritto. Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1993])

With regard to the split of the PL with adverbs, it takes place residually in the 21st century:

- (47) Gildardo Urquides Serrano – desde entonces, absuelto por el Poder Judicial – y Sandra Téllez Nieto (*en vías*, seguramente, *de* obtener el mismo beneficio judicial) [Gildardo Urquides Serrano – since then, acquitted by the Judiciary – and Sandra Téllez Nieto (most probably *about to* obtain the same judicial benefit)].

(CE/WD. Gershenson, D., [2015]: *Elecciones en Sonora: Murrieta*, el #ProcubridorABC estatal II, <http://www.animalpolitico.com/>)

- (48) ... manifestamos nuestra alegría, por el objetivo *en vías* ya *de* ser por fin alcanzado en el año 2011 [we express our joy, by the goal which is already *in the process of* being reached in 2011].

(CE/WD. Blog, Centro Ciudades de la Gente, Venezuela)

The corpora provide us with some examples in Spain and in some American regions where the second preposition was removed (*en vías*) (49) or in which the preposition *de* is replaced by *en* (*en vías en*) (50). We would speak about grammatical errors in both cases. They mostly appear in texts published in mass media that disseminate their news through the Internet.

- (49) Es ahí donde los países *en vías de* desarrollo pueden o deben cobrar un canon por la absorción de los gases producidos por los países desarrollados [It is there that *developing* countries can or must charge a tax for the absorption of the gases produced by developed countries].

(CORPES. Comité Nacional de Bienes y Servicios en Honduras [2004]: *Bienes y servicios ambientales en Honduras: Una alternativa para el desarrollo sostenible*. Honduras, Tegucigalpa: PASOLAC)

- (50) ... una vacuna que sólo sea útil en los países *en vías en* desarrollo [a vaccine which is only useful in *developing* countries].

(CORPES. Ybarra, R. [2007]: “Sería una tragedia que existiera una vacuna del sida sólo para países ricos [It would be a tragedy if an AIDS vaccine only for rich countries existed]”. *El País.com*. Salud. Madrid: elpais.com/diario/salud, 2007-02-27)

As highlighted at the beginning of this section, work with corpora shows that the PL *en vía/vías de* coexists from the late 18th century (early 19th century) to the present day with the lexical-diatopical variation *en tren de* [in process of]. Both PLs are metonymically linked by the notion of ‘space,’ even though each one of them activates specific semantic nuances which entail differences in its conceptualization (Delbecque 2008); the same could be said about other locutions with which *en vías de* shapes a syntactic paradigm (*en camino de*).⁴³

According to DPD (RAE & ASALE 2005), *en tren de* is a

calco censurable de la expresión francesa *en train de*, que significa ‘en situación de o en vías de’ y se usa sobre todo en los países del Río de la Plata [...]. En español equivale, según los casos, a *en trance de*, *en proceso de*, *en vías de*, *en situación de*, *en plan de* o *a punto de* (si se refiere a una situación inminente) [reprehensible calque of the French expression *en train de*, which means ‘in a situation of or in the way to’ and is used above all in River Plate countries [...]. In Spanish, depending on the case, it is equivalent to *en trance de* [in the moment of], *en proceso de* [in process of], *en vías de* [in the way to], *en situación de* [in a situation of], *en plan de* [in a position of] or *a punto de* [about to] (if it refers to an imminent situation).]

Instead, the *Diccionario de Americanismos* (ASALE 2010) does not criticize the locution *en tren de* and codes it as follows: “loc. adv. *Ch, Ur.* En proceso de” [In process of]; the same happens in the dictionaries of Gutiérrez Cuadrado (1996): “*estar en tren de*, AR. PAR. URUG. Estar en proceso de llevar a cabo cierta cosa, estar trabajando para llevar a cabo cierto fin” [“To be in process of carrying out a certain thing, to be working to achieve a certain aim”]; Seco (1998): “(del francés *en train de*) es en español normal *en trance de* u *ocupado(s) en*” [“(from French *en train de*) is in normal Spanish *en trance de* [in the moment of] or *ocupado(s) en* [busy in/with]”]; and Martínez de Sousa (2001): “Galicismo por *en trance de*, ‘a punto de’, ‘dispuesto a’, ‘ocupado en’” [“Galicism for *en trance de*, ‘about to’, ‘ready to’, ‘busy in/with’”]. Anscombe (2017: 70) highlights that *en train de* conveyed the meaning of “en cours d’exécution, en mouvement” since the 16th century, in the second half of the 17th century it acquired the sense of “disposé à” (“ready to”), and today’s durative meaning arises in the 18th century.

The academic corpora contain 62 examples of the PL *en tren de*. The first seven examples are documented in the 19th century in texts drawn up by Spanish writers with strong French influences: Fernández de Moratín (51), Larra, Villamartín, Zorrilla, Zugasti Sáenz, Alarcón (52), and Pérez Galdós. The semantic value collected in these early uses is ‘ready to, in a situation of.’ One can see from the 20th century how *en tren de* incorporates the meaning of ‘process’ (53) and almost

43. Delving deeper into this issue would exceed the scope of this work.

exclusively appears in the Argentinian press (54) and in the Uruguayan press (one case is document in Spain, Cuba and Ecuador); nevertheless, examples can be found in Paraguay (55) and Colombia from 2010, and its expansion in recent years, judging from the data supplied by CE/WD becomes visible in other countries of the American continent (Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Venezuela and United States); even so, the density of use continues to be higher in Argentina.

- (51) E vímosle a guisa de diestro adalid / haciendo reseña la hueste real, / mandar sus hileras, e a son de atabal / poner a los ojos la marcha e la lid; / así de los muros miró de Madrid / la plebe agarena venir a cercalla, / desnuda tizona, *en tren de batalla*, / al bravo cabdillo que dijeron Cid. [And we saw him as a leader / reviewing his army / heading his arrays at the sound of the drum / preparing to leave and to fight / thus he looked at Madrid from the walls / and the Muslim populace / with his sword, ready for the battle / to the brave leader that they called Cid.]. (CORDE. Fernández de Moratín, R. [1778–1822]: *Poesías completas (poesías sueltas y otros poemas)*. J. Pérez Magallón. Barcelona, Sirmio-Quaderns crema, 1995)
- (52) Pocos momentos después, toda la cuadrilla estaba a caballo y en tren de marcha, esperando sólo que su jefe la guiase [Few moments later, the whole gang was on horseback and ready to leave/set off, only waiting for the their leader to guide them]. (CORDE. Zugasti y Sáenz, J. [1876–1880]: *El Bandolerismo. Estudio social y memorias históricas*. Córdoba: Ediciones Albolafia, Excma. Diputación de Córdoba, Virgilio Márquez Editor, 1983)
- (53) ... ya que estoy *en tren de* sinceridad, tengo que decir las cosas como son [since I am *being/going to be* sincere, I must tell the things as they are]. (CORDE. Puig, M. [1972] *Boquitas pintadas*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1994)
- (54) La duquesa de York promocionó un jugo de frutas, una cámara fotográfica, un club de señoras obesas *en tren de* adelgazar y hasta acompañó a un baile en la Ópera de Viena a una pareja de “nuevos ricos” austriacos en su afán de conseguir el dinero que la corte de Saint James le negaba [The duchess of York promoted a fruit juice, a photographic camera, a club of obese ladies *trying to* lose weight and even accompanied a couple of Austrian “nouveaux riches” to a ball at the Vienna Opera House in her pursuit to raise the money that the court of Saint James denied her]. (CREA. [1997]: “Sara Fergusson ganó 7 millones en 4 meses [Sara Ferguson earned/raised 7 million in 4 months]”. *Clarín*. Buenos Aires: clarín.com, 1997-02-10)

- (55) “Estamos *en tren de* finalizar el proceso de eliminación de esa deuda y en adelante sólo haremos donaciones a Haití”, subrayó Moreno [“We are *under way* to complete the process to eliminate that debt and, from now on, we will only make donations to Haiti”]. (CORPES. [2010]: “El BID concede 2.000 millones de dólares en 10 años para Haití [The Inter-American Development Bank grants 2 billion dollars in 10 years for Haiti]”. *La Nación.com.py*. Fernando de la Mora: lanacion.com.py, 2010-05-15)

6. Discursive origin, diffusion and adoption of *en vías de*

For a few years now, the bibliography has highlighted the neglect of aspects which play a key role in grammaticalization processes, such as the discursive traditions and types where grammaticalization takes place (Azofra 2012; Company 2016b; Garachana 2014; Octavio de Toledo 2014; Oesterreicher 2007; Pons Bordería 2008; Pons Rodríguez 2015). The discursive genres or types in which the innovations gradually experienced by *en vía/vías de* originate and spread act, using the terminology coined by Company (2016b: 386–388) and Company and Flores (2017: 222–227), as *macrolocus* of change since, without a doubt,

el género textual, producto a su vez de una tradición discursiva y cultural, actúa como un *macrolocus* del cambio puesto que solo a través de él se manifiestan las construcciones innovadoras, [...] *ciertos géneros textuales pueden propiciar ciertas construcciones* o inhibir otras, en mayor o menos medida. [the textual genre, in turn the result of a discursive and cultural tradition, acts as a *macrolocus* of change, because it is only through it that innovative constructions become apparent, [...] in fact *certain textual genres may favor certain constructions* or inhibit others, to a greater or lesser extent.] (Company 2016b: 391). Italics is ours

Corpora show that the grammaticalization of *en vía/vías de* was linked in its origin, diffusion and adoption to its use in specific discursive genres, textual types and themes which revolve around the concepts of ‘process,’ ‘progression’ and ‘development.’

It was already explained in § 4 that most of the documented examples of the expression *en vía/vías de* in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries (47 occurrences) are translations (*Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco*, *Guía de los Perplejos Maimónides*, *Traducción de las Glosas de la Eneida*, *Árbol de batallas*, *Traducción de la Cirugía Mayor de Lanfranco*, *Traducción del Tratado de Cirugía de Guido de Cauliaco*, *Traducción de “Orlando el Furioso”*), rewritings (of surgery treatises) or appear in texts connected to the Crown of Aragon by their themes (*De Jaime II a Don Juan Manuel, sobre los matrimonios que se trataban de Alfonso XI*; *Gestas del rey don Jayme de Aragón*) or by the origin and training of their authors (Juan

Fernández de Heredia, Enrique de Villena).⁴⁴ In the light of such aspects, it is convenient for us to heed the advice given by Codita (2016a: 105) for the study of PLs in the Middle Ages: “*siempre es válido sospechar que su empleo [LP] se debe a interferencias provocadas por la lengua o por el estilo de las fuentes con las que trabajó el autor o el redactor del texto*”⁴⁵ [“*it is always valid to suspect that their use [that of PLs] comes as a result of interferences caused by the language or by the style of the sources with which the author or the editor of the text worked*”]; therefore, it becomes necessary to identify the discursive tradition that texts belong to and the abundant *filiaciones intertextuales* [intertextual filiations] regarding content and form which can be found in them (Jacob & Kabatek 2001: VIII, XIV).

The innovation of *en vía/vías de* originated in the 14th century, in historical prose and in translation, in most cases from the hands of Juan Fernández de Heredia, and from those of Enrique de Villena in the 15th century. One fact stands out in the 15th and 16th centuries, though: the presence of *en vía de* in the translations, rewritings and original works about medicine, more precisely in surgery treatises (Table 3). We should not forget that a treatise is “un texto en que se expone de forma razonada y sistemática cierto material, sea de la vida material, sea del mundo intelectual o espiritual. Se encamina [...] a facilitar la comprensión de un estado de cosas poco accesible para los no especialistas” [“a text in which certain material is exposed on a grounded and systematic basis, whether it is referring to material life or to the intellectual or spiritual world. The objective sought with it [...] is to facilitate the understanding of a state of the art which cannot be easily accessed by non-specialists”] (Eberenz 2008: 155). The surgery treatises written by Guy de Chauliac and Lanfranco de Milán ranked amongst the most widely read during the 15th and 16th centuries (Alvar 2010: 150), hence their numerous reprints and translations.

As stated by Eberenz (2015: 65), the translations of medical works are “representaciones discursivas en romance de una temática científica hasta entonces reservada al latín” [“discursive representations in Romance of scientific themes reserved to Latin until then”]; and, as a result, the entry mode of a new discursive genre into Romance (Castilian) Spanish which responds to one of the concerns of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century society: health, diseases, their prevention and treatment; hence why it is possible to assert that the hand-produced or printed translation and

44. Garachana (2014: 976–977) detected the Catalan-Aragonese influence as a way for the entry of *no obstante* [however] into Spanish.

45. Italics is ours. Although it is not the aim of this work, we would actually like to mention an aspect already studied in the specialized bibliography, namely: the restructuring of the syntactic relationships developed in the passage from Latin to Romance Spanish, which favored the increase and creation of prepositions and PLs. For a state of the art on this topic, see Codita (2016a: 56–64) and the bibliography included therein.

edition of medical treatises had an informative nature; medical treatises in Latin prevailed at universities, though (Eberenz 2015: 72–73).

The didactic purpose sought with the translation of medical treatises involved finding linguistic strategies suited to achieve expository clarity in each one of the parts into which it was structured (Sánchez González de Herrero & Vázquez de Benito 2010: 81). The medical treatises published during the 15th and 16th centuries can be divided into: general presentation of the disease, causes, symptoms, predictions and therapy (Eberenz 2001, 2015). *En vía de* appears in contexts whose topics are oriented towards the description and teaching of the treatment and convalescence process associated with a disease; they consequently explain clear processes which entail accurate and objective descriptions, which are projected over the lexical selection of the term subordinated by the PL which, as seen in § 4, will not be arbitrary; instead, the PL *por vía de* mostly appears in sequences that describe the causes and symptoms of diseases.

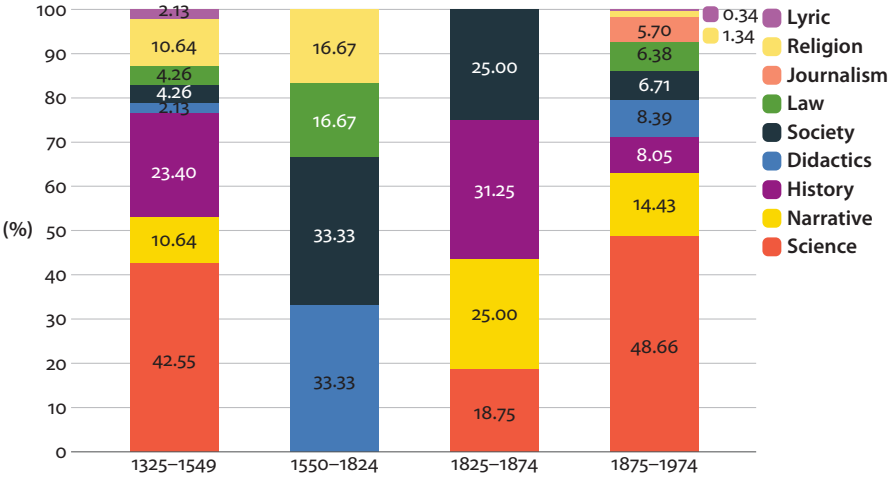
During the second diachronic diffusion stage (1550–1824), *en vía de* continues to have an almost symbolic presence both in didactic texts and in those related to society, law and religion. From 1825 (third stage of diachronic diffusion), *en vía/vías de* experiences a revival in scientific, narrative, historical and society-related texts; the beginning of this stage coincides with one of the curves showing a larger volume of words in CORDE (§ 3). It is in the consolidation stage (1875–1974) that *en vía/vías de* gradually acquires more relevance and becomes increasingly consolidated in scientific texts of a diverse nature (biology, zoology, geology, anatomy, nutrition) inside textual sequences meant to explain processes of formation, disappearance, maturing and, above all, development.

Table 8 shows the textual diffusion of *en vía/vías de* during the first four diachronic diffusion stages.

Table 8. Diffusion of the textual genre corresponding to the PL *en vía/vías de*

Textual genre		Stages of diachronic diffusion				Total AF
		Innovation-selection	Decline	Revival	Consolidation	
		1325–1549	1550–1824	1825–1874	1875–1974	
PROSE	Science	20 (42.55%)		3 (18.75%)	145 (48.66%)	168
	Narrative	5 (10.64%)		4 (25.00%)	43 (14.43%)	52
	History	11 (23.40%)		5 (31.25%)	24 (8.05%)	40
	Didactics	1 (2.13%)	2 (33.33%)		25 (8.39%)	28
	Society	2 (4.26%)	2 (33.33%)	4 (25.00%)	20 (6.71%)	28
	Law	2 (4.26%)	1 (16.67%)		19 (6.38%)	22
	Journalism				17 (5.70%)	17
	Religion	5 (10.64%)	1 (16.67%)		4 (1.34%)	10
VERSE	(Lyric) Poetry	1 (2.13%)			1 (0.34%)	2
Total AF		47 (100%)	6 (100%)	16 (100%)	298 (100%)	367

In their globality from the 14th century and until 1974, the texts hosting the largest number of cases of the PL *en vía/vías* are those written in scientific prose (AF: 168), they are followed by narrative (AF: 52), historical (AF: 40), didactic (AF: 28), society-related (AF: 28), legal⁴⁶ (AF: 22), journalistic (AF: 17), religious (AF: 10) and lyric (AF: 2) ones. These data confirm that scientific texts acted as the thread running through the diffusion and consolidation of the LP *en vía/vías de*. Graph 9 represents the percent distribution of *en vía/vías de* during each stage.



Graph 9. Distribution by stages corresponding to the textual genres where the PL *en vía/vías de* appears

The column corresponding to the consolidation stage (1875–1974) shows the incorporation of *en vía/vías de* in the press, a genre which becomes consolidated from the second half of the 19th century. Hence our decision to investigate the presence of *en vía/vías de* in the corpus of the *Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica* (BVPH). Since the 1830s, *en vía de* appears in newspapers and in sections that deal with topics related to industry (56), commerce (57), economics (58), health (59) and biology, to quote but a few.

(56) Como complemento de este proyecto, en el que se trata de hacer navegable el interior de España [...] se propone la ejecución de dos líneas de caminos de hierro, [...] y enlazar con la línea que de París se halla *en vía de* ejecución... [As a complement to this project, which attempts to make the interior of Spain navigable [...] the implementation of two railway lines is proposed, [...] and to connect with the Paris line which finds itself *in the process* of implementation...]. (BVPH. [1850]: *El balear: periódico de la tarde*. Año 3, núm. 600, 8 de julio)

46. *En vía de* must be interpreted as *por vía de* in legal texts.

- (57) En cueros salados se han vendido fuertes partidas y se han esportado ó están *en via de esportacion* de Barracas... [Large batches of beef and cow skins were sold, and they have been exported or are about to be exported in Barracas...].
(BVPH. [1853]: *El genio de la libertad: periódico de la tarde*, núm. 173)
- (58) El resultado de las rentas del año que finalizó, prueba del modo más completo, que el estado de nuestra hacienda se halla *en vía de progreso* [The result of the incomes for the year that has just finished, proves in the most complete way that the state of our assets finds itself in the process to improve].
(BVPH. [1846]: *El Español: diario de las doctrinas y de los intereses sociales*, 2.^a época, núm. 645, 5 de agosto)
- (59) En la época en que M. Warden estaba *en via de cura* no hicimos alto en esto... [At the time when M. Warden was *about to become* a priest we did not pay attention to this...]. (BVPH. [1855]: *El correo de Ultramar: Parte literaria é ilustrada reunidas*, tomo V, año 14, núm. 112)

Something worthy of mention is that the collocation *en vía de desarrollo* starts being documented in an article related to vine diseases (60), but even most interestingly, from 1880, it appears in the advertising of pharmaceutical products (syrups, pills) used to improve the health condition of women and girls (61) and to help the development of girls (62) and boys (63), in general:

- (60) Causas de la enfermedad y su propagación. [...] En todos los viñedos en que se encuentren á la vez aquellas condiciones; los ataques del parásito han sido más generales; su presencia se hace manifiesta en la superficie de los granos del racimo cuando se halla *en via de desarrollo* [Causes of the disease and its propagation. [...] In all the vineyards where those conditions occur at the same time; the parasite's attacks have been more widespread; its presence becomes visible on the surface of the grapes in the bunch when they *are developing*].
(BVPH. [1858]: *Boletín Oficial de la provincia de Orense*.
Año 1858, núm. 67, 5 de junio)
- (61) Fosfato de Hierro soluble de Leras, Farmacéutico, Doctor de Ciencias [...]. Excita el apetito y ayuda la digestión, produciendo los efectos más favorables en las niñas *en via de desarrollo*, así como regulariza la época mensual de las Señoras [Soluble Iron Phosphate of Leras, Pharmacist, Doctor in Science [...], causing the most favorable effects on *developing* girls, and it also regularizes the monthly time/period of Ladies].
(BVPH. [1880]: *El Carbayon. Diario asturiano de la mañana*.
Año VII, núm. 1235, 9 de marzo)

- (62) Las Píldoras Pink dan a la niña las fuerzas que necesita su organismo, *en vías de desarrollo* y al fortalecerla la preservan de las indisposiciones, calenturas y epidemias de que son víctimas los niños enfermizos [Pink Pills give the girl the forces that her *developing* organism needs, and by strengthening her, they protect her from indispositions/ailments, temperatures/fevers and epidemics of which sickly children are victims]. (BVPH. [1914]: *El Cantábrico. Diario de la mañana*. Año XX, núm. 7551, 31 de enero)
- (63) AVISOS ÚTILES. La infancia es como las plantas delicadas de invernadero, que exigen un esmero incesante y sostenido cuidado, pues el frío más leve las deshoja y seca; todo puede ser grave en el niño, pues sus órganos apenas formados y *en via de desarrollo* no poseen fuerza suficiente para resistir las enfermedades [...]. Así es que las madres inteligentes administras á sus hijos, por lo menos dos meses del año, el *Jarabe de rábano iodado* de Grimault y C.^a... [USEFUL WARNINGS. Childhood is like the delicate greenhouse plants which require incessant and sustained care, since the mildest cold pulls their leaves off and dries them; everything can be serious in a child, because their hardly formed and *still developing* organs are not strong enough to endure illnesses [...]. So, intelligent mothers administer the *iodized radish syrup* of Grimault y C.^a to their children, at least two months a year]. (BVPH. [1886]: *La correspondencia de España. Diario universal de noticias*. Año XXXVII, núm. 10220, 16 de marzo)

It also appears in articles dedicated to health and the cultivation of feelings:

- (64) ... en la Escuela deba educarse entonces moralmente, corregir los gérmenes malos que estén *en vía de desarrollo*, y alentar, fortalecer las buenas tendencias que en el niño se manifesten [... we must educate morally at School, correct the bad germs which are *developing*, and encourage, strengthen the good tendencies that become visible in the child]. (BVPH. [1889]: *El magister balear. Periódico de primera enseñanza*. Año XVII, núm. 22, 1 de junio)

The themes of the journalistic articles and textual sequences in which *en vía/vías de* appears become increasingly diverse from 1914, even though topics conceptually related to 'development' continue to prevail. From 1955, *en vías de desarrollo* is associated with political, economic, social and health-related issues which affect towns, areas (zones), communities, nations and countries.

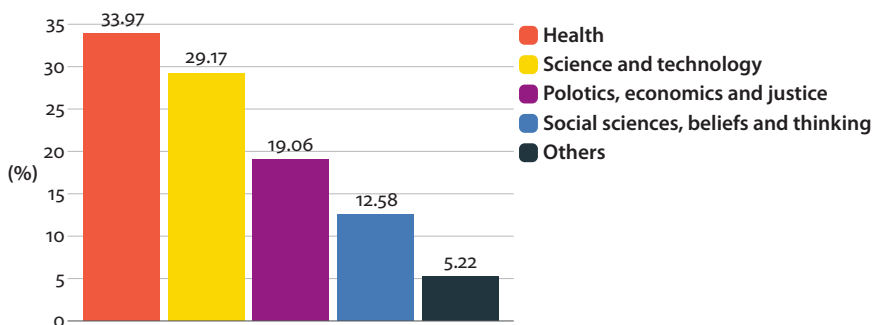
The data provided by CREA and CORPES reveal that the fifth diachronic diffusion stage of *en vía/vías de* (generalization-conventionalization: 1975–2015) was dominated by journalistic prose, as can be seen in Table 9, with 1,418 occurrences, which account for 59%, followed by academic and informative prose with 900 occurrences (37%).

Table 9. Distribution of *en vías de* by textual types (1975–2015)

	<i>En vía/vías de</i> in textual types	
	AF	Percentage
Press	1,418	59%
Academic and informative books	900	37%
Others	104	4%
Total	2,422	100%

The textual sequences which include *en vía/vías de* both in the press and in academic and informative works mostly (Graph 10) deal with topics related to health (39.98%) (65), science and technology (29.19%) (66), politics, economics and justice (19.07%) (67) and social sciences, beliefs and thinking (12.55%) (68).

- (65) ... de los 12,7 millones de nuevos cánceres ocurridos en todo el mundo, cerca de dos millones fueron atribuibles a infecciones (un 16,1%), de los que 1,6 millones (un 80%) se produjeron en países *en vías de* desarrollo [... out of 12.7 million new cancers occurred around the world, nearly 2 million could be attributed to infections (16.1%), of which 1.6 million (80%) took place in *developing countries*]. (CORPES. López, Á. [2012]: “Uno de cada seis tumores está causado por una infección”. El Mundo.es. Madrid: elmundo.es, 2012–05-09)
- (66) Promover compromisos en los alumnos para proteger el agua dulce como recurso vital y escaso, y actualmente *en vía de* agotamiento para las generaciones futuras [Promoting commitment amongst students to protect fresh water as a vital and scarce resource, and currently *in its way* to exhaustion for future generations]. (CORPES. Chávez, L.; Mazuelos, S.; Escate, J. [2006]: *Cuidando el Agua, promovemos la salud y mejoramos el medio ambiente. Manual para docentes de primaria en agua, saneamiento, salud y medio ambiente*. Lima: SUM Canadá)
- (67) Mientras se proyecta el desarrollo de la ganadería bovina, la cría de ovinos está *en vías de* desaparición, admitió Grahn [While the development of beef farming is planned, the rearing of sheep is *about to* disappear, Grahn admitted]. (CORPES. Testa, A. H. [2004]: “Mugidos al pie del Lanín”. *La Nación*. Buenos Aires: lanacion.com.ar, 2004-01-31)
- (68) ¿Es acaso esta antigua y desconocida lengua el aporte cultural de una raza *en vías de* extinción? [Is this ancient unknown language perhaps the cultural contribution of a race *in danger of* extinction?]. (CORPES. Longato, R. [2007]: “El secreto del muro inka en la isla de Pascua”. *Enigmas Perú*. Lima: enigmasperu.org, 2007–06-11)



Graph 10. Distribution of *en vía/vías de* by thematic areas (1975–2015)

7. Conclusions

The research carried out has served to verify that the grammaticalization process experienced by the expression *en vías de* must be conceived as a multidimensional change in which semantic-pragmatic, morphological, syntactic and textual factors interact with variable intensity throughout the diachrony.

Working with diachronic and synchronic corpora specialized by their themes and textual typology allowed us to obtain a broad, empirical and comparative vision about the aspects which are inherent to the linguistic innovation of *en vías de*: semantic change; degree of fixation; contexts in which it takes place; and the textual types where it originates and projects itself.

Three facts stand out in the semantic change which gradually takes place in the grammaticalization process of *en vías de*: (1) the semantic persistence of the etymological and prototypical meaning of *vía* ('path'), which acquires nuances with new more abstract meanings and semantic values ('time'), though never losing that prototypical sense which is the one that causes the *image schemes* of PATH or TRAJECTORY, PROCESS and CONTAINER to be activated in the speaker's mind; (2) the PL reaches a higher degree of abstraction (also inherited from Latin peripheral meanings), because it can express a quality of the terms that it relates and subordinates. With regard to this last aspect, we checked that, from the late 15th century, the use of *en vía de* permits to infer that something or someone is on the appropriate, suitable, solid and safe way to reach what is denoted by the term that the PL subordinates (*sanación, curación, desarrollo...*); and (3) as a consequence of (2), the use of *en vías de* undergoes a subjetivization process derived from the conceptualization that the speaker makes of the trajectory/path, about which he/she wants to highlight: its final stage; its completion; and the scope of a quality.

The analysis of diachronic diffusion in the PL, where WRF served as the basic parameter, has revealed that *en vías de* has gone through five highly disparate diffusion stages in terms of its diachronic spread and documented uses: *innovation-selection*; *decline*; *revival*; *consolidation*; and *generalization-conventionalization*. The progression in these stages was accompanied by lexical-semantic restrictions in the terms subordinated by the PL and in the topics covered in the texts and textual sequences where it appears – basically of a scientific nature. These restrictions imply the verification of the routinization experienced by *en vías de* in highly specific contexts which refer to ‘processes’ (*desarrollo, extinción, solución, alcanzar, desarrollar...*) that give rise to prototypical collocational structures, such as *en vías de desarrollo* and *países en vías de desarrollo*. Likewise, we had the chance to verify and collate intratextual and intertextual morphological and syntactic variations inherent to the grammaticalization of *en vías de* in all five diachronic diffusion stages. As for the lexical-diatopical variation documented in corpora (*en vías de / en tren de*), it entails changes in its conceptualization and, therefore, must not be considered a variation of the PL strictly speaking.

The last part of this chapter focuses on those discursive traditions and types where the grammaticalization of *en vías de* takes place. In this respect, the study of corpora has provided evidence that the linguistic innovation of *en vías de* mostly originated in translations and medical treatises written by authors connected to the Crown of Aragón because of their birth or training, and in textual sequences which describe processes of healing and recovery from diseases. The PL gradually became consolidated in texts of a scientific nature as well as in textual sequences which explain medical, biological, zoological or nutritional processes whose completion involves some kind of development. Finally, the use of this PL has become conventional, especially in journalistic prose, for topics and contexts associated with health, science and technology.

In the light of all the above, it seems reasonable to think that the multidimensional grammaticalization process undergone by *en vías de* has been and is linked together by the concepts of ‘process’, ‘progression’ and ‘development’.

Funding

This publication is framed within the following research projects: *Semántica cognitiva diacrónica: aplicación de las últimas tendencias a la lengua española* [Diachronic cognitive semantics: application of the last trends to the Spanish language] (GV/2015/113), financed by the Generalitat Valenciana [Government of the Valencian Autonomous Region]; and *Semántica cognitiva histórica: aplicación de las últimas tendencias al español* [Historical cognitive semantics: application of the last trends to Spanish] (GRE14–08), financed by the University of Alicante.

Textual sources

- BM = Enrique-Arias, Andrés. (dir.). *Biblia Medieval* [on-line]. <<http://bibliamedieval.es>>.
- BVPH = Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte, Gobierno de España. *Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica*. [on-line]. <<http://prensahistorica.mcu.es>>.
- CDH = Real Academia Española, Instituto de Investigación Rafael Lapesa. 2013. *Corpus del Nuevo diccionario histórico* [on-line]. <<http://web.frl.es/CNDHE>>.
- CEGH = Davies, Mark. 2016. *Corpus del Español: Género Histórico* [on-line]. <<http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>>.
- CEMC = Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. *Corpus del Español Mexicano Contemporáneo*. [on-line]. <<http://www.corpus.unam.mx/cemc>>.
- CEWD = Davies, Mark. 2016. *Corpus del Español: Web Dialectos*. [on-line]. <<http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>>.
- CORDE = Real Academia Española. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. [on-line]. <<http://corpus.rae.es>>.
- CORDIAM = Company Company, Concepción and Virginia Bertolotti (dirs.). *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América*. [on-line]. <www.cordiam.org>.
- CORPES = Real Academia Española. *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI*. [on-line]. <<http://corpus.rae.es>>.
- CREA = Real Academia Española. *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*. [on-line]. <<http://corpus.rae.es>>.
- TME/HSMS = Gago Jover, Francisco (ed.). 2012. *Textos médicos españoles. Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies* [on-line]. <<http://www.hispanicseminary.org/t&c/med/index-es.htm>>.

References

- Alvar, Carlos. 2010. *Traducciones y traductores. Materiales para una historia de la traducción en Castilla durante la Edad Media*. Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos.
- Anscombre, Jean-Claude. 2007. "Les indicateurs aspectuels de déroulement processif: *en cours de*, *en passe de*, *en train de*, *en voie de*." *Cahiers de Lexicologie* 90(1): 41–74.
- Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE). 2010. *Diccionario de americanismos*. Madrid: Santillana.
- Azofra Sierra, Elena. 2012. "El desarrollo de *en* el fondo como marcador discursivo." *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* XXVIII: 9–25.
- Azofra Sierra, Elena, and Renata Enghels. 2017. "El proceso de gramaticalización del marcador epistémico deverbal *sabes*." *Iberoromania* 85: 105–129.
- Borillo, Andrée. 1998. *L'espace et son expression en français*. Paris: Ophrys.
- Borillo, Andrée. 2001. "Il ya a prépositions et préposititons." *Travaux de Linguistique* 42–43: 141–155. <https://doi.org/10.3917/tl.042.141>
- Bosque, Ignacio. 1989. *Las categorías gramaticales*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Bosque, Ignacio. 2001. "Sobre el concepto de 'colocación' y sus límites." *Lingüística Española Actual* 23/1: 9–40.

- Bosque, Ignacio (dir.). 2004. *REDES. Diccionario combinatorio del español contemporáneo*. Madrid: Ediciones SM.
- Buenafuentes de la Mata, Cristina, and Carlos Sánchez Lancis. 2012. "Procesos de gramaticalización y lexicalización a la luz de los corpus académicos." In *Cum corde et in nova grammatica: estudios ofrecidos a Guillermo Rojo*, ed. by Tomás Jiménez Juliá, Belén López Meirama, Victoria Vázquez Rozas, and Alexandre Veiga, 153–165. Santiago de Compostela: Publicaciones Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.
- Cifuentes, Lluís. 2001. "Las traducciones catalanas y castellanas de la 'Chirurgia magna' de Lanfranco de Milán: un ejemplo de intercomunicación cultural y científica a finales de la Edad Media." In *Essays on Medieval Translation in the Iberian Península*, ed. by Tomàs Martínez Romero, and Roxana Recio, 95–127. Castelló: Universitat Jaume I, University of Creighton.
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis. 1996. *Usos prepositivos en español*. Murcia: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Murcia.
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis. 2003. *Locuciones prepositivas. Sobre la gramaticalización preposicional en español*. Alicante: Publicaciones Universidad de Alicante.
- Codita, Viorica. 2016a. *La conformación y el uso de las locuciones prepositivas en castellano medieval*. Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Codita, Viorica. 2016b. "La diacronía de *so pena de*." In *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*, ed. by M.^a Teresa Echenique Elizondo, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer, 273–294. Madrid: CSIC.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2003. "La gramaticalización en la historia del español." *Medievalia* 35: 3–61.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2004a. "¿Gramaticalización o desgramaticalización? Reanálisis y subjetivación de verbos como marcadores discursivos en la historia del español." *Revista de Filología Española* LXXXIV/1: 29–66. <https://doi.org/10.3989/rfe.2004.v84.i.97>
- Company Company, Concepción. 2004b. "Gramaticalización por subjetivación como prescindibilidad de la sintaxis." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* LII/1: 1–27.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2008. "Gramaticalización, género discursivo y otras variables en la difusión del cambio sintáctico." In *Sintaxis histórica del español y cambio lingüístico. Nuevas perspectivas desde las tradiciones discursivas*, ed. by Johannes Kabatek, 17–52. Frankfurt/Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2016a. "Gramaticalización y cambio sintáctico." In *Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispánica*, ed. by Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach, 515–526. London: Routledge.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2016b. "Sintaxis histórica y tradiciones discursivas. El género textual como *macrolocus* del cambio sintáctico." In *El español a través del tiempo. Estudios ofrecidos a Rafael Cano Aguilar*, ed. by Araceli López Serena, Antonio Narbona Jiménez, and Santiago Del Rey Quesada, 385–413. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Company Company, Concepción, and Rodrigo Flores Dávila. 2017. "Género textual, diacronía y valoración de un cambio sintáctico. *A por* con verbos de movimiento." *BRAE* XCVII/CCCXV: 203–239.
- Corominas, Joan, and José Antonio Pascual. 1980. *Diccionario crítico-etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Corpas Pastor, Gloria. 1997. *Manual de fraseología española*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Del Hoyo, Javier. 2013. *Etimologicón. El sorprendente origen de nuestras palabras y sus extrañas conexiones*. Barcelona: Ariel.

- Delbecque, Nicole. 2008. "Semántica cognitiva y categorización lingüística." In *Categorización lingüística y límites intercategoriales*, ed. by M.^a José Rodríguez Espiñeira, and Jesús Pena Seijas, 19–56. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Diessel, Holger. 2007. "Frequency effects in language acquisition, language use, and diachronic change." *New Ideas in Psychology* 25: 108–127.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2007.02.002>
- Eberenz, Rolf. 2001. "Los regimientos de peste a fines de la Edad Media: configuración de un nuevo género textual." In *Lengua medieval y tradiciones discursivas en la Península Ibérica: descripción gramatical, pragmática histórica, metodología*, ed. by Daniel Jacob, and Johannes Kabatek, 79–96. Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Eberenz, Rolf. 2008. "Ninguno quiere del agua turbia beber: sobre construcciones partitivas y su representación en algunos géneros textuales del español preclásico." In *Sintaxis histórica del español y cambio lingüístico: Nuevas perspectivas desde las Tradiciones Discursivas*, ed. by Johannes Kabatek, 151–172. Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Eberenz, Rolf. 2015. "Los tratados médicos castellanos entre 1350 y 1550. Perfil de un género textual en la lengua romance." In *Temas, problemas y métodos para la edición y el estudio de documentos hispánicos antiguos*, ed. by Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, Mariela de la Torre, and Viorica Codita, 65–89. Valencia: Tirant Humanidades.
- Echenique Elizondo, M.^a Teresa. 2003. "Pautas para el estudio histórico de las unidades fraseológicas." In *Estudios ofrecidos al profesor José Jesús de Bustos Tovar, I*, ed. by José Luis Girón Alconchel, Silvia Iglesias, Francisco Javier Herrero, and Antonio Narbona, 545–560. Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- Echenique Elizondo, M.^a Teresa, and M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, (eds.). 2017. *La fraseología a través de la historia de la lengua española*. Valencia: Tirant Humanidades.
- Echenique Elizondo, M.^a Teresa, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, and Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez. 2016. "Perspectivas en el estudio diacrónico de la fraseología en su amplitud hispánica (peninsular, insular y americana)." In *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*, ed. by M.^a Teresa Echenique Elizondo, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer, 17–32. Madrid: CSIC.
- Echenique Elizondo, M.^a Teresa, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer (eds.). 2016. *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Elvira, Javier. 2009. *Evolución lingüística y cambio sintáctico*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Evans, Nicholas, and David Wilkins. 2000. "In the mind's ear. The semantic extensions of perception verbs in Australian languages." *Language* 76: 546–592. <https://doi.org/10.2307/417135>
- Garachana, Mar. 2008. "En los límites de la gramaticalización. La evolución de *encima (de que)* como marcador discursivo." *Revista de Filología Española* LXXXVIII, 1.º, enero-junio: 7–36.
<https://doi.org/10.3989/rfe.2008.v88.i1.43>
- Garachana, Mar. 2014. "Gramática e historia textual en la evolución de los marcadores discursivos. El caso de *no obstante*." *RILCE* 30.3: 959–984.
- Garachana, Mar. 2015. "Teoría de la gramaticalización. Estado de la cuestión." In *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española (Cádiz 2012)*, ed. by José M.^a García Martín, 331–360. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- García-Page Sánchez, Mario. 2008. *Introducción a la fraseología española. Estudios de las locuciones*. Barcelona: Anthropos.

- García Valle, Adela. 2016. "Combinaciones locucionales prepositivas en el tomo II de la *Primera Crónica General* de Alfonso X (*Estoria de Espanna*).” In *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*, ed. by M.^a Teresa Echenique Elizondo, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer, 185–224. Madrid: CSIC.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. 1997. *Diachronic Prototype Semantics. A contribution to Historical Lexicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gibert Sotelo, Elisabeth. 2015a. "Acerca de las conexiones entre los verbos *evitar* y *desviar*: del latín al romance." In *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española (Cádiz 2012)*, ed. by José M.^a García Martín, 1393–1408. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Gibert Sotelo, Elisabeth. 2015b. "De la direccionalidad a la negación: evolución semántica de los verbos *desviar* y *evitar*." In *Langage et dynamiques du sens. Études de linguistique ibéro-romane*, ed. by Sophie Azzopardi, and Sophie Sarrazing, 25–40. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Gil Montes, Juan. 2004. "Vía delapidata. Identificación de una carretera romana por la procedencia de los materiales." In *Elementos de ingeniería romana. Congreso Europeo "Las Obras Públicas romanas, 3–6 noviembre 2004, Tarragona*, ed. by Raúl Alba, Isaac Moreno, and Ricardo Gabriel Martínez, 87–103. Madrid: Colegio de Ingenieros Técnicos de Obras Públicas.
- Glare, P. G. W. 1968. *Oxford Latin Dictionary (OLD)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Grande López, Clara. 2013. "Traducciones en la baja Edad Media de un tratado de cirugía: *Chirurgia Magna* de Guy de Chauliac. Textos en latín, castellano y catalán." In *Actas del XXVI Congreso Internacional de Lingüística y Filología Románica*, ed. by Emili Casanova, and Cesáreo Calvo, 365–374. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110300031.365>
- Gutiérrez Cuadrado, Juan (dir.). 1996. *Diccionario Salamanca de la lengua española*. Madrid: Santillana.
- Haiman, John. 1994. "Ritualization and the development of language." In *Perspectives on Grammaticalization*, ed. by William Pagliuca, 3–28. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.109.07hai>
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. "On the role of context in grammaticalization." In *New reflections on grammaticalization*, ed. by Ilse Wischer, and Gabriele Diewald, 83–101. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.08hei>
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991a. *Grammaticalization. A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991b. "From cognition to grammar: evidence from African languages." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Volume I: Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.), 149–187. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.09hei>
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. "On some principles of grammaticization." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Volume I: Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.), 17–36.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Jacob, Daniel, and Johannes Kabatek (eds.). 2001. *Lengua medieval y tradiciones discursivas en la Península ibérica: descripción gramatical, pragmática histórica, metodología*. Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The body in the mind: the bodily basis of meaning, reason, and imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kabatek, Johannes (ed.). 2008. *Sintaxis histórica del español y cambio lingüístico: Nuevas perspectivas desde las Tradiciones discursivas*. Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Kabatek, Johannes. 2016. "Un nuevo capítulo en la lingüística iberorrománica: el trabajo crítico con los corpus. Introducción a este volumen." In *Lingüística de corpus y lingüística histórica iberorrománica*, ed. by Johannes Kabatek, 1–18. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Koike, Kazumi. 1997. "Valores funcionales de las locuciones propositivas en español." *Onomazein* 2: 151–179.
- Koike, Kazumi. 2001. *Colocaciones léxicas en el español actual: estudio formal y léxico-semántico*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Koike, Kazumi. 2005. "Colocaciones complejas en el español actual." In *Fraseología contrastiva: con ejemplos tomados del alemán, español, francés e italiano*, ed. by Ramón Almela, Gerd Wotjak, and Estanislao Ramón Trives, 169–184. Murcia: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Murcia.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
<https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226471013.001.0001>
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1986 [1980]. *Metáforas de la vida cotidiana*. Madrid, Cátedra.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1977. "Syntactic Reanalysis." In *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, ed. by Charles Li, 57–139. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. *Foundations of cognitive grammar, I: Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford, University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 2000. *Grammar and conceptualization*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Martínez de Sousa, José. 2001. *Diccionario de usos y dudas del español actual*. Barcelona: SPES Editorial.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. 1986 [1926]. *Orígenes del español. Estado lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo XI*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Moliner, María. 1994. *Diccionario del uso del español*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Montoro del Arco, Esteban T. 2006. *Teoría fraseológica de las locuciones particulares. Las locuciones prepositivas, conjuntivas y marcadoras en español*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Morera Pérez, Marcial. 1988. *Estructura semántica del sistema preposicional del español moderno y sus campos de usos*. Puerto del Rosario: Servicio de Publicaciones del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Fuerteventura.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2007. "Un rasgo sintáctico del primer español moderno (ca. 1675–1825): las relaciones interoracionales con *interin* (que)." In *Cuatrocientos años de la lengua del Quijote: estudios de historiografía e historia de la lengua española*, ed. by Marta Fernández Alcaide, and Araceli López Serena, 421–442. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2008. "Un nuevo esquema adversativo en el primer español moderno (h.1675–1825): la historia del nexo *sino* es." In *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua*, vol. 1, ed. by Concepción Company Company, and José Moreno de Alba, 877–908. Madrid: Arco Libros.

- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2014. "Espejismo de la frecuencia creciente: gramaticalización y difusión del artículo ante oraciones sustantivas." *RILCE* 30.3: 916–958.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2016a. "Antonio Muñoz y la sintaxis de la lengua literaria durante el primer español moderno (ca. 1675–1825)." In *Márgenes y centros en el español del s. XVIII*, ed. by Martha Guzmán Riverón, and Daniel Sáez Rivera, 201–299. Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2016b. "Aprovechamiento del CORDE para el estudio sintáctico del primer español moderno (ca. 1675–1825)." In *Lingüística de corpus y lingüística histórica iberorrománica*, ed. by Johannes Kabatek, 57–89. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110462357-004>
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2016c. "Sin CORDE pero con red: *algotras* fuentes de datos." *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 28/2: 19–48.
- Oesterreicher, Wulf. 2007. "Gramática histórica, tradiciones discursivas y variedades lingüísticas. Esbozo programático." *Revista de Historia de la Lengua Española*, 2: 109–128.
- Pavón Lucero, M.^a Victoria. 1999. "Clases de partículas: preposición, conjunción y adverbio." In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Vol. 1. *Sintaxis básica de las clases de palabras*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque, and Violeta Demonte, 565–655. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Peña Cerval, M.^a Sandra, and Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez. 2010. "Los modelos cognitivos idealizados." In *Teoría lingüística: métodos, herramientas y paradigmas*, ed. by Ricardo Mairal Usón, M.^a Sandra Peña Cervel, Francisco J. Cortés Rodríguez, and Francisco J. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (eds.), 231–285. Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces.
- Pons Bordería, Salvador. 2008. "Gramaticalización por tradiciones discursivas: el caso de *esto es*." In *Sintaxis histórica del español y cambio lingüístico: Nuevas perspectivas desde las Tradiciones discursivas*, ed. by Johannes Kabatek. 249–274. Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Pons Bordería, Salvador. 2014. "El siglo XX como diacronía: intuición y comprobación en el caso de *o sea*." *RILCE* 30.3: 985–1016.
- Pons Bordería, Salvador. 2016. "Evolución diacrónica de *o sea*." *BRAE* XCVI/CCCXIII: 291–350.
- Pons Rodríguez, Lola. 2015. "Prejuicios y apriorismos en la investigación histórica sobre marcadores discursivos (con algunas notas sobre *así las cosas*)." In *Les marqueurs du discours dans les langues romanes: une approche contrastive*, ed. by Margarita Borreguero Zuloaga, and Sonia Gómez-Jordana Ferary, 285–303. Limoges: Lambert Lucas.
- Porcel Bueno, David. 2016. "Formas locucionales prepositivas en los libros y colecciones de sentencias castellanas del siglo XIII." In *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*, ed. by M.^a Teresa Echenique Elizondo, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer, 225–236. Madrid: CSIC.
- Quilis Merín, Mercedes. 2016. "Fijación y variación en el uso de las locuciones prepositivas en la lexicografía del Siglo de Oro: El *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (1611) de Sebastián de Covarrubias." In *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*, ed. by M.^a Teresa Echenique Elizondo, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer (coords.), 257–272. Madrid: CSIC.
- Real Academia Española [RAE]. 1726–1739. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las phrases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua...* [Diccionario de Autoridades]. Madrid: Imprenta Francisco de Hierro. Disponible en el Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la lengua española (NTLLE) en <http://ntlle.rae.es>

- Real Academia Española [RAE]. 1803. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana. Suplemento*. Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra. Available in *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la lengua española (NTLLE)* en <http://ntlle.rae.es>
- Real Academia Española [RAE]. 1869. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Madrid: Imprenta de Don Manuel Rivadeneyra. Available in *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la lengua española (NTLLE)* en <http://ntlle.rae.es>
- Real Academia Española [RAE]. 1884. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gregorio Hernando. Available in *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la lengua española (NTLLE)* en <http://ntlle.rae.es>
- Real Academia Española [RAE]. 1947. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana. Suplemento*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. Available in *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la lengua española (NTLLE)* en <http://ntlle.rae.es>
- Real Academia Española, and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española [RAE & ASALE]. 2005. *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas. [DPD]*. Madrid: Santillana.
- Real Academia Española, and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española [RAE & ASALE]. 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española 2 vols*. Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- Real Academia Española, and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española [RAE & ASALE]. 2014. *Diccionario de la lengua española [DLE]*. Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- Real Academia Española, and Consejo General del Poder Judicial [RAE & CGPJ]. 2016. *Diccionario del español jurídico*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Ricós Vidal, Amparo. 2016. "El origen de algunas locuciones prepositivas en gallego y portugués. Análisis de las crónicas medievales." In *Fraseología española: diacronía y codificación*, ed. by M.^a Teresa Echenique Elizondo, M.^a José Martínez Alcalde, Juan Pedro Sánchez Méndez, and Francisco P. Pla Colomer, 237–256. Madrid: CSIC.
- Rodríguez Ortiz, Francesc. 1996. *Introducción y desarrollo del léxico del ferrocarril en la lengua española*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Tesis doctoral at <http://hdl.handle.net/2445/35048>
- Rojo, Guillermo. 2011. "Frecuencia de inventario y frecuencia de uso en los elementos gramaticales." *Revista Española de Lingüística* 41/2: 5–43.
- Romo Simón, Francisco. 2016. *Un Estudio cognitivista de las preposiciones espaciales del español y su aplicación a la enseñanza de E/LE*. Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Tesis doctoral at <http://hdl.handle.net/10803/384719>
- Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor. 2001. *Las locuciones en español actual*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Sánchez González de Herrero, M.^a de las Nieves. 2011. "La importancia de la lengua de partida en las traducciones medievales al castellano del *De Proprietatibus Rerum* de Bartolomé Ánglico." In *‘Así van las lenguas variando’*. *Nuevas tendencias en las investigación del cambio lingüístico en español*, ed. by Mónica Castillo Lluch, and Lola Pons Rodríguez, 411–435. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Sánchez González de Herrero, M.^a de las Nieves, and M.^a Concepción Vázquez de Benito. 2010. "La traducción de textos médicos medievales. Cuestiones en torno al léxico." *Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia de la Lengua* 4: 77–103.
- Santos Domínguez, Luis Antonio, and Rosa M.^a Espinosa Elorza. 1996. *Manual de Semántica Histórica*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Santos Río, Luis. 2003. *Diccionario de partículas*. Salamanca: Luso-Española de Ediciones.
- Seco, Manuel. 1998. *Diccionario de dudas y dificultades de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

- Svorou, Soteria. 1994. *The Grammar of Space*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.25>
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003. "Constructions in Grammaticalization." In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph and Richard Janda, 624–648. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch20>
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ueda, Hiroto. 1990. "Frases prepositivas en español." *Revista de la Facultad de Artes y Ciencias de la Universidad de Tokio* 22: 9–33.
- Valverde, José Luis, and Teresa Bautista Méndez. 1984. *El Códice de Cirugía de Teodorico de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Granada. Teoría y Praxis farmacéutica*. Granada: Estudios del Departamento de Historia de la Farmacia y Legislación Farmacéutica, Universidad de Granada.
- Verhaert, Anne. 2008. *El gerundio perifrástico del español. Cómo no ser demasiado explícito ni demasiado implícito*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401205733>

On the importance of a diachronic approach to phraseology

Elena Sánchez López

University of Alicante

A diachronic approach to Phraseology may provide us the key to understand the nature of the phraseological phenomenon, thus contributing to the establishment of the subdiscipline. In this paper, we underline the relation between Phraseology and language change, showing the similarities between Phraseologization and Grammaticalization processes and, subsequently, focusing on their differences. Having explained the general Phraseologization process, we focus on its three sides: the acquisition of structural, semantic and pragmatic fixedness, leading to the synchronic features known as polylexicity and idiomaticity. Having seen the importance of semantic and pragmatic factors in the process, we describe Phraseologization in terms of semantic change, using the Spanish idiom “con pelos y señales” as an example.

Keywords: phraseology, language change, diachronic linguistics, idiomaticity, phraseologization, grammaticalization, semantic change

1. Introduction

Phraseology is “a linguistic subfield concerned with the study of word combinations of varying extent and type, and different degrees of fixedness” (Häcki Buhofer 2010, back cover). As stated in the definition, it includes a great variety of language items, which, at their turn, have been approached from different perspectives. For instance, while the American tradition has focused on idioms, the European tradition has chosen a broader approach, including collocations and non-idiomatic expressions.

Despite the attention devoted to it in the last 20 years, some important issues are still open. Beginning with the scope of the discipline, the subcategories that should be included in it and even their essential features. A diachronic approach to Phraseology may provide us the key to understand the nature of the phraseological

phenomenon, thus contributing to the establishment of the subdiscipline. In this paper, we would like to bring to the fore the fact that Phraseological Units are the result of language evolution and, as such, have undergone the effects of language change. From this perspective, “understanding language change helps us to understand synchronic states, their structure, and the variation that is found in them” (Bybee 2015: 11).

Our contribution starts with some preliminary remarks on terminology. For a broader approach, we have adopted the European perspective and, more concretely, the Hispanic one. Therefore, we include a brief review of Hispanic phraseology and outline the current state of the art, dealing with the name of the subject, its linguistic units, its categories and their essential features.

After the introduction, we adopt a diachronic approach, highlighting its importance for the subfield. We underline the relation between Phraseology and language change, showing the similarities between Phraseologization and Grammaticalization processes and, subsequently, focusing on their differences. Having explained the general Phraseologization process, we focus on its three sides: the acquisition of structural, semantic and pragmatic fixedness. We show that this fixation process leads to the synchronic features known as polylexicality and idiomaticity.

For the last section of our work, having seen the importance of semantic and pragmatic factors in the process, we describe Phraseologization in terms of semantic change. Therefore, we base on the *Invited Inferencing¹ Theory of Semantic Change* (IITSC) postulated by Traugott and Dasher (2002). Paying attention to contextual inferences and their degree of generalization, we determine the different stages a PhU can go through, including phraseological change.

Our aim is to open a new perspective, so that Phraseological Units can be integrated in the language system, thus being seen as normal language items. In this process, their relation to other linguistic phenomena will come to the fore. As concluding remarks, we will sum up all the issues treated along the paper, inviting the reader to draw his own conclusions.

1.1 Preliminary remarks on terminology

The establishment of an international consistent terminology remains an open issue for the subfield of phraseology. Each approach, and each language, has developed its own terms and concepts to describe phenomena related to formulaic, set, fixed phrases, thus leading to terminological inconsistency. Despite the attempts to blur

1. *Invited Inference* is the equivalent to *Particularized Conversational Implicature* in Levinson's (2004) terminology.

these idiosyncrasies, the goal of establishing a global standardized terminological system for phraseology has not yet been accomplished. This issue affects core aspects of the discipline, ranging from the generic term for the whole subject area or for the linguistic units forming it to the terms for its subcategories and even for its essential features (see Burger et al. 2007: Chapter 1). For this reason, undertaking research on phraseology implies being critical with the theoretical framework, clearly stating the previous works you are referring to, and providing key definitions when necessary.

I would like to remark that, despite being written in English, this chapter is mainly based on the Hispanic (Casares 1950; Corpas 1996; Ruiz Gurillo 1997, 2001; Montoro del Arco 2006; Timofeeva 2012, 2016) and Germanic (Filatkina et al. 2012; Burger et al. 2007; Burger 2010; Dräger 2012; Munske 1993; Barz 1985) traditions on phraseology. While Hispanic phraseology serves as a basis to describe the discipline evolution and the current state-of-the-art in a concrete territory (circumscribed to Spanish and Catalan Studies), Germanic phraseology provides a wider European view and the keys to adopt a diachronic perspective. Since the chosen theoretical framework was originally conceived in Catalan, Spanish and German, it has been translated and adapted into English for this contribution. Consequently, the reader might encounter some new terms, which do not fit into his or her previous conceptual framework. In order to avoid misinterpretations, the basic terms and concepts will be discussed and defined, pinpointing their roles within the said traditions.

Mere Phraseological approaches will be complemented with perspective and terms from neighboring disciplines, such as pragmatics (Levinson 2004) and usage-based diachronic linguistics (Heine 2002; Company 2012; Traugott and Dasher 2002; Bybee 2015). These linguistic approaches will contribute to a better understanding of the phraseological phenomenon, providing key concepts related to language evolution. In this case, a translation of the terms will not be necessary, since they were originally coined in English.

1.2 A brief review of Hispanic phraseology

Hispanic phraseology emerges in the 1950s within the field of lexicography (Casares 1950). In this context, theoretical questions were closely related to the compilation of dictionaries and two main topics were addressed: the justification why a phraseological unit should be included in a dictionary and its citation form. For this purpose, it was very important to show that a phraseological unit functioned as a lexical unit and that it had a unique form, i.e., that it presented structural fixedness. Otherwise, this kind of linguistic element would not have eligible to be included in

a dictionary. In addition to lexicographical studies, folkloristics had already been dealing with proverbs for a long time, from the perspective of cultural studies. But linguists have traditionally considered these expressions as anecdotal examples rather than units of language.

In the 1990s, phraseological studies acquired a linguistic perspective (Corpas 1996; Ruiz Gurillo 1997, among others). Researchers focused then on the definition and classification of phraseological units. Corpas (1996: 20), in her *Manual de fraseología española* [Handbook of Spanish Phraseology] set the basis for Hispanic Phraseology, gathering the most important contributions on the field at the time. Her definition of phraseological unit and her three-spheres classification are still quite quoted nowadays.

From the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, Ruiz Gurillo (1997, 2001) made her contribution to phraseological research. She established that phraseological units were not an anomalous phenomenon i.e. that they followed the creation patterns of general language, triggered by metaphor and metonymy. She also pointed out the resemblance between phraseologization and grammaticalization processes. Basing on the Prototype Theory, she selected the relevant features and defined the prototypical phraseological unit. Montoro del Arco (2006) and Timofeeva (2012) complemented this theoretical framework by adding Pragmatics and a discursive perspective. While Montoro del Arco dealt with “grammatical” PhU, Timofeeva focused on “lexical” PhU, providing an accurate description of the phraseological meaning, in the system of language as well as in the discourse.

As we can see, in addition to the more traditional Phraseological approaches, Cognitive Linguistics, Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis join forces to establish a well-defined theoretical framework. In spite of that, entrenched ideas are difficult to get rid of and Phraseology is not always perceived by linguists as a modern, serious subfield. A diachronic approach could help to integrate PhU in the normal mechanisms of language evolution, thus losing their aura of anomalous, creative language items.

1.3 Current state of the art: Conceptual and terminological issues

As mentioned in the preliminary remarks, one of the open issues to be addressed in the subfield of phraseology is the establishment of an international consistent terminology. In this section, we will introduce the main terms used in current Hispanic Phraseology, providing additional information when necessary. We will deal with the generic term for the subject, the linguistic units forming it, its subcategories and its main features.

1.3.1 *On the name of the subject*

Since the first works devoted to it, the field has always received the same name in Spanish: *fraseología* [Phraseology]. This term remains valid nowadays and can be applied to the subject and to a particular set of phraseological units belonging to it (e.g. phraseology in medical texts). Despite being the most extended name, we can find important contributions to this field under different names including keywords such as: Idioms (Gibbs 2007, Piirainen 2012), Idiomaticity (Coulmas 1981), Figurative Language/Units (Dobrovolskij & Piirainen 2005; Piirainen 2012), Formulaic Language (Gibbs 2007, Filatkina 2007, 2009; Wray 2005, 2008), Routine Formulae (Coulmas 1979, Alvarado 2007, 2008), feste/usuelle Worverbindungen (fixed/usual word combinations) (Steyer 2013, Feilke 2004), fixed expressions (Zuluaga 1980 and mainly the French tradition), set phrases (Espinal 2004), pre-fabricated language (Salvador 2000), locutions (Montoro del Arco 2006), collocations (Sinclair 1987; Bosque 2001, Alonso-Ramos et al. 2011), co-occurrences (Steyer 2003, 2004; Ginebra 2003), or Multiword Expressions – MWE (Dershowitz & Nissan 2014; Baldwin & Kim 2010).

These keywords reflect the variety of approaches within Phraseology. While Cognitive Linguistics focuses mainly on the Phraseological Meaning and, therefore, on idioms, idiomaticity and figurative meaning; Lexicography tends to pay more attention to the Form, i.e. to structural fixedness, speaking thus of fixed/set expressions. The denomination *Formulaic language*, in addition to structural fixedness, reveals an interest for the pragmatic factors involved and is normally used to refer to non-idiomatic expressions. The term Collocations emerged within the field of Corpus Linguistics, and was later adopted by Phraseology with different nuances (see Sánchez-López 2013) depending on the authors. Co-occurrences and usual word combinations are terms from Corpus Linguistics, which semantically speaking are quite similar to Multiword Expressions, term mainly used in Computational Linguistics and Natural Language Processing.

1.3.2 *Linguistic units*

In Spanish, the most extended denomination for the items constituting Phraseology is *Phraseological Unit* (PhU) (see Corpas 1996; Ruiz Gurillo 1997, 2001; Montoro del Arco 2006; Timofeeva 2012), in analogy to the pairs *Lexicology* – *Lexical Unit* or *Terminology* – *Terminological Unit*. In some research works, we can also find the terms *Phraseologism* (mostly in those works with a German influence, see Mellado Blanco 2004, 2008; Schellheimer 2016) or, not so often, *Phraseme* (mostly in the works with French influence, see Melčuk 1995; Conca & Guia 2014). These denominations do not show conceptual differences themselves, they are just the most general way to refer to the linguistics items forming Phraseology. Depending on the Phraseology conception of the authors, their meaning will be broader or narrower.

1.3.3 Subcategories

The terminology presented until now is well established in Hispanic Studies: Phraseology is the subfield of linguistics devoted to the study of Phraseological Units. However, the subcategories in which these units are divided and their essential features are not so evident. Casares (1950: 203) distinguished between three classes of pluriverbal (multiword) lexical units: locutions, proverbs and proverbial phrases, which are in between the two others. According to him, locutions (in its two classes: significant and connective ones) and proverbial phrases should be included in the dictionary. On the contrary, proverbs should not, since they do not form a conceptual unity.

Corpas (1996) established a three-spheres classification for PhU consisting of: collocations, locutions² and phraseological utterances (proverbs and routine formulae). This classification was based on two criteria: whether its fixation process took place in the norm, system or speech (according to Coseriu's 1952 terminology) and whether the item could function as a complete utterance or not. Phraseological utterances were considered as a complete utterance, i.e., they did not need other linguistic elements to be actualized in a discourse, and had become fixed in the speech level. Both locutions and collocations needed other linguistic elements to form a sentence, but, while collocations had undergone the fixation process in the norm, locutions have become fixed in the system of language. Corpas' conception of Phraseology was a broad one, since she included collocations as well as proverbs and routine formulae.

In contrast to the three-spheres classification by Corpas (1996), Ruiz Gurillo (1997) provides a descriptive taxonomy based on the most relevant features of the phraseological units. In a first instance, she assigns a Part of Speech (a lexical category) to them, suggesting a division into three groups: phraseological nominal syntagms, phraseological verbal syntagms and phraseological prepositional syntagms. Within these macrogroups, she describes a set of polylexical expressions with different degrees of fixedness and idiomaticity, ranging from completely fixed and idiomatic locutions with diacritical words and/or structural anomalies to idiomatic or mixed locutions to collocations (with slight differences depending on the macrogroup). This researcher acknowledges that it is an "artificial differentiation",

2. In Hispanic phraseology, *locution* is the most extended denomination for the central phraseological unit (the polylexical, possibly idiomatic one). The closest equivalent in English, with some different nuances, would be the term *idiom*. Although the word *locution* also exists in English, it refers to "a particular form of expression or a peculiarity of phrasing; especially: a word or expression characteristic of a region, group, or cultural level", which does not match to the intended meaning in Spanish.

since these categories present fuzzy boundaries, being her aim to provide an idealized model of a difficult to systematize heterogeneous phenomenon.

In addition to her descriptive classification, Ruiz Gurillo (1997) determines the kind of polylexical units that should be the object of study of Phraseology and states the boundaries with neighboring disciplines such as lexicology, syntax and paremiology. According to her, just syntagmatic units (compositional fixed expressions), proverbial phrases (truncated proverbs) and locutions (non-compositional fixed expressions) belong to Phraseology. As we can see, her conception of Phraseology is much narrower than that by Corpas (1996).

Other items, incorporated by Corpas in her Handbook, such as proverbs or routine formulae are not included in the field of Phraseology as described by Ruiz Gurillo. She explicitly states that proverbs should be left to Paremiology. In the case of Collocations, she considers that are on the edge between syntax and Phraseology, and should be allocated in the outer periphery of the field. The center would be constituted by completely fixed and idiomatic locutions with diacritical words and/or structural anomalies.

Timofeeva (2012) incorporates the pragmatic approach to this discussion and suggests a classification for PhU taking into consideration their illocutive features and their function as a linguistic sign. Although she does not explicit it, her work focuses on what Montoro del Arco (2006) or Burger (2010: 36) call *referential phraseologisms*, i.e., on phraseologisms referring to objects, processes or facts from reality (in “real” worlds as well as in fictional ones). This focus is evident since she refers to the designative value and referential capacity of PhU, which is the main feature characterizing referential phraseologisms, in contrast to structural and communicative ones.

For her taxonomy, she bases mainly on Telia’s (1996), discarding routine formulae (clichés and discursive formulae), author-specific expressions, proverbs, and quotations and aphorisms. Therefore, Phraseology for Timofeeva consists of locutions, phraseological combinations (lexical collocations with a high degree of fixedness) and enunciative locutions (truncated proverbs). While locutions would represent the nucleus of the field, the other two categories would constitute the periphery. At this point, her classification is quite similar to that by Ruiz Gurillo (1997).

Montoro del Arco (2006) agrees that *locutions* are the prototypical PhU, and opens Ruiz Gurillo’s categories to new phenomena, including “Particular Locutions” with a relational value. Instead of focusing on unities acting like nouns or verbs, he deals with segments functioning as relational words such as *Prepositional Locutions*, *Conjunctive Locutions* and *Linking Locutions* (discourse-marking phrases). Although these linking locutions are at the core of his work, he tacitly acknowledges that they do not constitute the core of the discipline, since he refers to them with the adjective “particular”.

1.3.4 *Essential features*

Since the beginning of Hispanic Phraseology, different qualities have been attributed to its unities. In this section, we would like to make a brief historical review of the main features ascribed to Phraseological Units, in order to better understand the basis of the discipline.

Casares (1950: 170) provides an accurate definition of *locution*. According to him, it is a

Stable combination of two words or more, functioning as part of a sentence, whose known unitary meaning cannot be justified from the addition of the normal meaning of its component parts.

From the previous definition, we can extract several relevant features such as: stability, fixedness (stable combination), polilexicality (two words or more), non-sentence value (part of a sentence) and non-compositionality (the unitary meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of its component parts). The latter has traditionally been identified with idiomaticity in Hispanic Phraseology.

One of the most influential definitions of Phraseological Unit in the Spanish area is that by Corpas (1996: 20). It reflects her broad conception of Phraseology and attempts to include so many features as possible. Curiously enough, none of the features described below were used as classifying criteria for her taxonomy. According to Corpas, PhU are

[...] **lexical units** composed of **two or more graphical words** as a minimum, and a compound sentence as a maximum. The main features of these units are a high rate of usage, and of **co-occurrence of its component parts**; **institutionalization**, understood in terms of fixedness and semantic specialization; **potential idiomaticity** and **variation**; as well as the **gradation** of these features presented by the different kinds of units.

This definition, in her aim to be as inclusive as possible, reflects some inconsistencies regarding the conception as a unit of the Phraseological Unit. According to it, phraseological units are lexical items composed of more than one word. This statement could be controversial regarding the inclusion of collocations, since they do not form a unity. She establishes the upper limit in the compound sentence, which is logical, given that her conception includes proverbs as part of Phraseology, but it is difficult to visualize a compound sentence as a lexical item. Among its features, she remarks the high rate of usage, which should be better specified. Surely, PhU are used more often than other word combinations, but if we compare them to other lexical units, they are less used than monolexical items. Finally, if we conceive PhU as a unit, it is a tautology to state that their component parts co-occur.

We find very interesting that she mentions institutionalization, which refers to the process of becoming part of the system of language (related to conventionalization).

According to her, institutionalization is closely related to stability, which is the result of a fixation process which leads to (formal) fixedness and semantic specialization (Corpas 1996: 23–27). The highest level of semantic specialization is the semantic opacity, which in phraseological terms is called *idiomaticity*. Other features that may present a PhU, according to Corpas' definition, are idiomaticity (understood as no-compositionality) and variation. It is also relevant that all these features are gradual, depending on the subcategory of unit.

Montoro del Arco (2006: 110) enhances Corpas' definition by adding the morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic implications of constituting a unity. He also emphasizes their role at two levels: the structural and the discursive one.

Phraseological Units (PhU) – object of study of Phraseology – are multiword language segments (composed of two or more graphical words), whose component parts have partially lost their paradigmatic and syntagmatic features (although they may remain in other contexts). Therefore, they function as an **institutionalized unity**. At the **morphosyntactic** level, they show a certain degree of **formal fixedness**, and a certain degree of fixed **potential variation**. From a **semantic** perspective, they show a certain degree of **idiomaticity** or **semantic specialization**. From a **pragmatic** approach, they are characterized by having acquired values affecting some of the **communication** instances: **interactive relation** (courtesy, etc.), **relation among discourse parts** (connective function) or **speaker's attitude** towards discourse (modality). In addition to these values, they also present a determinate **function**, which may be carried out at a **structural** or a **discursive level**.

Ruiz Gurillo (2001), from her narrow conception of Phraseology, bases her definition of PhU on two main features: fixedness and idiomaticity. According to her, fixedness is an essential feature, while idiomaticity is a subsidiary one, i.e., a phraseological unit has to be fixed and might be idiomatic. Applying the Prototype Theory to this definition, she argues that the prototypical phraseological unit should present a high-degree of fixedness and idiomaticity. This position is a good example of the current consensus in the field of phraseology, as shown by the definition in Burger et al (2007: 622):

From the beginning, description and delimitation of the term phraseologism was one of the main concerns in phraseological research. The main features pointed out by scientific literature as defining criteria are “polylexicity”, “fixedness” and “idiomaticity”. Those phraseologisms characterized by presenting polylexicity and fixedness constitute Phraseology in a wide sense. Those also presenting idiomaticity form Phraseology in a strict sense.³

3. Translated into English from the original quotation in German: „Die Begriffsbestimmung und Abgrenzung von Phraseologismen gehören zu Beginn der Phraseologieforschung zu den zentralen Themen: Als Definitionskriterien werden in der Literatur die Merkmale “Polylexikalität”,

Timofeeva (2012) adds a discursive twist to this discussion, since she takes into account the communicative dimension of referential PhU. From this perspective, its essential features are still polylexicality, fixedness and idiomaticity, but the meaning of these terms is reevaluated. Fixedness had usually been associated to structural (formal, internal) fixedness in the Hispanic tradition, and this author remarks the existence of an external (Thun 1978), pragmatic (Montoro del Arco 2006) fixedness, based on social usage (Baranov & Dobrovols'kij 1996). Quoting Baranov & Dobrovols'kij (1996), she states that usage-based fixation is essential, while formal fixedness is a secondary feature. She conceives fixedness and idiomaticity (in terms of semantic fixedness) as consequences of the same process, which is usually triggered by external factors such as context or historical cultural significance of the source (Timofeeva 2012: 131).

In a nutshell, following the Hispanic tradition, Phraseology is the subdiscipline of linguistics devoted to the study of Phraseological Units. These Units are characterized by presenting polylexicality, fixedness and, in some cases, idiomaticity. The prototypical Phraseological Unit is the idiomatic referential locution⁴ (e.g. *mesa de negociación, al pie de la letra*), while linking locutions (e.g. *por medio de, de manera que, nada más, sin embargo, no obstante*) pragmatic locutions (routine formulae) (e.g. *buenos días, ¡No me digas!*), collocations (*poner la mesa, dar un beso*) and truncated proverbs (*¡A buenas horas! [mangas verdes]*) lie at the periphery of the category.

1.4 The importance of a diachronic approach

Along this introduction our aim was to introduce the latest state-of-the-art regarding Phraseology within Hispanic tradition. As we could see, Hispanic Phraseology has reached an elaborated theoretical framework, including contributions from Lexicography, traditional Linguistics, Cognitive Linguistics, Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis. Although for the sake of clarity, we tried to present the main conceptual and terminological issues in a well-structured way, with final remarks, we have to acknowledge that some points are still controversial. Some deep-rooted assumptions persist and influence new studies and, especially, new researchers trying to enter the field of Phraseology.

“Festigkeit” sowie “Idiomatizität“. Diejenigen Phraseologismen, die durch Polylexikalität und Festigkeit gekennzeichnet sind, bilden den Bereich der Phraseologie im weiteren Sinne, die Teilklasse der Phraseologismen, auf die zudem noch das Merkmal der Idiomatizität zutrifft, bilden den Bereich der Phraseologie im engeren Sinne” (Burger et al. 2007: 622).

4. The closest equivalent to *idiomatic referential locution* in English is *idiom*.

A diachronic approach to Phraseology may provide the clue to the nature of the phraseological phenomenon, thus contributing to the establishment of the subdiscipline. It can give response to some open issues such as the subcategories to be included in it or the definition of its main features. By closely observing the emergence process of polylexical expressions, we can better understand how a set of words becomes a unity, in a formal and a semantic sense. This way, some of its irregularities, such as structural anomalies, diacritical words or non-compositional meaning can be easily explained. Thus, confirming that PhU are not extraordinary language items, since their characteristics are the product of the regular mechanisms of language evolution.

2. Phraseology and language change

As known, the current stage of any language is the result of its evolution through time. Current Linguistic Theories, adopting a usage-based approach, conceive language as “a dynamic system of emergent symbolic units and flexible constraints that are shaped by general cognitive processes involved in language use” (Diessel 2014). These theories, evolved from various strands of research in functional and cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics, focus on language development, emphasizing the role of the language users’ experience and assume that “language change takes place during language use” (Bybee 2015: xv). Thus, giving a great importance to speakers and communication situations.

Phraseological Units, as part of language, are the result of language change. According to Usage-Based Linguistics, this evolution is driven by the psycholinguistic or cognitive processes operating in everyday conversation, connected to context, repetition and pattern-matching.

We should bear in mind that communication always takes place in context. When a language item is often used in the same context, it may be associated with it, thus incorporating into its meaning information supplied by this context. In linguistic terms, change happens when contextual inferences become conventionalized.

Repetition (frequency) plays a major role in this process. As in any learning process, “practice or repetition allows you to become more fluent as you learn to anticipate and overlap one action with another and to reduce non-essential movements” (Bybee 2015: 9). When speaking about language, this adaptive change may apply to phonetics (structural part) as well as to semantics or even pragmatics.

In addition to context and repetition, there is a cognitive process at work when processing information, namely, pattern-matching. Since “another pervasive process in the human approach to the world is the formation of patterns from our experience” (Bybee 2015: 10). In connection to language, we establish patterns in a

double way: regarding sequences of words and connecting them to a context. Since we do not speak with isolated words, whenever we recognize a word sequence, it tends to be reinforced and can eventually become fixed, thus giving origin to a PhU. Given that our language interactions always take place in a determinate context, which provides the key to identify referents, we also establish patterns between the words used and the context. As a consequence of this matching, given the same context, we tend to say the same thing in the same way. At a first instance, we establish patterns connecting context – wording – idea.

As native speakers, we can recognize the “normal”, non-marked way for expressing things and we make use of it in regular conversations. But, as humans, we do not just identify and reproduce patterns in the conventional way, we also tend to apply them in novel ways, which may also lead to language change. We should not forget that Language is a social convention and, as such, is constantly negotiated by the speech community in each interaction.

Language change has been thoroughly studied in connection to phonetics, grammaticalization, lexical change and emergence of constructions. However, the emergence of Phraseological Units has not attracted much attention within this strand of research. Despite several authors (e.g. Pérez Saldanya 1997; Pérez Saldanya & Salvador 1995; Cuenca 2000; Ruiz Gurillo 2001, 2010, 2012; Montoro del Arco 2006) pointing out its resemblance to grammaticalization, the process has not been described into detail. Besides, those researchers who showed interest for the process, focused mostly on non-prototypical PhU (e.g. Garachana 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Cifuentes Honrubia 2001, 2003; Ruiz Gurillo 2012; Onodera 2012; Diewald 2012).

2.1 Phraseologization and grammaticalization: Similar processes

Grammaticalization and phraseologization are both processes of language change, affecting different levels of language. While grammaticalization involves lexical words becoming grammatical words (or grammatical words changing its meaning), phraseologization is concerned with phrases turning into (poly)lexical units (see Sánchez-López & Fuster Ortuño 2012, Sánchez-López & Fuster Ortuño 2014, Sánchez-López & Lozano Sañudo 2016). They are both complex, multilayered processes leading into grammar, in the case of grammaticalization, and into lexis, in the case of phraseologization.

When dealing with referential phrases, we should take into account that the relevance of their components and their high semantic load have a great impact on the processes undergone. For instance, phonologically, they are less likely to suffer erosion and, at least in Romance languages, to become univerbated. Semantically and pragmatically, the persistence of the semantic etymology is higher, which causes that the weakened original meaning remains present during the process

and facilitates the advancement to new contexts. The polysemy created is also more significant, since the language user may see simultaneously the compositional and the non-compositional meaning. When he cannot establish a connection between these two meanings, he tends to remotivate it, thus creating an Image, which is synchronically identified as a figurative meaning.

Company's (2012: 688) has thoroughly described the changes undergone by a language item during the grammaticalization process. As we can see in her list of steps, she includes the changes related to the conversion into a unit (primary grammaticalization), as well as the possible subsequent meaning change (secondary grammaticalization).⁵ Analogically, we can find two major changes during the phraseologization process, called "phraseologization" and "secondary phraseologization" by some authors (Fleischer 1982: 193–194 & Barz 1985: 193). Although, like Dräger (2012), we prefer to designate them as "phraseologization" and "phraseological change" (see Sánchez-López 2015).

Basing on Company's (2012: 688) description for grammaticalization, we will explain the changes undergone by a phrase to become a referential locution and the factors that facilitate its change. The numbers in parentheses refer to Company's paper.

With respect to the Form, the phrase becomes (iii) less autonomous and its combinatory freedom becomes weakened or lost. (v) Its scope reduces and eventually its components get fixed. In some languages, it can undergo (vii) univerbation and become an only word.⁶ It can also become (viii) eroded and lose phonological weight.⁷

With regard to the Meaning, (i) a weakening or loss of the original component meaning occurs, which causes the emergence of a unitary meaning, causing it to eventually cease to act as a phrase. (ix) Layering emerges and the PhU may act as a secondary naming. (x) Divergence appears, the same phrase splits into different analysis, causing (xii) more polysemy. (xiii) Already extant meanings are renewed. It is subject to (xiv) lexicalization, understood in two senses: on the one hand, the lexicon as well as dictionaries are enlarged because the form or construction, having new functions and meanings, needs more specifications into the lexicon, and the

5. Some authors distinguish between "primary grammaticalization" and "secondary grammaticalization". The former consisting in the evolution "from a lexical to a grammatical status" (see Traugott 2002), the latter in the advance "from less grammatical to a more grammatical status" (see Givón 1991: 305).

6. Should this happen, we should rethink if it can synchronically be considered as a Phraseological Unit. In Romance languages, it will probably not. In languages such as German, that tend to write locutions as one word, the issue is still under discussion. Objectively speaking, we should acknowledge that orthography is just a convention, but it has a great impact on our perception of words.

7. Again, this is improbable in Romance languages and is more likely in stress languages.

lexicographic entry must be enlarged (or included). On the other hand, there is lexicalization because of loss of transparency, or opacity, between the two faces of the sign or between the sign and its contexts of use, and the new reinterpreted sign must be specified into the lexicon.

Regarding its usage, (ii) it extends across contexts, becomes generalized and its use as a unit increases. (iv) Being free of contextual restraints, its frequency rises. Similarly to paradigmaticization (vi), the new function implies a new category, i.e., the new item functions as an adverb, and adjective, etc. Since (xi) the original non-compositional meaning (Form) usually persists when phraseologization progresses, the Image created from speakers to motivate the Phraseological Meaning facilitates the advancement to new contexts.

2.2 Phraseologization: A process involving more than a word

Within the subdiscipline of Phraseology, the emergence process of Phraseological Units is called *Phraseologization*. This term refers to the process by which a free word combination becomes a fixed, polylexical expression. It is useful, since it clearly illustrates the fact that the process should involve more than a word and the end result should be a multiword expression. Working from a broad conception of Phraseology, this includes referential (*al pie de la letra*), linking (*por medio de*) and communicative/pragmatic (*Buenos días*) combinations of words, as long as they are fixed.

From this perspective, Phraseologization affects different kinds of units that have acquired diverse functions in discourse. For this reason, they tend to be categorized as three distinct types of language items and the process leading to them has been considered as three different processes. Thus, receiving different names such as lexicalization,⁸ grammaticalization⁹ or pragmaticalization. These terms reflect the focus of the different perspectives, while the first remarks the acquisition of a new lexical meaning, the second highlights the development of new grammatical functions, and the third emphasizes the acquisition of pragmatic values. Essentially, these processes are quite similar and, when concerning multiword expressions,

8. "Broadly defined as the adoption of concepts into the lexicon, it has been viewed by syntacticians as the reverse process of grammaticalization, by morphologists as a routine process of word-formation, and by semanticists as the development of concrete meanings" (Brinton and Traugott 2005).

9. "Grammaticalization is usually defined as the process by which a lexical item or a sequence of items becomes a grammatical morpheme, changing its distribution and function in the process (Meillet [1912] 1958; Givón 1979; Seiler & Lehmann 1982; Heine and Reh 1984; Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991a, 1991b; Hopper and Traugott 1993)" (Bybee 2007).

could be subsumed under the label of phraseologization in a broad sense. If we adopt a strict approach, phraseologization would exclusively refer to the emergence process of referential locutions.

Let us now focus on the prototypical Phraseological Unit, i.e. the referential idiomatic locution (idiom), characterized by being polylexical (structurally fixed) and idiomatic. From a diachronic point of view, its phraseologization process comprises both the acquisition of polilexicality and the acquisition of idiomaticity. Essentially, they are two inextricable sides of the process of becoming a Unit. A new, unitary meaning is assigned to a sequence of words, thus leading to structural and semantic fixation. Since this process occurs in a determinate (repetitive) communication situation, we could add the pragmatic fixation to the equation. Actually, we could say that structural, semantic and pragmatic fixation are three sides of the same coin.

3. Phraseologization: Structural, semantic and pragmatic fixation

From our perspective, the current features of the referential idiomatic locution have been gained during Phraseologization. This evolution process implies structural fixation, leading to polilexicality, i.e. to the emergence of a unity composed by more than a word. It also includes semantic fixation, which, depending on its degree, may lead to idiomaticity, understood as the emergence of a new, non-compositional meaning. And, last but not least, it involves the fixation of pragmatic aspects, thus reflecting the communication situation in which the PhU was created. This fixation may advance to the acquisition of new semantic and pragmatic values.

3.1 Structural fixation: Fixedness (polylexicality)

The outcome of the Phraseologization process has been thoroughly studied in connection to the morphosyntactic constraints present in the PhU. Zuluaga (1980) pointed out a set of features, which had a great influence on Phraseology (see e.g. Corpas Pastor 1996; Ruiz Gurillo 1997; García-Page 1996). According to him, a PhU presents a fixed component order, which cannot be altered (eg. sano y salvo/*salvo y sano). It also has an invariable grammatical category and it cannot be inflected (eg. por las buenas/*por la buena). Its number of components is fixed, i.e., no component can be added (eg. al pie de la letra/*al pie de la bonita letra). Its components can either be substituted (eg. al pie de la letra/*al pie de la carta).

Traditionally, linguists have placed the focus on this kind of fixedness, since it was the easiest to systematize. It is fruit of the formal fixation undergone by the combination of words to become a Unit. This process is also the origin of the structural anomalies, which present the prototypical PhU according to Ruiz

Gurillo (1997). Synchronically observed, these “anomalies” are just anachronisms, but, since they are quite salient, are considered as characteristic for the central PhU.

Corpus studies have revealed that PhU are not as structurally fixed as assumed. That fact is due to two factors: PhU can be actualized in discourse and just what is relevant become fixed. Thus, some expressions have variations, where different components coexist. Eg. No pegar ojo[un ojo/el ojo/los ojos].¹⁰ Others can be considered “idioms with vacant slots”, as Montoro del Arco (2008) denominates them, such as “el/un [...] de marras”.¹¹ These examples justify the dichotomy fixation/variation in relation to PhU that we can find in the literature.

These variations suggest that structural fixedness, despite being salient, is not the main feature characterizing PhU. Timofeeva (2012: 129) suggests a fixedness based on social usage (as proposed by Baranov & Dobrovols’kij 1996), which is connected to the perception of being used as a unit by language users. Burger (2010: 15–29) completes the picture with other characteristics that prove the unity nature of the PhU, such as common use, psycholinguistic fixedness and pragmatic fixedness (it is used in typical communicative situations, where plays a typical role).

From our perspective, psycholinguistic fixedness – the fact that this kind of phrases are stored as a unity and can be recalled and reproduced as whole (Burger 2010: 16–17) – is the key to determine the holistic nature of PhU. Its influence has been shown by different experiments, such as cloze tests, where language users had to complete the expressions (see Burger 2010: 17 or Svensson 2004: 47–ff.). In real life, we can also see its power in slips of the tongue mixing two of them or substituting one of its components, such as those collected by Meringer (1895) and Leuninger (1993). In a creative way, we can find voluntary modifications (snow-clones), often used with stylistic purposes. Psycholinguistic fixedness is the basis for the consideration as a unity of the locution and the responsible for holding Form and (Phraseological) Meaning together.

3.2 Semantic fixation: Idiomaticity I

Despite being widely accepted now, *idiomaticity* has been a controversial concept within the subdiscipline of Phraseology, since it has been connected to different definitions. Originally, being *idiomatic* meant being typical for and particular of a determinate language. It could be understood in different degrees of intensity, ranging from “being the normal way of saying things within a determinate language or language variety” to “being an extraordinary way of saying things within a language

10. Example cited from Montoro del Arco (2004: 600).

11. Example cited from Montoro del Arco (2008: 143).

that characterizes it and distinguishes it from other languages". As we can see, this definition was highly problematic from the perspective of linguistics, since it was hardly objectifiable. In addition, basing on the synchronic observation of idioms, it has tended to be identified as a figurative sense.

Currently, there is a broad consensus that *idiomaticity* has to be understood in terms of non-compositionality. That means that the meaning of the whole expression cannot be derived from the meaning of its components. Therefore, much effort has been devoted to explain how a phrase can acquire a unitary meaning. This process has been conceived as reinterpretation and opacity (Baranov & Dobrovols'kij 1996, Timofeeva 2012), semantic specialization (Corpas 1996), semantic change (Corpas 1996), lexicalization (Montoro del Arco 2006) or idiomatization (Coulmas 1981, Burger 2010; Dräger 2012).

The semantic fixation is the origin of the Phraseological Meaning, i.e. a non-compositional, idiomatic meaning. It consists in the association of a word sequence with a concrete meaning that differs from that of the sum of its component parts. It starts with some semantic constraints, leading to a collocation. Subsequently, as time goes by, the sequence meaning further specializes and acquires a unitary meaning. This is one of the causes of Idiomaticity.

We should bear in mind that PhU differ from (mono)lexical units in an important aspect: they are formed by more than a word. This fact has a great influence on its perception by language users, since they can simultaneously recognize its component parts and its unitary meaning. Since its fixation process took place in the past, the word sequence has split into two different evolutions: that of the PhU as a whole, and that of its component parts. Therefore, the semantic specialization process in addition to a time shift affect the PhU in a double way.

On the one hand, some of the components may have changed its meaning or ceased to be used, which is the origin of the "diacritic words" cited by Ruiz Gurillo (1997). These diacritic words could be seen as the semantic equivalent to the structural anomalies, just an anachronism.

On the other, the time shift is responsible for the expression to become opaque, unmotivated. Language users will then try to motivate it, i.e. to activate "certain knowledge structures to make sense of the use of a given idiom in the meaning conventionally ascribed to it. The relationship between the two conceptual levels, between the mental image evoked by the lexical structure and the figurative meaning, becomes comprehensible to them" Piirainen (2012: 48). As a result of this cognitive process, the user will create an Image, thus perceiving the Unit as a locution with figurative sense. Therefore, idiomaticity has often been connected to the notion of figurative meaning.

Semantic fixation in the past is one of the factors giving rise to idiomaticity, but it is not the only one. Pragmatic fixation also plays a very significant role in the emergence of Phraseological Meaning.

3.3 Pragmatic fixation: Idiomaticity II

Phraseological Units are not created in a vacuum; they are generated in a determined context. Actually, this context involves at least three different levels: cotext (sentence level), communication situation and physical-historical situation. We could even understand context as “anything that can have an influence on the interpretation of an utterance” (Schmid, 2003). As we are dealing with a systemic phenomenon (not with a particular one), these contexts are to be understood as prototypical sentence, communication and physical-historical contexts. If we connect that with Levinson’s (2004: 22) levels of meaning, we could name it an Utterance-type-context.

During the first stages, the sequence undergoes discursive constraints. As a first step it becomes a collocation and, subsequently, a locution. As a locution, inferences that were previously drawn from the context are already conventionalized, forming thus part of the semantic content of the sequence. At this point, the fixed combination of words can advance to new contexts.

The pragmatic fixation, and its connection to context, is more evident when dealing with communicative/pragmatic locutions, but is also present in the other types. Regarding referential locutions, it plays a very significant role in their creation process, as well as in their change. In regular communication situations, we turn to context to make sense of an utterance. In the case of PhU, the context eliciting the Phraseological Meaning is not available anymore, given that its fixation took place in the past. Thus, deictic items, or polysemic words cannot be right interpreted. In addition, along the years, not just linguistic reality changes, so world reality does. Since some of the objects have changed, a referent shift occurs, which contributes to the opacity of the Unit. Before an unmotivated unit, the users react tending to motivate it, creating an Image. This Image, apart from being considered as a figurative meaning, may open the door to semantic change.

4. The emergence of phraseological meaning

Phraseologization can be conceived as a semantic change (see Sánchez-López 2015) involving a whole phrase. Within Usage-Based Linguistics, an important line of research (c.f. Traugott and Dasher 2002) has identified the regular patterns

in meaning change; finding out that implicature is its crucial mechanism. These authors outlined the principles of the *Invited Inferencing*¹² *Theory of Semantic Change* (IITSC). According to this theory, meaning change occurs in discourse, i.e. in the process of creating and interpreting meanings in specific contexts. In this process, new implicatures may arise and, if they become conventionalized, a new meaning emerges. The fixation of this new meaning is designated as semantic reanalysis. Thus, semantic reanalysis is tightly related to pragmatics and may have consequences on the structural features of the expression.

Similarly to Grammaticalization, morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics interact to give birth to a new language item. In linguistic terms, at the end of the process we find a symbolic unit with a Form and a Meaning. Its Form reflects the free word combination that initiated the process, but with a context shift. The Phraseological Meaning is the new compositional meaning attributed to the whole expression.

For this analysis, we will focus on the referential locution, which, besides being the prototypical one, undergoes a more complex process. As in single words, “semantic change always occurs in a particular discourse context, where the context helps to drive the interpretation in a certain direction.” (Bybee 2015: 197). Heine (2002: 86) included the contexts giving rise to the different meanings in his description of the acquisition of grammatical meanings during grammaticalization. We will base on his work to describe the contexts giving rise to Phraseological Meaning in the different stages¹³ of Phraseologization. We should bear in mind that this is an idealized description highlighting the most salient milestones. In real language, it is a gradual process consisting of small, discreet changes.

a. Initial stage: Free word combination

At an initial stage, we can find a free word combination in an unconstrained context. It presents the Source Meaning, i.e., its meaning can be derived from the meanings of its constituents.

b. Stage II: Collocation

At a second stage, we can detect a Bridging Context, a specific context giving rise to an inference in favour of a new meaning. The Target Meaning, the future Phraseological Meaning is foregrounded, but the Source Meaning is still available. The Invited Inference is becoming Generalized, but can still be cancelled in the discourse. The combination of words is not perceived as a unit yet.

12. *Invited Inference* is the equivalent to *Particularized Conversational Implicature* in Levinson's (2004) terminology.

13. We assume the idealized stages of phraseologization as described by Howarth (2000: 216): free word combinations > restricted collocations > figurative idioms > pure idioms.

c. Stage III: Figurative idiom

At a third stage, a Switch Context appears, which is incompatible with the Source Meaning. The initial meaning still persist, but is backgrounded. The Phraseological Unit starts to advance to new contexts. The divergence between compositional and non-compositional meaning leads to the creation of an Image, which causes the unit to be perceived as figurative. The Invited Inference has become Generalized.

d. Stage IV: Pure idiom

At the fourth stage, the Target Meaning no longer needs to be supported by the context that gave rise to it and it may be used in new contexts. The Phraseological Meaning has been conventionalized and forms part of the expression, regardless the contexts. As Levinson (2004: 263) claims, pragmatic inferences have ended up embedded in semantic representations causing pragmatic “intrusion”. In this last stage, we just can see the Target Meaning, as in the case of Phraseological Units with a Frozen Phraseological Meaning or Pure idioms. The Invited Inference has become completely Conventionalized. The Language Users have ceased to perceive the Unit as a multiword expression and do not even try to motivate it. Consequently, they do not create an Image and the perception of a figurative sense disappears. At this point, the Unit is frozen and is not productive anymore.

Let us take as example the Spanish pure idiom “contar [sth] con pelos y señales”. Its Phraseological Meaning is to “tell [a story] in great detail”¹⁴ and its compositional meaning is “to tell [a story] with hairs and signs”. Synchronically, the current Spanish speaker uses it as a whole, without paying attention to its components. If we asked someone to motivate it, he will probably not be able to do it or will come up with a funny idea as connecting it to “hairs” as being “small things” and “signs/signals” as being a “communication system”. If he is playful, he even may think of “traffic signs”. Obviously, its etymological meaning has nothing to do with these hypotheses. The real evolution is [hair color and distinctive features] > [physical description] > [detailed physical description] > [detailed description/story].

We will look at this evolution with some examples, paying special attention to context. As a free word combination, *hairs* and *signs* just meant “hair color” and “distinctive external features” and appeared within general contexts related to people. We can consider it the Source Meaning. The expression begun to be used in police and legal contexts referring to the description of suspects and arrested people. In this context, the Target Meaning arose, since it was the authorities’ duty

14. Equivalent from *Merriam-Webster Spanish Central Dictionary* (2017).

to accurately record the distinctive features of delinquents. Thus, if criminals were to be described with *hair and signs*, they had to be described in detail.

We can see this Bridging context in the following fragment. It describes a scene in which two lieutenants and a notary enter a prison cell, where a group of missionaries has been imprisoned. Their goal is to draw up a document with the description of the monks, before sending them from Marañón (Ecuador) to Lisbon. But, it is a difficult task because the cell is dark and has been closed during forty eight days full with ill people, causing the air to become thick.

Tomaron los tres sus asientos, y llamando, en primer lugar, al superior, empezaron á describirle y divisarle **con sus pelos y señales**, notando el color, la fisonomía, el aire y la estatura. Lo mismo hicieron con los demás, apuntando prolijamente lo que les pareció peculiar de cada uno [...]

Ni es de extrañar que al notario [...] se le pasasen las **señas verdaderas** y pusiese en su lugar otras que no había por qué; porque [...] no pudo reconocer distintamente las personas. De donde nació, como celebraron después los misioneros, que al blanco de rostro le pusieron la nota de bien moreno, y al que era notablemente bermejo le aplicaron el **distintivo** de pelo y barba negra.

The three of them took a seat and called the superior monk in the first place. They started to describe him and to look at him **with his hairs and signs** [with his hair color and distinctive external features], writing the color, his features, his appearance and his stature. They did the same with the rest of monks, writing in detail what they had peculiar in them [...]

It is not strange that the notary [...] missed their **real signs** [features] and wrote some improper features instead; because [...] he could not examine the people properly. That caused, as celebrated afterwards by the missionaries, that the monk with white face was described as pretty swarthy, and the red-haired was described as [was assigned the **distinctive feature** of] having black hair and beard.

José Chantre y Herrar (1786). English translation by Elena Sánchez

The above mentioned *hairs and signs* referred, logically, always to people. In a first instance, it was mostly used to describe criminals, but afterwards it extended to non-delinquent people, keeping a negative connotation.

con infamar a diestro y a siniestro a quantos no se conforman con sus extravagancias, sacándolos a publica palestra con sus nombres y apellidos, **pelos y señales**, e imputándoles vergonzosos, e increíbles defectos [1602]

Besmirching the reputation of those who did not accept his extravagances, making public their names, surnames, **hairs and signs** [hair color and distinctive external features], and accusing them of having shameful, incredible defects.

Anonymous (1813). English translation by Elena Sánchez

As time goes by, it loses its negative connotation, as we can see in the definition by *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1737):

PELOS Y SEÑALES. Expresión que significa las circunstancias particulares de las cosas, por las cuales se viene en pleno conocimiento de ellas. Latín. *Peculiararia signa, vel indicia*. [expression meaning the particular circumstances¹⁵ of things, letting us to fully get to know them. In Latin: distinctive marks/features]

This negative connotation lost, it can be used even to speak about a lovely mother, as Friar Gerund de Campazas does.

Ésta era hacer alguna conmemoración de su querida madre [...]. Ya se ve que para hablar en general de madre, de hijo, de parir y de vientre, tenía los textos a millares. Pero él no se contentaba con esta generalidad, y quisiera un textecillo terminante y peladito, que hablase de su madre Catanla Rebollo, **con sus pelos y señales**.

This was to make some commemoration of his lady mother [...]. Now it was seen at once, that to speak in general of mother, son, birth, womb, &c. he had texts by the thousand; but he was not contented with this generality, and longed for a curious, neat, little thing [little text] which should speak directly of his mother Catanla Rebollo with all her moles and marks [**hairs and signs**].¹⁶

José Francisco de Isla (1758). English translation (1772)

The context starts to be ambiguous, since the language user can consider either that Friar Gerund wanted a little text with *its hairs and signs* or that he wanted a little text about her mother with *her hairs and signs*. It could be considered as the Switching Context.

The following fragment presents a context favouring the Source Meaning, but it also includes the word *event*, which may support the change, opening the meaning to new contexts. The adverbial locution will in the future be applied to the description of situations.

La puntualidad era a sus ojos la prenda más recomendable de un historiador, y el non plus ultra del mérito, marcar bien el año, el mes, el día de un **acontecimiento**, con los nombres y apellidos, y los **pelos y señales** de los que en él habían figurado.

Circumstantiality was in his eyes the most commendable property of an historian, and the ne plus ultra of merit was to note well the year, the month, the day on which an **event** occurred, with the names and surnames, **the colour of the hair, and other peculiarities** [hairs and signs] belonging to those who were concerned in it.

Francisco Navarro Villoslada (1846). English translation (1854)

15. *Circumstances* used in the Latin sense of “things being around, conditions, facts, or events accompanying another”.

16. Cited from Nugent (1772). In this published translation, the equivalent to *hairs and signs* was *Moles and marks*.

In a next step, the participants in the event disappear, and it is the event itself that can be described or related with *hairs and signs*, i.e. in detail, as we can see in the following example.

CURRA ¿Quién? ¿Señor? Rabiará un poco,
pateará, contará el **lance**
al capitán general
con sus pelos y señales;

CURRA. Who? Señor? He'll be furious a while,
he'll stamp with rage, he'll **relate the**
incident chapter and verse [with its hairs and signs] to the
captain general [21]

Ángel de Saavedra (1835). English translation
by Robert M. Fedorchek (2005)

The locution is now completely frozen, has acquired the Target Meaning and the Source Meaning is not visible for regular language users. This new meaning, has been recorded in the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (RAE) since 1899:

Pelos y señales. Pormenores y circunstancias de una cosa. **Contar** un suceso con todos **sus pelos y señales**. [Hairs and signs. Details and circumstances of sth. E.g. To **relate** an event with all **its hairs and signs**.]

The Real Academia Española (RAE) has not changed this dictionary entry since 1899 and still conserves the possessive *sus* (his/her/its or their), which points slightly to the Source Meaning. From our view, basing our search in other dictionaries (Merriam Webster 2017; Collins 2017; Ramos 2000; Lara 2014), it is a reminiscence from the past. The canonical citation form nowadays is *con pelos y señales* [with hairs and signs].

As an example of pure idiom (frozen locution), we can see as *con pelos y señales* can be used with describing the details “in great detail”.

alabando prolijamente la elegancia del vestido de la futura reina, que jugaba con los colores negro, amarillo y pluma blanca. Pero el Diario secreto **describía con todos los pelos y señales los detalles** [...]

Thoroughly praising the dress of the future queen for its elegance, since it combined black and yellow with white feathers. But the Secret Newspaper **described all details** [with all hairs and signs] in detail [...]

Juan Perucho (1983). English translation by Elena Sánchez

In this section, we presented the canonical Form and the canonical (Phraseological) Meaning of the adverbial locution in colloquial Peninsular Spanish. In our corpus research, we could also observe that the restricted collocational meaning remains alive in the Spanish of the Americas, being specially used in newspapers when

asking for the identification of suspects. In addition, in literary Peninsular Spanish, the third stage Meaning is still used. *Con pelos y señales* or *con sus pelos y señales* are still used to refer to people or even to things. From our view, it's a marked usage of language. These findings support the notion that, in the case of referential locutions, the persistence of the semantic and pragmatic etymology is higher.

As we can see in the previous description, the prototypical Referential Locution is that in the third stage, since it has already acquired a high degree of fixedness and is perceived as displaying a figurative sense, which is usually associated with idiomaticity. It is also at this stage where the PhU is more likely to undergo a phraseological change.

Once formed, the Locution can evolve and acquire new meanings as any lexical unit. However, especially while being in stage 3, it is also a special kind of lexical unit, since it presents a double meaning pointing to a double context. That is because the Source Form – reflecting the Source Context – is still available and the Target (Phraseological) Meaning – inserted in the Switch Context – is the priority interpretation.

In ordinary situations, the language user can make sense of a phrase attending to the context. In this case, the context has been historically, linguistically and physically displaced, being substituted by a new one. The expression then becomes opaque and unmotivated. Thus, speakers tend to motivate it. The result of the process is an Image connecting the lexical structure (the Form) and the (Phraseological) Meaning, given the new “Reality”.

The Image suggested by the lexical structure is often not compatible with reality. In these cases, the user tends to establish an analogy and semantic change takes place. In addition, it is usually attached to a pragmatic change and may cause a structural change. In this line, Dräger (2012: 205) pointed out that Phraseological Change affects three interrelated levels of the PhU: Form-Meaning-Historical Side (including semantic evolution of the components, evolution of its referents and its culture).

The process described above does not affect exclusively PhU. During Grammaticalization or adquisition of new meanings by a monolexical unit, this coexistence of meanings also occurs and is considered polysemy. Nevertheless, it can be easily sorted out by attending to the new context. The anomalous circumstance regarding PhU is that, since they are formed by more than a word and its components present a high semantic load, the persistence of the meaning and its reference to the original context is higher. Therefore, the advancement to new contexts caused for this persistence is more striking.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have described the phraseological phenomenon from a diachronic perspective, taking into account the basic principles postulated by Usage-Based linguistic regarding Grammaticalization and Language Change. Our aim was to prove that this approach could contribute to the subfield, providing key information on the subject.

Our first conclusion is that Phraseology follows the regular patterns of language and semantic change. This finding implies that Phraseological Units are to be treated as “normal” language items, but also that the boundaries between Phraseological and other language units are gradual. Thus, it is our responsibility as researchers to define the scope of the subdiscipline. Our proposal is to adopt a broad perspective, including any kind of multiword expressions.

Consequently, linking, pragmatic and referential locutions should form part of Phraseology. We would also incorporate collocations, despite not functioning as a unit. It is important to include them in phraseological studies, since they are a previous step to locutions and they also generate inferences, although in a weaker form because their lower degree of fixedness. They could even be considered idiomatic, since they are the “normal” way of saying things. As for proverbial phrases (truncated proverbs), they also deserve a place in Phraseology. Although we should bear in mind that, diachronically, they have gone the reverse path: a more complex Form has become a simpler one.

Besides defining the scope and the units belonging to the subfield of Phraseology, one of our main objectives was to discuss the nature of fixedness and idiomaticity. As explained in Section 3, structural (morphosyntactic) fixedness is the external reflection of psycholinguistic fixedness and may lead to morphosyntactic anomalies due to the time shift. Idiomaticity, at its turn, is the result of semantic and pragmatic fixation in the past and the subsequent evolution of language and its referential world. In addition, it was important to show that structural, semantic and pragmatic fixedness are not independent features, but the result of attributing a unitary meaning to a combination of words. We could see an example of this process in the last section.

Taken together, the theoretical discussion and the practical data shown, should encourage linguists to look at Phraseology with fresh eyes. It is an opportunity to discard old assumptions and drive the attention to multiword expressions, especially to those with referential value, which have been traditionally less considered. This kind of expressions is also the perfect touchstone to test the validity of theories related to language, semantic change and Grammaticalization.

References

- Alonso-Ramos, Margarita, Orsolya Vincze, and Estela Mosqueira Suárez. 2011. "An online collocation dictionary of Spanish." In *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Meaning-Text Theory Barcelona, September 8–9, 2011*, ed. by Igor Boguslavsky, and Leo Wanner, 275–286.
- Alvarado Ortega, M. Belén. 2007. "Las fórmulas rutinarias como unidades fraseológicas." *ELUA. Estudios de Lingüística*. N. 21, 9–20.
- Alvarado Ortega, Belén. 2008. "Sobre el concepto de variación fraseológica." *ELUA* 22: 9–21. <https://doi.org/10.14198/ELUA2008.22.01>
- Anonymous. 1813. *El procurador general de la nación y del rey: obra periódica de pliego, que ilustrará al público con noticias políticas y militares*. Volumen 3.
- Baldwin, Timothy, and Su Nam Kim. 2010. "Multiword Expressions." In *Handbook of Natural Language Processing*, ed. by Nitin Indurkha, and Fred J. Damerau, 267–292. Boca Raton, London, New York: CRC Press.
- Baranov, A. & Dobrovols'kij. 1996. "Idiomatichnost' y idiomu", *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 5, 51–64.
- Barz, Irmhild. 1985. "Primäre und sekundäre Phraseologisierung." In *Textbezogene Nominationsforschung. Studien zur deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, ed. by Wolfgang Fleischer, 119–140. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft. Linguistische Student, Reihe a, 123.
- Bosque, Ignacio. 2001. "Sobre el concepto de 'colocación' y sus límites." In *Lingüística Española Actual* 23(1): 9–40.
- Brinton, Laurel J. and Elisabeth Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511615962>
- Burger, Harald. 2010. *Phraseologie: eine Einführung am Beispiel des Deutschen*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.
- Burger, H., Dobrovols'kij, D., Kühn, P., Norrick, N. R. 2007. *Phraseologie / Phraseology. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung / An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Burger, Harald, Dmitrij Dobrovols'kij, Peter Kühn, and Neal R. Norrick. 2007. *Phraseology. An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Bybee, Joan. 2007. *Frequency of Use and the Organization of Language*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195301571.001.0001>
- Bybee, Joan. 2015. *Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139096768>
- Casares, Julio. 1969 [1950]. *Introducción a la lexicografía moderna*. Madrid: Revista de Filología Española, Anejo LII.
- Changre y Herrera, José. 1786. *Historia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañón español*, 699. Madrid: Imprenta de A. Ayrial.
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis. 2001. "Marcadores discursivos, topicalizadores y locuciones prepositivas en español." *Lingüística Española Actual* XXIII/2: 237–255.
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis. 2003. *Locuciones prepositivas. Sobre la gramaticalización preposicional en español*. Alicante: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante.
- Company Company, Concepción. 2012. "Historical Morphosyntax and Grammaticalization." In *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*, ed. by José Ignacio Hualde, Antxon Olarrea, and Erin Rourke, 673–693. London-New York: Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118228098.ch31>

- Conca, Maria, and Josep Guia. 2014. *La fraseologia. Principis, mètode i aplicacions*. Alzira: Bromera/IIFV.
- Corpas, Gloria. 1996. *Manual de fraseología española*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Coseriu, E. 1952. *Sistema, norma y habla*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Instituto de Filología, Dept. de Lingüística.
- Coulmas, Florian. 1979. "On the sociolinguistic relevance of routine formulae." *Journal of Pragmatics*, Volume 3, Issues 3–4, 239–266.
- Coulmas, Florian. 1981. "Idiomatizität: Zur Universalität des Idiosynkratischen." *Linguistische Berichte* 72: 27–50.
- Cuenca, M. Josep. 2000. "L'estudi de les construccions idiomàtiques des de la lingüística cognitiva i l'anàlisi contrastiva". In *El discurs prefabricat. Estudis de fraseologia teòrica i aplicada*, ed. by Vicent Salvador, and Adolf Piquer, 33–48. Castelló: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I.
- Dershowitz, Nachug, and Ephraim Nissan. 2014. *Language, Culture, Computation: Computational Linguistics and Linguistics*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.
- Diessel, Holger. 2014. "Usage-Based Linguistics." In *Oxford Bibliographies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0068.xml>. <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199772810-0068>
- Diewald, Gabriele. 2012. "Grammaticalization and pragmaticalization." In *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, ed. by Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobrovol'skij, Dmitrij, and Elisabeth Piirainen. 2005. *Figurative language: cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Dräger, Marcel. 2012. "Plädoyer für eine diachrone Perspektive in der Phraseographie." In *Aspekte der historischen Phraseologie und Phraseographie*, ed. by Natalia Filatkina, Ane Kleine-Engel, Marcel Dräger, and Harald Burger, 193–226. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Espinal, M. Teresa. 2004. *Diccionari de sinònims de frases fetes*. Barcelona, València: UAB. Servei de Publicacions, Publicacions de la UV, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Feilke, Helmuth. 2004. "Kontext – Zeichen – Kompetenz. Wortverbindungen unter sprachtheoretischem Aspekt." In *Wortverbindungen – mehr oder weniger fest. Jahrbuch 2003 des IDS*, ed. by Kathrin Steyer, 41–64. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Filatkina, Natalia. 2007. "Formelhafte Sprache und Traditionen des Formulierens (HiFoS): Vorstellung eines Projekts zur historischen formelhaften Sprache." In *Sprachwissenschaft* 32/2: 217–242.
- Filatkina, Natalia. 2009. "Historische formelhafte Sprache als 'harte Nuss' der Korpus- und Computerlinguistik. Ihre Annotation und Analyse im HiFoS-Projekt." *Linguistik online* 39/3.
- Filatkina, Natalia, Ane Kleine-Engel, Marcel Dräger, and Harald Burger. 2012. *Aspekte der historischen Phraseologie und Phraseographie*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Fleischer, Wolfgang. 1982. *Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 1998a. "La evolución de los conectores contraargumentativos: la gramaticalización de *no obstante* y *sin embargo*." In *Los marcadores del discurso. Teoría y análisis*, ed. by María Antonia Martín Zorraquino, 193–212. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 1998b. "La noción de preferencia en la gramaticalización de *ahora* (*que*), *ahora bien*, *antes*, *antes bien* y *más bien*." In *Estudios de lingüística cognitiva* 2, ed. by José Luis Cifuentes Honrubia, 593–614. Alicante: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante.

- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 1999. "Los procesos de gramaticalización." In *Moenia* 5: 155–172.
- García-Page, Mario. 1996. "Problemas en el empleo de la fraseología española por hablantes extranjeros: la violación de restricciones", en *Francisco Javier Grande Alija et al. Actuales tendencias en la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera II: actas del VI Congreso Internacional de ASELE: (León 5–7 de octubre de 1995)*.
- Gibbs, G. R. 2007. "Psycholinguistic aspects of phraseology: American tradition." In *Phraseology / Phraseology. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung / An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, ed. by Harald Burger, Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij, Peter Kühn, Neal R. Norrick, 819–836. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Ginebra, Jordi. 2003. "Fraseologia, concurrències lèxiques i llengua estàndard." In *Identitat lingüística i estandardització*, ed. by Miquel Àngel Pradilla, 7–56. Valls: Cossetània edicions.
- Givón, T. 1979. *Discourse and Syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, Talmy. 1991. "The Evolution of Dependent Clause Morpho-syntax in Biblical Hebrew." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Volume II: Focus on Types of Grammatical Markers*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott & Bernd Heine, 257–310. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.2.14giv>
- Häcki Buhofer, Annelies. 2010. *Yearbook of Phraseology*. Berlin, Munich, Boston: De Gruyter.
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. "On the role of context in grammaticalization." In *New reflections on grammaticalization. (Typological Studies in Language, 49.)*, ed. by Ilse Wischer & Gabriele Diewald, 83–101. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.49.08hei>
- Heine, B., Claudi, U. & Hünnemeyer, F. 1991a. "From cognition to grammar: Evidence from African languages." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott & Bernd Heine. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Heine, B., Claudi, U. & Hünnemeyer, F. 1991b. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, B. & Reh, M. 1984. *Grammaticalization and reanalysis in African languages*. Hamburg: H. Buske.
- Hoper, P. J. & Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Howarth, Peter. 2000. "Describing diachronic change in English phraseology." In *Las lenguas de Europa: estudios de fraseología, fraseografía y traducción*, ed. by Gloria Corpas, 213–230. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Isla, José Francisco de. 1758 [1992]. *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas alias Zotes*. Madrid, Gredos.
- Lara, Luis Fernando. 2014. *Diccionario del español de México 2*. México DF: El Colegio de México.
- Leuninger, Helen. 1993. *Reden ist Schweigen, Silber ist Gold. Gesammelte Versprecher*. Zürich.
- Levinson, S. 2004 [2000]. *Significados presumibles: la teoría de la implicatura conversacional generalizada*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Meillet, A. 1912. "L'évolution des formes gramaticales. Scientia (rivista die Scienza)" 12, No. 26, 6. Reprinted in Meillet 1958, 130–48.
- Melčuk, Igor. 1995. "Phrasemes in Language and Language and Phrasesology in Linguistics." In *Idioms, Structural and Psychological Perspectives*, ed. by M. Everaert et al., 167–232. Hillsdale, N.J.-Hove: Lawrence Erlbau Associates.
- Mellado Blanco, Carmen. 2004. *Fraseologismos somáticos del alemán: un estudio léxico-semántico*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

- Mellado Blanco, Carmen. 2008. *Colocaciones y fraseología en los diccionarios*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Meringer, Rudolf and Karl Meyer. 1895. *Versprechen und Verlesen. Eine psychologisch-linguistische Studie*. Stuttgart: Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung [Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1978].
- Montoro del Arco, E. T. 2004. "La fraseología en la gramática española del siglo XX después de Casares". *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos*, XXVII, 221-236.
- Montoro del Arco, Esteban. 2006. *Teoría fraseológica de las locuciones particulares. Las locuciones prepositivas, conjuntivas y marcadoras en español*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Montoro del Arco, Esteban T. 2008. "El concepto de locución con casillas vacías". In *Colocaciones y fraseología en los diccionarios*, ed. by Carmen Mellado Blanco (ed.). Berlín/ Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 131-146.
- Munske, Horst Haider. 1993. "Wie entstehen Phraseologismen?" In *Vielfalt des Deutschen. Festschrift für Werner Besch*, ed. by Klaus J. Mattheier, Klaus-Peter Wegera, Walter Hoffman, Jürgen Macha, and Hans-Joachim Solms, 481-515. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Navarro Villoslada, Francisco. 1846 [2003]. *Doña Blanca de Navarra, crónica del siglo XV: intitulada Quince días de reinado*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.
- Navarro Villoslada, Francisco. 1854. *Doña Blanca of Navarre. An Historical Romance by Don Francisco Navarro Villoslada* 2. London: Thomas Bosworth.
- Nugent, T. (translator). 1772. *The History of the Famous Preacher, Friar Gerund de Campazas, Otherwise Gerund Zotes Volume V. 2.* by José Francisco de Isla. London: T. Davies.
- Onodera, Noriko O. 2012. "The grammaticalization of discours markers." In *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, ed. by Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pelo. 2017. In *Merriam-Webster Spanish Central.com*. Retrieved August 2, 2017 from <http://www.spanishcentral.com/translate/pelo>
- Pelo. 2017. In *Collins Spanish-English Dictionary*. Retrieved August 2, 2017 from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/spanish-english/pelo>
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel. 1997. "Entre el lèxic i la gramàtica: els processos de gramaticalització." In *Cicle de conferències 95-96. Lèxic, corpus i diccionaris*, 91-111. Barcelona: Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada, Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel and Vicent Salvador. 1995. "Fraseologia de l'encara i processos de gramaticalització." *Caplletra* 18: 85-108. Valencia, Barcelona: IIFV, PAM.
- Perucho, Juan. 1983. *Pamela*. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Piirainen, Elisabeth. 2012. *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond. Toward a Lexicon of Common Figurative Units*. New York: Peter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-1-4539-0845-7>
- Ramos, Alicia and Ana María Serradilla Castaño. 2000. *Diccionario Akal del español coloquial*. Madrid: Akal.
- Real Academia Española. 1737. *Diccionario de Autoridades*. Madrid: Author.
- Real Academia Española. 1899. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Madrid: Author.
- Real Academia Española. 2001. *Diccionario de la lengua española* (22.a ed.). Madrid: Autor.
- Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor. 1997. *Aspectos de fraseología teórica española*. València: Universitat de València.
- Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor. 2001. "La fraseología como cognición: vías de análisis." *Lingüística Española Actual* XXIII.1: 107-132.

- Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor. 2010. "Interrelaciones entre gramaticalización y fraseología en español." *Revista de Filología Española* XC 1: 173–194. <https://doi.org/10.3989/rfe.2010.v90.i1.201>
- Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor. 2012. "Espacio y tiempo en las locuciones adverbiales del español." In *Tiempo, espacio y relaciones espacio-temporales en la fraseología y paremiología españolas*, ed. by C. Sinner, E. Tabares Plasencia and E. T. Montoro del Arco, 153–169. München: Peniope.
- Saavedra, Ángel de. 1835 [1988]. *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino*. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Saavedra, Ángel de. 2005. *Don Álvaro, Or, The Force of Fate*. Translated by Robert M. Fedorchek. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Salvador, Vicent, and Adolf Piquer (eds.). 2000. *El discurs prefabricat. Estudis de fraseologia teòrica i aplicada*. Castelló: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I.
- Sánchez-López, Elena. 2013. *Estudi de la llengua d'Ausiàs March a través de les col·locacions. Una aproximació semiautomàtica*. Boston, Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110297690>
- Sánchez-López, Elena, and M. Àngels Fuster Ortuño. 2012. "La fraseologia vista des d'una doble perspectiva: sincrònica i diacrònica." *eHumanista/IVITRA* 2: 185–201 (<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/eHumanista%20IVITRA/index.shtml>, 12.05.2015).
- Sánchez-López, Elena and M. Àngels Fuster Ortuño. 2014. "Estudi de les unitats fraseològiques de la tercera esfera des d'una perspectiva diacrònica." *Caplletra* 56: 243–267.
- Sánchez-López, Elena. 2015. "Phraseologization as a process of semantic change." *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 14: 159–177. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catjl.168>
- Sánchez-López, Elena, and Belén Lozano Sañudo. 2016. "La traducción de unidades fraseológicas con sentido figurado: Cuando los árboles no nos dejan ver el bosque." In *Angewandte Linguistik Iberoromanisch – Deutsch. Studien zu Grammatik, Lexikographie, interkultureller Pragmatik und Textlinguistik*, ed. by Ferran Robles i Sabater, Daniel Reimann, Andrea Rössler, and Raúl Sánchez Prieto, 41–56. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag.
- Schellheimer, Sybille. 2016. *La función evocadora de la fraseología en la oralidad ficcional y su traducción*. Berlin: Franck & Time.
- Schmid, Hans-Jörg. 2003. "An outline of the role of context in comprehension." In *Anglistentag 2002 Bayreuth. Proceedings*, ed. by Ewald Mengel, Hans-Jörg Schmid, and Michael Steppat. Trier: Wvt.
- Seiler, H. & Lehmann, C. 1982. *Apprehension. Das sprachliche Erfassen von Gegenständen*. Teil I: Bereich und Ordnung der Phänomene. Tübingen: G. Narr (LUS, 1, I).
- Sinclair, John McHardy. 1987. "Collocation: A progress report." In *Language Topics: Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday*. II, ed. by Ross Steele, and Terry Threadgold, 319–331. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Steyer, Kathrin. 2003. "Korpus, Statistik, Kookkurrenz. Lässt sich Idiomatisches 'berechnen'?" In *Flut von Texten – Vielfalt der Kulturen. Ascona 2001 zur Methodologie und Kulturspezifität der Phraseologie*, ed. by Harald Burger et al., 33–46. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider.
- Steyer, Kathrin. 2004. "Kookkurrenz. Korpusmethodik, linguistisches Modell, lexikografische Perspektiven." In *Wortverbindungen – mehr oder weniger fest*, ed. by Kathrin Steyer, 87–116. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- Steyer, Kathrin. 2013. *Usuelle Wortverbindungen: zentrale Muster des Sprachgebrauchs aus korpusanalytischer Sicht*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Svennson, Maria Helena. 2004. *Critères de figement. L'identification des expressions figées en français contemporain*. Omslag: Tommy Sund.

- Telia, V. 1996. *Russkaja fraseologuija*. Moskva: Shkola "Yazyki russkoj kultury", cited by Timofeeva 2012.
- Thun, H. 1978. Probleme der Phraseologie. Untersuchungen zur wiederholten Rede mit Beispielen aus den Französische, Italienischen, Spanischen und Rumänischen, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 168. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Timofeeva, Larissa. 2012. *El significado fraseológico. En torno a un modelo explicativo y aplicado*. Madrid: Liceus.
- Timofeeva, Larissa. 2016. "Locuciones." En *Enciclopedia de Lingüística Hispánica*, ed. by Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach. New York: Routledge.
- Traugott, Elisabeth C. and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wray, Alison. 2005. *Formulaic language and the lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wray, Alison. 2008. *Formulaic language: Pushing the boundaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zuluaga, Alberto. 1980. "Introducción al estudio de las expresiones fijas." *Studia Románica et Lingüística*. Frankfurt a. M.-Bern-Cirencester/U.K.: Peter Lang.X.

Index

A

- Adjective VIII-IX, 1-2, 6-7,
9, 13-14, 16, 45, 51, 66, 76,
118-120, 123-124, 126, 128,
130, 150, 154, 184, 199, 202,
215, 244, 271, 277, 305, 312
- Alcanzar x, 173-190, 264, 289
- Analogy IX, 41-42, 77, 79-82,
88, 97, 102-105, 107, 303, 322
- Auditory verbs VIII, 47-52,
55-58, 67-68, 71-73

B

- Bridge (source) 71, 90

C

- Causative construction 21-23,
31-32, 34, 37-39
- Cognitive linguistics VII, 47,
74, 116, 132, 158, 302-303,
308-309
- Construal 109, 116-117, 158, 184
- Construction grammar 24,
43-44, 77-78, 82, 106, 191
- Constructionalization
21, 24-25, 30, 32-33, 41-42,
45, 193
- Corpora 26, 33, 134, 211, 217,
237, 240-241, 248-250,
252-254, 267-268, 270-271,
278-279, 281, 288-289
- Cortical words 159

D

- Diachronic linguistics
VII, 299, 301
- Diachronic productivity
IX, 109
- Diachrony 18, 44, 117, 157, 237,
241, 251, 288
- Discourse particles XI, 221-224

E

- Embodied mind 159, 172
- Enaction x, 159, 171
- En sustancia XI, 221, 224-233
- Epistemic mark 117-118, 137,
145, 147, 155
- Epistemic modality 117, 132,
155, 195, 209-210, 216, 218,
220
- Evidentiality 54, 62-63,
117-118, 131-132, 149, 208-210,
216, 218, 220

F

- Formal change x, 173, 180, 182,
186, 189-190
- Future (tense) x, 30, 44, 92,
97, 99, 101, 106, 136-138,
141, 144-145, 147-148, 150,
153-154, 159-160, 162-171, 175,
287, 317, 320-321

G

- Grammaticalization VII, IX,
xi, 2, 21, 23-25, 33-34, 40,
42-45, 75, 77-78, 88-90, 95,
99, 102-103, 106-107, 117-118,
123, 126-130, 133, 154, 157-158,
174, 176, 191-193, 196, 203,
215-223, 233, 235, 237, 239-
243, 245, 247-249, 257, 259,
267-268, 281, 288-289, 293,
296, 299-300, 302, 310-312,
317, 322-327

H

- Historical semantics
VIII, 47, 76
- Historical sociolinguistics 221
- Historical syntax 18, 77, 191

I

- Idiomaticity 299-300,
303-304, 306-308, 313-316,
322-323
- Inchoative construction 21-23,
26-28, 32, 34, 38-39, 42
- Indo-European IX, 7-8, 18, 49,
52, 59, 64, 70, 109, 114, 116

L

- Labelling VII, 1-5, 7-8, 16-18
- Language change 43-44,
79-80, 82, 105, 183, 191, 193,
219-220, 299-300, 309-310,
323-324
- Limbic x, 159, 161-164, 167-170

M

- Medieval Spanish XI, 87, 92,
102, 221, 272
- Metaphor IX, 30, 49-50, 57, 75,
77, 109-111, 113-118, 122-123,
157, 207, 243, 245-246, 302
- Metonymy IX, 52, 55, 67, 77,
109-111, 113-118, 122, 302
- Multidimensional change
237, 288

N

- Nominalization VII, VIII, 1,
6-11, 14, 17-18
- Noun VII-VIII, 1-4, 6-7, 9, 11,
13-17, 52-55, 67, 124-125, 134,
154, 162, 197, 201, 225-226,
228-229, 231, 237-239,
241-242, 257-258, 260, 264,
268-269, 272, 276, 305

P

- Parecer x, 127, 195-207, 209,
211-219

Phraseologization 299–300,
302, 310–313, 316–317, 328
Phraseology XI, 191, 239,
299–309, 312–314, 323–324,
326

Polysemy X, 21, 23, 75–76, 78,
85, 173–174, 176, 182–183, 188,
190, 311, 322

Prepositional locution
XI, 237, 239

Put verbs 21, 23–25

R

Reanalysis 23, 30, 130, 176, 242,
294, 317, 326

Routinization 117–118, 133–134,
148, 237, 241, 289

S

Semantic bleaching 33, 195–
196, 216–217, 221

Semantic change IX, XI, 45,
48–49, 52, 67, 70, 76–78,
88–89, 94, 103, 109, 117–119,
126, 158, 173–174, 176, 179, 182,
187, 189–191, 193, 204–205,
220, 222–223, 237, 241–244,
288, 297, 299–300, 315–317,
322–323, 328–329

Speaker-oriented 195, 208,
213–214

Subjectification 117–118, 129–
130, 154, 158, 195, 215, 220

Supporting constructions
77–79, 82, 97, 102, 105

Synonymy IX, 77–78, 82, 98,
101–102, 109

T

Tradition (discourse) XI, 24,
79, 135–136, 168, 223, 232, 237,
241, 259, 281–282, 299, 303,
308, 326

V

Variation 28, 31, 54–55, 116,
164, 171, 188, 192, 224, 232, 237,
239, 241, 250, 254, 257, 259,
267–268, 270–272, 279, 289,
300, 306–307, 314

Verbal periphrases VIII, 77–79,
82, 85, 88, 90, 95, 97, 99,
102–103, 148, 195–197, 216, 220

Vygotsky IX, 109–111

Diachronic linguistics has been experiencing a strong revival during the last few decades, since an increasing number of researchers have assumed that evolutionary and historical factors must be considered to properly understand how natural languages work. This book offers new data and insights on some of the research lines which are currently being developed within the framework of diachronic language research. The papers brought together in this volume are characterized both by their originality and by their methodological diversity; the reader will thus find herein theoretical as well as empirical works, undertaken from various perspectives of analysis (diachronic cognitive semantics, grammaticalization theory, discursive traditions, historical phraseology, etc.). The final outcome is an eclectic volume which offers valuable information for every reader, regardless of whether they are experienced linguists or junior researchers willing to know the latest epistemological advances in this discipline.

"The manuscript I have read contains twelve high quality contributions to the linguistic history of Spanish. Overall, it displays acribic, well-conceived and thoroughly documented pieces of research, knowledgeable in terms of both primary data and specialized literature, finely structured and clearly exposed."

Álvaro S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*

"Due to both the subject of the volume and the thoroughly written individual chapters, I think that the book will turn out to be a noteworthy contribution to historical linguistics."

María José Rodríguez Espiñeira, *Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*

"An important contribution for language change studies in Spanish due to its integrated and stimulating cognitive-functional theoretical background, and to the detailed and thorough description of different constructional and lexical changes in Spanish it presents. [...] [I]s a valuable work on historical linguistics both for Spanish and general linguistics."

Augusto Soares da Silva, *Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Braga*

ISBN 978 90 272 0536 0



John Benjamins Publishing Company