

Vol. 14, 2015
ISSN 1695-6885 (in press); ISSN 2014-9718 (online)
<http://revistes.uab.cat/catJL>

CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Volume 14
2015

Semantic change

Edited by
Josep Martines & Sandra Montserrat

Catalan Journal of Linguistics

Editors

Centre de Lingüística Teòrica de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana

Informació general i subscripcions

CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS és una revista de lingüística teòrica, publicada pel Centre de Lingüística Teòrica de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (format per lingüistes dels departaments de Filologia Catalana i de Filologia Espanyola) i per l'Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana (que integra lingüistes de les universitats de València, d'Alacant i Jaume I de Castelló). CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS publica articles d'investigació en lingüística teòrica que desenvolupin teories sobre l'estructura de les llengües particulars dins la perspectiva d'una teoria general del llenguatge humà. Els volums seran sovint monogràfics, editats per un especialista en el tema.

El preu de subscripció anual és de 18 €.

General information and subscriptions

CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS is a journal of theoretical linguistics published by the Centre de Lingüística Teòrica de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (comprising linguists from the departments of Catalan Philology and Spanish Philology) and by the Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana (which comprises linguists from the universities of València, Alacant and Jaume I at Castelló).

CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS publishes research papers in theoretical linguistics developing theories on the structure of particular languages within the perspective of a general theory of the human language. Volumes will often be monographic, edited by a specialist in the topic. The yearly subscription price is 18 €.

Comitè assessor

Josep Maria Brucart Marraco
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Maria Teresa Espinal Farré
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Anna Gavarró Algueró
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Maria Lluïsa Hernanz Carbó
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Sabine Iatridou (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Michael J. Kenstowicz
(Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Joan Mascaró Altimiras
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Gemma Rigau Oliver
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Henriette de Swart (Universiteit Utrecht)
Rafaella Zanuttini (Yale University)

Consell editor

Teresa Cabré Monné
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Àngel Gallego Bartolomé
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Jesús Jiménez Martínez (Universitat de València)
Sandra Montserrat Buendía (Universitat d'Alacant)
Xavier Villalba Nicolás
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Redacció

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Departament de Filologia Catalana
08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona). Spain
Phone: +34 93 581 23 71
+34 93 581 23 72
Fax: +34 93 581 27 82
E-mail: revistaCatJL@uab.cat

Intercanvi

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Servei de Biblioteques
Secció d'Intercanvi de Publicacions
Plaça Cívica (edifici N)
08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona). Spain
Phone: +34 93 581 11 93
Fax: +34 93 581 32 19
E-mail: sb.intercanvi@uab.cat

Subscripció, administració, edició i impressió

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Servei de Publicacions
08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona). Spain
Phone: +34 93 58110 22.
Fax: +34 93 5813239
E-mail: sp@uab.cat
http://publicacions.uab.cat
ISSN 1695-6885 (in press); ISSN 2014-9718 (online)
Dipòsit legal: B-4.112-2003
Imprès a Espanya. Printed in Spain
Imprès en paper ecològic

Bases de dades en què CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS està referenciada

- Bibliographie Linguistique
- CARHUS Plus+
- CiteFactor
- Dialnet
- Francis
- Índice Español de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ISOC)
- Linguistic Bibliography
- Linguistic Working Papers Directory
- Linguistics Abstracts
- LLBA (Linguistic and Language Behavior Abstracts)
- Scopus

CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS es publica sota el sistema de llicències Creative Commons segons la modalitat:



Reconeixement - NoComercial (by-nc): Es permet la generació d'obres derivades sempre que no se'n faci un ús comercial. Tampoc es pot utilitzar l'obra original amb finalitats comercials.

Summary

Catalan Journal of Linguistics = CatJL

Volume 14, pp. 1-237, 2015

ISSN 1695-6885 (in press); ISSN 2014-9718 (online)

<http://revistes.uab.cat/catJL>

- 7-10 **Martines, Josep; Montserrat, Sandra** (Universitat d'Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA)
Semantic change. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 7-10.

Articles

- 11-31 **Antolí Martínez, Jordi M.** (Universitat d'Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA)
Voler + infinitive in Catalan: From the imminence aspectual periphrasis to the epistemic and evidential marker (from the 13th century to the present day). *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 11-31.

Today's Catalan knows the phrases *vol ploure* and *vol caure*, literally '[it] wants to rain' and '[it] wants to fall,' with the meaning of 'showing signs that [something] has to [happen]' (DDL, s.v. *voler*). Such structures are only a remainder from the imminence aspectual periphrasis *voler* + infinitive, present in old and modern Catalan, as well as in other Romance languages, at least in medieval times (such as Occitan, Franco-Provençal, French or Italian). Our aim in this study is trying to describe and explain the constructionalization process (following Traugott 2012 and Traugott & Trousdale 2013) whereby this structure, saturated with the infinitives *ploure* or *caure*, will assume an epistemic/evidential value ever since the Modern Era (17th and 18th centuries) which is the one known by the current language. From Classical Latin and up to present-day Catalan, the periphrasis will thus describe a trend Wish > Intention > Imminence > Epistemicity/Evidentiality.

Keywords: Old and Modern Catalan; evidentiality; invited inferencing; *voler* + infinitive; imminence periphrasis.

- 33-58 **Baranzini, Laura; Ricci, Claudia** (Université de Neuchâtel)
Semantic and pragmatic values of the Italian *imperfetto*: Towards a common interpretive procedure. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 33-58.

This paper proposes an account of the semantics and pragmatics of the Italian indicative imperfect. This tense is described as deriving all of its uses from an extremely reduced core of semantic features as the point of departure to a series of interpretative paths leading to different context-related possible interpretations through a process of pragmatic enrichment. With regard to the temporal parameter, the semantics of the imperfect is described as conveying past tem-

poral reference, with an underdetermined scope. With regard to the aspectual parameter, this tense is defined as not semantically determined at all. Upon pragmatic integration of contextual information, three main classes of meaning effects associated with the imperfect are assumed to emerge: a narrative effect, an evidential effect and an effect of activation of a preliminary phase in relation to the event. Based on the above mentioned features, an overall semantic-pragmatic mapping of the imperfect and of its interpretive procedure is proposed.

Keywords: imperfect; Italian; *imperfetto*; semantics; pragmatic enrichment; modal; evidential; past; reference; contextual interpretation; scope; change.

- 59-77 **Maldonado, Ricardo** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro); **Guzmán, Rocío** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Luego entonces. An argumentative intersubjective marker. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 59-77.

This paper shows that *luego entonces* is the product of a conceptual fusion, a Blend (Turner and Fauconnier 2002), of a bleached consecutive marker *luego* and a relatively less bleached consecutive marker *entonces* that led to the formation of an argumentative marker by which the speaker offers a statement to be taken by the hearer as a logical consequence that is therefore irrefutable. The marker serves to validate the speaker's assessment. In contrast with traditional analyses that see *luego* as a logical consecutive marker, this paper shows, based on data from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, that *luego* never had a logical cause-effect meaning; instead it encoded intersubjective consequences that were seen as highly probable. From a Cognitive Grammar perspective it is also shown that, as the consecutive meaning of *luego* started to bleach around the twentieth century, *entonces* joined the construction to reinstall the consecutive intersubjective reading that *luego* was losing. This led to the formation of the new argumentative marker *luego entonces* that is commonly used in argumentative texts to make the hearer interpret a statement as irrefutable.

Keywords: *luego*; *entonces*; *luego entonces*; evidentials; argumentative markers; consecutive markers; sequential markers; cause-effect relationships.

- 79-111 **Martines, Josep** (Universitat d'Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA)
Semantic change and intersubjectification: The origin of reprise evidential conditional in Old Catalan. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 79-111.

The *reprise evidential conditional* (REC) is nowadays not very usual in Catalan: it is restricted to journalistic language and to some very formal genres (such as academic or legal language), it is not present in spontaneous discourse. On the one hand, it has been described among the rather new modality values of the conditional. On the other, the normative tradition tended to reject it for being a gallicism, or to describe it as an unsuitable neologism. Thanks to the extraction from text corpora, we surprisingly find this REC in Catalan from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the contemporary age, with semantic and pragmatic nuances and different evidence of grammaticalization.

Due to the current interest in evidentiality, the REC has been widely studied in French, Italian and Portuguese, focusing mainly on its contemporary uses and not so intensively on the diachronic process that could explain the origin of this value. In line with this research, that we initiated studying the epistemic and evidential future in Catalan, our aim is to describe: *a)* the pragmatic context that could have been the initial point of the REC in the thirteenth century, before we find indisputable attestations of this use; *b)* the path of semantic change followed by the conditional from a 'future in the past' tense to the acquisition of epistemic and evidential values; and *c)* the role played by invited inferences, subjectification and intersubjectification in this change.

Keywords: reprise evidential conditional; evidentiality; semantic change; subjectification; intersubjectification; corpus linguistics; diachronic cognitive semantics; pragmatics.

113-135 **Pérez Saldanya, Manuel** (Universitat de València)

Paradigms as triggers of semantic change: Demonstrative adverbs in Catalan and Spanish. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 113-135.

This paper sets out to analyse the development of demonstrative adverbs of place in Catalan and Spanish. The main questions dealt with in this study are the following: (i) why two-term and three-term deictic systems often display a certain lack of stability so that diachronically two-term systems sometimes become three-term (as in old Catalan and Spanish) or, the other way round, three-term systems become two-term (like in late Latin and in Catalan during the modern era); (ii) if the most normal and expected development is for deictic systems to take on anaphoric values, why in the case of the adverb *aquí* ('near the speaker and/or addressee') in Catalan and the adverb *ahí* ('near the addressee') in Spanish the opposite process happens; (iii) what role is played in these changes by the functional and formal relations set up within the paradigms of nominal and adverbial demonstratives in each language.

Keywords: spatial deictic systems; adverbial demonstratives; anaphora; grammaticalisation, paradigm relationships.

137-157 **Ramos, Joan-Rafael** (Universitat de València. Departament de Filologia Catalana)

The Polysemy of the verbs *pegar*, *apegar* and *empegar* in Catalan: A synchronic manifestation of semantic change. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 137-157.

In this paper we study the polysemy that the verbs *pegar* ('hit/stick'), *apegar* ('stick') and *empegar* ('stick') possess today in the Catalan language. First of all, we perform a thorough description of the meanings that each of these verbs have acquired not only in the standard but also in the colloquial language. Each of the meanings has been differentiated from the others by analysing the most prominent dictionaries currently available and a corpus of written texts. Additionally, a number of surveys on the spoken language have also been taken into account. Our research has shown that in the different Catalan dialects they do not always have the same meanings or the same verb forms. To be able to interpret how this polysemy has come about, we have taken cognitive linguistics as our theoretical

framework. We have been able to show that the notion of image schema of path, combined with prototypicality effects and with the Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change, in which the mechanism of metonymy plays a fundamental role, can provide a satisfactory explanation for the semasiological complexity of the verbs under study.

Keywords: semantic change; polysemy; cognitive linguistics; metonymy; linguistic variation; Catalan.

- 159-177 **Sánchez López, Elena** (Universitat d'Alacant. Departament de Filologia Catalana)

Phraseologization as a process of semantic change. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 159-177.

On the one hand, phraseology has sorted out how to describe Phraseological meaning from a synchronic perspective. On the other, cognitive diachronic linguistics has thoroughly described the process of semantic change and the mechanisms leading to it, but mostly focusing on grammaticalization. The aim of the present paper is to bring together these two perspectives in order to account for the existence of Phraseological Units, i.e. the emergence of Phraseological Meaning. This integration of perspectives will require a well defined theoretical framework. First of all, we will establish the definition of PhU and the scope of Phraseological meaning. Then, we will compare grammaticalization to phraseologization process. In this comparison, we will pay special attention to the new role assigned to inference as a mechanism leading to semantic change. Finally, we will apply the developed theoretical framework to an actual PhU: *al peu de la lletra*.

Keywords: phraseology; phraseologisation process; semantic change; diachronic cognitive semantics; pragmatics.

- 179-198 **Sentí, Andreu** (Universitat de València)

Modal verbs, future and grammaticalization in Old Catalan. A cognitive approach. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 179-198.

The process of grammaticalization of Catalan modal verbs *deure*, *haver* and *tenir* involves a semantic change, a rise of new meanings and an increase in their semantic network. On the one hand, deontic modal verbs develop inferential evidential meanings, and, on the other, future meanings (posteriority).

This corpus-based study focuses on the rise of future meanings of modal verb *deure* ('must') (between the 12th and the 16th centuries). We have been able to analyse the process of grammaticalization with absolute reliability thanks to the applied technology of the Corpus of Old Catalan (CICA and CIGCA), in which linguistic variation is quite representative. This study takes a cognitive perspective (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999, 2006; Pelyvás 2000, 2006) that provides us with the tools to set up a semantic network and the paths of semantic change.

Keywords: modality; future; semantic change; Cognitive Grammar; grammaticalization; subjectification; conceptual schema.

- 199-218 **Soares da Silva, Augusto** (Catholic University of Portugal. Center of Philosophical and Humanistic Studies)

Competition of synonyms through time: Conceptual and social salience factors and their interrelations. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 199-218.

This paper highlights three theoretical and descriptive insights into synonymy and lexical variation and change: (1) the diachronic development of synonymous forms reveals essential aspects about the nature and motivations of synonymy; (2) the emergence and competition of synonymous forms can either result from conceptual salience factors or from social salience factors; (3) synonym competition sheds light upon processes of language variation and change. Focusing on the interplay between conceptual and social aspects of language variation and change, this study subscribes to the framework of Cognitive Sociolinguistics, an emerging extension of Cognitive Linguistics as a meaning-oriented and usage-based approach to language. Two corpus-based case studies in lexical synonymy of Portuguese will be presented. The first case study shows the semantic development of the verb *deixar* 'to leave, to let' from Old to Modern Portuguese and its most competitive synonyms, namely *abandonar* 'to abandon' and *permitir* 'to allow'. The second case study includes the development of four dozens of sets of denotational synonymous nouns selected from the lexical fields of football and clothing in European and Brazilian Portuguese in the last 60 years. The two diachronic studies show essential aspects of synonymy and lexical variation and change.

Keywords: synonymy; lexical change; lexical variation; conceptualization; onomasiology; prototypicality; cognitive linguistics; lexical sociolectometry.

- 219-237 **Urquidi, Alicia** (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg)

Meaning construction in creative metaphors: Conventional meaning integration through *generic interfacing* in a blend, and conditions of propagation and lexicalization. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2015, vol. 14, pp. 219-237.

Given certain semantic and pragmatic conditions discussed in this article, innovative metaphors and metonymies may end in propagation and eventual lexicalization of new meanings in the language system. Paying attention to instances of creative *uses* of figurative language in context may provide valuable evidence for such changes in the system. Innovation creates new meaning, but creative figurative language must also recruit conventional elements into meaning construction. However, as conventional figurative and novel meaning are not processed the same way – the former tends to be processed as a comparison, the latter as more abstract categorization –, conventional elements function as generic content in novel blends. This gives rise to a phenomenon dubbed *generic integration*. Furthermore, cognitive processes of comprehension depend upon and give rise to pragmatic inferences that complete utterance meaning. Therefore, in order to be viable for propagation, novel metaphors and metonymies must fulfill structural *iconicity*, and pragmatic *relevance* requirements.

Keywords: metaphor; conventional meaning; generic interfacing; lexicalization; lexical spreading.

Semantic change

Josep Martines

Sandra Montserrat

Universitat d'Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA

josep.martines@ua.es

sandra.montserrat@ua.es



The main topic of this issue of *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, semantic change, is probably one of the areas of linguistic research gaining more prominence over the last years. This fact is possibly due to two circumstances. a) On the one hand, to the development of the meaning-oriented and usage-based approaches to language, which take place mainly (although not exclusively) within the theoretical framework of Cognitive Linguistics and Pragmatics. And, b) on the other, to the development of text corpora (representing both Old and Contemporary language in written or oral form), driven by the necessity to approach the communicative language usage.

That maxim by which «Chaque mot a sa histoire», ascribed to Jules Guilliéron (beginning 20th Century), seems to have very much affected the prevailing conception on semantic change during a long period of time. Therefore, semantic change has been traditionally conceived as the land of curiosities and irregularities. However, this view has changed in the last decades, where the aim to describe the trends and regularities it shows — if not the laws governing it — has become the focus, providing an essential contribution to the study of semantic change.

A set of new questions regarding emergence and disappearance of meanings have been posed: according to which mechanisms, in which contexts and under which conditions, where, when and — as far as possible to determine — why these new senses emerge, disappear or are pushed aside? The aim to answer this set of questions led to the redefinition of *meaning*. This concept has now been extended beyond the boundaries of lexical semantics and has reached the fields of morphology, syntax and phraseology. As a consequence, other areas devoted to the study of communication and sociocultural context, in which the speech act takes place and new meanings emerge, become also involved in semantic analysis. These areas are basically Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics and Cultural History. We could even claim that the study of language, its evolution and its usage and forms essentially consist in studying the constant emergence of meaning.

The present issue of *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* gathers contributions on the main topics related to contemporary semantics. We list them now, before briefly summarizing the contents of each paper: a) polysemy, polysemysation, synonymy,

semantic and lexical lectal variation; b) metaphor and metonymy, subjectivation and intersubjectivation as mechanisms and factors of semantic change, respectively; c) pragmatic inference as a true trigger of semantic change; d) emergence, understanding, spreading and semantization of new meanings; e) grammaticalization, phraseologization and constructionalization as semantic changes; and, finally, f) inner (paradigmatic relations) and outer conditions (pragmatic, sociolinguistic and cultural factors) of semantic change. Grammaticalization, the Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC), Prototypicality Effects, pragmatic enrichment, the Theory of Conceptual Blending and image schemas constitute the theoretical background of these ten papers, where concrete cases of semantic change in Catalan, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese are analysed.

Jordi Antolí analyses the evolution of the periphrasis *voler* ‘to want’ + Infinitive, from Medieval Catalan until our days. He shows the path followed by this construction, which started as an aspectual periphrasis indicating imminence and is nowadays a saturated construction basically used with the infinitives *ploure* ‘to rain’ and *caure* ‘to fall down’. The emergence of the epistemic/evidential sense, the one remaining in contemporary uses, takes place during the process of subjectification and constructionalization. To describe this process of semantic change, the Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC) is used. Within this theoretical framework, the gradual evolution of the construction is shown, shifting the focus from the initial prospective aspect, implying imminence, to the ending epistemic/evidential value.

Laura Baranzini and Claudia Ricci study the semantic and pragmatic values of the Italian imperfect tense, as well as its genesis. They carry out an accurate analysis of contexts and nuances regarding the usage of the imperfect tense and show to what extent those nuances are bound to the context. They propose a set of traits that, after undergoing the process of pragmatic enrichment, would acquire the current range of senses displayed by this tense. They set out a proposal considering three essential meanings of the imperfect tense: the narrative meaning, the evidential meaning and the activation of a preliminary phase in relation to the event. Since these meanings are pragmatically activated, a close relation between pragmatics and semantics is established.

Ricardo Maldonado and Rocío Guzmán conduct a diachronic study on *luego entonces* to show how it becomes an argumentative marker with a concrete pragmatic value. Note that this marker is normally used to indicate the hearer that a statement is irrefutable. They analyse *luego entonces* applying the conceptual fusion and describe it as a blend combining two consecutive markers, the first one being more bleached than the second. This paper points out the historical period when both blended elements underwent semantic change and describes its process of fixation. The addition of *entonces* would bring back the consecutive intersubjective reading that *luego* had lost over time. This process is clearly to see, especially in argumentative texts, where the key role of intersubjectivity and pragmatic relation between speaker and hearer can be observed.

Josep Martines gives notice of an unknown or ignored fact: the existence of a reprise evidential conditional in Old Catalan. This reading is evidently observed

in texts from the beginning of the 14th century and the Early Modern period. He connects this reading with the subjectification and intersubjectification processes underwent by the future and the conditional (understood as a future-of-the-past) tenses from the end of the 13th century. This could explain the emergence of several uses of both verb tenses in this period: such as epistemic future and conditional, concessive conditional, the mirative conditional, the conjectural conditional for response elicitation, and, finally, the conjectural conditional in reported contexts. According to him, this latter reading should have opened the path for the emergence of the reprise evidential conditional in the next century (14th century). IITSC and pragmatic context analysis — focusing on (inter)subjectification — have proved to be useful theoretical tools to describe and explain meaning evolution and grammaticalization.

Manuel Pérez-Saldanya studies the evolution of the demonstrative adverbs system in Catalan, comparing it to the Spanish system within the Latin and Romance paradigm. He explains the process underwent by an initially binary deictic system, becoming ternary in both languages and subsequently turning into a new binary system, at least in a part of the Catalan language. He highlights pragmatic factors, such as subjectivation, as well as the influence of functional and formal relations on the paradigm of demonstrative adverbs and pronouns. He shows that these relations can act as triggers of semantic change, in a case that might be considered inconsistent with one of the essential features of grammaticalization, namely unidirectionality.

Joan-Rafael Ramos carries out a semantic structure analysis on the verb *pegar* and its derivatives (*pegar* ‘hit/stick’, *apegar* ‘stick’ and *empegar* ‘stick’), focusing on the Catalan spoken in the area of Valencia. He highlights the role of metonymy as a mechanism of semantic change and its importance to accurately describe the semasiological complexity of these verbs. IITSC, image schemas of path and prototypicality effects are the theoretical background for this analysis. The author also suggests the importance of considering — in future research works — the influence of language contact (in this case, Aragonese and Castilian Spanish) on the studied uses.

Elena Sánchez López focuses on the genesis process (phraseologization) of the Catalan phraseological unit «al peu de la lletra» (‘to the foot of the letter’, meaning literally). She establishes a theoretical framework, providing a definition for the concept of phraseological unit and including cognitive-oriented semantic and pragmatic conceptual tools, which had not been applied to phraseology before. She compares the grammaticalization process to that of phraseologization, focusing on the role played by inference (or conversational implicature) in the emergence of phraseological meaning. For this purpose, she establishes and accurately describes the stages of the phraseologization process. Thus showing that, although phraseology and the emergence of phraseological meaning have traditionally been considered to be anomalous, they actually respond to the same semantic changes undergone by other language elements.

Andreu Sentí describes the grammaticalization and semantic change process undergone by the periphrasis *deure* (‘must’) + Infinitive. It initially presented a deontic sense and developed two different readings, an inference evidential value

and a temporal posteriority or future value, during the 12th and 13th centuries. This process follows a conceptual schema with a more subjective configuration (scheduled future and imminent future). It develops a pattern with well-defined stages within the grammaticalization path: NECESSITY > SCHEDULED FUTURE > IMMINENT FUTURE. This paper accurately describes the progression of the future reading by *deure* until the 16th century, due to the progressive attenuation of the source of conceptual force and the increasing subjectification of the conceptual schema. This scenario changed from the 16th on, where the usage of *deure* with a future value dramatically decreased. It is highly probable that the fact that this periphrasis did not completely develop a subject-oriented future meaning interrupted this process. The spread of the periphrasis *haver (a/de)* ('have (to/ of)) + Infinitive with future meanings may have also contributed to this interruption.

Augusto Soares da Silva carries out a study on lexical synonymy focussing on two concrete cases: the evolution of the verb *deixar* 'to leave, to let' from Old to Modern Portuguese and its concurrence with two competing synonyms (*abandonar* 'to abandon' and *permitir* 'to allow'); and the comparative analysis on a great amount of terms related to football and clothing in European and Brazilian Portuguese in the last 60 years. This paper is a contribution to the conceptual analysis of Cognitive Linguistics, since it includes essential elements of Cognitive Sociolinguistics. Therefore, he takes into consideration the social factors conditioning meaning emergence and change as well as lexical selection and lectal variation. He outlines an approach to synonymy, synonym competition and lectal variation that goes far beyond the postulates of the structuralist model.

Alicia Urquidi analyses the emergence of meaning, more concretely, the meaning construction regarding innovative metaphorical or metonymical expressions, which may subsequently be integrated in the language system and become part of it. She bases her analysis on a collection of economic texts in Spanish. In this paper, a classification of types and processes of creative metaphors is established and the path towards lexicalization is described. The Conceptual Blending Theory and the study of pragmatic implicatures prove to be useful conceptual tools to describe the processes of metaphor construction and understanding. The degree of relevance and iconicity are essential factors to the processes of comprehension of creative utterances via blends in their pragmatic contexts.

Voler + infinitive in Catalan: From the imminence aspectual periphrasis to the epistemic and evidential marker (from the 13th century to the present day)*

Jordi M. Antolí Martínez

Universitat d'Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA

jordi.antoli@ua.es



Received: May 22, 2015
Accepted: September 14, 2015

Abstract

Today's Catalan knows the phrases *vol ploure* and *vol caure*, literally '[it] wants to rain' and '[it] wants to fall,' with the meaning of 'showing signs that [something] has to [happen]' (*DDLC*, s.v. *voler*). Such structures are only a remainder from the imminence aspectual periphrasis *voler* + infinitive, present in old and modern Catalan, as well as in other Romance languages, at least in medieval times (such as Occitan, Franco-Provençal, French or Italian). Our aim in this study is trying to describe and explain the constructionalization process (following Traugott 2012 and Traugott & Trousdale 2013) whereby this structure, saturated with the infinitives *ploure* or *caure*, will assume an epistemic/evidential value ever since the Modern Era (17th and 18th centuries) which is the one known by the current language. From Classical Latin and up to present-day Catalan, the periphrasis will thus describe a trend Wish > Intention > Imminence > Epistemicity/Evidentiality.

Keywords: Old and Modern Catalan; evidentiality; invited inferencing; *voler* + infinitive; imminence periphrasis.

* The present paper forms part of the research project «*L'evidencialitat en català antic: estudi de corpus i acostament segons la gramàtica cognitiva* [Evidentiality in Old Catalan: corpus study and approach from cognitive grammar]», within the framework of the grant FPU12/05373 of the Spanish Government's Ministry of Education under the direction of Prof. Dr. Josep Martines i Peres. It is additionally included in the matrix of the *Instituto Superior de Investigación Cooperativa* [Higher Cooperative Research Institute] IVITRA [ISIC-IVITRA: <<http://www.ivitra.ua.es>>] (Ref. ISIC/2012/022) and in the activity of the competitive projects PROMETEOII/2014/018 (Prometheus Programme of the *Generalitat Valenciana* [Valencian Autonomous Government] for Research Groups of Excellence in R&D, co-financed by the UE's ERDF), FFI2012-37103-FILO, IVITRA-IEC/PT2008-S0406-MARTINES01, 2008-2010 PT2012-S04-MARTINES, GITE-09009-UA, USI-045-UA, VIGROB-125.

I would like to express my recognition and thankfulness to Dr. Josep Martines, who has opened with his studies a line of research on evidentiality and the expression of future that this paper seeks to continue.

Resum. *Voler + infinitiu en català: de la perífrasi aspectual d'imminència al marcador epistèmic i evidencial (del segle XIII a l'actualitat)*

El català actual coneix les locucions *vol ploure* i *vol caure*, amb el significat 'presentar indicis que ha de [esdevenir-se alguna cosa]' (DDL, s.v. *voler*, 5). Aquestes estructures són solament una resta de la perífrasi aspectual d'imminència *voler* + infinitiu present en català antic i modern, així com en altres llengües romàniques, si més no en època medieval (com l'occità, el francoprovençal, el francès o l'italià). En aquest estudi provem de descriure i explicar el procés de construccionalització (seguint Traugott 2012 i Traugott i Trousdale 2013) pel qual aquest estructura, saturada amb els infinitius *ploure* o *caure*, assumirà un valor epistèmic/evidencial des d'època moderna (segles XVII i XVIII), que és el que coneix la llengua actual. D'aquesta manera, la perífrasi descriurà, des del llatí clàssic i fins al català actual, una tendència Desig > Intenció > Imminència > Epistemicitat/Evidencialitat.

Paraules clau: català antic i modern; evidencialitat; inferència invitada; *voler* + infinitiu; perífrasi d'imminència.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4. The evolution in Catalan. From the imminence aspectual periphrasis to the epistemic/evidential marker
2. From the expression of volition to the expression of future	5. Conclusions
3. The evolution in Latin. From volition to imminence	References

1. Introduction

One of the classical issues in historical morphosyntax is the replacement –in the passage from Latin to Romance languages– of the synthetic future by initially modal periphrases and the grammaticalization processes that they followed (see Fleischman 1982; in Catalan, Pérez-Saldanya 1998; about the origin of epistemic future, Martínez forthcoming *b*; about the prospective value of *deure* + infinitive in Old Catalan, Sentí 2010: 114–118, Schmid 2012). These periphrases are formed by the Latin modals *DEBEO*, *EO*, *VENIO*, *VOLO* and *HABEO*; the triumph of this last verb, *HABEO*, as a future auxiliary will not prevent the survival of other periphrases in parallel, as is the case of *ir a* + infinitive, in Spanish, or *aller* + infinitive in French. And such alternative periphrases have been successful on specific occasions, as it happens in Logudorese Sardinian, a language where the future is formed with an auxiliary derived from *DEBEO*. More precisely, in the case of *VOLO*, it has only given rise to the Romanian periphrastic future; this solution may have been successful as a result of the influence exerted by the Balcanic context, even though it must be said in any case that such influence would have favored a patrimonial construction (Schulte 2007: 286) which left a trace in many other Romance languages as well.

Our aim in this paper is to follow the evolution in Old Catalan (from the earliest texts to the 16th century), Modern Catalan (from 1601 to the beginning of the cod-

ing process with the *Renaixença*), and Contemporary Catalan (from the *Renaixença* to the present day), suffered by one of these periphrases different from the one constituted by *HABEO* and which, despite not having succeeded as a future marker, will eventually develop a prospective value. It is the periphrasis [*voler* Vinf] of which there is evidence in Old and Modern Catalan with an imminence aspectual value (*DECat*, 377, 30-43a; *DAguiló*; *DFarauldo*) and which can only be found in Contemporary Catalan saturated with the infinitives *ploure* ‘to rain’ and *caure* ‘to fall’ (*DCVB*, s.v. *voler*, 5; *DIEC2*, s.v. *voler*, 7; *DDLC*, s.v. *voler*, 5), whereas the collocation with other verbs is rare (Gavarró and Laca 2002: 2695) and perhaps typical of literary language.¹ The auxiliary verb is used with the imperfective aspect (in present or imperfect tense). In today’s Catalan, the expression of imminence is made by means of the Romance periphrasis *anar a* + inf. and also *estar a punt de* + inf.; the periphrases *estar per* + inf. or *anar per* + inf. are more unusual, though by no means unknown (Gavarró and Laca: 2694-2695).

The interest in the analysis of [*voler* Vinf] in Catalan is explained by the fact that, from a diachronic point of view, it shows a grammaticalization process which had already been operating in Classical Latin –to which the volitive periphrasis is known– that continues in Medieval Catalan with the appearance of the imminence periphrasis and finishes in Modern Catalan with the saturation of the construction with the infinitives *ploure* (‘to rain’) and *caure* (‘to fall’), and with the semantic re-analysis of the whole, which will stop expressing imminence to express prediction. Thus, in accordance with our proposal, the constructions *voler ploure* and *voler caure* are remainders of the aspectual periphrasis [*voler* Vinf] of the old and modern language but re-analyzed semantically with an epistemic/evidential value.

Amongst the other languages which have come to develop an imminence aspectual periphrasis with the derivatives of *VOLO* + infinitive stands out French; it appears in the Medieval language (*DGodefroy*, s.v. *voleir*; *DMF*, s.v. *vouloir* IV.A.1), whereas it has been removed from the reference model in the contemporary language (*DAcadémie*), and the *TILF* (B, 4) categorizes it as «vieilli ou régional» and offers weather-related examples close to today’s Catalan *vol ploure*: *le temps veut changer, il veut pleuvoir, il veut faire beau*.² In current Occitan, the same as in Catalan, the periphrasis only survives saturated with the infinitive *ploure*, according to *DCantalausa* or *Dicod’Òc* (s.v. *voler*): *Cresi que vòl plòure*. Prospective uses of [*voler* Vinf] (*Provenzalisches Supplement*, s.v. *voler*, 21; *DLevy*, s.v. *voler*: ‘être sur le point de’) can be found in Old Occitan as well. The most interesting case is provided by Italian, a language in which the periphrasis survives to the present day, and it does so not only with an imminence value but also with the epistemic/evidential meaning proposed here for Catalan: ‘sempre senza

1. Gavarró & Laca collect an example of *voler* with another infinitive: *voler esqueixar-se* (‘desgararse’) in Rodoreda: «una branca [...] va cruïxir com si volgués esqueixar-se» (Rodoreda, *Quanta guerra*, 174; apud Gavarró i Laca 2002: 2695), although it is a possibility categorized as rare.
2. In fact, some of the examples where it appears were taken from the dialect of Geneva and would therefore correspond to Franco-Provençal: «Nous mettons il veut devant un infinitif, pour marquer le futur. *Il veut pleuvoir, il veut faire beau* (J. Humbert, *Nouv. gloss. genev.*, 1852: 2)».

idea di volontà, per indicare l'imminenza di qualche cosa, o la certezza, la probabilità che tra poco una cosa accada': *vuol piovere, mi pare; vuol essere un'annata dura, questa; eh, vuol essere una faccenda seria!* (VTreccanni, s.v. *sentire*, 6b; see also también *GDIU*, s.v. *volere*, 13 and 14). For a more comprehensive overview on the Romance evolutions of VOLO + infinitive with a prospective value, consult the summary carried out by Senti (2013: 131-132).

2. From the expression of volition to the expression of future

Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (1994: 243-279) point out in a contrastive study about the origin of the expression of future that, together with the 'obligation' or the 'movement', amongst others, the 'desire' is a notion from which future can develop (1994: 254-257). More precisely, and from a diachronic perspective, it is suggested that the process follows these stages:

DESIRE > WILLINGNESS > INTENTION > PREDICTION

This process is illustrated, amongst others, by the auxiliary *will* of present-day English. In Old English, *willan* was a semantically full and argumentally transitive verb in its origin which selected noun or infinitive objects, and which expressed volition. In Medieval English (12th to 15th centuries), it became an auxiliary which expressed intention and has come to our times grammaticalized as a clitic future marker, with the consequent alterations, also formal ones (phonologically speaking, it becomes an unstressed –often contracted– form).

In accordance with the proposal made by Aijmer (1985), the origin of this temporal –future– value of *will* results from a gradual process where semantic re-analysis makes it possible to go from the notion of 'desire' to that of 'intention' and finally 'future.' In this author's opinion, the incorporation of the intention value must have begun in first-person contexts: «If the speaker is willing to do something, it follows conversationally that he intends to do it and that the future action will take place» (Aijmer, 1985: 13); a special mention deserves to be made of the examples where 'to want' is equivalent to 'to accept' someone else's proposal, assuming the desire of others (as in the response to an offer, invitation, etc.). However, the passage from the volitive/intentional value to the future time value must have happened in third-person contexts, through the extension in the use of the verb with progressively [–human] subjects (for example, non-human animate beings, personifications...) where the interpretation in a volitive sense is not possible.

In turn, Traugott (1989) picks up the grammaticalization of *will* in a study about the appearance of the epistemic meaning in English. As a novelty, it is worth highlighting that this change is placed within the context of the subjectivization process, following trend III of the semantic change proposed by this author: the meaning progressively tends to be based on the speaker's subjective belief about the proposition; it results from the coding of conversational implicatures (a process that will be systematized in the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change,

IITSC). Broadly speaking, this author structures the coding process for epistemic meanings with the following scheme (1989: 43):

FULL VERB > PREMODAL VERB > DEONTIC > WEAK EPISTEMICITY >
STRONG EPISTEMICITY

She consequently suggests that volition gives rise to intention as an implicature, and after this new value has been coded, there is a passage to the conversational implicature that the future action will happen (Traugott 1989: 50-51).

Following this line of research exposed in other works (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Traugott and Dasher 2002), studies like that of Martines (forthcoming b) show the hypothesis already put forward, amongst others, by Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (1991: 32) according to which the epistemic value derives from the temporal future; in this case, Martines explains it as a result of an invited inferences game applying Traugott's Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC) (2012). The scheme would thus be shaped as follows:

DESIRE > INTENTION > FUTURE > EPISTEMIC MODALITY

Nevertheless, with the exception of Romanian, the Romance evolutions of VOLO + infinitive will not give rise to the general temporal value of future but to an imminent future; as has already been pointed out, [*voler* Vinf] will become an imminence aspectual periphrasis in Old Catalan.³ Therefore and since, as will be seen in the following chapters, [*voler* Vinf] does not properly express futurity, it seems pertinent to introduce the concept of prospective aspect, applied by Martines (forthcoming b) to the study of epistemic future in Medieval Catalan, and by Narrog (2012: 278) to the study of the English construction *to be about to*. According to this last author, «The prospective [...] is an aspectual category describing the transition from a current state to some subsequent event, which also has temporal, modal, and evidential features» (Narrog 2012: 278). He also refers to the semantic trip of *will* and proposes this trend (Narrog 2012: 280):

PROSPECTIVE > FUTURE > PROBABILITY

He additionally verifies the trend INTENTION > PROSPECTIVE (Narrog 2012: 281-282). This triple characterization –temporal, modal (epistemic in our case) and evidential– is much better suited to the reality of the phenomenon under study in this paper, and it explains much better the reason for the process followed. Enriching the schemes by Traugott (1989) and Bybee (1994) with these elements, the semantic change process to be suggested next is the following one:

3. In relation to this issue, Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1994: 271) state that very often «the use of immediate future is diagnostic of a simple future at an earlier stage of its development,» as would be shown, for instance, by the fact that periphrastic formulas are mostly used to express it, and not morphemes, as it happens in the case of the simple future.

[I] DESIRE > INTENTION > [II] IMMINENCE (PROSPECTIVE ASPECT) >
[III] EPISTEMIC MODALITY / EVIDENTIALITY

This model will now be applied to the study of the construction [*voler* Vinf]: from the Latin origin of the volitive periphrasis (§3.1.) to the origin, already in Romance times and, more specifically in Medieval Catalan, of the imminence aspectual periphrasis (§3.2.), and finally to the re-analysis of the construction with a modal/evidential value (§3.3.).

3. The evolution in Latin. From volition to imminence

The verb *VOLO*, accompanied by infinitive, forms a volitive periphrasis in Classical Latin which has as its semantic nucleus the meaning of ‘to wish’ (*DLewis*, s.v. *VOLO*, 1): «*potare ego hodie tecum volo*» (Plaut. Aul. 3, 6, 33; *apud DLewis*, s.v. *VOLO*). Therefore:

- (A) The subject is an ‘experiencer,’ animate and prototypically human.
- (B) The verb expresses a mental, volitive state.
- (C) The infinitive subordinate, the theme, describes the desired situation.

A second generic meaning derives from the first one: ‘having the intention to do something’ (*DLewis*, s.v. *VOLO*, 1c): «*eadem quae illis voluisti facere tu, facium tibi*» (Plaut. Mil. 3, 1, 11). What is new this time is that the subject not only experiences a desire in a passive way, instead the will makes the subject decide to facilitate the advent of the desired situation. Therefore, in terms of lexical aspect (Pérez-Saldanya 2002: §22.3.2, following Vendler 1957), there is a change from a mental state which lacks an inherent goal to a realization which has a defined goal (the achievement of a desired situation) which can entail the subject’s physical action to achieve that goal.

And, finally, there are a number of meanings linked to the expression of future (‘to be going to’, ‘to be about to, on the point of’, ‘will’; *DLewis*, s.v. *VOLO*, 1 f, g, h), especially the immediate one. Those meanings must be understood as the result of contextual inferences such as the one described by Aijmer (1985: 13): «if the speaker [says he] is willing to do something, it follows conversationally that he intends to do it and the future action will take place».

- (1) a. [...] *haec argumenta ego aedificiis dixi; nunc etiam volo docere ut homines aedium esse similes arbitrentur* ‘I am going to show how’ (Plaut. Most. 1, 2, 37; *apud DLewis*, s.v. *VOLO*)
- b. [...] *animum advortite: Comediarum nomen dari vobis volo*, ‘I will give you’, etc. (Plaut. Cas. prol. 30; *apud DLewis*, s.v. *VOLO*)

The possibility that the periphrasis with the verb *VOLO* might develop a prospective value is consequently based, on the one hand, on the dislocation existing

between the desire expressed and its potential satisfaction, necessarily future (or rather subsequent to the reference point, the present speech act or the point in the past); and, on the other hand, on the determination of the subject who has the ability to fulfill the desire and therefore makes the prediction possible. The fact of expressing the will (understood as the sum of desire and intention) therefore implies introducing three more components following the characterization made by Narrog (2012: 278): the temporal one, since a future world is described; the epistemic modal component, insofar as this world is only possible; and the evidential one because, after all, speaking about the future is to refer to prediction, to inference.

Nevertheless, as shown by the preceding examples, it cannot be concluded that the periphrasis with *VOLO* already had a temporal value in Classical Latin. In the cases found during our study, the verb is still closely linked to the expression of the first meaning, volitive; Pinkster (1985) concludes in his study about the development of future auxiliaries in Latin (1985) that:

[...] it must be said that there is no evidence whatsoever in our texts for the development of *VELLE* as an auxiliary in Latin. The internal structure of the predication to which *VELLE* belongs remains constant in the course of history. The subjects of *VELLE* are human Agents who are in control of an action or position denoted by that verb that occurs as its complement [...] (Pinkster 1985: 190)

In other words, it must have been in the Romance Era, during the pre-literary period, when the various Romance derivatives of *VOLO* became future auxiliaries (Pinkster 1985: 187).

4. The evolution in Catalan. From the imminence aspectual periphrasis to the epistemic/evidential marker⁴

4.1. *The blurred border between intention and imminence. The subject's potential agentivity*

Ever since the first texts of the 13th century in Catalan, *voler* acts as an auxiliary in two periphrases. One is the volitive periphrasis that could be identified in Latin (see, for fifteenth-century Catalan, Schmid 2012); the second one is the aspectual periphrasis, from a preparatory or initial phase of a prospective nature (see an overview of aspectual periphrases for Old Catalan by Montserrat 2012 and one for modern Catalan by Gavarró and Laca 2002). The first examples found in our corpus are the following ones (2a-c):

4. This study was based on analyzing examples of the construction [*voler* Vinf] obtained from the *Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Antic* (s. XIII-XIV) and from the *Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Modern* (CIGCMod).

- (2) a. E, quant fo ora de vespres, Sent Joan manà e fè dir per l'arcevesque a'n Patrici, dién: —Séyer, lo sol és en so que-s *vol colgar*– (*Vides de sants rosselloneses* [s. XIIIb], 198, 20)
 'And when it was the hour of vespers, Saint John commanded and made the archbishop say to Patrick, saying: –Lord, the sun is on the spot where it *wants* to set'⁵
- b. Si paretz o cases d'algun o cuberta de cases o murs de la ciutat *minantur ruina*, so és que *volen caure* o estan en reech de caure, a coneguda d' uns e d' altres aquel qui a temor que càgia, ven e deu venir a la cort, e aquí mostrar com aqueles paretz, cases o cuberta o murs *minantur ruina*, e que seria gran dan d' él e d' altres [...]. Con sia desús dit que si cases d' algun veyn *minantur ruinam*, so és que si les dites cases *volen caure* e que sien en rech de caure [...] per sentència dels ciutadans coven que·l demanat dón fermansa, mal son grat, al demanador, que si dón vènia al demanador que lo y emén e lo y refassa, o que derroch la paret o cuberta o alò que *vol caure* [...]. (*Costums de Tortosa* [s. XIIIb], 166)
 'If someone's walls or houses or the roof of the houses or walls of the town *minantur ruina*, that is, which *want* to fall or are in risk of falling, for the knowledge of ones and the others, anyone who fears that it might fall, they should and must go to court, and show here how those walls, houses or roof or walls *minantur ruina*; expressed differently, that if the aforesaid houses *want* to fall and are in risk of falling [...] by a sentence of the citizens it is advisable for the defendant to give guarantees, despite himself, to the plaintiff, that if he gives permission to the plaintiff, he should repair it and rebuild it, or he should knock down the wall or roof or whatever *wants* to fall'
- c. Fem fur nou que si negun posseirà a bona fe cosa moble o no moble e en aquella cosa farà necessàries despeses e profitables, ço és a saber, que curarà e sanarà lo catiu o ·l servu malaute, o la casa que *volie caer* repararà o adobarà (*Furs de València* [XIIIb], 52, 04)
 'We make a new charter that, should nobody own a movable or immovable thing in good faith, and that he will carry out the necessary and fruitful expenses on that thing, that is, namely, that he will look after and heal the sick prisoner or servant, or will repair or fix the house which *wants* to fall'

As can be seen in the examples, the periphrasis marks the event immediately preceding the action described by the infinitive: *colgar* ('to set') the sun or *caure* ('to fall') a wall/roof/house.

Although it is true that recognizing this aspectual component in the periphrasis seems to be easy with examples such as the previous ones due to the inanimate nature of the grammatical subject, this differentiation is not so clear in those cases where the subject is animate and prototypically human and consequently has the

5. Our translation of the cited examples aims to provide a literal correspondence with the original.

ability to control the situation described by the infinitive; in other words: those cases where the subject has the potential ability to achieve the realization of the situation described by the infinitive. Then it becomes difficult to draw a distinction between the periphrasis which expresses intention and that of imminence, and it very often depends on the contextual interpretation made by us. For instance, immanence cannot be interpreted in the case of (3) because the succession of events does not specify that the subjects were still not ready to start the realization of the desired action («cremar lo fenèvol»), but they were on their way.

- (3) [...] e esgarrà ·i· caval al tornar que ells se·n faïen can *volgueren cremar lo fenèvol*. (Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets* [s. XIIIb], 49, 6)
 ‘and wounded a horse during the return that they made when they *wanted* to burn the trebuchet’

Schmid (2012: 870) gathers some examples of the periphrasis coming from the fifteenth-century novel *Curial e Güelfa* with a human subject and an aspectual value:

- (4) a. Curial mirà envers Jacob, e viu que *volia ociure* a Othó. (*Curial e Güelfa* [s. XV], 71)
 ‘Curial looked towards Jacob, and saw that he *wanted* to kill Othó’
 b. li dix paraules que lo marquès havia dites d’ell en la ora que *volia entrar* al torneig (*Curial e Güelfa* [s. XV], 110)
 ‘told him the words that the marquis had said of him at the moment when he *wanted* to enter into the tournament’

The interpretation as an imminence periphrasis will prove easier in those cases where that periphrasis forms part of a time subordinate introduced by *quan* (‘when’), insofar as the adverb places the intention within a specific chronological framework, as can be seen in (5):

- (5) Quan ve que una persona *vol pecquar*, decontinent l’àngel li diu: «Guarda, no faces tal peccat, car si ·l faràs, seràs difamat e perdut». (Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons* [s. XIVb], 74, 2)
 ‘When he sees that one person *wants* to sin, the angel immediately tells them: «Wait, do not commit that sin, because if you do so, you will be defamed and lost»’

It is worth highlighting that other highly frequent contexts which have the imminence component are the cases of attempt (presented by Gavarró and Laca when referring to aspectual periphrases; 2002: 2693), that is, those where an event is imminent but does not take place in the end:

- (6) a. E, mentre que·ls seus venien, él *volch metre mà al coutel*, e nós enbargam-lo, e no·l pòch traure. (Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets* [s. XIIIb], 29, 20)
 ‘And, while theirs were coming, he *wanted* to take the sword, and we stopped him from doing it and he could not take it out’
- b. E, quan éls exiren de Tortosa per venir a nós, vench-los gran pluja, e ploch tant en aquella saó, que, quan *volgren passar lo riu d’Uyl de Cona*, no·l pòch passar sinó ·i· cavaller qui passà en ·i· cavall e passà nadan. (Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets* [s. XIIIb], 213, 7)
 ‘And, when they left Tortosa to come with us, a heavy rain fell upon them, and it rained so much on that occasion that when they *wanted* to cross the river of Uyl de Cona, only one knight who crossed it on a horse swimming could do so’

Insofar as it is interpreted that the process which will culminate in the achievement of the situation described by the infinitive has begun, these contexts are closer to imminence: the subjects of the previous sentences had undertaken actions which were meant to lead to the desired situation: taking the sword or crossing the river. However, the speaker already knows the end of this incipient realization in the narrative context, he already knows that it is a failed will, an attempt; the periphrasis codes a failed achievement and it is consequently conjugated in a perfect tense.

All the previous examples have in common the fact that an aspectual reading can be made, but the latter is invariably accompanied by the volitive reading. It is therefore impossible for us to speak about an imminence periphrasis, since the volitive reading dominates: the idea of imminence is present, but ‘to try’, ‘to have the intention of’ prevails. It will be necessary to wait for the examples in which this potential agentivity can be lessened and decrease to find the imminence periphrasis.

4.2. *The imminence aspectual periphrasis*

As anticipated above, the imminence aspectual periphrasis is already found constituted in the 13th century (examples (2a-c)), which means that the possible change process can only be reconstructed *a posteriori*. There is no doubt that the coding of the imminence aspectual value, independent of intention, is only possible in those contexts where the subject’s potential agentivity disappears; or expressed differently, in those contexts where the subject cannot play a role in the advent of the situation described by the infinitive. This same contextual influence is also mentioned by Aijmer (1985: 13), though restricting the context which makes impossible the change to first-person cases and suggesting that the development of the new value should start in those cases which have third-person subjects. For this reason, the examples containing a clear temporal value separated from the subject’s intentionality will be found in those cases where the realization of the event does not depend on the subject’s will.

The dissolution of the volitive meaning associated with this periphrasis must have taken place following a process characterized by gradualness, a semantic bleaching of the volitive value, and a semantic re-analysis with an aspectual value

resulting from the invited inference through the context (the concepts of Traugott and Dasher 2002, Traugott 2012, and Traugott and Trousdale 2013 are applied here). The presence in our corpus of examples of several cases which act as a blurred border between volition and pure imminence, independent of intention, allows us to picture which could have been the bridging contexts that set the change in motion. The following three contexts deserve to be highlighted:

- a) The volitive meaning is lessened in those contexts where usual or repetitive facts are introduced. Sentí (2013, following Schmid 2012 and Martines) speaks about a planned future, in his specific case referring to certain uses of the periphrasis *deure* + *infinitive*:
 - (7) a. E, quant vench que nós *nos voliem gitar*, ell vench; (Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets* [s. XIIIb], 349, 8)
 ‘And, when we *wanted* to go to bed, he came’
 b. Quan la prevere *vol anar a offerir*, veus que pren lo ensenser e ensense l’altar. (Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons* [s. XIVb], 93, 27)
 ‘When the priest *wants* to go and offer, you see that he takes the censer and incenses the altar’
 - b) Also those contexts that lack a specific subject and thus come closer to impersonality, as a result of which the attribution logically remains unclear:
 - (8) E venguda la hora que *volien dir* la missa, Tirant, per major honestat sua, tramés al duch si volia venir ha hoyr missa. (Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch* [s. XVb], 588, 2)⁶
 ‘And once the hour when they *wanted* to say Mass had arrived, Tirant, for his greater honesty, ordered to ask the duke if he wanted to go and hear mass’
 - c) And the will is also lessened in contexts where the execution of intention is mediate and the subject acts as a means dependent on other people’s will. For example, in (9) the first *volch ligir* does not express the will of the subject –the scribe– but that of the counsellors who entrusted him with the task; something different happens in the second case, which reflects a personal decision.
 - (9) Cant tuyt foren aplegats, los conselers obriren les letres e donaren-les a l’escrivà que les ligís. Cant l’escrivà *volch ligir* les letres, e veé que l comte feya aytal manament contra la comtessa, duptà que no *volch ligir*; e apeylà los conselers a una part, e legí-ls les letres. (*La fiyla del rey d’Ungria* [XIVb], 49, 16)
 ‘When everyone had gathered, the counsellors opened the letters and gave them to the scribe for him to read them. When the scribe *wanted* to read the letters, he saw that the count was giving that order against the countess, he doubted whether he *wanted* to read; called the counsellors aside and read the letters to them’
6. See this parallel example in French, coming from the *DMF*: ...se partit monseigneur le curé de la nouvelle mariée, qui se va mettre en son siege pour oyr la devote messe que le bon curé vouldra dire. (C.N.N., c.1456-1467, 301).

This explanation is not the only one which can be found, though. Without that being incompatible with the explanations above, there are contexts which make us think about the possible existence of another sense between ‘intention’ and ‘imminence’ –derived from the former– where neither the aspectual notion nor volition have been focused yet; there is only a vague idea of ‘trajectory’ or ‘direction’ (see example (10)) thanks to a lessening of the subject’s agentivity. This has to do with the idea of ‘plan,’ of ‘foresight,’ in a broad sense, which derives from the concept of planned future described in context a) above.

- (10) Alò metex s’és si les cases eren ja fetes e les rayls dels arbres de son veyn crexien tant que les coses li foradassen o li traucassen o li *volgessen traucar*, aqueles rayls pot lo seynor de les cases taylor e trencar [...]. (*Costums de Tortosa* [s. XIIIb], 167, 22)
 ‘The same happens if the houses were already built and the roots of his neighbor’s trees grew so much that they made holes on things or knocked the houses down or *wanted* to knock them down, the owner of the houses can cut and break those roots.’

Paying attention to the previous example, dated in the second half of the 13th century, allows us to realize that the subject is not endowed with will; however, there is no intention to focus on imminence either (the process is foreseeably long). What this tells us is simply that the root seems to follow a certain direction that will most probably end up causing damage.

It is worth highlighting that only few examples are found with a clearly aspectual value; on the one hand, there is the problem of volitive interpretation in those cases where the subject is [human] and can control the action described by the infinitive. On the other hand, it may be an element with a colloquial connotation and highly influenced by the enunciation context (since it expresses immediacy) and this is why the first examples are found in narrative texts (*Vides de sants*, *Recull d’exemples*), often with a markedly oral nature (such as the sermons of Vicent Ferrer). That determines the chronology which can be given for the process and forces us to consider it provisional. Therefore, the first verbs found which collocate with *voler* are *caure* and *colgar* (the sun) during the second half of the 13th century (examples (2a-c)), two verbs which express actions with a highly foreseeable scheme that is well-known and linked to the inferential reading of signs. The catalogue is enlarged with the verbs *començar* (‘to begin’), *parir* (‘to give birth’) or *partir* (‘split’) during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

The examples are classified according to the type of subject that they contain:

- a) [Human] subject, but without the ability to control the event; the verbs *morir* (‘to die,’ (11)) and *parir* (‘to give birth,’ (12)). The following examples reveal to us how this notion of ‘intention’ has been simply reduced to the idea of ‘imminence’: the act of giving birth –the same as that of dying– is not a wish, and neither does it depend on the subject’s will; only a temporal reading can be

made: the pregnant woman is about to give birth, the son is about to die. Some parallel examples with both verbs can be found in old French (DMF).

- (11) [...] una femna li vénc que avia un fil qui·s volia morir per so cor avia en la gola travessat un os [...]. (*Vides de sants rosselloneses* [s. XIIIb], 256, 24)
 ‘He was visited by a woman who had a son who *wanted* to die because a bone was stuck in his throat’
- (12) E lo bon Senyor, a les sues ovelles done comunament dues guardes: la una, lo pastor, açò és lo bon àngel. E quan lo li dóna? Tantost com la dona *vol parir*. (Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons* [s. XIVb], 51, 10)
 ‘And the good Lord, commonly gives his sheep two guards: one, the shepherd, that is, the good angel. And when does he give it to them? As soon as the woman *wants* to give birth’
- b) Impersonal sentences; the construction is especially used in contexts where the imminent situation appears as a ‘show’; the periphrasis is often complemented by adverbial adjuncts or other constructions which stress the imminence of the action described by the infinitive: *al punt que* (13a), *ja* (13b):
- (13) a. Disapte, a les set ores del vespre [...], al punt que·s *volia començar un tornejo* molt solemne que los cavallers avien concertat après de moltes festes [...] estava tot ple de gent, que casi no restava gent dins València. (*Llibre d’Antiquitats de la Seu de València* [XVIId], 247, 3)
 ‘Saturday, at seven pm [...], exactly when they *wanted* to begin a very solemn tournament that the knights had agreed to organize after many parties, it was so packed with people everywhere that there was hardly anybody left inside Valencia’
- b. Geroniet: Pues anem a pendre puesto, que ya *volen començar*. (Carles Gassulla d’Ursino, *Pensil celeste de flores* [s. XVIIIa], 197, 23)
 ‘Geroniet: Let us take a seat, that they already *want* to begin’
- c) Non-human subject
- (14) *Volent eixir* Nostre Amo de la iglésia, los músics pararen de sonar; i los balladors, balladores i demés concurrents a plaça la desocuparen [...]. (Rafael d’Amat i de Cortada, *Calaix de sastre* [s. XVIIIb], 0, 4850)
 ‘Because the Sacred Host of the church *wanted* to leave, the musicians stopped playing and the male and female dancers and the other people present at the square left it empty’

It particularly often collocates with the subject *sol* [sun], in the context of the (sun)rise (15) and the (sun)set (*colgar*, *pondre*); see example (2a):

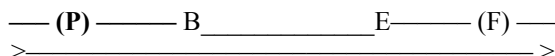
- (15) [...] la funció durà hasta allà cul de la nit, quan *volia ia ratllar el dia*, està dit tot. (Lluís de Galiana, *Rondalla de rondalles* [1767], 372, 13)
 ‘The performance lasted until the early hours of the morning, when the day *wanted* to dawn’

Once again, it not only collocates with verbs referring to the solar cycle in Catalan but also in Old French (*DMF*).

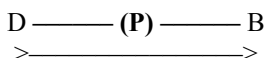
d) Metonymies/personifications

- (16) Acabades que foren les robes dels catius e les galeres *volien partir*, Tirant ajustà tots los catius e convidà·ls tots a dinar. (Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch* [s. XVb], 422, 18)
 ‘When the prisoners’ clothes were finished and ready and the galleys *wanted* to leave, Tirant gathered all the prisoners and invited them to lunch.’

These contexts allow us to verify the presence of a preparatory-phase aspectual periphrasis in accordance with the classification made by Gavarró and Laca (2002: 2691-2696) and used by Montserrat (2012) for the classification of the Medieval Catalan aspectual periphrases appearing in Curial e Güelfa. Using the scheme designed by Gavarró and Laca (2002: 2691) shows us that:



This scheme describes the development of the situation where (B) is the beginning, (E) the ending, in addition to the time intervals which precede (P) or follow (F) the realization of the situation. The phase which affects [*voler* Vinf] has been highlighted in bold: the preceding one, which does not include the beginning of the situation. To this should also be added a specific situation (D), «Decision», the moment when the subject orients his will to achieve the advent of the situation described by the infinitive. It would turn out to be like this:



This preparation is conceived as a realization; in other words, a dynamic, durative and culminative dynamics (Pérez-Saldanya 2002) which starts with the decision and finishes with the realization of the situation uttered by the infinitive.

4.3. From the expression of imminence to the expression of evidentiality

Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins formulate a hypothesis according to which early immediate futures in diachrony give rise to generic, mature futures linked to prediction; likewise, they derive into immediate futures strictly speaking which focus

on imminence and are characterized by the fact that a predictive interpretation becomes difficult in them:

If immediate futures cannot be said to involve prediction, they may be regarded in either of two ways: as necessarily young futures, somewhere between proto-futures and a mature future with prediction as its core function; or, if not young, but rather established and stable, not strictly speaking futures at all, at least not in epistemic terms, amounting more to assertions announcing the imminence of an event rather than a prediction that it will take place. (Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1994: 273)

If that diachronic description proposal is projected over the synchronic situation existing in Old Catalan, the cases of [*voler* Vinf] with imminence can be ordered in prototypicity terms, with a nucleus that has to do with the assertion of imminence rather than with prediction, and a transition periphery of prediction, epistemic modality and evidentiality. The core would be configured by those contexts where it is unlikely or impossible for the foreseen situation to be cancelled as imminent. That is the case of natural cycles (sunrise or sunset, example (15)) and vital ones (*morir* or *parir*, examples (11) and (12)), or scheduled events (*començar*, examples (13a,b)). The internal dynamics of the situation implies that one can hardly expect a realization which is supposed to culminate with the advent of the aforesaid situation to be thwarted: once the day starts dawn, it is impossible for the sun not to rise. Seen from a different perspective, the certainty about the realization of the situation is absolute or nearly absolute (depending on the case as well) and, therefore, the utilization of the periphrasis does not imply an epistemic marking which modulates the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information uttered.

Instead, there is a second group of examples, equally old in the sample available to us, where the link between the signs on which the prediction is based and its fulfilment is not necessary, but only probable or possible. This refers particularly to the case of situations related to the weather (especially so with the infinitive *ploure* 'to rain') and the event *caure* 'to fall'; these are actually the two infinitives with which *voler* still collocates in present-day Catalan. Our focus at this point will be placed on the case of *ploure* and other weather-related situations, which have a stronger presence in the corpus and consequently make it possible to offer a more detailed explanation.⁷

Weather prediction implies higher uncertainty; therefore, making an assertion of the type *vol ploure* leads the addressee to interpret that the speaker is committed to the certainty of a prediction with some error margin. This circumstance means that evidential inference markers will very often be found accompanying the periphrasis, already since the first examples, which reinforce its prediction value. Therefore, *semblar* and *parèixer* ('*parecer* [to seem]') or *indicar* ('*indicar* [to indicate]', already in the 18th century) refer us back to signs as a strategy to free the speaker from the commitment to the truth of an utterance.

7. The DMF also includes the construction *il veut pleuvoir*, although it is categorized as typical of Burgundy French.

- (17) a. [...]e tota hora que veuràs espessetat de l'ayre e núvol e escuretat sequa que *sembla que vulla ploure* e ·ls núvols passen sens pluga. (Cànon d'Avicenna [s. XIVb], 66, 12)
 'whenever you see thickness of the air and clouds and dry darkness, looking like it seems to *want* to rain and the clouds go past without rain'
- b. Lo dia continuava no tan serè com los passats, pues que corrien algunes bromes que indicaven *voler-se mudar lo temps* [...]. (Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada, *Calaix de sastre* [s. XVIIIb], 0, 13503)
 'The day continued not so clear as the previous ones, since there were some mists running which indicated that the weather *wanted* to change'

Associated with all of the above is the fact that several examples show us an attempt, a case where the realization of the foreseen situation has been cancelled (18), an ending that would be impossible in contexts such as that of the solar cycle.

- (18) Dia 3 de març ha amanescut núvol, com *volent ploure*. Però tal qual goteta, i res més [...]. (Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada, *Calaix de sastre* [s. XVIIIb], 0, 9433)
 'March 3rd has dawned cloudy, like *wanting* to rain. But only one drop fell and nothing else'

This contextual ambiguity –with such infinitives– might have favored semantic re-analysis. Therefore, it now expresses the prediction –which already implied the prospective value– from an evidential perspective, the imminence aspectual value being lost. This re-analysis can be checked in the definition provided by the *DDLC*, a descriptive dictionary of contemporary Catalan, of the construction [*voler* Vinf] (collocating with *ploure* and *caure*): 'presenting signs that something is bound to happen' (*DDLC*, s.v. *voler*, 5).

All the same, the notion of imminence still remains in the preceding examples (17) and (18), and it only disappears clearly in examples such as (19) where the negation shows that it does not have an aspectual value: it does not say that it was not about to rain (and that perhaps it would rain later on) but that, in accordance to the available signs, they foresaw that it would not rain. Imminence is not negated; instead, it is foreseen that a certain situation will not take place.

- (19) Ý dien que era la ocasió que lo virey que era havia llevat la taula de la Joca, que tenia en les banderes per a ell, ý de hallí a dos dies la tornà; ý paregué que no *volia ploure*, ni plogué per haver-la tornada. (Pere Joan Porcar, *Dietari* [s. XVIIa], 88, 19)
 'And they said that it was the occasion, that the viceroy had taken off the table of la Joca [...] and two days later, he brought it back; and it seemed that it didn't *want* to rain, and it did not rain for having brought it back either'

And the aforementioned re-analysis becomes especially visible in example (20), which no longer refers to the advent of a situation (the rain) according to the signs

available, but a continuation of this situation which already takes place at the time of the enunciation.

- (20) A quarts de deu continuava la pluja, rajant un poc les canals; i apar que *vol continuar* en tota la nit. (Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada, *Calaix de sastre* [s. XVIIIb], 0, 12145)
 'The rain continued after ten, trickling a little along the canal; and it seems to *want* to continue all night long'

Thus, the periphrasis finally loses the aspectual value. Now there is a construction with an epistemic/evidential value; it expresses the speaker's belief that a specific event will happen in the future, in parallel to other evidential markers such as *amenazar* [to threaten] and *prometer* [to promise] in Spanish, studied by Cornillie (2007). However, it is worth highlighting that, even though this idea of immediate advent is lost, the idea that it is projected over a near future («en tota la nit») does remain. This is how the *DLabèrnia*, drawn up in the first half of the 19th century, presents this periphrasis with *voler*: 'something is about to be or to be verified, like *vol ploure*' (s.v. *voler*): despite suggesting the imminence aspectual value ('estar próximo a ser'), the lexicographer is forced to complete the definition with the incorporation of a prediction ('estar próximo a verificarse').

It is possible to find examples identical to those found in the text by the Baró de Maldà in today's Catalan, which proves that the new meaning identified in the late 18th century is the one that has survived to the present day:

- (21) a. A hores d'ara portem ja 10 mm acumulats de precipitació i sembla que *vol continuar plovent* unes quantes hores més. (2008)⁸
 'By now we already have accumulated 10 mm of rainfall and, seemingly, it *wants* to keep on raining for a few more hours'
- b. Desde el migdia que està plovent de forma continuada a Manresa [...] i sembla segons el radar que *vol continuar plovent!!!* (2009)⁹
 'It has been raining non-stop in Manresa since midday [...] and it seems according to the radar that it *wants* to continue raining!!'

Therefore, the imminence aspectual periphrasis, specialized in weather-related contexts, has been re-analyzed and it codes the meaning 'show signs that something is bound to happen' (*DDL*C, s.v. *voler*, 5). A process culminated in the late 18th century through which *voler* has ended up becoming fixed as a locution used in weather predictions, more precisely about rain. This grammaticalization process entails a progressive deepening of subjectivity in the construction, insofar as «the development of epistemic and evidential meanings increases the coding of speaker informativeness about his or her attitude» (p. 49), in parallel to the trajectory described by

8. Retrieved from: <http://meteovallirana.blogspot.com.es/2008_04_01_archive.html>

9. Retrieved from: <<http://blogs.ccma.cat/eltemps.php?itemid=20395>>

other verbs which have become inference markers as a result of a subjectivization process; it is the case of the Spanish verbs *parecer*, *resultar*, *prometer* and *amenazar*, (Cornillie 2007) or *olerse* (Fernández Jaén 2008); or, in Catalan, the verbs *estimar* and *esmar*, (Martines 2013 and forthcoming a), *(a)parer* (Antolí-Martínez 2012), Sentí and Antolí-Martínez (2013), *témer* (Antolí-Martínez forthcoming), etc.

5. Conclusions

The constructions *vol ploure* and *vol caure* in present-day Catalan are only a remainder of the imminence aspectual periphrasis that the verb *voler* constituted in Old and Modern Catalan. This same aspectual periphrasis is known to other Romance languages, at least in medieval times; it is the case of Occitan, Franco-Provençal, French or Italian. The interest of this construction in today's language lies in the fact that, as a consequence of a contextual re-analysis and the coding of the corresponding discursive implicature (following Traugott 2012 and Traugott and Trousdale 2013), this structure, saturated with the infinitives *ploure* or *caure* will assume an epistemic/evidential value from the modern era onwards (17th and 18th centuries) that will reach the present-day language (*DDL*C, s.v. *voler*, 5).

In accordance with our proposal, which in turn results from adapting a number of other previous ones (Aijmer 1985; Traugott 1989; Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1994; or Narrog 2012) to the reality of our corpus of examples (extracted from the *CIGCA* and from the *CIGCMod*), the process followed by the periphrasis [*voler* Vinf] from Classical Latin and until present-day Catalan looks like this:

DESIRE > INTENTION > IMMINENCE (prospective aspect) >
EPISTEMICITY / EVIDENTIALITY

As seen above (*DLewis*), the volitive periphrasis is already known to Classical Latin. The origin of the imminence periphrasis, however, does have to be found in the Romance stage, but the pre-literary one. Clear examples are identified in Catalan ever since the second half of the 13th century. It is only possible for us to suppose what the process must have been like with the examples found in the old language –and thanks to theoretical concepts such as gradualness, semantic bleaching, semantic and syntactic re-analysis or invited inference (Traugott 2012). Based on all that, our proposal contains two possible paths towards the expression of imminence that imply a lessening of the subject's potential agentivity: on the one hand, one could pass from 'intention' to 'imminence' thanks to transition contexts where the subject's agentivity is reduced for whatever reason (routine actions, impersonal sentences, mediate intention); a second explanation, compatible with the preceding one, is that an intermediate meaning could exist between 'intention' and 'imminence': 'direction, trajectory,' derived from the former, which has been checked in Catalan, and where the subject may be inanimate.

Finally, our paper has offered a characterization in prototypicality terms of the examples found of the aspectual periphrasis [*voler* Vinf], with a nucleus where the verb appears next to infinitives describing situations which can hardly be

cancelled and, on the periphery, those examples where *voler* is accompanied by infinitives the realization of which entails a higher degree of uncertainty. These last examples provide an ambiguity that turns them into bridging contexts for the displacement of the meaning towards the epistemic modality and evidentiality (it would be the case of *caure* and of all those infinitives which have to do with the weather). The epistemic/evidential re-analysis of the periphrasis, saturated with these infinitives, together with the coding of the new value (as collected in the *DDLC*, s.v. *voler*, 5) culminate a grammaticalization process which, characterized by a progressive semantic bleaching (of both the volitive and the aspectual values) and by a growing subjectivization (following the definition proposed by Traugott and Dasher 2010), places the verb *voler* next to other inference evidential markers.

References

- Aijmer, Karin (1985). «The semantic development of *will*». In: Fisiak, Jacek (ed.). *Historical Semantics*. Berlin: Mouton, pp. 11-21.
- Antolí-Martínez, Jordi M. (2012). «Canvi semàntic i gramaticalització en el sorgiment de marcadors evidencials. Evolució semàntica de *PARERE* i derivats en el llatí tardà i en el català antic (s. III-XVI)». *eHumanista/IVITRA* 2: 41-84.
- Antolí-Martínez, Jordi M. (forthcoming). «El surgimiento de un evidencial de inferencia en catalán medieval. El verbo *témer* entre los siglos XIII y XV». *eHumanista/IVITRA* 7.
- Bybee, Joan L.; Pagliuca, William; Perkins, Revere D. (1991). «Back to the Future». In: Traugott, Elisabeth C.; Heine, Bernd. (eds.). *Approaches to Grammaticalization: Volume II. Types of grammatical markers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 17-58.
- Bybee, Joan L.; Pagliuca, William; Perkins, Revere D. (1994). *The evolution of grammar: tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- CIGCA* = Martines, Josep; Martines, Vicent (dirs.). «Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Antic». In *Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis (CIMTAC)*. Alacant: ISIC-IVITRA.
- Cornillie, Bert (2007). *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-) Auxiliaries*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- D'Académie* = Atilf; Académie Française. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, neuvième édition*. <<http://atilf.atilf.fr/academie9.htm>>.
- DAguiló* = Aguiló i Fuster, Marian (1914-1934). *Diccionari Aguiló*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- DCantalausa* = Cantalausa, Joan de (2003). *Diccionari general occitan*. Rodez: Edicions Cultura d'Oc.
- DCVB* = Alcover, Antoni M.; Moll., Francesc de B. (1985). *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*. Palma de Mallorca: Moll.
- DDLC* = Rafel, Joaquim (dir.). *Diccionari descriptiu de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Institut Estudis Catalans. <<http://dcc.iec.cat/ddlc/index.asp>>.
- DECat* = Coromines, Joan (1995). *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes/La Caixa.

- DFarauto* = Farauto de Saint-Germain, Lluís *Vocabulari de la Llengua Catalana Medieval de Lluís Farauto de Saint-Germain*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans. <<http://www.iec.cat/farauto/default.asp#top>>.
- DGodefroy* = Godefroy, Frédéric (1880-1902). *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*. Paris.
- Dicod'Òc* = Lo Congrès permanent de la lenga occitana. *Dicod'Òc. Multidictionnaire occitan*. <<http://www.locongres.org/index.php/fr/applications/dicodoc-fr/dicodoc-recherche>>.
- DIEC2* = Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2007). *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*. Barcelona: Edicions 62 / Enciclopèdia Catalana.
- DLabèrnia* = Labèrnia, Pere (1839). *Diccionari de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Estampa dels Hereus de la Vda. Pla.
- DLevy* = Levy, Emil (1909). *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*. Heidelberg.
- DLewis* = Lewis, Charlton T.; Short, Charles (1879). *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DMF* = ATILF ; CNRS ; Université de Lorraine (2010). *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*. <<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>>.
- Fernández Jaén, Jorge (2008). «Modalidad epistémica y sentido del olfato: la evidencialidad del verbo oler». *Estudios de Lingüística Universidad de Alicante* 22: 65-89.
- Gavarró, Anna; Laca, Brenda (2002). «Les perífrasis temporals, aspectuals i modals». In: Solà, Joan; Lloret, Maria-Rosa; Mascaró, Joan; Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel (eds.). *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani*, vol. 3. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, pp. 2663-2726.
- GDIU* = De Mauro, Tullio (2008). *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso*. Torino: UTET.
- Hopper, Paul; Traugott, Elisabeth C. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martines, Josep (2013). «El verb *estimar* i l'amor hereós i Joan Roís de Corella. Un acostament segons la pragmàtica diacrònica». *Afers* 76: 717-739.
- Martines, Josep (forthcoming a). «Diacronia i neologia: canvi semàntic, subjectivació i representació del pensament. El català *esmar*, des de 'taxar' fins a 'inferir' i 'imaginar' i més enllà». *Caplletra: Revista Internacional de Filologia*.
- Martines, Josep (forthcoming b). «Une approche du futur épistémique du catalan médiéval: les premiers pas (XIII s.)». In: Baranzini, Laura; Sánchez Méndez, Juan ; de Saussure, Louis (eds.). *Le futur dans les langues romanes*. Université de Neuchâtel.
- Montserrat, Sandra (2012). «Les perífrasis aspectuals en el Curial e Güelfa». In: Ferrando, Antoni (ed.). *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre Curial e Güelfa*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 649-670.
- Narrog, Heiko (2012). *Modality, subjectivity, and semantic change: a cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel (1998). *Del llatí al català: Morfosintaxi verbal històrica*. València: Universitat de València.
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel (2008). «Les relacions temporals i aspectuals». In: Solà, Joan; Lloret, Maria-Rosa; Mascaró, Joan; Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel (eds.). *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani*, vol. 3. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, pp. 2571-2664.
- Pinkster, Harm (1985). «The Development of Future Tense Auxiliaries in Latin». *Glotta* 63: 186-208.

- Provenzalisches Supplement* = Levy, Emil (1898). *Provenzalisches Supplement-wörterbuch*. Leipzig.
- Schmid, Beatrice (2012). «Un aspecto sintáctico del Curial e Güelfa. Las perífrasis modales». In: Ferrando, Antoni. (ed.). *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre Curial e Güelfa*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 843-874.
- Schulte, Kim (2007). *Prepositional infinitives in Romance. A Usage-Based Approach to Syntactic Change*. Berna: Peter Lang.
- Sentí, Andreu (2010). «La perífrasi *deure* + Inf en el català preliterari. Gènesi i evolució d'una perífrasi romànica en el seu context lingüístic». In: *Actes del XV Col·loqui de l'Associació Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, pp. 107-124.
- Sentí, Andreu (2013). *Gramaticalització i subjectivació de la modalitat en català antic: un estudi de corpus de les perífrasis verbals <deure + INF> i <haver (a/de) + INF>*. University of Alicante, doctoral dissertation.
- Sentí, Andreu; Antolí-Martínez, Jordi M. (2013). «La inferència en l'aflorament dels valors evidencials en català antic». *Caplletra: Revista Internacional de Filologia* 55: 157-183.
- TLFI* = *Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé* (2004). Paris: CNRS Éditions. <<http://atilf.atilf.fr>>.
- Traugott, Elisabeth C. (2010). «Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification». In: Davidse, Kristin; Vandelandotte, Lieven; Cuyckens, Hubert (eds.). *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 29-70.
- Traugott, Elisabeth C. (2012). «Pragmatics and language change». In: Allan, Keith; Jaszczolt, Kasia. (eds.). *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 549-565.
- Traugott, Elisabeth; Dasher, Richard (2002). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elisabeth; Trousdale, Graeme (2013). *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vendler, Zeno (1957). «Verbs and times». *The Philosophical Review* 66.2: 143-160.
- VTreccani* = Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana. *Vocabolario Treccani*. <<http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/>>.

Semantic and pragmatic values of the Italian *imperfetto*: Towards a common interpretive procedure

Laura Baranzini¹

Claudia Ricci²

Université de Neuchâtel
laura.baranzini@unine.ch
claudia.ricci@unine.ch



Received: May 19, 2015

Accepted: October 2, 2015

Abstract

This paper proposes an account of the semantics and pragmatics of the Italian indicative imperfect. This tense is described as deriving all of its uses from an extremely reduced core of semantic features as the point of departure to a series of interpretative paths leading to different context-related possible interpretations through a process of pragmatic enrichment. With regard to the temporal parameter, the semantics of the imperfect is described as conveying past temporal reference, with an underdetermined scope. With regard to the aspectual parameter, this tense is defined as not semantically determined at all. Upon pragmatic integration of contextual information, three main classes of meaning effects associated with the imperfect are assumed to emerge: a narrative effect, an evidential effect and an effect of activation of a preliminary phase in relation to the event. Based on the above mentioned features, an overall semantic-pragmatic mapping of the imperfect and of its interpretive procedure is proposed.

Keywords: imperfect; Italian; *imperfetto*; semantics; pragmatic enrichment; modal; evidential; past; reference; contextual interpretation; scope; change.

Resum. *Valors semàntics i pragmàtics de l'imperfet italià: cap a un procediment interpretatiu comú*

Aquest article dona compte de la semàntica i la pragmàtica de l'imperfet italià. A la nostra descripció es mostra que aquest temps verbal deriva tots els seus usos d'un nucli extremadament reduït de trets semàntics, que són el punt de partida d'una sèrie de camins interpretatius que ens

1. This paper is part of a larger research project entitled *Pragmatique procédurale cognitive du temps en italien* (Cognitive procedural pragmatics of Tense in Italian, project n.100012_137967), directed by Louis de Saussure and financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation.
2. This paper is part of a larger research project entitled *La représentation du sens modal et de ses tendances évolutives dans deux langues romanes: le français et l'italien* (Representation of modal meaning and of the trends in its evolution in two Romance languages: French and Italian, project n.100012_159458), directed by Corinne Rossari and financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

porten a diferents interpretacions possibles lligades al context mitjançant un procés d'enriquiment pragmàtic. Pel que fa al paràmetre temporal, mostrem que la semàntica de l'imperfet denota una referència temporal de passat d'abast indeterminat. Pel que fa al paràmetre aspectual, aquest temps no està semànticament definit en absolut. A partir de la integració pragmàtica de la informació contextual, apareixen tres classes principals d'efectes semàntics associats a l'imperfet: un efecte narratiu, un efecte evidencial i un efecte d'activació d'una fase anterior a l'esdeveniment denotat. Tot basant-nos en els trets esmentats, proposem una projecció de l'imperfet i del seu procediment interpretatiu des de la semàntica a la pragmàtica.

Paraules clau: imperfet; italià; *imperfetto*; semàntica; enriquiment pragmàtic; modal; evidencial; passat; referència; interpretació contextual; abast; canvi.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4. The values of the Italian <i>imperfetto</i> : semantic features and pragmatic enrichment
2. Temporal, aspectual and modal values of the imperfect in Italian	5. Conclusions
3. A global taxonomy	References

1. Introduction

This paper aims at describing the semantics and pragmatics of the morphological form of the Italian indicative imperfect tense by illustrating at which level and along which parameters the process of enrichment of basic semantic features operates in terms of giving rise to the different possible interpretations of this form. Our starting hypothesis relies, therefore, on an eminently pragmatic perspective; we seek to derive all possible interpretations of the Italian imperfect tense from the contextual enrichment of a basic, limited core of semantic features. Such features potentially evolve in two directions. On the one hand, they acquire a specific sense via contextual integration towards a pragmatic interpretation. On the other hand, they also lead to a prototypical temporal-imperfective interpretation, which can emerge even when explicit contextual information is not available.

The first section (§ 2) illustrates the various uses of the *imperfetto* as they are presented in the literature. This overview essentially takes into account the descriptions given in the literature on the Italian language – notably those by Bertinetto (1986, 1991), Bazzanella (1990), Serianni (1988), Squartini (2001), Mazzoleni (1992), Giacalone Ramat (1999), Lo Duca (1995), Ronconi (1944–45) and Nannoni (2004). The French imperfect has also been a highly debated topic in the last decade, giving rise to rich and fruitful discussion; we have thus chosen to also take into account some of the complex and detailed analyses provided for this typologically close language. Among the numerous contributions to the discussion, particular attention has been given to the works by Berthonneau and Kleiber (1993, 2006), Bres (2005, 2009), Saussure (2003), Saussure and Sthioul (1999, 2005), Patard (2007, 2010, 2014), Patard and De Mulder (2014), Vetters (1993, 2009), Wilmet (1987, 1996) and Touratier (1998).

In a second step (§3), the uses of the imperfect tense will be included in a rational classification, making visible their characterizing features as well as their possible groupings. This will enable us to discuss some traditional categories while assessing the relevance of the descriptions given for some specific values of this tense.

In conclusion (§4), we will propose an overall map of the process at play in the interpretation of the imperfect. Our schematization relies on a mechanism of enrichment, which draws on semantic features to obtain different interpretations depending on context-related conditions (for an in-depth discussion of our semantic characterization of the Italian *imperfetto* see Baranzini (to appear) and Baranzini and Ricci (in preparation)).

2. Temporal, aspectual and modal values of the imperfect in Italian

In this first section, we will attempt to provide as exhaustive as possible an account of the vast array of uses of the Italian *imperfetto* such as they are traditionally presented in grammars and research works on this tense. Describing such uses in detail (within a non-systematic approach) and illustrating them through a series of examples will enable us to have a closer look at their classification and at the relevant parameters.

2.1. The prototypical tense of imperfectivity³

Unanimously considered as the standard use of the imperfect, the imperfective temporal use is characterized by the association of two components: a temporal feature [+past] and an aspectual one [+imperfective]⁴. According to the descriptions in the literature, choosing the imperfect allows the speaker to represent a state of affairs in the past from a particular aspectual perspective: the state of affairs is presented as having a certain duration and is not observed *a posteriori* (as is the case, for instance, when using the simple past tense); the event described by the verb is rather presented as in the process of taking place, from an ‘internal’ perspective, without visualizing its right boundary.

- (1) Quando ero giovane ero molto ma molto povero, e naturalmente, come tutti i poveri, avevo degli ideali (A. Moravia, 1934, Milano, Bompiani, 1982)⁵
 ‘When I was young I was very very poor, and naturally, like all poor people, I had ideals.’

3. See Baranzini (to appear) and Baranzini and Ricci (in preparation).
4. Serianni (1989: 468) states, “è un tipico tempo “aspettuale”: segnala infatti un’azione incompiuta nel passato [...]; o meglio, un’azione passata le cui coordinate (momento d’inizio, conclusione, ecc.) restano inesprese.” ‘It is a typical ‘aspectual’ tense; it signals an action unaccomplished in the past [...] or, better still, an action in the past whose coordinates (time of beginning, conclusion, etc.) remain unexpressed.’
5. Authentic examples are followed by an explicit indication of their source. In all the other cases, made-up examples have been preferred for the sake of clarity (especially when they had to be manipulated in view of a contrastive analysis). We are well aware of the limitations of this kind of choice, and our made-up examples have no other function than to illustrate a type of use based on the linguistic intuition of a native speaker.

Choosing the *imperfetto* within the Italian past tense system allows visualizing the process from an internal point of view. The event is thus construed as being not punctual but durative. This standard use of the Italian *imperfetto* is involved in all the descriptions given in the literature, and it is most often taken as a starting point for the various attempts to explain all of its other uses. Such uses, however, do not necessarily follow the aspectual and temporal parameters described above. Our attempt to propose a scheme describing the semantic-pragmatic enrichment of the different uses of the Italian *imperfetto* will, therefore, lead us to reconsider either the definition of its temporal value or the assumption that this is the basic value within the description of its operational mechanism.

2.2. Habitual value and continuous value

In the accounts illustrating its ‘standard’ imperfective temporal uses, the Italian *imperfetto* is described as being able to convey three main aspectual values: progressive, habitual and continuous (see Bertinetto (1986)). Since they have been extensively defined and discussed in the literature, we will not provide a description of such values here. We limit ourselves to recalling the essential role of verbal aspectual class and contextual parameters in assigning one of the two values to the imperfect. Examples (2)–(4)⁶ illustrate respectively the progressive use, the habitual use and the continuous use of the *imperfetto*:

- (2) Luigi dormiva placidamente nel suo letto, quando (all’improvviso) scoppiò un tuono formidabile.
‘Luigi was sleeping [lit. Luigi sleep-IMPF] quietly in his bed, when (suddenly) thunder clapped loudly.’
- (3) In quel periodo Pier Marco si alzava alle cinque.
‘In that period, Pier Marco used to get up [lit. Pier Marco get-IMPF up] at five.’
- (4) Per tutta la durata dell’incontro, Pier Marco guardava davanti a sé con aria desolata.
‘During the whole meeting, Pier Marco kept looking before him [lit. Pier Marco look-IMPF before him] with a depressed look on his face.’

2.3. The ‘planning’ use

One of the parameters of variation involved in atypical uses of the Italian imperfect is indeed its temporal feature: the *imperfetto* – associated by definition with past temporal reference – appears to easily refer to an event located subsequently to the point of speech, as the following example shows:

6. Examples (2)–(4) are taken from Bertinetto (1986: 120, 140, 162).

- (5) Stasera andavamo a Roma; che fai, vieni? (ask.fm)
 ‘We were going [lit. we GO-Impf] to Rome tonight; what about you? Are you going with us?’

In this case, the imperfect cannot be construed as locating the event in the past since co-text and context-related information undoubtedly convey a futural reading of the event in the utterance. We, therefore, need either to reconsider the status of the temporal feature of this tense (indeed, if a PAST-feature is part of the semantics of this tense, it cannot just be eradicated in interpreting these uses) or to rethink and redefine its temporal localization function within specific contexts, extending its scope.

2.4. *The narrative use*

The Italian imperfect may be used in a context in which the use of a perfective past tense would normally be required, either because the event described by the verb is viewed as completed or because the specific lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*) of the verb is more compatible with a perfective reading. In this case, the effect of the meaning of the imperfect is described as resulting from the visualization of the event from an internal perspective, which allows for focusing on the state of affairs in its course.⁷

- (6) La mattina dopo, però, visto che la schiena non gli faceva più così male, Harrfey tirò fuori la sua Hillman Super Minx gonfio di aspettative. Due ore dopo entrava nel parcheggio riservato al campo n° 1, adiacente all’Old [sic] England Club. (Malcom Folley, *Borg vs McEnroe*, Monte Porzio Catone, Effepi, 2006 - original English text below)
 ‘But the next morning, with his back no longer causing him discomfort, Harrfey moved his Hillman Super Minx out of his drive with a sense of anticipation. Two hours later, he pulled into No. 1 car park beside the All England Club.’

2.5. *The counterfactual use*

Counterfactual imperfect has been analyzed in depth in the literature on Italian (see in particular Mazzoleni (1992), Bazzanella (1990), Ronconi (1944-45)) and, mostly, on French (see for instance Bres (2009), Berthonneau and Kleiber (2006)). In contrast to competing past tenses, the imperfect is indeed typically described as capable of expressing an event that did not actually occur (not even in a fictional

7. A description of the mechanism of the narrative imperfect is provided by Ronconi (1943). The narrative use is presented as the result of the narrator’s choice to give a static, durative representation of an event or of a specific part of it. As a result, the event is presented as being ‘diluted’ in time. According to Ronconi, this mechanism functions both in typically narrative uses (when the imperfect can be replaced with perfective tenses) and in descriptive, background uses of the tense. Bertinetto (1991) highlights the ambiguous nature of the imperfect in literary texts, showing for instance that it is often difficult to determine whether a ‘narrative’ (perfective) or a ‘continuous’ (imperfective) reading is more appropriate within a specific context.

world). In these counterfactual uses, a state of affairs is evoked as possible while contextual indications require that it be interpreted as not having occurred:

- (7) Incidente aereo, Capirossi illeso. “Ho avuto paura, sì, tanta paura. Altri trenta secondi e non c’ero più.” (www.motograndprix.motorionline.com)
 ‘Air crash, Capirossi unharmed. “I was scared, yes, really scared. Thirty more seconds and I would no longer have been here” [lit. I be-IMPF no longer here].’

Descriptions of this use of the imperfect tense often mention the fact that, in such a context, the imperfect can be replaced by a past conditional, a clear signal of the modality of unreality associated with the imperfect in this case. Here again, the analysis must focus on the articulation between the emergence of the counterfactual interpretation and the semantic core of this tense. The semantics of the imperfect allows, in effect, for a counterfactual reading, but such a reading is a purely pragmatic effect. This is shown by example (8) below in which the verb form used is the same as in (7) but the context requires that the event of ‘no longer being there’ is not construed as not having occurred:

- (8) [Of a cake the speaker baked] È finita praticamente subito! Il tempo di metterla in tavola, cinque minuti e non c’era più. (blog.cookaround.com)
 ‘It was gone practically instantly! Had just the time to put it on the table, five minutes, and it was no longer there.’

2.6. *The oneiric use*

Another ‘modal’ use of the Italian *imperfetto* is that of the account of a dream. This use is traditionally described as expressing a transition from the real world to irreality (see Bazzanella (1990)). In its oneiric value, the imperfect tense can be used regardless of the aspectual and prospective characterization of an event, and it can express the whole chain of events taking place in a narrated scene.

- (9) Ero piccola, avevo sui tre o quattro anni, e uscivo a fare una passeggiata con mia madre. Ci fermavamo a parlare con una signora turca [...]. Nel sogno mia madre diceva qualcosa [...] che faceva arrabbiare la vecchiaia. Questa cominciava a urlare [...]. (M. Mustian, *La memoria del vento*, Milano, Piemme, 2011 – original English text below)
 ‘I was very young, maybe three or four, out for a walk with my mother. We stopped and spoke to a Turkish woman [...]. In the dream my mother said something [...] that made the old woman angry. She cried out [...].’

2.7. *The ludic use*

The expression ‘ludic imperfect’ covers uses of the imperfect limited to a specific type of discourse, namely that concerning the setting up and negotiating of scenarios in children’s play. Developing and expressing a play context requires textual

‘theatrical staging’ of a series of states and events, which can all be expressed by the imperfect tense. In such cases, variation from standard use concerns both the temporal and the aspectual plan. The states of affairs expressed by the imperfect describe both the ludic, fictional background itself – which can be referred to the past moment of its creation – and the future developments imagined for the situation; the temporal span expressed by the imperfect is, therefore, broad and heterogeneous. Moreover, the imperfect can here be used to express any type of aspectual value, be it an imperfective context or a clearly perfective one. This kind of ‘temporal-aspectual elasticity’ can be seen in the following example:

- (10) Facciamo che tu eri in pericolo e io ti salvavo, sparavo al bandito, lo strozzavo e lo trasportavamo vicino al fiume... (C. Comencini, *Matrioška*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2002)
 ‘Let’s pretend that you were in danger and I saved you, I shot the villain and strangled him, and we carried him close to the river...’

2.8. *Account of a fictional story*

The imperfect is used when narrating fictional events, typically in the form of a story (a book, a film, a play, etc.). Just as for the oneiric use, in this case, the imperfect can express all aspectual forms the processes can take:

- (11) [...] sul secondo canale aveva visto questo film dove una donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, diventava prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine moriva. (F. Ramos, *Diciotto ossa rotte*, Milano, Baldini&Castoldi, 2014)
 ‘[...] on the second channel she had watched this movie where a woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died.’

2.9. *The mitigation use*

Finally, we will mention the so-called ‘mitigation’ or ‘politeness’ use of the imperfect, which conveys not past but present temporal reference:

- (12) Salve le chiedevo se servite piatti a base di pesce e se siete aperti a pasqua. (tripadvisor.it)
 ‘Hello. I wanted to ask [lit. I ask-IMPF] if you serve fish dishes and if you are open at Easter.’

This use is often accounted for (see for instance Ronconi (1944-45)) as an act of ‘distancing’ the situation of enunciation of a potentially threatening speech act by displacing it back to a past time; the fact of displacing the temporal reference of the utterance towards the past allows the speaker to mitigate the strength of his/her speech act (for instance, in the case of a request) or of his/her act of speaking out (for instance, in front of an audience or in another public context).

3. A global taxonomy

The various uses of the imperfect have been grouped and classified in a number of ways, based on different criteria and leading to more or less organized and exhaustive taxonomies as a result. Even descriptions not specifically aiming at a classification tend to distinguish between so-called ‘temporal’ and ‘modal’ uses. These two uses are either treated as a non-related pair or as deriving from each other. In the latter case, the temporal uses are usually described as being the ‘basic’ uses; however, the imperfect has also been described as being inherently modal.⁸ If we opt for a definition of the two uses as being independent from each other, we must then assume the existence of a simple semantic core which can allow enrichment in both directions – towards a modal interpretation as well as a temporal one.⁹

We will now attempt to point out three parameters, which, in our view, are relevant when characterizing the uses of the imperfect tense:

- i) we will consider uses in which the verb form can be associated with past temporal deixis and distinguish between the cases in which the past temporal reference is direct (the event is located in the past) and those in which it is indirect (the verbal morphology does not appear to apply to the event itself but to the decision-making or the conception of its realization);
- ii) we will distinguish between a) uses in which the verbal morphology of the imperfect is inscribed in a tense-switching context, namely a context coherently alternating perfective forms and imperfect tense in which the imperfect is systematically construed as being imperfective, and b) uses in which the imperfect can autonomously convey the whole course of events in the discourse, making the presence of perfective tenses useless (tenses specialized in the expression of perfectivity are, in this case, only possible, sometimes even unacceptable); in such cases, the events expressed through the use of the imperfect can be contextually construed either as being imperfective or perfective. The morphological expression of aspectuality becomes somehow flattened;
- iii) finally, we will distinguish between uses in which the imperfect refers to an event that actually occurred and uses in which the event did not – and will not, depending on the situation – occur. We will particularly focus our attention on this last distinction in an attempt to determine the circumstances where it is appropriate to talk about an event failing to occur. The process in question may not yet have occurred but may be due to occur in the future developments of events; in other cases, the event may not have occurred in the real situation, yet

8. Among the numerous proposals in this sense, we will mention, for French, the description in terms of subjectification and ‘virtual reality’ by De Mulder and Brisard (2006).

9. With regard to Italian, a unifying description of the possible values of the *imperfetto* is to be found in Ronconi (1944-45). Although his terminology sometimes differs from the one used in the current temporal-aspectual descriptions, two fundamental features are easily recognized as being, in the author’s view, at the core of the semantics of this tense: its ‘imperfective, i.e. continuous’ nature (“imperfettiva, cioè continuata” Ronconi (1944-45: 64)) and what is described as the projection in the past of a present state of affairs. In this description, the context is presented as fundamental in determining the interpretation of the different uses.

it is the object of an account where it has actually occurred in a fictitious, virtual world, evoked as experienced and relevant. Finally, the speaker might present the event as not having occurred while at the same time ruling out, *a priori*, any possibility of making relevant its realization as well as the consequences of this eventuality. This reflection will allow for a discussion of a characteristic of the imperfect tense which is apparently modal, namely its compatibility with the ‘unreal’ feature pertaining to a narrative context activated in discourse.

Table 1. Uses of the Italian *imperfetto*

	Realization of the process	Past temporal reference	‘Flattening’ of the aspectual use
‘Standard’ imperfect	Presented as in progress in the past	Direct	No
Narrative imperfect	Presented as having occurred in a narrative context	Direct	Yes – as a subpart of a whole ¹
‘Reporting’ imperfect ²	Presented as having occurred	Direct	Yes
Mitigation imperfect	?	Indirect (decision making or reason for the process located in the past)	Not relevant
‘Account of a fictional story’ imperfect	Presented as having occurred in a narrative context	Direct	Yes
Oneiric imperfect	Presented as having occurred in an oneiric context	Direct	Yes
Ludic imperfect	Presented as not having occurred; realization in the future in a role-playing context	Indirect	Yes
‘Planning’ imperfect	Presented as not having occurred; the possibility of realization in the future is admitted	Indirect (decision-making in the past)	Yes
Counterfactual imperfect	Presented as not having occurred; the possibility of realization in the future is excluded	Indirect (evaluation of the conditions for the realization of the state of affairs)	Yes

1. We believe it important to distinguish the narrative imperfect from the account of a fictional story precisely because the narrative imperfect characterizes a text portion including a succession of events but always within a broader narrative episode, which also includes perfective tenses. This amounts to describing the context in which a narrative imperfect can appear as a textual subpart of a whole.

2. We introduce this new category because this type of imperfect (described as typical of minutes or news articles) is very often associated with the category of the narrative imperfect, which we intend to treat separately here (see footnote 1 above).

As shown in the table, the event itself can be directly situated in a moment located prior to the point of speech in two-thirds of the uses of the tense. The remaining three cases require the assumption that the verb form does not temporally locate the event itself but a relevant preparatory phase of the event – like, for instance, the decision-making process. By looking at this distribution of uses, we can assume the temporal feature to be indeed present in the semantics of the imperfect form but with an underspecified scope; under specific contextual conditions, a state of affairs preceding the event can be put under such a scope, excluding the event itself.

However, what is more significant (and, in our view, too often underestimated) about the imperfect is the fact that, among its different possible uses, the one which is traditionally considered ‘standard’ on an aspectual level is in fact relatively marginal. In all its other uses – which are numerous and diverse although probably less significant in frequency – the imperfect does not alternate with perfect tenses in a tense-switching scheme but is used to express all aspectual nuances conveyed by a text.¹⁰

On the basis of these observations, in the next section, we will attempt to give an account of the different contextual variables allowing the emergence of one

10. Describing the imperfect tense on an aspectual level is a complex affair. This can be seen from the number of different treatments proposed and also from the cautiousness of knowledgeable, sensible scholars like Bertinetto (1986: 345). He initially describes the imperfect as “un tempo di natura nettamente imperfettiva” (‘a tense positively imperfective in nature’). Subsequently (Bertinetto, 1986: 346), its definition seems less absolute (“Tempo fondamentalmente imperfettivo”, ‘fundamentally imperfective tense’). Finally (Bertinetto, 1986: 353), he states, “esistono validi motivi per asserire che l’uso dell’IPF è massimamente compatibile con contesti implicanti indeterminazione. Abbiamo anche osservato, peraltro, che tale nozione non va intesa in senso brutalmente fattuale, perché il contesto (situazionale o linguistico) può sovente fornire precise informazioni, in merito allo svolgimento dell’evento. La conclusione generale che si impone è, dunque, che l’indeterminazione non è unicamente sancita dall’insieme del messaggio testuale; essa è anche suggerita proprio dalla valenza imperfettiva in quanto tale, che può talvolta sopravanzare le contrastanti indicazioni contestuali” (‘There are valid reasons on the basis of which it can be asserted that the use of the imperfect is mostly compatible with contexts implying indeterminacy. However, we have also observed that this notion must not be understood in a bluntly factual sense since the context (be it situational or linguistic) can often provide specific information concerning the way the event takes place. Therefore, it must be generally concluded that indeterminacy is not uniquely determined by the whole of the message conveyed by the text; it is also suggested precisely by the imperfective value as such, which can sometimes prevail over competing contextual indications’). Here is what Serianni (1989: 469) states about the narrative imperfect (also called the historical or ‘newspaper’ imperfect): “Il particolare valore di questo tempo verbale, che ha conosciuto una larga diffusione solo tra Otto e Novecento, parrebbe contravvenire alla “vocazione aspettuale” dell’imperfetto, in quanto assume spesso connotati decisamente perfettivi” (‘the particular value of this tense, which was widespread only between the 19th and the 20th century, would appear to contravene the ‘aspectual vocation’ of the imperfect in that it often takes on clearly perfective features’). See also Grandi (2010) on a more general level: “sono generalmente associati all’aspetto imperfettivo la perifrasi progressiva e l’imperfetto; invece, il passato prossimo e il passato remoto paiono più prossimi all’aspetto perfettivo. Tuttavia va rammentato che, al di là di un evidente legame preferenziale tra alcuni tempi e alcune sfumature aspettuative, il contesto gioca un ruolo cruciale nell’interpretazione delle forme verbali” (‘generally, to the imperfective aspect the literature associates the progressive periphrasis and the imperfect; [Italian] present perfect and simple past seem to be closer to perfective aspect. It should be remembered, however, that beyond a visible privileged link between specific tenses and specific aspectual nuances, the context has a crucial role in the interpretation of verb forms’).

or the other reading of the imperfect, relying on the features that appear to bring together the largest number of uses.

Before moving on to the next section, however, let us look at the third parameter considered in our classification, namely, that concerning the actual realization of the process expressed by the verb.

On the one hand, there is obviously an interplay between the criterion concerning the realization of the process and that concerning temporal reference; while an event is expected to have occurred in the cases in which it is located in the past through direct temporal reference, the same does not hold true in the cases in which the past reference only concerns the decision-making process or a planning phase prior to the event and not the event itself.

On the other hand, a point worth deeper investigation is the fact that the imperfect appears to be preferably associated with contexts in which the situation is characterized as not being real. There is no doubt that the imperfect can be used to express both events which really occurred – or are in the process of occurring as is the case for the ‘standard’ imperfective reading – and the narration of imagined events with an alternation of imperfect and perfective past tenses. It is also evident, however, that, within specific contexts, the choice to narrate by only using the imperfect and the choice of alternating imperfect and perfective past tenses results in presenting the events from two very different ‘modal’ perspectives. We are speaking of the uses which we have referred to as an ‘account of a fictional story’¹¹, exemplified by (11) which we repeat under (13):

- (13) [...] sul secondo canale aveva visto questo film dove una donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, diventava prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine moriva.

‘[...] on the second channel she had watched this movie where a woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died [die-IMPF].’

The cases considered here are characterized by the exclusive use of the imperfect for the narration. They, therefore, include partly what is called narrative imperfect,¹² as well as the reporting ‘newspaper’ use, the ‘account of a story’ use, the oneiric use and the ludic use (see footnote 11). The core of our reflection is the following assumption. The narration entirely expressed through the use of the imperfect is, precisely as a result of the use of this tense, presented by the speaker as an account not mainly and exclusively of a series of events but also – or even more appropriately – as a mediated perceptive experience.

It is obvious that the characterization proposed here is not to be intended in terms of ontological adherence to reality, namely in terms of the real or unreal nature of the narrated events. Italian *imperfetto di cronaca* (reporting imperfect)

11. It is intuitively natural to also associate the oneiric and ludic account to this kind of narration.

12. While in the narrative use subparts of text are concerned, within such subparts, the neutralization of the distinction between a perfective and imperfective reading remains valid.

is, for instance, prototypically associated with a medical report, with the process of drawing up the minutes of an interrogation by the police, or with the reporting of real facts by a journalist; a documentary reporting real facts can also be entirely recalled by using the imperfect. Our hypothesis does not concern an epistemic characterization of an event but the speaker's will to present his/her account together with his/her perceptual experience, thus signaling his/her enunciative distance from the events. Let us consider in this respect the different types of speaker exposure to the perception of events that are compatible with the type of accounts we are talking about:

- i) The speaker may be reporting *real* events in which he/she has been actually involved
- ii) The speaker may be reporting *real* events which he/she personally witnessed
- iii) The speaker may be reporting *real* events that he/she got to know through the account of someone else within a spontaneous discourse context
- iv) The speaker may be reporting *real* events that he/she got to know through the account of another speaker in a mediated, coded narrative context (witness report, minutes, news article)
- v) The speaker may be reporting *real* events that he/she got to know through a narrative filter (audio-visual document, reading of a text)
- vi) The speaker may be reporting *unreal/imaginary* events that he/she got to know through a narrative/imaginative filter (audio-visual document, reading of a text, an oneiric vision in a dream, the construction of an imaginary scenario, etc.)

With regard to cases mentioned in i), ii) and iii), a narration through the exclusive use of the imperfect hardly seems possible (see examples (15), (17) and (19) below). This is, however, not the case for iv) – in which the exclusive use of the imperfect is indeed a valid option – and for the most part for v) and vi) where the exclusive use of the imperfect appears to be virtually prototypical (see examples (22) and (24) below). If this hypothesis proves to be correct,¹³ the distinction between these uses could no longer be described as relying on the real or unreal nature of the narrated events. Rather, it should be defined in terms of the relevance of the activation of the speaker's cognitive experience; an account made using the imperfect form would reflect the choice of a speaker who has not integrated the narrated events into his/her own cognitive background and who would, therefore, signify his/her distance in terms of commitment through the use of a non-spontaneous, coded narrative filter.¹⁴ Following this line of reasoning would lead us to consider this feature as operating not on a purely modal level but rather on an evidential level

13. Since we do not have precise quantitative data on the presence/frequency of these configurations in Italian corpora, we must, obviously, speak in terms of hypotheses and intuitive assumptions.

14. In other words, according to this hypothesis, the imperfect is more compatible with a context in which the speaker explicitly presents him/herself as a 'communicative medium' for an account attributable to a third party. As for perfective tenses, they do not modify the epistemic status of the events; by the use of a perfective tense, the speaker presents himself/herself as a direct enunciative entity with all that this involves in terms of commitment.

since this temporal-aspectual use¹⁵ would focus on an essential feature in relation to the source of information.

Evidence in this direction is visible when manipulating utterances through the variation of the above-mentioned parameters, which results in different degrees of acceptability (the following examples are instances of cases i) to vi) above:

i)

- (14) Anni fa, in seguito a un grave incidente, sono diventata prima sorda poi cieca.¹⁶

‘Years ago, due to a serious accident, I became first deaf, then blind.’

- (15) ??Anni fa, in seguito a un grave incidente, diventavo prima sorda poi cieca.
‘Years ago, due to a serious accident, I became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then blind.’

ii)

- (16) Anni fa ho assistito a un terribile incidente. La ragazza coinvolta è diventata prima sorda poi cieca.

‘Years ago, I witnessed a terrible accident. The girl involved became first deaf, then blind.’

- (17) ??Anni fa ho assistito a un terribile incidente. La ragazza coinvolta diventava prima sorda poi cieca.

‘Years ago, I witnessed a terrible accident. The girl involved became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then blind.’

iii)

- (18) Ieri la mia vicina mi ha raccontato un fatto spaventoso: tempo fa ha avuto un grave incidente ed è diventata prima sorda poi cieca.

‘Yesterday, my neighbor told me about something terrible that happened: some time ago she had a very serious accident and became first deaf, then blind.’

- (19) ??Ieri la mia vicina mi ha raccontato un fatto spaventoso: tempo fa aveva un grave incidente e diventava prima sorda poi cieca.

‘Yesterday, my neighbor told me about something terrible that happened: some time ago she had [have-IMPF] a very serious accident and became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then blind.’

15. While some lexical aspectual categories of verbs allow with greater probability for a ‘perfective’ reading of the imperfect, it should not be forgotten that such uses can only be defined on a textual level, i.e. within a global system.

16. The series of examples going from (14) to (28) has been obtained by manipulating the authentic example shown in (11) and (13). In the particular context of (11), contrary to what could be assumed, the presence of the imperfect in the relative clause is not determined by the presence of a past perfect tense in the governing clause. The simple past could here replace the past perfect within the same context, and the imperfect would still be grammatical. In order to illustrate the case under iv), a further authentic example has been added.

iv)

- (20) a. Si legge nel referto medico: “A seguito dell’incidente, la paziente diventava prima sorda, poi cieca”.
 ‘The medical report states: “Due to the accident, the patient became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then blind”.’

b. Il giorno 26 gennaio 2013, in Roma, intervenuto unitamente ad un collega in occasione di un incendio divampato al primo piano di uno stabile, intuendo la gravità della situazione, senza attendere l’arrivo dei VV.F., abbatteva la porta d’ingresso ed ispezionava tutti i locali, rinvenendo una donna distesa su di un divano, priva di sensi. Portatala all’esterno in salvo, tornava nell’appartamento alla ricerca di altre persone. (<http://www.fondazionecarnegie.it>)

‘On January 26th, 2013, in Rome, having intervened with a colleague in the event of a fire which broke out on the first floor of a building, perceiving the gravity of the situation, without waiting for the firemen, [he] broke [break-IMPF] down the entrance door and inspected [inspect-IMPF] all premises, finding a woman lying on a couch, unconscious. Once he had rescued her by carrying her outside, he returned [return-IMPF] into the apartment looking for other persons.’

- (21) a. Si legge nel referto medico: “A seguito dell’incidente, la paziente è diventata prima sorda, poi cieca”.
 ‘The medical report states: “Due to the accident, the patient became first deaf, then blind”.’

b. Il giorno 26 gennaio 2013, in Roma, intervenuto unitamente ad un collega in occasione di un incendio divampato al primo piano di uno stabile, intuendo la gravità della situazione, senza attendere l’arrivo dei VV.F., ha abbattuto la porta d’ingresso ed ha ispezionato tutti i locali, rinvenendo una donna distesa su di un divano, priva di sensi. Portatala all’esterno in salvo, è tornato nell’appartamento alla ricerca di altre persone.

‘On January 26th, 2013, in Rome, having intervened with a colleague in the event of a fire which broke out on the first floor of a building, perceiving the gravity of the situation, without waiting for the firemen, [he] broke down the entrance door and inspected all premises, finding a woman lying on a couch, unconscious. Once he had rescued her by carrying her outside, he returned into the apartment looking for other persons.’

v)

- (22) [...] sul secondo canale aveva visto un documentario dove una donna, in seguito a un grave incidente, diventava prima sorda poi cieca.

‘[...] on the second channel she had watched a documentary in which a woman, because of a serious accident, became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then blind.’

- (23) ??[...] sul secondo canale aveva visto un documentario dove una donna, in seguito a un grave incidente, è diventata prima sorda poi cieca.
 '[...] on the second channel she had watched a documentary in which a woman, because of a serious accident, became first deaf, then blind.'

vi)

- (24) a. [...] sul secondo canale aveva visto questo film dove una donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, diventava prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine moriva.
 '[...] on the second channel she had watched this movie where a woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died [die-IMPF].'
- b. Questa notte ho fatto uno strano sogno: in seguito a una specie di maleficio, diventavo prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine morivo.
 'I had a strange dream last night: because of a kind of bad spell, I became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end I died [die-IMPF].'
- (25) a. ??[...] sul secondo canale aveva visto questo film dove una donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, è diventata prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine è morta.
 '[...] on the second channel she had watched this movie where a woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died.'
- b. ?Questa notte ho fatto uno strano sogno: in seguito a una specie di maleficio, sono diventata prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine sono morta.
 'I had a strange dream last night: because of a kind of bad spell, I became first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end I died.'

It is thus possible to rule out the ontological parameter as the one relevant for describing the alternation between the two temporal systems. However, the exact kind of 'evidential' characterization signaled by choosing the imperfect still has to be identified more precisely. It is not sufficient to describe it as a series of reported events in a narrative frame since a novel, the account of an event that the speaker has experienced first-hand, and an anecdote reported by another person may all be characterized as narrative texts, but they all allow for perfectly natural linguistic realization through the use of perfective tenses.

A significant hint about the nature of the evidential feature expressed through the choice of the imperfect in these contexts comes from an utterance such as (26) (previously (24a)):

- (26) [...] sul secondo canale aveva visto questo film dove una donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, diventava prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine moriva.
 ‘[...] on the second channel she had watched this movie where a woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became [become-IMPF] first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died [die-IMPF].’

As already observed, although not completely unacceptable, this account sounds less natural when a perfective tense is used (see (27), previously (25a)):

- (27) ??[...] sul secondo canale aveva visto questo film dove una donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, è diventata prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine è morta.
 ‘[...] on the second channel she had watched this movie where a woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died.’

There is, though, one way that allows for restoring a more natural reading of this utterance: it is sufficient to insert it in a different narrative context, requiring the hearer to have watched the beginning of the movie together with the speaker so that he/she has direct knowledge of the protagonist of the story. This case is illustrated in (28):

- (28) [Com’è finito il film di ieri sera? Io mi sono addormentato quasi subito...] È finito che la donna, in seguito a una specie di maleficio, è diventata prima sorda poi muta poi cieca e alla fine è morta.
 ‘[How did yesterday’s film end? I fell asleep right after the beginning...] In the end the woman, because of a kind of bad spell, became first deaf, then dumb, then blind and in the end she died.’

The result is not only perfectly acceptable, but also significantly more natural than what we would obtain by using the imperfect. In this case, two narrative filters are present (the vision of a fictitious story and the subsequent account by the speaker); as it appears, eliminating one of them amounts to adjusting the hearer’s perception level – and consequently his/her knowledge background – to that of the speaker, which, in turn, makes the use of perfective tenses again an available, or even preferable, option.

In the light of these observations, it remains to be verified whether this commitment-based hypothesis is valid for all uses in which the account of a series of events can entirely be made using the imperfect tense.

4. The values of the Italian *imperfetto*: semantic features and pragmatic enrichment

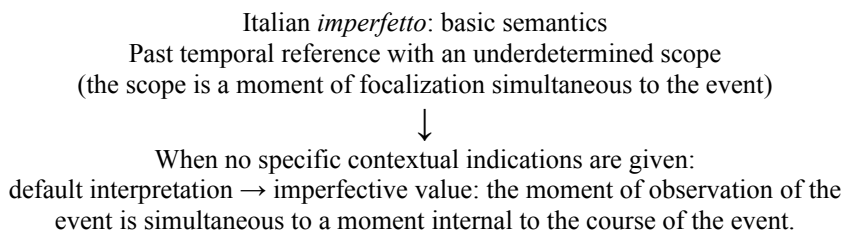
On the basis of the observation in §3, we propose here an interpretative procedure for the Italian imperfect tense. Our point of departure is a significantly reduced

semantic core; we then assign pragmatic enrichment a fundamental role in the process of interpretation.¹⁷ We consider that only one, underdetermined semantic feature can be associated with the imperfect form, this feature being past temporal reference.¹⁸ At this level, the scope of the imperfect is not specified. When no further contextual indications are available, what is located in the past is the event itself. When a specific context clearly does not allow for this kind of interpretation, the hearer must search for a preliminary, past situation related to the event – a planning or conception phase of it, for instance. In other words, what is located in the past is not the event but the moment of focalization of the event. According to Saussure (2003), for instance, in descriptive, temporal uses, the imperfect signals that the reference point R¹⁹ precedes S and that event E is true simultaneously with R, while nothing is said of E's truth conditions outside the boundaries of R. What we propose here is in fact to associate the temporal information conveyed by the imperfect only with the moment of focalization valid at R for all uses of the tense. Reference point R is located in the past, but this is not necessarily the case for E. What is visualized from R may be E or a moment of conception or imagination of E. With respect to aspectuality, we consider all possible interpretations as deriving from the operation of pragmatic enrichment.²⁰ The description proposed here differs in this respect from accounts which rely on an imperfective aspectual feature for the characterization of the semantics of the imperfect; it is in these terms, for instance, that Vetters (2009)

17. In this regard, our description is particularly close to that expressed in Saussure and Sthioul (2005: 104): 'nous défendons l'idée d'une sous-détermination sémantique, estimant que c'est à travers la description du processus pragmatique lié à l'emploi d'une forme que les diverses valeurs peuvent être différenciées ('we defend the idea of a semantic underdetermination, as we believe that it is through the description of the pragmatic process involved in the use of a form that the various values can be differentiated'). Within the framework of Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory, the imperfect is here described as belonging to the category of procedural expressions, i.e. it encodes instructions on the interpretation of the utterance in which it appears. Its semantic description can be obtained by recurring to a number of underspecified semantic formulas containing variables, to which the hearer must assign a specific value (Saussure and Sthioul 2005: 105). The poverty of the semantic core of this verb form is thus a fundamental feature both in our description and in that of Saussure and Sthioul (2005).
18. It is worth being reminded that other attempts to resolve the tense-aspect and textual paradoxes related to the imperfect have been proposed. Molendijk (2002), for instance, describes the present perfect and simple past in French by reducing their characterization to a limited number of logic-temporal relations allowed by these two tenses in a sequence of utterances (which may be explicit or implicitly reconstructed). The semantics of the imperfect would, thus, be equivalent to a temporal relation of concomitance.
19. We follow here the traditional Reichenbach's notation (R = reference point, S = speech point, E = event point)
20. A similar description, characterizing the semantics of the imperfect tense as reduced to the presence of a 'past' feature with no further aspectual specification is proposed for French by Touratier (1998), although it concerns exclusively direct temporal uses of this tense. To account for the totality of its uses, the semantics of the imperfect is associated with a unique *non-actual* feature. However, this feature seems to be closer to the area of modality than to that of aspectuality. A notion of *non-actual feature* associated with the imperfect is commonly found in the literature. However, such a notion does not seem to coincide with our idea of purely aspectual underdetermination.

describes the French *imparfait*, relying on pragmatic enrichment exclusively for perfective readings of the tense. In his view, perfective interpretation is obtained through the integration of contextual information, leading to the conclusion that the process expressed by the verb actually has been completed in a subsequent moment.²¹ As pointed out in Baranzini (to appear) and Baranzini and Ricci (in preparation), this kind of description of the meaning of the imperfect tense is not easily applicable in the case of Italian.

Below is a possible schematization of the different interpretative pathways associated with the imperfect in Italian:



Alternatively:

1. Presence of contextual indications → neutralization of the alternation between the imperfect and perfective tenses within a broader narrative context including imperfect-perfective tense alternation → **narrative** interpretation. Effect of meaning: static visualization of the ending phase of a narrative sequence.²²

2. Presence of contextual indications → neutralization of the alternation between the imperfect and perfective tenses in the whole narrative sequence → **evidential** interpretation. Effect of meaning: ‘enunciative distancing’ (non-commitment) on the part of the speaker.²³

21. A similar stance, based on contextual enrichment of the imperfect, which is described as always being imperfective, is adopted and thoroughly argued for French in Bres (2005), as well as in Caudal and Vetter (2005) and in Labeau (2005).

22. The closing effect of the narrative imperfect appears to be intuitive, as shown for example in the academic online coursebook by Kaempfer and Micheli (2005).

23. We are reminded here that a modal value of epistemic distancing has already been associated with the imperfect (see Patard and De Mulder (2014)), although it only concerns its hypothetical uses, not narrative effects. In De Mulder and Brisard (2006), the epistemic feature is systematically associated with the imperfect tense; the authors introduce the notion of a ‘centre de conceptualisation’ (centre of conceptualization), which appears to be close to the ‘sujet d’observation’ (subject of observation) described in Saussure and Sthioul (2005). An evidential characterization of a specific type of Italian modal imperfect is provided by Squartini (2001). The analysis is focused on the use of the imperfect, which we have referred to as a ‘planning’ or ‘futural’ use. This use is described as evidential in that it involves the ‘evidential mode of knowing’ (Squartini (2001: 309)) of the speaker, who reports, through the use of the imperfect, his/her past knowledge about an event as being due to happen, with no direct confirmation or knowledge about the actual occurrence of the planned event. Berretta (1992) explains some of these ‘planning’ uses by assigning the imperfect the property of being inherently non-factual.

3. Presence of contextual indications → the scope of temporal reference is not compatible with the state of affairs expressed by the verb → **interpretation**: the temporal reference has in its scope a **preliminary (past) phase** related to the event. The event expressed by the verb is presented as not having occurred.

- Context: the event is planned and due to take place in the future; its realization is presented as being more or less subject to possible cancellation → **effect of meaning: factual or open planning**
- Context: the realization of the event is excluded in a past, present or future time → **effect of meaning: counterfactuality**
- Context: specific lexical context; the event is valid at the point of speech; justifying one's illocutionary act seems relevant → **effect of meaning: mitigation**

This scheme may be read in the following terms; the imperfect characterizes an event *E* or a moment/phase in time associated with *E* preceding *S*.

The default interpretation (when no further contextual indications are given or when perfective tenses are present) can be expressed as follows. In terms of aspectuality, the imperfect is imperfective; the moment of observation of the event is simultaneous to a moment which is internal to the course of the event.²⁴

The basic semantic value of the imperfect can be contextually enriched in different ways, leading to a number of possible interpretations, which we have grouped as follows:

Contextual indications: neutralization of the alternation between the imperfect and perfective tenses in a limited subpart of a broader narrative context including imperfect-perfective tense alternation

i) Within a context where perfective tenses and the imperfect alternate, the narrative sequence may present a limited sequence of utterances where the imperfect is used for the expression of globally perfective situations. In such cases, a **narrative** type of interpretation is reconstructed. The effect of meaning obtained is a global static visualization of a group of events, which stems from narrative tension.²⁵

Contextual indications: neutralization of the alternation between the imperfect and perfective tenses

ii) When specific contextual information allows it, the alternation between the imperfect – traditionally seen as a narrative 'background' tense – and perfective

24. As already mentioned, we will not discuss here the distinction between the progressive aspect, habitual aspect and continuous aspect.

25. In our view, the narrative use is the most difficult to account for within a coherent, unified description. Although it shares some of its features with other 'perfective' uses of the imperfect, it differs significantly from them on other levels. It should be added that it is, in most cases, very difficult – when not impossible – to find contexts totally ruling out the possibility of using a specific tense. As a result, intuitions concerning effects of meaning related to the choice of one or the other solution seem particularly blurred.

tenses – described as signaling narrative progression of events – may be neutralized within a whole narrative sequence. The imperfect can here be used both imperfectly and perfectly, and it can cover all the phases of the narrative sequence, replacing perfective tenses. Each event is visualized as being a whole and, consequently, as marking narrative progression. In such cases, pragmatic enrichment leads to an evidential interpretation, involving the notion of commitment on the part of the speaker. The uses concerned here are the oneiric use, the ludic use²⁶ and the imperfect used to give an account of fictional stories (like books or films), as well as what we called the ‘reporting’ use (news, minutes).

In all such cases, past reference concerns not only the event itself but also the moment in which the speaker is exposed to the narrative experience of the event (dream, ludic scenario planning, reading a book, watching a movie, listening to a testimony); the speaker presents the events as not being part of his/her background knowledge. The prototypical tenses for these kinds of contexts are, thus, the imperfect or the present tense while the choice of a perfective tense appears to be less appropriate.

The characterizing element of these uses appears, therefore, as being of an evidential nature; the speaker does not integrate the state of affairs on a cognitive level, and, consequently, does not endorse this state on a commitment level. On the contrary, perfective tenses allow presenting content as entirely under the scope of the speaker’s commitment.

Contextual indications: the event expressed by the verb is not directly under the scope of the past temporal reference conveyed by the imperfect tense

iii) The interpretation in which the temporal feature conveyed by the imperfect refers directly to the event expressed by the verb may be blocked by specific contextual indications. We refer here to cases in which temporal past reference can by no means be construed as having the event itself under its scope (the event must be interpreted as not having occurred); the hearer must, therefore, search for a relevant preliminary moment or phase related to the event. Typically, this phase concerns the event conception, its planning or the decision-making process related to it.²⁷

Specific contextual indications suggest various ways in which different circumstances leading to the possible non-realization of an event may emerge. The resulting effects of meaning can be grouped as follows:

1. Interpretation in terms of factual or ‘open’ planning. When no contextual indication suggests that the speaker may act to modify the course of events, the planning phase of the event is focalized and the event is interpreted as programmed:

26. We are aware of the fact that the ludic use of the imperfect seems to exploit both types of possible mechanisms involved in the use of this tense; therefore, if stress had to be put on the imperfect’s property to focus on a preceding phase of the event, the ludic use could also be classified within group 3, as a specific type of planning imperfect.
27. Bazzanella (1990) accounts for modal uses of the imperfect in terms of this tense’s property of being able to convey the distance along the axis *realis/irrealis* through pragmatic exploitation of its temporal feature.

- (29) Non comprare la bistecca per cena, oggi Amelia all'asilo mangiava la carne
'Don't buy steak for dinner, Amelia is having [lit: eat-IMPF] meat at kindergarten today' (real utterance, 9 a.m.)

If it is contextually made relevant that the speaker might modify the course of events, the planning phase of the event is focalized and the event is construed as being the result of decision making, while at the same time taking into account the possibility that the event itself might not occur. This is envisaged to different extents, going from mere possibility to actual non-realization and, thus, to counterfactuality.²⁸

- (30) bond tu vai mai a sandonnino? io quasi quasi stasera facevo una capatina super veloce (da mandy) (escortforum.it)
'Bond, do you ever go to Sandonnino? I've half a mind to quickly stop by [lit. I stop-IMPF by] tonight (at Mandy's place).'

2. *Interpretation in terms of counterfactuality.* Some contexts lead to interpreting the realization of the event expressed by the verb as subject to specific conditions. The past temporal feature refers, in this case, to the time in which these conditions could have been fulfilled.²⁹ The situation referred to, however, does not hold true at the moment of utterance; through pragmatic enrichment, the event is, thus, construed not only as not having occurred but also as not liable to occur.³⁰

28. Bazzanella (1990) and Mazzoleni (1992) talk about an interaction which is still negotiable.

29. It is worth being reminded that the conditions made explicit in the utterance are *positive* conditions, meaning the conditions under which the event expressed through the imperfect *could* have taken place and not the *negative* state of affairs (the missed occurrence of the event) being experienced in reality.

30. Berthonneau and Kleiber (2006) provide a detailed description of the mechanism at the core of the counterfactual value of the imperfect. This value is described as obtainable through specific contextual information and the presence of a specific structure consisting of two elements: the imperfect tense and a 'front complement' (like, for instance, 'one minute more', 'two kilograms less'); in these cases, the imperfect presents the event as part of a global situation, which the co-text or the context has made relevant. The front complement is responsible for modifying a part or a property pertaining to this situation in a quantitative way or by adding/subtracting an element. This, combined with the speaker's knowledge that the situation is already closed, leads to the conclusion that the modification operated by the front complement has actually not occurred (in the case of 'two minutes more, and I miss-IMPF the train', for instance, the 'two minutes more' did not, in effect, occur). Consequently, the event described by the verb is also envisaged as not having occurred either. The possibility for the imperfect to convey counterfactuality (in contrast to perfective tenses) is thus accounted for in terms of the event being part of a situation in combination with its anaphoric nature. Patard and De Mulder (2014) explain the fact that, already in Latin, the imperfect replaced the subjunctive in unreal hypothetical constructions through its purely temporal feature (an aspectual feature is also envisaged with some verbs). In their view, the hypothetical contexts, characterized as modal, allowed for a transition towards a modal meaning associated directly with the imperfect in a path towards a complete dissociation from past temporality in Late Latin and Ancient French.

- (31) Monti: senza le mie scelte impopolari, andavamo a sbattere. (www.fanpage.it)
 ‘Monti: without my unpopular choices, we would have crashed [lit. we crash-IMPF].’
- (32) Incidente aereo, Capirossi illeso. “Ho avuto paura, sì, tanta paura. Altri 30 secondi e non c’ero più”.
 ‘Air crash, Capirossi unharmed. “I was scared, yes, really scared. Thirty more seconds and I would no longer have been here [lit. I be-IMPF no longer here]”’.
- (33) Finalmente la WTA ha capito di cambiare la programmazione. Altrimenti domani giocava la Allister al posto della Sharapova. (Internet)
 ‘At last, WTA understood they had to change their planning. Otherwise, tomorrow, Allister would have played [lit. Allister play-IMPF] instead of Sharapova.’

3. *Interpretation in terms of mitigation.* In some cases, the context can make relevant a situation in which the actual occurrence of a state of affairs is presented as only imagined or decided but not yet accomplished. In fact, the realization of the event is to be located in the *present* discourse situation; however, the speaker chooses, through the use of the imperfect, to focalize attention on the preceding decisional phase. The effect of such a choice appears to be the following. The speaker may want to inform the hearer that his/her planning of an event in the past does not necessarily entail its actual realization, which is, in any case, subject to the hearer’s approval. This holds particularly true for acts of request, for which it is seen as socially more acceptable to fictionally leave it up to the hearer to block the illocutionary act before it is effective. Moreover, activating a prior decision-making phase allows the speaker to further justify or explain the illocutionary act, which is potentially face threatening, by communicating that it had been decided, desired or needed in the past.

While this kind of effect of meaning allows explaining a number of mitigation uses (which are rather limited and stereotyped in their lexical manifestation), it is also true that this same kind of imperfect can be used in contexts that do not necessarily display such a ‘social’ management of a request:

- (34) [Fra amici] Ah, senti, volevo dirti una cosa a questo proposito.³¹
 ‘[Among friends] Oh, yes, listen, I wanted to tell you something about that.’
- (35) Pensavo che potevamo preparare una torta, oggi.
 ‘I thought we might bake a cake today.’

31. In contexts conveying structures modalizing the action, like modal auxiliaries or similar constructions (to want, to wish, to ask, etc.) the future occurring of the event is construed as being somewhat ‘open’. This allows us to bring together the mitigation use and the planning use.

In this kind of utterance, the imperfect appears to be functioning in a slightly different way. By activating a time prior to the speech point, the speaker simply means to signal that the illocutionary act has been conceived before; thus, excluding it may be the effect of contingent circumstances.

In these types of cases, therefore, the pragmatic enrichment stops at a previous stage, a stage, which is also necessary – though not sufficient – for the interpretation of the first category of the attenuation imperfect considered above. This is shown in (37) by a client's answer to the grocer:

(36) A: Cosa desidera, signora? B: Volevo due etti di prosciutto.

'A: What would you like, Madam? B: I wanted 200 gr. of ham.'

(37) A: Cosa desidera, signora? B: ??Aspetti, non ho ancora deciso. Ma sì, volevo due etti di prosciutto.

'A: What would you like, Madam? B: Just a moment. I haven't made up my mind yet. OK then, I wanted 200 gr. of ham.'

In contrast, as an answer to the question in (36), (38) or (39) are both perfectly natural:

(38) A: Cosa desidera, signora? B: Aspetti, non ho ancora deciso. Ma sì, voglio due etti di prosciutto.

'A: What would you like, Madam? B: Just a moment. I haven't made up my mind yet. OK then, I want 200 gr. of ham.'

(39) A: Cosa desidera, signora? B: Aspetti, non ricordo. Ah sì, volevo due etti di prosciutto.

'A: What would you like, Madam? B: Just a moment. I can't remember right now. Oh, yes, that's it, I wanted 200 gr. of ham.'

The routinization of this kind of illocution with the imperfect might allow some margin for expansion towards contexts in which the activation of a mitigating mechanism seems less relevant, yet the speaker feels the will to present his/her act as the result of retrieving an idea conceived in the past.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have attempted to propose an interpretative procedure of the Italian imperfect tense. To this end, we have relied on common semantic features to articulate a series of different interpretative paths leading to each of the different context-related possible interpretations of this tense. In conclusion, let us summarize the hypotheses that differ – partially or totally – from the traditional description of this verb form. With regard to the temporal parameter, we have assigned the imperfect a past temporal reference function with a scope either on the event itself or on a planning phase of the event. With regard to the aspectual parameter, we have defined the

imperfect as not semantically determined. The grounds for this assumption have not been discussed in depth for reasons of space. Finally, we have associated an effect of meaning in terms of evidentiality to one subgroup of uses of the imperfect while another subgroup has been characteristically associated with an effect of the ‘activation of a moment of consciousness related to the event’ (on the basis of the semantic necessity to resume a past temporal reference), occurring in a time in which the event itself is not presented as having taken place, with various possible declinations in terms of interpretation. Far from being complete, our investigation still requires further development in many directions. While our research on the aspectual status of this tense is already in progress, further investigation areas are the description of the different effects of the meaning and textual effects of the narrative imperfect and the discussion on the evidential hypothesis proposed for reporting uses, as well as a general French-Italian contrastive analysis of this verb form.

References

- Baranzini, Laura (to appear). *Imparfait et imperfectivité en italien*. Syntaxe et sémantique 17.
- Baranzini, Laura; Ricci, Claudia (in preparation). *The meaning of the Italian indicativo imperfetto: aspectual imperfectivity and other semantic-pragmatic issues*.
- Bazzanella, Carla (1990). “Modal uses of the Italian Indicativo imperfetto in a pragmatic perspective”. *Journal of pragmatics* 14,3: 237-255.
[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(90\)90100-R](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(90)90100-R)
- Berretta, Monica (1992). “Sul sistema di tempo, aspetto e modo nell’italiano contemporaneo”. In: Moretti, Bruno; Petrini, Dario; Bianconi, Sandro (eds). *Linee di tendenza dell’italiano contemporaneo*. Roma: Bulzoni, pp. 135-153.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco (1986). *Tempo, aspetto e azione nel verbo italiano. Il sistema dell’indicativo*. Firenze: Accademia della Crusca.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco (1991). “Il verbo”. In: Renzi, Lorenzo; Salvi, Giampaolo; Cardinaletti, Anna (eds). *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*. Bologna: il Mulino, vol. 2° (“I sintagmi verbale, aggettivale, avverbiale. La subordinazione”), pp. 13-161.
- Berthonneau Anne-Marie; Kleiber, Georges (1993). “Pour une nouvelle approche de l’imparfait: L’imparfait, un temps anaphorique méronomique”. In: Moeschler, Jacques (ed). *Temps, référence et inférence*. Langages 112: 55-73.
- Berthonneau Anne-Marie; Kleiber, Georges (2006). “Sur l’imparfait contrefactuel”. *Travaux de linguistique* 53: 7-65.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/tl.053.0007>
- Bres, Jacques (2005). “L’imparfait : l’un et/ou le multiple ? A propos des imparfaits « narratif » et « d’hypothèse »”. In: Labeau Emmanuelle and Larrivée Pierre (eds.). *Nouveaux développements de l’imparfait*, Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, pp. 1-32.
- Bres, Jacques (2009). “Sans l’imparfait, les vendanges tardives ne rentraient pas dans la jupe rhénane... Sur l’imparfait contrefactuel, pour avancer”. *Syntaxe et sémantique* 10: 33-50.
- Caudal, Patrick. and Veters, Carl (2005). “Que l’imparfait n’est pas (encore) un prétérît”. In: Labeau Emmanuelle and Larrivée Pierre (eds.). *Nouveaux développements de l’imparfait*, Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, pp. 45-77.

- Giacalone Ramat, Anna (1999). "Grammaticalization of modality in language acquisition". *Studies in language* 23: 377-407.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/sl.23.2.06gia>>
- Grandi, Nicola (2010). "Aspetto". In: *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*. Web portal treccani.it.
- Labeau Emmanuelle and Larrivée Pierre (eds.) (2005). *Nouveaux développements de l'imparfait*, Amsterdam / New York: Rodopi.
- Lo Duca, Maria Giuseppina (1995). "Imperfetto 'ludico' e altri tempi: una prospettiva testuale". In: Giacalone Ramat, Anna and Crocco Galèas, Grazia (eds.). *From Pragmatics to Syntax: Modality in Second Language Acquisition*. Tübingen: Narr, pp. 173-194.
- Mazzoleni, Marco (1992). "'Se lo sapevo non ci venivo': l'imperfetto indicativo ipotetico nell'italiano contemporaneo". In: Moretti, Bruno; Petrini, Dario; Bianconi, Sandro (eds.). *Linee di tendenza dell'italiano contemporaneo*. Roma: Bulzoni, pp. 171-189.
- Molendijk, Arie L. (1987). "Point référentiel et implication temporelle: le passé simple et l'imparfait du français". In: Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte; Vet, Co (eds.). *Études de linguistique française offertes à Robert de Dardel par ses amis et collègues*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 109-126.
- Molendijk, Arie L. (2002). "La structuration logico-temporelle du texte : le passé simple et l'imparfait du français". In: Labeau, Emmanuelle; Larrivée, Pierre. *Les temps du passé français et leur enseignement*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, pp. 91-104.
- Nannoni, Catia (2004). *L'imperfetto tra linguistica e traduzione*. Trieste: Università degli Studi di Trieste.
- Patard, Adeline (2007). *L'un et le multiple. L'imparfait de l'indicatif en français : valeur en langue et usage en discours*. Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry.
- Patard, Adeline (2010). "L'emploi préludique de l'imparfait entre temporalité et modalité : Éléments d'analyse à partir d'une étude de cas". *Journal of French Language Studies* 20.2: 189-211.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0959269509990494>>
- Patard, Adeline (2014). "When tense and aspect convey modality. Reflections on the modal uses of past tenses in Romance and Germanic languages". *Journal of pragmatics* 71: 69-97.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.06.009>>
- Patard, Adeline and De Mulder, Walter (2014). "Aux origines des emplois modaux de l'imparfait . Le cas de l'emploi hypothétique et de l'emploi contrefactuel". *Langages* 193: 33-47.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/lang.193.0033>>
- Ronconi, Alessandro (1943). "L'imperfetto descrittivo". *Lingua Nostra* 5: 90-93.
- Ronconi, Alessandro (1944-45). "L'imperfetto di modestia e l'imperfetto 'irreale'". *Lingua nostra* 6: 64-66.
- Saussure, Louis de (2003). *Temps et pertinence*, Bruxelles: Duculot /de Boeck.
- Saussure, Louis de and Sthioul, Bertrand (1999). "L'imparfait narratif: point de vue (et images du monde)". *Cahiers de praxématique* 32: 167-188.
- Saussure, Louis de and Sthioul, Bertrand (2005). "Imparfait et enrichissement pragmatique". In: Labeau, Emmanuelle and Larrivée, Pierre (eds.). *Nouveaux développements de l'imparfait*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, pp. 103-120.
- Serianni, Luca (1989). *Grammatica italiana* (with Alberto Castelveccchi). Torino: UTET.

- Squartini, Mario (2001). "The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance". *Studies in Language* 25,2: 297-334.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/sl.25.2.05squ>>
- Tasmowski-De Ryck, Liliane (1985). "L'imparfait avec et sans rupture". *Langue française* 67: 59-77.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.3406/lfr.1985.4651>>
- Touratier, Christian (1998). "L'imparfait. Temps du passé non marqué". *Cahiers Chronos* 2: 21-28.
- Valuet, Maurice (1991). "Note sur l'imparfait en fonction du passé simple". *Moderne Sprachen* 35, 2: 55-56.
- Vetters, Carl (1993). "Passé simple et imparfait: un couple mal assorti". *Langue française* 100: 14-30.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.3406/lfr.1993.5924>>
- Vetters, Carl (2009). "L'interaction entre sémantique et pragmatique dans l'interprétation des temps du passé en français". In: Verbeken, Dominique (ed.). *Entre sens et signification*. Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 11-25.
- Wilmet, Marc (1987). "L'éternel imparfait". *Modèles linguistiques* IX, 2:169-177.
- Wilmet, Marc (1996). "L'imparfait: le temps des anaphores?". *Cahiers Chronos* 1: 199-215.

Luego entonces. An argumentative intersubjective marker

Ricardo Maldonado

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro
msoto@unam.mx

Rocío Guzmán

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
roxera2gal4@gmail.com



Received: May 19, 2015
Accepted: September 18, 2015

Abstract

This paper shows that *luego entonces* is the product of a conceptual fusion, a Blend (Turner and Fauconnier 2002), of a bleached consecutive marker *luego* and a relatively less bleached consecutive marker *entonces* that led to the formation of an argumentative marker by which the speaker offers a statement to be taken by the hearer as a logical consequence that is therefore irrefutable. The marker serves to validate the speaker's assessment. In contrast with traditional analyses that see *luego* as a logical consecutive marker, this paper shows, based on data from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, that *luego* never had a logical cause-effect meaning; instead it encoded intersubjective consequences that were seen as highly probable. From a Cognitive Grammar perspective it is also shown that, as the consecutive meaning of *luego* started to bleach around the twentieth century, *entonces* joined the construction to reinstall the consecutive intersubjective reading that *luego* was losing. This led to the formation of the new argumentative marker *luego entonces* that is commonly used in argumentative texts to make the hearer interpret a statement as irrefutable.¹

Keywords: *luego*; *entonces*; *luego entonces*; evidentials; argumentative markers; consecutive markers; sequential markers; cause-effect relationships.

Resum. *Luego entonces*. Un marcador intersubjectiu argumentatiu

Aquest article mostra que *luego entonces* és el resultat d'una fusió conceptual, un blend (Turner i Fauconnier 2002), entre un marcador consecutiu *luego* que s'ha dessemantitzat i d'un marcador consecutiu *entonces*, menys dessemantitzat, la qual cosa va portar a la formació d'un marcador argumentatiu que permet al parlant oferir una afirmació que l'oient ha de prendre com una conseqüència lògica i, per tant, irrefutable. Aquest marcador serveix per validar l'afirmació del parlant. A diferència de les anàlisis tradicionals, que consideren que *luego* és un marcador lògic consecutiu, l'article mostra, amb dades des del segle XIII al XVII, que *luego* mai no va tenir un significat de causa-efecte lògics; més aviat codificava conseqüències intersubjectives percebudes com a molt probables. Des de la perspectiva de la Gramàtica Cognitiva, es mostra també que, a mesura que el significat consecutiu de *luego* es va anar perdent cap al segle XX, es va afegir a la

1. The authors would like to thank the invaluable comments of two anonymous reviewers that helped us improve the outcome of this manuscript.

construcció *entonces* per recuperar el significat consecutiu intersubjectiu que anava perdent *luego*. Això va portar a la formació del nou marcador argumentatiu *luego entonces*, que es fa servir en textos argumentatiu perquè l'oient interpreti que una afirmació és irrefutable.

Paraules clau: *luego*; *entonces*; *luego entonces*; evidencials; marcadors argumentatius; marcadors consecutius; marcadors seqüencials; relacions de causa-efecte.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4. <i>Luego entonces</i> . A conceptual blend
2. <i>Luego</i>	5. Conclusions
3. Consecutive <i>entonces</i>	References

1. Introduction

The remarkable similarities in meaning and use between *luego* ‘then’ and *entonces* ‘therefore’ opens the question as to why should they combine to conform one marker. Both adverbs show temporal uses and both develop consecutive meanings. Yet in current Spanish, the two forms have merged to mark a special case of consecutive reading as in (1):

- (1) a. Los problemas a los que me he enfrentado en el proceso de elaboración de este trabajo no tienen mucho de excepcional pero me gustaría mencionar algunos. El primer obstáculo es aparentemente subjetivo y muy poco original; es el miedo a enfrentarse con la página en blanco (una especie de miedo escénico) pensando que lo que ahí se va a plasmar, en primer lugar ya otros lo han dicho y quizá mucho mejor y, en segundo lugar, lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces*, para qué escribir. [CREA. México. Libros.1987. Bartra, Eli. *Frida Kahlo: Mujer, Ideología, Arte*]. “The problems I have faced... The first obstacle is apparently subjective and a bit original; it is the fear of facing the empty page (a kind of scenic panic) thinking first, that what is going to be on that page, first, other people have already said it and maybe said it in a better way, and second, what one wants to say does not interest anybody, *therefore*, what should one write for”
- b. La explicación a este juicio, la encontramos cuando entendernos que las conciencias no se interconectan mutuamente, en la medida en que toda persona, es cerrada en su propio yo. Por ejemplo, la conciencia de nosotros, de los aquí presentes, es cerrada en sí misma, porque cualquiera pudiera estar pensando en otro evento, otros en la hora de salida, otros en la comida, en la familia, en la novia, etc., *luego entonces*, no existe una coincidencia absoluta y homogénea de las conciencias, lo que quiere decir que nos enfrentamos a un problema de simultaneidad... [CREA. México. 2004. VVAA. *La educación superior en América Latina. Globalización, exclusión y pobreza*]. “We find the explanation to this trial when we understand the people’s consciousness does not mutually interconnect in so as far as every person

is locked in his own self... For example the awareness of ourselves, of the people present right here, is withheld within itself because anyone could be thinking about another event, other people could be thinking about the time to leave, to eat, about the family, about his/her girlfriend, and so on *therefore*, there does not exist any absolute and homogenous coincidence among people's consciousness, which means we are facing a problem of simultaneity..."

It can be claimed that *luego entonces* is a marker that encodes a cause-effect relationship very much in the way that the frozen Cartesian expression *pienso, luego existo* 'I think, therefore I exist/am' expresses result that is a logical consequence of the premise. While the predicate *existo/soy*, in the Cartesian phrase, is interpreted as the logical consequence of the premise *pienso*, the same is not true for the examples in (1). The premise is not the exclusive and necessary initial cause for the effect; i.e., the speaker's questioning the motivation to write or the tendency to think of alternative spaces would not be a necessary condition to deny the existence of homogeneous consciousness. Instead of being determined by the relation among things in the world structure, the causes for such effects are in the speaker's subjective view. Nevertheless, the marker is employed to argue irrefutably against the utility of writing, or in favor of the individuality of consciousness. In this paper we attempt to account for *luego entonces* as a marker covering argumentative functions (Anscombe and Ducrot 1983), where the relationship between the premise and the consequence is not implicative, i.e., the premise is not a logically necessary cause of the result, but rather it lies in the speaker's subjective view (Langacker 1991, 1999, 2008). Thus *luego entonces* is analyzed as an argumentative marker that the speaker employs to strengthen the validity of his assertion. Based on diachronic data from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, which will be compared to data from the twentieth century as well as current times, we will show that *luego entonces* is the historical byproduct of a conceptual blend (Turner and Fauconnier 2002) of two markers involving temporal sequentiality as well as causal consecutive determination. The data come from several corpora: *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA), *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE), *Corpus del Español de Mark Davies* and *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* (CSCM). In order to view current uses we also explored informal written uses in Google blogs. The synchronic data is limited to Mexican Spanish. Samples were extracted from CREA 181, Davies 189, CSCM 50, Google 46. We also included 208 instances of *luego que* from CREA. These added up to a total of 674 instances. As for the diachronic data we scanned samples from Spain (centuries 13th, 15th, 16th and 17th) to allocate instances of the argumentative marker. Since the synchronic data focuses in Mexico we only included data from Mexico beginning with the sixteenth century on. We compiled the following instances: CORDE sixteenth Century 177, seventeenth century 114, eighteenth 107 and nineteenth century 158. These summed up to 556 instances. The total data including current and diachronic Spanish, are 1230 instances.

Luego entonces is not a marker that has been analyzed in current literature. Dictionaries and lexicons such as *DRAE*, *DEA*, *DEM*, *DUE*, *Diccionario de*

Partículas Santos Río (2003) make no mention of *luego entonces*. Likewise traditional grammars of Spanish (Alcina and Blecua 1975, Bello 1988, Beristain 2006, Cuervo 1981, Gili y Gaya 1980, Esbozo RAE 1931, 1973, 2010, Seco 1972) make no mention of the semantic or syntactic import of the marker as such. This omission in the literature is not surprising. The first instances of *luego entonces* as a pragmatic marker are attested around the twentieth century. There is however a considerable amount of literature on *luego* and enough observations about *entonces* suggesting the presence of discourse argumentative functions which anticipate the merger of *luego* and *entonces* as a new argumentative marker. To see how this marker surfaced independent analyses of *luego* and *entonces* are necessary.

The paper is organized in the following way. In section 2 we analyze the behavior of *luego* both from current and diachronic data. Two subsections are devoted to the consecutive meaning (2.1), the argumentative function including the weaker consecutive meaning. Section 3 analyses the stronger and weaker consecutive functions of *entonces*. This will set the basis for building the conceptual blend that led to the new argumentative marker in section 4. The final remarks will be offered in the last section.

2. *Luego*

The Dictionaries RAE, DEA, DUE see *luego* as an adverb coming from Vulgar Latin *loco*, which developed from the ablative *locus* “soon, without delay”. Some grammars (Alcina and Blecua 1975; Bello 1988, Beristain 2006, Cuervo 1981, Gili y Gaya 1980 RAE 2010 Seco 1972, Pavón Lucero 1999) treat it as a temporal adverb with meanings of posteriority (2a), consequence (2b) and immediacy in the construction *luego que* (2c):

- (2) a. sicilianos, genoveses y un veneciano. Vienen *luego* los griegos (CREA. 2001. México. Libros. Juan Miralles, *Hernán Cortés. Inventor de México*). “Sicilians, Genoveses and a Venecian. *Then* come the Greeks”
- b. Estaba mojado, *luego* había llovido (Fuentes Rodríguez, 1985). “He was wet, *therefore* it had been raining”
- c. *Luego que* hablaba se reía la gente” (Gili and Gaya. 1980). “*After* he would speak, people would laugh”

The meaning equated with “after” or “later” is also attested as in (3):

- (3) a. Anoche fuimos al teatro, y *luego* a una sala de fiestas. “Last night we went to the theater and *then/after* to a party salon”
- b. Estudió derecho, y *luego*² medicina. “He studied law, and *then/after* medicine”

2. See Vázquez Veiga and Fernández Bernárdez (1996) y *luego* as a discourse marker in Galician Spanish.

The dictionary *Diccionario del español de México* (DEM) documents *luego* *luego* “right away”, which Company and Melis (2002) find in Mexican Spanish since the sixteenth century, as in (4):

- (4) pues *luego luego* que llegara a la mina sacaría la plata virgen (Company and Melis, 2002 (162,504)).
 “Well *just as* it would arrive at the mine, he would extract the virgin silver”

The consecutive function of *luego* is treated in Spanish grammars (Alcina and Blecua 1975, Bello 1988, Beristain 2006, Cuervo 1981, Gili y Gaya 1980, RAE 1931,[1973], [2010], Seco 1972, Álvarez 1999: 58.1 3741, 3742) as an illative marker expressing the logical consequence of some initial cause. The paragon example for such meaning is the Cartesian quote:

- (5) Pienso, *luego* existo (Descartes)
 I think, *therefore* I exist

A logical consequence only obtains when it is impossible for the premise to be true and its consequence to be false. In the Cartesian example one can allegedly claim that thinking is a necessary condition for human existence. Álvarez (1999: 58.6) proposes that *luego* unifies in one sentence the meaning of O1 and O2 in a deductive cause-effect relationship where O2 is naturally derived from O1. Likewise Fuentes Rodríguez (1985: 43) proposes that consecutive clauses (logical consecutives of *dicto*) encoded by *luego* and *entonces* manifest a cause-effect relationship where the first clause is the real or logical cause for the second. These are to be distinguished from consecutives of *Re* which are encoded by *por tanto... que* or *tal ... que* ‘such that’ which do not imply a logical consequence among O1 and O2. The author provides (6) as a case of logical consequence:

- (6) Estaba todo mojado, *luego* había llovido. (Fuentes Rodríguez 1985).
 “Everything was all wet, *then* it had rained”

Yet the logical requirement for *luego* may need to be softened since in the case of (6), as well as in (5) for that matter, there is a deduction not a logical consequence. Moreover, the condition is not a logical one since raining is not the only plausible cause for the floor being wet. Other forces (a water spill, community services cleaning the street, etc.) may have been responsible for the floor’s being in such condition. Rather, (6) is a case where the logical condition is softened since *luego* lets alternative causes drive the event. What *luego* encodes is a highly probable deduction obtained by shared knowledge. The imposition of logical structure over language is a rather artificial procedure (Anscombe and Ducrot 1983). Since the logical condition is already relaxed, it is not surprising that the examples in (1) represent cases where the speaker may want to present her/his argument as an irrefutable one by using *luego entonces*; but this is of course an argumentative strategy on the part of the speaker to make his statement a more convincing one, not

a real cause-effect logical relationship. We propose that an attenuative diachronic process of relaxing an implicative causal condition took place. Consequently, a more subjective representation made *luego* a pragmatic marker. This phenomenon will be traced down along the history of Spanish in the following section.

2.1. Consecutive *luego*

Regarding the consecutive use of *luego*, it can be seen that the lack of references in the literature follows from the fact that this meaning was not present in early or in Renaissance Spanish. Its first instances are not found until the seventeenth century. Figure 1 shows the use of *luego* from the sixteen to the eighteenth century. The dominance of the temporal meaning of posteriority is evident. All other uses, including the consecutive one, are incipient:

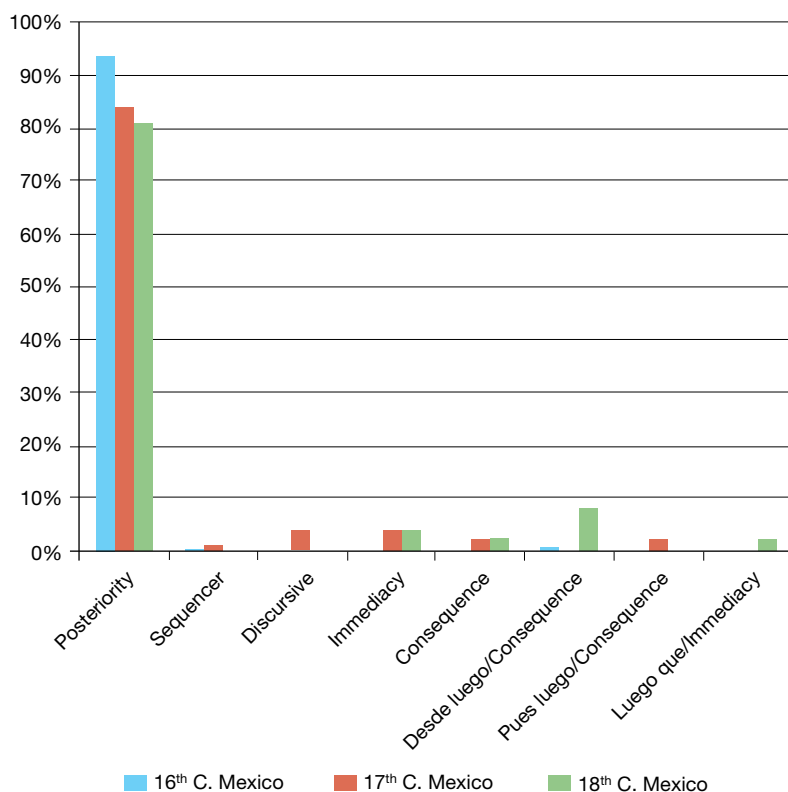


Figure 1. Meanings of *luego* 16-18th C. in Mexico*.

* For more precise uses of *luego* que in Mexican Spanish showing meaning variation between immediacy and posteriority see Guzmán Herrera (2014).

As for the consecutive use of *luego*, it can be observed that rather than encoding logical consequences, it introduces consequences that are intersubjective i.e., consequences that are naturally expected by speakers based on common knowledge. The first examples from seventeenth century Mexican Spanish follow the pattern of (7):

- (7) se han con él como la causa y efecto. ¿Hay celos? *luego* hay amor; ¿hay amor? *luego* habrá celos. (CORDE. México. 1666 - a 1695 Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Juana Ramírez. *Poesía. Lírica personal*. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, Fondo de Cultura Económica (México-Buenos Aires), 1951).
 “they have with it cause and effect. Is there jealousy? *thus* there is love. Is there love? *then* there is jealousy”

The relation is subjective since it depends on the speaker’s conceptualization. More precisely it is intersubjective (Cornillie 2007, Nuyts 2012). The two feelings are commonly related based on world knowledge, yet they constitute no logical or necessary condition for each other. We, in fact, have been unable to find one single example where there is a cause-effect logical relationship of the type suggested by Álvarez (1999) and Fuentes Rodríguez (1985). Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consecutive-intersubjective examples, like (8a, b), are the norm:

- (8) a. a la otra agravio, pues con ella estoy fingiendo; *luego*, agravando a Calipso, a ti, mi bien, no te ofendido. (CORDE. México. 1713. Vela, Eusebio *Comedia nueva de Si el amor excede al arte, ni amor ni arte*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante (Alicante), 2003).
 “I offend the other one since with her I am pretending to be; *thus* I offend Calipso, but you, dear one, I do not offend”
 b. La novena lo dice, y así se ve pintado; *luego* es verdad, se debe creer y negarlo fuera herejía. (CORDE. México. 1818. *La Quijotita y su prima*. Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín).
 “So the novena states it and so it can be seen as painted; *thus* it is true, it must be believed and to deny it would be heresy”

The non-logical causal relationship is evident from these examples. However, given the possessive relationship between participants in (8a), it makes sense that if the speaker offended Calipso’s girl, he offended him too, and in (8b), one may assume that things are to be trusted if they are in written documents. However, since boyfriends can be as hypocritical as documents can be fabricated, in neither of these cases the causal is relationship obligatory.

Let us now consider the behavior of *luego* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From Figure 2, interesting changes can be seen for the later period: besides the fact that the obvious dominance of the temporal marker of posteriority is preserved, there are important changes at the discourse level. In both centuries, the immediacy between two events and the sequencing discourse marker (“then,

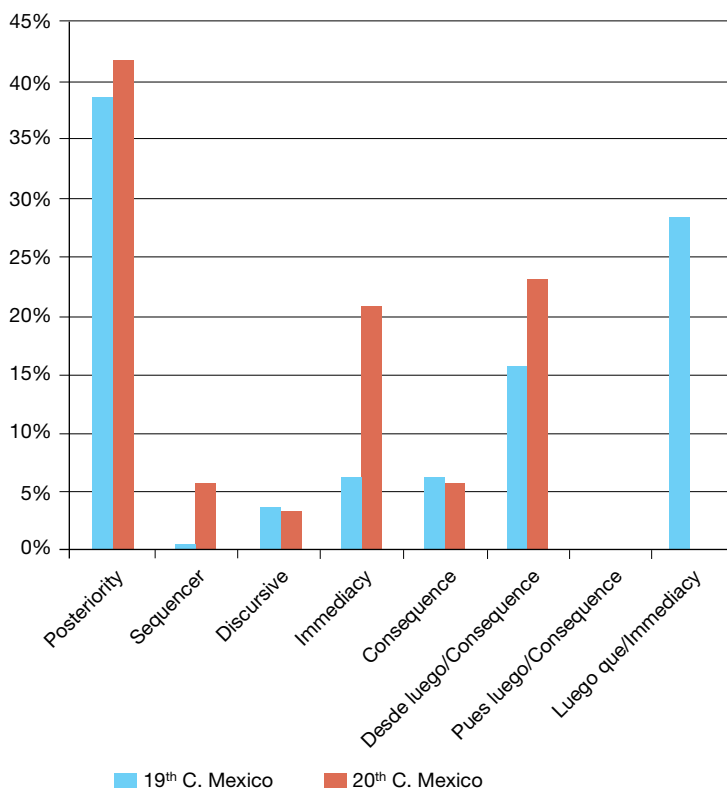


Figure 2. Meanings of *luego* 19th and 20th century in Mexico.

and then”) increase considerably. Moreover, the consecutive uses increase in two ways: i) there is a new presence of a mere consecutive marker, the meaning of which will be revised below, and ii) there is the emergence of the construction *desde luego*,³ which marks evident results. The meaning is again deductive more than consecutive:

- (9) “Esta empresa perdió la rentabilidad que tenía y *desde luego* se vendió a un precio menor al real. [CREA. México. Prensa Proceso, 1996.]
 “This enterprise lost its value and *of course* it was sold at a price way below its real value”

The fact that these changes take place in the 19th century is everything but surprising. It goes along with Melis, Flores and Bogard (2003) proposal that the

3. For more details about *desde luego* see Alvarado-Ortega, Ma. B. y Ruiz Gurillo, L. (2011) and Guzmán Herrera (2014).

19th century marks the “modern era” for Spanish. This is a crucial period where big changes in the structure of the language took place. Further studies, Ramírez Luengo (2015), Espinoza Elorza (2015), Quirós García and Torres Álvarez (2015); Guzmán and Maldonado (2015) edited by Melis and Flores (2015), have corroborated such tendencies with abundant data.

2.2. *Argumentative luego*. Twentieth century

The second important change for *luego* is the emergence of the argumentative meaning in the twentieth century. The first feature is that in all cases the consecutive relation between clauses is based on the speaker’s view:

- (10) ... hoy por hoy la capital de Alemania es la ciudad de Bonn, pero que se va a trasladar a la ciudad de Berlín por un acuerdo ya tomado al respecto. *Luego* hay seis capitales sin ninguna alteración, ninguna diferencia de gobierno local y federal, no existen regímenes específicos ni tampoco podemos negarle su carácter democrático. (CREA. México.1977. Cámara de Senadores).
 “At present the capital city of Germany is Bonn, but it is going to be moved to Berlin by an already signed agreement. *Thus* there are six capital cities without any alteration, no difference in the local or federal Government”

The conclusion at which the writer arrives is based on previous arguments that s/he compiles in order to make an assertion. No deep change has taken place in Germany’s cities organization. Besides being subjective there may be cases where the relation between the premise and the consequence is not causal at all; yet the use of *luego* ‘fakes’ a consecutive reading, as can be seen from (11):

- (11) En la primera parte predomina el punto de vista femenino (Rosario), la segunda sugiere un punto de vista masculino (Alberto)... En ambas, el amoralismo y la audacia de Boytler están pintados en la iniciativa de la protagonista: al principio es ella la que se entrega, la que besa y atrae al amante después de decirle “soy tan dichosa”. *Luego*, es ella la que elige, la que rechaza o acepta sus clientes, la que seduce al marino. (CREA. Libros. 1997. Paranaguá, Paulo Antonio. *Arturo Ripstein*).
 “In the first part the feminine viewpoint is dominant (Rosario), the second part suggests a masculine point of view (Alberto)... In both Boytler’s amoralism and audacity are depicted in the protagonist’s activity: at the beginning she gives herself away, it is she who kisses and attracts her lover after saying “I am so happy”. *Thus* it is she who is the one that chooses, the one that rejects or accepts her clients, the one that seduces the marine”.

Luego lets us conclude by deduction that it is the woman who determines her actions. *Luego* is linking two sequences of actions and more than encoding a consequence, it provides the subjective conclusion at which the writer arrives. Crucially, the events that *luego* introduces are nothing but repetitions, simple

expansions of the content of the premise: that her audacity and amorality are drawn from her own activity and that she is the one that chooses what to do. This is the first case where the consecutive reading is attenuated. Weaker consequences must be analyzed.

Throughout the twentieth century weak consequences constitute the most common use of *luego*. This weakness is in fact corroborated by the fact that *entonces* is used to reinforce the consecutive meaning already bleached out in *luego*. This can be seen from the examples in (12):

- (12) a. Si bien es cierto que en el dictamen que me pasaron, que fue la hoja exclusivamente de las firmas, contiene mi firma, eso no significa de que yo haya estado presente en la votación. Es necesario también de considerar que el hecho de estampar una firma no significa que yo tenga la verdad, no significa que yo tenga la razón. *Luego, entonces*, por si existiese algún argumento de que yo estampé la firma en esta iniciativa, desde ahorita hago la aclaración”. (CREA. Oral. 1996. México).
 “While it is true that the sheet has my signature, it does not mean that I was present in the voting. It is necessary to consider that the fact that I stamped my signature does not mean that I hold the truth, it does not mean that I am right. *Then, thus* I am clarifying this in case there might be an argument that I stamped my signature in that initiative”
- b. “El impulso federalista de Ernesto Zedillo es precisamente para distribuir poder y para hacer que sea efectiva la democracia. De qué serviría una democracia electoral como la que estamos construyendo si no existiese órdenes de gobierno con mayores recursos, mayores obligaciones, mayor corresponsabilidad. *luego, entonces*, ese esfuerzo es tarea de todos”. (CREA. Oral. 1996. México).
 “Ernesto Zedillo’s federalist impulse is precisely to distribute power and to make democracy effective. What good would an electoral democracy be, like the one we are building up, if there were no government dispositions with major funds, major obligations, major shared responsibility. *Therefore, then*, such an effort is a duty of all of us”

In each case *luego* hardly encodes consequence by itself. *Entonces* comes to the front to retrieve such meaning. It should be stressed that in these examples *luego* and *entonces* are not yet fused into one marker. As an oral strategy, the speaker uses two markers to emphasize the importance of her/his conclusion. A pause and an intonation change from *luego* to *entonces*, as represented by the coma, are exploited to stress her/his belief that the duty must be shared by everyone or that his signature is not particularly influential. In (12a, b) the consequences are based on the speakers beliefs and the use of two consecutive markers helps make her/his point. Now the semantic proximity of the two markers anticipates a later fusion where the emphasis found in (12a, b) is lexicalized in the fusion of the two forms to create an argumentative-consecutive marker. Such a marker

accomplishes the function of presenting consequences as irrefutable. In order to see such fusion it is necessary to explore the evolution of *entonces*, as we will do in the next section.

3. Consecutive *entonces*

The previous examples anticipate the emergence of a new marker that can be accounted for as the byproduct of blending (Turner and Faucnnier 2002) *luego* and *entonces*. A revision of *entonces* is thus called into play. This marker has maintained from Medieval times a core temporal meaning “at that time” (13a). The narrative-sequencing marker is also preserved since that time, as can be seen comparing the examples in (13a-b) with (13c) from Medieval and current times:

- (13) a. Señora, lo que vos dixes entonces esso vos digo agora, (CORDE España Cifar 1300-1305)
 “My lady, what is said then, I am telling you now”
- b. É entonces él partió dende, é fuesse para Uclés... (CORDE. España. 1345).
 “*And then* he left from there, and he went to Uclés”
- c. la oposición dijo... que habían sido inequitativas las elecciones. Y *entonces* pidieron cambios en materia de medios, en materia de financiamiento (CREA ORAL México)
 “The opposition said... that the elections had been unfair. And *then* they asked for changes in media and financing”

While not abundant, some examples with a consecutive meaning are already found around the fifteenth century. This pristine consecutive instance is from 1602:

- (14) Fraguándose, se fraguó antes la mudanza con inexorable resolución. Forzoso fue *entonces* abstenerse del público, ya por infructífero al intento, ya por perjudicial a su autor. (CORDE. España. 1602).
 “The move was set with relentless resolution. It was *therefore* obligatory to refrain from the audience either because it would help the attempt, or because it would affect his author.”

Temporal sequences tend to be extended into consequential determination (Álvarez 1999) since in a temporal sequence the second element can be interpreted as a consequence of the first (Castillo 2009). Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) see *entonces* as a consecutive marker. Hummel (2012) adds a sequential component such that the consecutive marker encodes temporal and narrative sequences that lead to resultative consequences. Hummel’s examples from a partially published Chilean corpus (Kluge 2005) are borrowed to exemplify its range of use:

- (15) a. pero es que: .. yo tengo que trabajAR/, para mí, tengo que trabajar para dar=a=mi familia, y- y- y para äh, para educARme yo ((voz baja)) *entonces*+ eso es lo difícil (Kluge, Julia, 289) [[XXX]] (Kluge, Adela, 597).
But it's that... I have to work /for me, I have to work to feed my family and, and to educate myself (lower voice) *entonces* + that is what is difficult"
- b. (190) S: de llegar=a:- .. a traba-, dejar todo hecho ante de venir a cla:se-- .. en=el trabajo--
(1) äh, hacer mÁh de lo que se le DEbe-- ... (1) para ganar la voluntAd, (el) permis de venir ((bajando la voz))(XX)+ .. de que a una la dejen venir a clase
...
S: &Claro ... *entonces* por lo meno: una tiene que andar siempre riéndose:, como: .. felÍ ((=feliz)) de la vIda: -- (Sandra, 427).
"S: to arrive and work. To leave everything done before going to class... at work
to do more than must be done... to gain the favor, the permit to come (lowering her voice) (XX) so that they let me come to class...
...
S: Sure...
Entonces at least one has to be smiling all the time, like... happy go lucky"

Hummel (2012: 259, 260) stresses that the notion of cause or that of result, for that matter, do not represent the meaning of *entonces*. As in the case of *luego*, the consequences expressed are not logically determined and the premises do not constitute actual causes driving the event. The difficulty in (15a) does not come from the need to work, nor is the smiley attitude at work in (15b) a necessary condition for Sandra to get permission to go to school. Yet the speaker subjectively finds some indirect causal relationship between her intentions to do something and some specific actions.

The use of *entonces* in Mexican Spanish presents the same type of configuration. In (16a) there is a deduction made by the speaker with no causal determinacy. In (16b) there is an action tangentially associated with a general feeling of fear and pain:

- (16) a. Ahora bien, si el faro no está apoyado en la roca, sino levantado sobre bancos de arena, *entonces* la construcción es muy diferente, ya que para afianzarlo es necesario introducir pilotes o vigas de anclaje. El faro aislado del mar, aun cuando estuviera próximo a la costa, debe ser una construcción sólida. (CREA. México. 1995. Libros. Torre, Francisco de la. *Transportación acuática en el turismo*).
"Now, if the headlight is not leaning on the rock, but raised upon sand banks, *thus* the construction is quite different because to fix it, it is necessary to anchor it on piles or beams"
- b. Me descompongo y me intimida el mundo. Me arredra tener miedo o dolor frente a los otros, *entonces* me encojo y me lamento. (CREA. México. 1994. Libros. Urroz, Eloy. *Las plegarias del cuerpo*).
"I break down and the world frightens me. It daunts me to have fear or pain in front of people, *entonces* I shrivel and I complain"

The connection between the temporal and the consecutive interpretation is manifested in (16a, 16b) as both readings are present. As Hummel (2012: 252) maintains, the fact that *entonces* occurs between two clauses installs either a sequential (before-after) or a consequential relationship (cause-effect) between them. However the actual interaction does not give more than soft consequences subjectively interpreted as causal by the speaker. In the case of (16a) we have an evaluative predicative adjectival phrase (*entonces es muy diferente*), while in (16b) there are two first person middle constructions (*me encojo y me lamento*) expressing emotional reactions. Needless to say, the premises in these examples can drive all kinds of alternative consequences. We may conclude that from its temporal sequential value *entonces* developed a predictable meaning of subjective consequence established by the speaker, so long as s/he could make some mental connection between the first and the second event. Given that both *luego* and *entonces* present some softened representation of a causal relationship, we can propose that a conceptual blend took place to form a new argumentative marker. The formation of such a marker will be spelled out in the next section.

4. *Luego entonces*. A conceptual blend

Luego entonces encodes a meaning that is not the compositional addition of two temporal markers “after” and “immediately after/ consequence”. As already shown in (1), it is used to validate or strengthen the validity of the speaker’s conclusion in argumentative discourse. *Luego entonces* cannot be seen as the combination or juxtaposition of two markers, but rather as two elements that have become one. That the two adverbial forms have merged into one can be attested from the fact that no element can be inserted between them. Inserting *y* in (17) a sequential reading is obtained, not an argumentative one:

- (17) pienso *luego y entonces* existo, pienso *luego pero* existo
 “I think later and then I exist, I think later but I exist”

Notice also that the order in which the markers occur is fixed. *Entonces* may not precede *luego*.

- (18) a. lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces*, para qué escribir
 “what one wants to say does not interest anybody, *therefore*, what should one write for”
 b. *lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *entonces luego*, para qué escribir

There is no asymmetry between them. The first component is not more general than the second, nor is the second narrower than the first as it commonly happens when two markers are combined (Oats 1998, Fraser 2013). Moreover, *luego entonces* can combine with other markers compositionally in the same way that *luego* and

entonces can. But these constitute separate markers involving pauses and intonation contours that emphasize the speaker's will to stress the evident quality of some conclusion as in (19a). Yet these cannot form one unit as can be seen from (19b):

- (19) a. lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces*, *por lo tanto*, para qué escribir
 “what one wants to say does not interest anybody, *therefore*, *then*, what should one write for”
- b. *lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces por lo tanto*, para qué escribir

Furthermore, none of these markers can select another discourse marker to combine with as one unit (**entonces por lo tanto*, **luego por lo tanto*). Given this behavior, *luego entonces* must be analyzed as a fixed complex marker (Dostie 2013), not a collocation (separate elements commonly combined), and not as a semi-fixed complex marker (where there is asymmetry between its components) (Dostie 2013).

As for the function of combining two or more markers *luego entonces* pertains to the class of parenthetical + pragmatic markers in Cuenca & Marin's (2009) typology of sequences of connectives. Unlike other combinations that typically “indicate an addition of ideas, pause, topic continuation and (pre)closing” (Cuenca & Marin (2009: 905), the combination of two pragmatic markers has to do with propositional meanings, such as cause or consequence, and indicate (dis)agreement, reformulation and inference (Cuenca and Marin 2009). Now these combinations are normally additive and compositional. Although it is true that some semantic properties of each component may be lost, each marker brings in a specific meaning and serves some discourse organization purpose. For instance, *pues vale* is composed of ‘so’ + ‘agreement’, in Cuenca and Marin's example:

- (20) I16 dos días en el Cairo_
 ‘two days in Cairo
 tres día:s_
 three days
 un crucero por el nilo\
 a cruise on the Nile
- ESS (.21) mhm mhm\
 I16 (..078) *pues vale*
 so OK
 El Cairo bien_
 Cairo fine
 Las pirámides muy boni:tas y tal
 the pyramids lovely and so on
 (SICNI6SS, 2172)

Pues vale serves a double function: it closes a general presentation of a trip and opens an evaluative stance. This is not the case of *luego entonces* since both elements have very similar meanings and the marker doesn't serve any discourse organization purpose. Instead it is restricted to cover a cause-effect relation between two propositions in a way similar to which each marker would do so independently. Therefore we propose that both meanings fused into one blended unit where both elements partially preserve their meaning and, by fusing, they add an extra component of "subjective veracity", i.e., a consequence that is presented as unquestionably true although it is based on the (inter)subjective view of the conceptualizer. The marker serves a discourse strategy of persuasion where the speaker's arguments are reinforced to convince the hearer. The subjective character of *luego entonces* may be seen as parallel to Sweetser's (1990) epistemic and speech-act modals (*You must go on a diet/You must be Johns's wife*) since the latter is based on the speaker's conclusion based on a body of evidence. We adopt Langacker's (1991, 1999) more pervasive notion of subjectivity, which covers a wider range of uses, some of which actually are speech-act situations.

Along with the use of *luego entonces*, the speaker may validate her/his assertion by putting together arguments that strengthen the validity of a causal relationship. Enough arguments are put together to conclude that the bad distribution of female art is linked to the intersubjective prejudice that it is insignificant. This accumulative discourse strategy can be attested in (21):

- (21) Como he dicho, se "sabe", se "conoce", se "cree", se "piensa", en pocas palabras opera el prejuicio de que los varones es "natural" que puedan crear arte, gran arte, las mujeres es "natural" que no lo hagan. Se crea un círculo digamos vicioso: el arte de las mujeres se considera menor, *luego entonces* se difunde poco, al ser poco difundido no se conoce, no crea "reputación"; como es desconocido nadie lo quiere distribuir y evidentemente, la distribución desemboca directamente en el consumo. (CREA. México. Libros. 1987. Bartra, Eli. *Frida Kahlo: Mujer, Ideología, Arte*).

"As I have said, one knows, one believes, one thinks, in a few words one believes the prejudice that it is "natural" for men to be able to create art, great art, and for women it is "natural" that they don't. A vicious circle is created: art by women is seen as minor, *therefore* it is not widely broadcasted, as it is not spread, people don't know about it and it gains no reputation..."

The meaning of the two temporal markers partially contribute to the formation of the new marker. The temporality before-after of *luego* activates highly probable consequences (consequences of *Re*). Recall that this property allows *luego* to extend to consecutive uses. Recall also that, as part of its bleaching process, by the nineteenth century *luego* started to allow more and more subjective consecutive relations. Since the consecutive meaning of *luego* was weakened, *entonces* joined the construction to reinforce a causal interpretation. The sequential order of *entonces* lets a cause-effect relationship introduce consecutive associations among events: the first element precedes and determines the outcome of the second. Crucially this

new meaning does not bring a logical causal determinacy relation from O1 to O2. Instead, the sequencing of events lets the speaker strengthen his conclusion and make the hearer see the veracity of his assessment.

The conceptual fusion of the two forms is represented in the following blend: *Luego entonces* creates an (inter)subjective image of truthfulness that the speaker uses to make his statement a more convincing one. It makes a statement be seen as unquestionable very much in the way that scientific assessments are interpreted. The consecutive relationship is expressed by the fusion of two markers: a weaker *luego* in its way of losing its causal strength and a less bleached consecutive marker that reinforces the credibility of the expression. This makes the consecutive assessment be seen as almost irrefutable. Both *luego* and *entonces* filter a weak causal relationship that develops from a temporal sequential organization. The causal relationship is more preserved in *entonces* than in *luego*, and thus reinforces the weaker causal strength of *luego*. The consecutive meaning imposed by *luego entonces* is not implicative yet its pragmatic convincing force depends on the fact that it is validated by the speaker, either based on shared knowledge or on arguments that the speaker presents as irrefutable.

The semantic similarity between the two markers could suggest that having two synonyms together may simply be a pleonasm. Yet the repetition of two elements can be meaningful for pragmatic reasons as González (1997) has suggested for expressions such as *subir para arriba* ‘go up to and upper level’. Likewise, the duplication *luego luego* in Mexican Spanish is an idiom that encodes immediacy

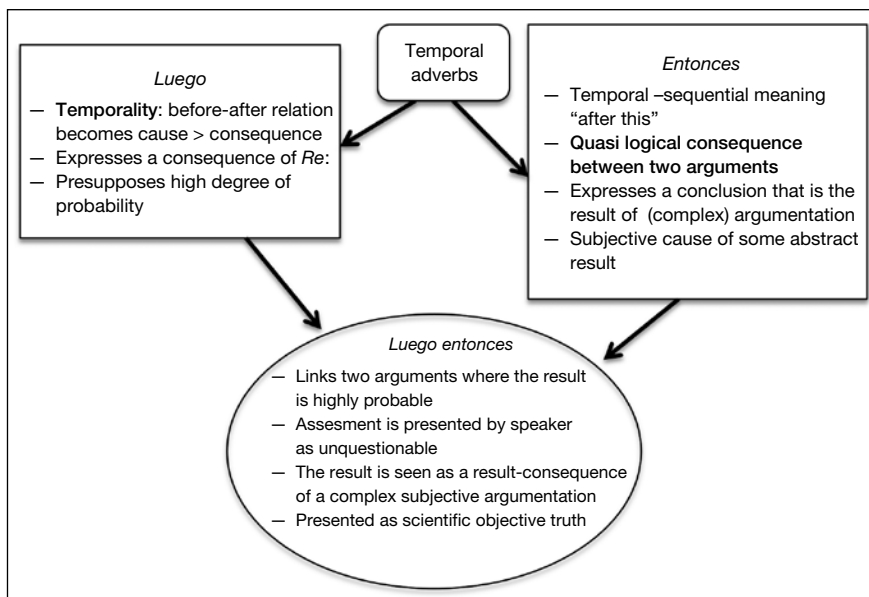


Figure 3. Blend *luego entonces*.

(*Entregas el regalo y te regresas luego luego* ‘Deliver the gift and come back right away’). Now in *luego entonces* no repetition takes place and no pleonasm is present. The import of the blend responds to the pragmatic need of validating the speaker’s stance. Two pragmatic markers are fused to create an argumentative marker of subjective consequence.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to show that *luego entonces* is not a logical consecutive marker of *dictum* as it has been treated in traditional grammars. Since they are not exclusively restricted by logical structure, discourse markers encode not only the relationship between clauses but also the speaker’s intentions in a variety of discourse genres. The case of *luego entonces* responds to argumentative discourse needs such that an objective cause-effect consecutive relationship is softened to establish highly probable consequences that are commonly deducted by shared knowledge. We have shown that by the seventeenth century the consecutive meaning of *luego* started to bleach out into an intersubjective meaning of probability. Around the twentieth century, *entonces* joined the construction to install a reinforced subjective version of a consecutive value. Consecutive relations among events that are naturally expected tend to be seen as unquestionable due to the use of *luego entonces*. This has been entrenched in the system to such an extent that throughout the twentieth century it became a recurrent discourse strategy employed to validate the speaker’s assessment in argumentative discourse.

References

Corpora

- CREA. *Real Academia Española: Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) [en línea], <<http://www.rae.es>> [Consulta: 27/11/2011] [para el español de México].
- CORDE. *Real Academia Española: Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) [en línea], <<http://www.rae.es>> [Consulta: 10/12/2011] [para el español de México].
- Davies, Mark: *Corpus del español* [en línea], <<http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>> [Consulta: 20/11/2011].
- Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México*. Butragueño, Pedro Martín y Lastra, Yolanda (Coords.). Vol. I
- Corpus de Kluge*

Consultas de Google

- Alcina Franch, Juan; Blecua, José Manuel (1975 [2001]). *Gramática Española*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Alvarado-Ortega, Ma. Belen; Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor (2011). Un acercamiento fraseológico a ‘desde luego’. *RILCE. Revista de Filología Hispánica* 27.2: 305-320.

- Álvarez, Alfredo (1999). Las construcciones consecutivas. In Bosque, Ignacio and Demonte, Violeta. (eds.) *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. vol 3. Madrid: Espasa, 3739-3804.
- Anscombe, Jean-Claude; Ducrot, Oswald (1983). *L'argumentation dans la langue*. Bruselas: Pierre Mardaga.
- Bello, Andrés (1988). *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. Madrid: Arco Libros
- Beristain, Helena (2006). *Gramática Estructural de la lengua española*. México: Limusa.
- Castillo, Olivia (2009). *Entonces de adverbio temporal a marcador de discurso: elaboraciones desde la perspectiva de un esquema de temporalidad*. MA Thesis. Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.
- Company, Concepción; Melis, Chantal (2002). *Léxico histórico del español de México*. México: UNAM.
- Cuervo, Rufino José (1981). *Notas a la Gramática de la Lengua Castellana de Don Andrés Bello*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Cornillie, Bert (2007). *Evidentiality and epistemic modality in Spanish (semi)Auxiliares. A Cognitive-Functional approach*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Espinosa Elorza, Rosa María (2012). Cambios sintácticos en el siglo XIX. In Ramírez Luengo, José Luis. (ed.). *Por sendas ignoradas: estudios sobre el español del siglo XIX*. 1-12. Lugo: Axac.
- González Fernández, María Jesús (1997). Sobre la motivación semántica de las expresiones pleonásticas de movimiento: subir arriba, bajar abajo, entrar adentro y salir afuera. In Company Company, Concepción (ed). *Cambios diacrónicos en el español*. Vol 1. 123-141. México: Publicaciones Medievalia, 15. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Fuentes Rodríguez, Catalina (1985). *Sintaxis Oracional. Las oraciones consecutivas en español*. Sevilla: Ediciones Alfar.
- Gili y Gaya, Samuel (1980). *Curso superior de sintaxis española*. La Habana: Pueblo y Educación.
- Guzmán Herrera, Alma Rocío (2014). *Luego, así que y apenas. Marcadores pragmáticos, de inmediatez y consecución*. PhD Dissertation UNAM, doctoral dissertation.
- Guzmán Herrera, Alma Rocío; Maldonado, Ricardo (2015). "Siempre repito a veces lo mismo". In Melis, Chantal and Flores, Marcela. *El siglo XIX. Inicio de la tercera etapa evolutiva del Español*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Hummel, Martin (2012). *Polifuncionalidad, polisemia y estrategia retórica*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Kluge, Bettina (2005). Las fórmulas de tratamiento en un corpus chileno. In Noll, Volker et al. (eds.). *El español en América: aspectos teóricos, particularidades, contactos*. Madrid, Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Langacker, Ronald (1991). Subjectification. In: *Concept, Image and Symbol: The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. 315-342. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter,
- Langacker, Roland (1999). Subjectification. In: *Grammar and Conceptualization*. 297-315. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, Ronald (2008). *Cognitive Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lara, Luis Fernando (ed.) (2010). *Diccionario del Español de México*. México: El Colegio de México. <<http://dem.colmex.mx>>.

- Martín Zorraquino, María Antonia, and Portolés Lázaro, José (1999). Los marcadores del discurso. In Bosque, Ignacio and Demonte, Violeta (dirs.). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Tomo 3. Madrid: Espasa.
- Melis, Chantal; Flores, Marcela, and Bogard, Sergio (2003). La historia del español. Propuesta de un tercer período evolutivo. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* vol. LI, n. 001: 1-56
- Melis, Chantal and Flores, Marcela (2015). *El siglo XIX. Inicio de la tercera etapa evolutiva del español*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Moliner, María (1991). *Diccionario de uso del español*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Nuyts, Jan (2012). Notions of Intersubjectivity. In *Intersections of Intersubjectivity*. Special issue of *English Text Construction* 5.1: 53-76.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/etc.5.1.04nuy>>
- Pavón Lucero, Ma. Victoria (1999). El modo en las subordinadas relativas y adverbiales. In Bosque, Ignacio and Demonte, Violeta. (dirs.) *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Tomo I. Madrid: Espasa, 565-655.
- Ramírez Luengo, José Luis (2012). El español del siglo XIX o la historia de un abandono. In Ramírez Luengo, José Luis (ed.). *Por sendas ignoradas: estudios sobre el español del siglo XIX*. Lugo: Axac, 1-4.
- Real Academia Española (1973 [1978]). *Esbozo de una Gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Real Academia Española (1931). *Gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Real Academia Española (2010). *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española. Manual*. México: Planeta.
- Quiróz García, Mariano and Torrens Álvarez, María de Jesús (2012). La significación locativa en la derivación nominal española: el siglo XIX. In: Ramírez Luengo, José Luis (ed.). *Por sendas ignoradas: estudios sobre el español del siglo XIX*. Lugo: Axac, 1-12.
- Santos Río, Luis (2003). *Diccionario de partículas*. Salamanca: Luso-Española.
- Seco, Manuel (1972). *Gramática esencial del español*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Seco, Manuel (1999). *Diccionario del Español Actual*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Sweetser, Eve (1990). *From etymology to pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, Mark and Fauconnier, Gilles (2002). *The way we think*. New York: Perseus Books Group.
- Vázquez Veiga, Nancy and Fernández Bernárdez, Cristina (1996). Un caso de interferencia lingüística la forma “y luego” en el castellano de Galicia. In: *Scripta philologica in memoriam Manuel Taboada Cid*. Vol. 2: 715-736.

Semantic change and intersubjectification: The origin of reprise evidential conditional in Old Catalan

Josep Martines

Universitat d'Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA

josep.martines@ua.es



Received: July 23, 2015

Accepted: August 6, 2015

Abstract

The *reprise evidential conditional* (REC) is nowadays not very usual in Catalan: it is restricted to journalistic language and to some very formal genres (such as academic or legal language), it is not present in spontaneous discourse. On the one hand, it has been described among the rather new modality values of the conditional. On the other, the normative tradition tended to reject it for being a gallicism, or to describe it as an unsuitable neologism. Thanks to the extraction from text corpora, we surprisingly find this REC in Catalan from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the contemporary age, with semantic and pragmatic nuances and different evidence of grammaticalization.

Due to the current interest in evidentiality, the REC has been widely studied in French, Italian and Portuguese, focusing mainly on its contemporary uses and not so intensively on the diachronic process that could explain the origin of this value. In line with this research, that we initiated studying the epistemic and evidential future in Catalan, our aim is to describe: *a)* the pragmatic context that could have been the initial point of the REC in the thirteenth century, before we find indisputable attestations of this use; *b)* the path of semantic change followed by the conditional from a 'future in the past' tense to the acquisition of epistemic and evidential values; and *c)* the role played by invited inferences, subjectification and intersubjectification in this change.

Keywords: reprise evidential conditional; evidentiality; semantic change; subjectification; intersubjectification; corpus linguistics; diachronic cognitive semantics; pragmatics.

* This work was prepared at the *Institut Superior d'Investigació Cooperativa* IVITRA [ISIC-IVITRA] of the *Generalitat Valenciana* (Programa de la Generalitat Valenciana per a la Constitució i Acreditació d'Instituts Superiors d'Investigació Cooperativa d'Excel·lència [Ref. ISIC/012/042]), within the following research projects: «Gramàtica del Català Modern (1601-1834)» (MINECO, Ref. FFI2012-37103); «Constitució d'un corpus textual per a una gramàtica del català modern (Gem)» (IEC [PT 2012-S04-MARTINES]); Digicotracam (Programa PROMETEU per a Grups d'Investigació en I+D d'Excel·lència, Generalitat Valenciana [Ref.: PROMETEO-2014-018], financed by FEDER of the EU; and «Grup d'Investigació en Tecnologia Educativa en Història de la Cultura, Diacronia lingüística i Traducció» (Universitat d'Alacant [Ref. GITE-09009-UA]).

Resum. *Canvi semàntic i intersubjectivització: l'origen del condicional evidencial de report en català antic*

El condicional evidencial de report (CER) no és gaire habitual en català: està restringit al llenguatge periodístic i a alguns registres molt formals (com el llenguatge acadèmic o el legal) i no es troba en el discurs espontani. D'una banda, s'ha descrit entre els nous valors modals del condicional. De l'altra, la normativa l'ha rebutjat com a gal·licisme o com neologisme inapropiat. Mitjançant l'anàlisi de corpus textuais, hem documentat el CER en català des dels inicis del segle XIV a l'actualitat, amb matisos semàntics i pragmàtics i diferents graus de gramaticalització.

A causa de l'actual interès en l'evidencialitat, el CER s'ha estudiat a fons en francès, italià i portuguès, però centrant-se principalment en els seus usos contemporanis i no de manera tan detallada en el procés diacrònic que ens podria explicar aquests usos. Seguint aquesta línia de recerca, que van començar amb l'estudi del futur epistèmic i evidencial en català, tenim per objectiu descriure: *a)* el context pragmàtic que hauria estat el punt de partida del CER en el segle XIII, abans de trobar documentat aquest ús; *b)* el procés de canvi semàntic seguit pel condicional des d'un 'futur del passat' a l'adquisició de valors epistèmics i evidencials i *c)* el paper que tenen les inferències, la subjectificació i la intersubjectificació en aquest procés de canvi.

Paraules clau: condicional evidencial de report; evidencialitat; canvi semàntic, subjectificació; intersubjectificació; lingüística de corpus; semàntica cognitiva; pragmàtica.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	3. Intersubjectification of the future and the future-of-the-past: the path to REC
2. Subjectification of the future and of the future-of-the-past	4. Conclusions
	References

1. Introduction

It might not be an exaggeration to speak of a novelty, or even a surprise, of the fact that in Old Catalan we have found, with remarkable frequency, evidence of something we will henceforth call *reprise evidential conditional* (REC). This phenomenon is to be found since, at least, the beginning of the fourteenth century and up until the Modern Age, without there being an interruption in its use. With no claims of exhaustiveness, and merely as an illustration, let us consider the following samples that display varying degrees of grammaticalization, textual typology and semantic nuances:

- (1) a poc de dies ageren ardit com don Pedro per cert *auria pres* lo dit castell (*Cartes Jaume II*, 1310, 391)
[a few days ago they had received notice that Don Pedro *would have taken over* said Castle]¹

1. Our translation of the cited examples aims to provide a literal correspondence with the original. Frequent abbreviations used in this article: a/b (after a given century) 'first or second half of the century'; AD/R 'addressee/reader'; C 'conditional'; c. 'circa'; EpC 'epistemic conditional'; EpF

- (2) Pervench a-audiència dels molt honorables en Ramon de Canet [...] que Ffranci Coll [...] *serie* alcavot públic e *haurie* tenguda fembra en lo bordell públicament, e *serie* viscut de son mal guany (*Processos de Lleida*, 1438, 39)
[It reached the ears of the Most Honorable Ramon de Carnet [...] that Francí Coll [...] *would be* a public whoremonger and *would have taken* a woman publicly at a brothel, and *would have lived* off of this unwholesome business]
- (3) Entés havem que en aqueix loch *se trobaria* hun malalt de llebrosia (*Epistolari de València* II, 1463, 372)
[We have heard that a leper *would be* in that place]
- (4) car yo veig açí venir en la cort del senyor rey embaixadors del papa per contractar matrimoni de son nebot, que volen dir alguns *seria* fill, ab vostra altesa (Martorell, *Tirant*, 1460, 383)
[because here I see ambassadors of the pope coming to the court of the master king to pact his nephew's marriage, who some say *would be* his son, with His Highness]
- (5) Diu-se que ell y lo bisbe de Tortosa *serian* morts de paciò de ànimo de las turbulèncias que corren en Barcelona (Pujades, *Dietari*, III, 1622, 122)
[It is said that he and the Bishop of Tortosa *would have died* of a mood's passion because of the turbulence that runs through Barcelona]
- (6) lo qual [Cortada] és estat capturat per lo batlla de Castelltersol [...] ab lo motiu de què lo *hauria* trobat ab pistolas [...]. Y al cap de dos días [...], ha constatat a sas senyorias que dit Cortada estava en lliberat y que se li *haurian* restituhit las ditas armas. (*Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, x, 1701, 4b-5a)
[which citizen [Cortada] has been captured by an officer of justice of Castellterçol [...] under charges that they *would have found* him in possession of guns [...]. And after two days [...], it has been documented that Cortada was set free and that his weapons *would have been returned*]

The novelty and surprise may come both from the age of this use as well as its persistence, and the fact that the REC is nowadays not very usual in Catalan: it is just restricted to journalistic language and to some very formal genres (such as academic or legal language), and it is not present in spontaneous discourse. On the one hand, it has already been described within a set of newer modality values of the conditional. On the other hand, the normative tradition tended to reject it for being a gallicism, or to describe it as an unsuitable neologism, although some scholars have displayed tolerance of its use (Pérez-Saldanya 2002: 2644, n. 59).

'epistemic future'; Ev 'evidential'; F 'future'; FP 'future-of-the-past'; FPC 'future-of-the-past conditional'; REC 'reprise evidential conditional'; SoA 'State of Affairs'; SP/W 'speaker/writer'; TF 'temporal future'.

Surprisingly, and thanks to the extraction from text corpora (CIMTAC and CICA), we find this REC in Catalan from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the contemporary age, with semantic and pragmatic nuances and different evidence of grammaticalization.

Although very interesting indeed, we will not engage here in the discussion about the content and limits of the concept of evidentiality («Evidentiality proper is understood as stating the existence of a source of evidence for some information», Aikhenvald 2003: 1). In the past few years, the literature on evidentiality has undergone an accelerated growth; so has its study, both in languages that have evidentiality as a necessary grammatical marking, and in those in which it constitutes a difficult case for application. Already well known and studied is the use of *C* as a resource in discourse to mark the source of information in Romance languages such as French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish (Squartini 2004, 2009, 2010, 2012, Dendale 2014, Rivero 2014). For the purposes at hand, Dendale's (2014: 246) synthetic description of French conditional seems appropriate, which he labels *conditionnel de reprise*. He lists its three basic, characteristic traits: «(a) le caractère incertain de l'information ou l'incertitude du locuteur; (b) la reprise à autrui de l'information donnée; (c) la non-prise en charge de l'affirmation par le locuteur». This description comes close to that proposed by Pérez-Saldanya (2002: 2644) for certain uses of the conditional «with an evidential value» identified in contemporary Catalan, as previously mentioned: *a)* in academic texts (to report on an other's point of view), *b)* journalistic texts (to indicate that the information provided comes from unverified sources) or, *c)* in general, in formal texts (to indicate unconfirmed and unendorsed information). As we can see, these definitions allow therefore an epistemic and an evidential component in this use of the conditional.

This is where we draw attention to the process that may have led to the emergence of the REC in Catalan. If, as previously mentioned, we have discovered that the first written evidence of REC in this language (see (1)) is found at the beginning of the fourteenth century, we must try to find out what developments in the previous century could have led to this value. Due to the current interest in evidentiality, the REC has been widely studied in other Romance languages. However, these studies have focused on its contemporary uses and not so intensively on the diachronic process that could explain the origin of this value. In the line of this research, that we initiated studying the epistemic and evidential future in Catalan (Martines 2015), our aim is to describe: *a)* the pragmatic context that could have been the initial point of the REC in the thirteenth century, before we find indisputable attestations of this use (see *supra* (1-6)); *b)* the path of semantic change followed by the conditional from a 'future in the past' tense to the acquisition of epistemic and evidential values; and *c)* the role played by invited inferences, subjectification and intersubjectification in this change.

2. Subjectification of the future and of the future-of-the-past

It is well known that F forms in Romance, such as *cantaré* (Catalan and Spanish), *(je) chanterai* (French), *canterò* (Italian), *cantarai* (Occitan), *cantarei* (Portuguese), etc. derive from the Latin «Infinitive + HABEŌ» construction. More recent studies, based upon Latin corpora, seem to confirm that this construction must have crystallized in a F during the early third century, following a process that may provide some nuance to existing accounts of its path:

- (7) 1st *Ability/capacity* (Classic Latin)
 2nd *Ability/capacity, obligation, possibly permission* (Post-Classical), and
 3rd *Ability/capacity, obligation, permission, generalized deontic possibility and necessity, future* (Later Latin; mainly Christian authors/works) (Hertzenberg 2012: 374)²

It is not until the latter fourth century that «some of the future examples may also be given an epistemic reading», although «no example seems to be unambiguously epistemic» (Hertzenberg 2012: 374-375).

For its part, in its original role as the ‘future-of-the-past’ (FP; Fleishchman 1982: 59) or ‘ultériorité dans le passé’ (Thomas 2012), the conditional undergoes a process of approximation to the parallel and synchronous epistemic realm. We may recall that the Romance conditional *cantaria* (Catalan, Occitan and Portuguese), *cantaría* (Spanish), *(je) chanterais* (French), etc. resulted from the grammaticalization of the Latin «Infinitive + HABEBAM» construction, which is a variation of «Infinitive + HABEŌ» in imperfect tense.³ These constructions exhibit similar grammaticalizations, as well as similar initial paths of semantic evolution, which go through modal values towards the future (future-of-the-past in the case of «Infinitive + HABEBAM»; see (7)) (Fleishchman 1982: 59; Hertzenberg 2008, 2012; Thomas 2012; Company 2006).⁴ The first evidence of «Infinitive + HABEBAM» with a future-of-the-past value is found in the first half of the third century, the same period in which «Infinitive + HABEŌ» with a future value is found. Two examples (8a and 8b) belong to different language registers ((8a) more formal/(8b) closer to oral discourse) and have different contexts; in (8a), the speaker/writer, the author, reports information obtained from a source: ‘somebody prophesized that he *would be called* Nazareus’; and, from the past, places an event at a later point; and, in (8b) the speaker/writer

2. The following outline provides a synthesis of the paths (or itineraries) proposed until now in the literature: ‘possession’ > ‘obligation’/‘predestination’ > ‘intention’ > ‘future’ (Fleischman 1982: 129; Bybee *et al.* 1994: 240; van der Auwera & Plugian 1998: 96-97; Pérez-Saldanya 1998; Squartini 2001, 2009; Pietrandrea 2005; Company 2006).
3. Recall the perfect variant «Infinitive + HABUI», which originates the Italian *canterei* (Squartini 1999).
4. During this very same period (fifth century), the first cases of «Infinitive + HABEBAM» as conditional constructions appeared. This is unlikely to be a coincidence. To illustrate, recall a well-known example: «*Sanare te habebat Deus per indulgentiam si fatereris*» (*Sermos.* 253. 4; *Bourciez*, 1910: § 257,6; ‘God would heal you by his indulgence, if you confessed’).

(SP/W; the Evangelist), places an event at an event ulterior to the past recalled in his narrative:⁵

- (8) a. Nazarenus *vocari habebat* secundum prophetiam (Tertullian, 210 A.D., *Adversus Marcionem* 4,8; Slobbe 2004: 114)
[According to the prophecy he *would be called* Nazareus]
- b. misit illos binos ante faciem suam in omnem ciuitatem et loca quo *uenire ipse habebat* (*Gospel of Luke*, 10.1, s. II-III; Thomas 2012: 16)⁶
[[Christ] sent them two in two ahead of him to every town and place, where he himself *would go*]

These antique examples already display the dialogical structure that incorporates the conditional (C). This structure has been recently under scrutiny, as it opens the path for the emergence of values such as those presented here. According to Bres & Azzopardi & Sarrazin (2010), and Bres (2014), if the F is an «ultériorité du présent», the C is an «ultériorité du passé»: the F sets a point R at a t_0 moment of enunciation, after which a process P is set at an ulterior time; given that point R is set at t_0 , this ulteriority is originated in the *locuteur-énonciateur* E_1 of an utterance E. As a result of its role as FP, things are different for the C: the *locuteur-énonciateur* E_1 places R in the past. «L'ultériorité, pour se construire comme monde(s) possible(s) à partir de ce point, demande un autre acte d'énonciation e , doté d'un autre énonciateur e_1 » (Bres 2014: 22). If we regard the early example (8a), the E_1 (the narrator or *locuteur-enonciateur*: SP/W_L) reports the words of e_1 (the prophecy: SP/W_S or *locuteur-source*), words produced in an utterance e , anterior to E.

Sometime during the Early Middle Ages, it is assumed, this modalization process of future and FPC (future-of-the-past conditional) took off from ambiguous contexts in late Latin (fourth or fifth century) We have recently described (Martines 2015) the semantization of Ep values of F forms in Catalan, still in specific contexts and uses, as having taken place no earlier than the late thirteenth century.⁷ What follows a) is a brief summary of elements in our description which are relevant to understanding the emergence of the EpF in Catalan, and b) we shall see that this development must have been contemporary with the EpC. As we will show below in § 3.2., the EpC in the thirteenth century had triggered a process of intersubjectification, partly concurrent with the EpF, which must have paved the way for the appearance of REC (though this value was not documented until the fourteenth century).

5. In any case, let us observe that the SP/W in a narrative context is actually reporting known information, as it has been received from oral or written sources.
6. In the *Vulgata*: «[...] quo erat ipse venturus». For more instances of the same source see Herman (1997: 88) and Company (2006: 356).
7. For a Romance perspective, see Fleischman (1982). Specifically, Jensen (1986: 407, 1990: 351) for French and Occitan; Company (2006: 406), for Spanish; or Brambilla Ageno (1965), Squartini (2001: 200) and Pietrandrea (2005: 198), for Italian.

After detailed tracking and an analysis based on a text corpus, it was concluded that the emergence of EpF was characterized by *subjectification*⁸ and *gradualness* (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 26). Hopper & Traugott (1993 [2003]: 42-44) provided an original method of analysis for the study of grammaticalization, since then widely applied. Their work considered the F in the light of deontic meaning, in the context of the Theory of Grammaticalization, which highlights the relevance of processes of pragmatic inference. This way, they took the French *chanterai* (< «Infinitive + HABERE»), *a)* to illustrate a possible reanalysis for (9):

- (9) [[*cantare*] *habeo*] (Classic Latin) > [*cantare habeo*] (Later Latin) > [*chant-e-r-ai*] (French)

This process was very likely aided by contexts in which this construction could be construed as deontic or, at least, oriented towards the F; this way, in a case such as (10), «if one is asked what [one] can say, the inference can be that one ought to say it»:

- (10) Et si interrogatus fueris, quomodo *dicere habes*? Veritatem *dicere habeo* (*Cod. Diplo. Long. Siena*, 715 A.D.; taken from Fleischman 1982: 59)
[And you, if you are asked, what do you *have to/will* you *say*? I will *have* the truth *to say*/I *will speak* the truth]

And *b)* to introduce the role of context-favored inference: «processes of abduction could lead a language user to interpret the input string not as representing two underlying clauses, but rather as bracketed together in a structure of the type [*cantare habeo*], provided of course that the forms are adjacent» (see (10)).

This kind of analysis, as well as more extensive studies of modal verbs (Traugott & Dasher 2002), highlight the need for us analysts to return to the text, and to regard its pragmatic conditions for a better understanding of processes of semantic change. On this path, Narrog (2012: 171-184) has revised several basic proposals in the study of modality. Based in part on Bybee *et al.* (1994: 24-29) and Heine (1995: 126), Narrog identifies one factor of the predictive (non-volitive) component which may be aiding the emergence of EpF; he quotes, among others, the English *will*⁹ and the German *werden*,¹⁰ as well as a reference to the synthetic F in Spanish, nowadays mostly Ep (especially in American Spanish).¹¹ Although

8. *Subjectification*, in the Traugottian sense: «semasiological process whereby SP/Ws come over time to develop meanings for Ls [‘lexemes’] that encode or externalize their perspectives and attitudes as constrained by the communicative world of the speech event, rather than by the so-called «real-world» characteristics of the event or situation referred to» (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 30).

9. Narrog (2012: 171) points out, following Visser (1969) and Aijmer (1985), that *will*, originally a volitional verb, took up predictive values already in the tenth century, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it expressed suppositions, deductions or inferences.

10. The first cases of the F *werden* (thirteenth century) already include a «modal connotation through which the speaker expressed her or his expectations and inference». From the sixteenth century onwards, it appears with an Ep value and oriented towards the present.

11. More on Ep values of the F in American Spanish, see Sedano (2005), Aaron (2007), Soto (2008), Kornfeld (2014).

they placed their emphasis on the volitive component as a starting point for the development of Ep in the English *will*, recall that Traugott & Dasher (2002: 221-224) had already proposed (together with Aijmer 1985) *a*) that the development of the Ep value of *will* could have emerged in contexts of use in 2nd and 3rd person, which are more often linked with directive uses and, above all, with prediction, and *b*) that the change might hence spread to the 1st person, more often related to the expression of volition and intention; this process would stress «the high degree of context-sensitivity of semantic change» (p. 224). De Hann (2010: 111) chooses the label *predictive* for a use of *will* in a phrase one may already consider as canonical, given the fact that it has been used (sometimes as a sole example) in various languages to exemplify EpF:

(11) [*The doorbell rings*] That *will* be the postman

Likewise, Narrog (2012: 278) has drawn attention to the relationship between aspect and modality; following Comrie (1976) and Frawley (1992), Narrog conceives of prospective forms as «an aspectual category describing the transition from a current state to some subsequent event, which also has temporal, modal, and evidential features». This way, the English *to be about to* («Summer in Tokyo is about to get even hotter») presents *a*) *temporal* value, which refers to a time posterior to the time of reference, *b*) *modal* value, linked to the predictive character of the proposition that has been introduced: the event is predicted and non-factual, and *c*) *evidential* value, given that said prediction «is usually based on some kind of evidence». The F, in connection with the prospective aspect, takes on subjective Ep values, in various languages, as had been already noted in Bybee *et al.* (1994); Narrog (2012: 280) observes this occurring for the English *will*, and considers the following itinerary as a plausible description: ‘prospective’ > ‘F’ > ‘probability’. Pérez-Saldanya (2002: 2597-2598) had already emphasized that prospective forms (F and C), as well as others in the past, may adopt modal values in Catalan or, at least, in some of its varieties; in fact, this work places F and C among the verbal tenses which are most closely related to modality.

All in all, from a diachronic perspective, it seems viable to suggest that the predictive role of F and its prospective aspect might pave the way for the development of the Ep value. Above all, as has been shown in Martines (2015), from contexts in which modal and evidential values take prevalence, and temporal values are weakened, or even absent. Along these lines, Langacker’s (2003) hypothesis of *extreme subjectification* may serve to add another essential characteristic to the semantization of Ep. Its tendency to always evolve towards a more *subjective* and, eventually, *intersubjective* orientation (in the terms suggested by Traugott & Dasher 2002, Traugott 2003) or «more speech act orientation» (in terms of Narrog 2012: 183), makes it possible to relate the origin of the Ep value of F to inference and subjectification, in a *langackerian* sense:¹²

12. As we know, Langacker’s *subjectification* concept does not correspond with that applied by Traugott, which we apply here; but, in this case, it does help to understand the process.

While the future-oriented use reflects a projection of reality, or the presumed development of things in the outside world, an inference about the present is more internal to the speaker's reasoning. (Narrog 2012: 183)

The usage as present of forms originally oriented towards the F, involves (Langacker 2003: 13 and 15) «a subtle kind of subjectification, above and beyond the high degree of subjectification already implied in a future use»: for the usage as present of F forms, «evolution of the world out there is not at issue [...] The only thing conceived as evolving is what the speaker supposedly knows, i. e. reality as a mental construct».

In an approach related to ours, Morency (2010), Saussure & Morency (2012), and Saussure (2013) have emphasized that the acquisition of an Ep value for F does not depend as much on its modal nature, metaphysically related to uncertainty and hypothesis, or on the pragmatic «game» it can allow. Instead, they propose a process of pragmatic *enrichissement*, close to the one proposed by Hopper & Traugott (1993 [2003]: 92) and, as we will see below, a linkage between the EpF and the future verification of a possible state of affairs (SoA); in other words, they propose «an *allocentric* representation» ('a representation which is attributed to somebody other than the SP/W at the moment of utterance', Saussure & Morency 2012: 209).

The *Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change* (IITSC; Traugott & Könnig 1991), based on the conventionalization of conversational implicatures and on the progressive subjectification of meaning, has been embraced by Pietrandrea (2005: 200-202) to attempt an explanation of the origin of EpF in Italian. It begins with an hypothesis on the emergence of the epistemic value of *must* in English, according to which «if a speaker believes that a state of affairs is obligatory he invites us to infer that he believes that that state of affairs is true», to ascertain that the EpF, «like the temporal future, expresses a prediction, which rather than concerning a state of affairs, concerns the truth of the proposition describing that state of affairs». This would explain the reanalysis of constructions of F > EpF: [Fut (SoA)_{pred}]_{prop}] → Fut [(SoA)_{pred}]_{prop}].

This picture is congruent with *a*) the notion of itineraries (see (7) and note 2) and of a gradual process in the emergence of values derived from F (or from FP), concretely the Ep, and *b*) the need to pay attention to texts, their typology and chronology in tracing such itineraries; it seems, for instance, that EpF (or EpC) have not existed always, not even with the same values (at least in Catalan), contrary to other suggestions (at least regarding other Romance languages). *c*) With the importance of keeping in mind the temporal, modal and evidential components of F, and non-volitive usage. *d*) With the notion that pragmatic enrichment and projection towards the F of prediction, at least with some of its uses. And *e*) with the IITSC (Traugott & Dashier 2002, Traugott 2012; for Catalan Cuenca & Massip 2005, Martines 2013; Martines & Montserrat 2014, Martines in press); the main fact – the use of a F form to express the present with an Ep value – can be explained without an appeal to the nature of a F that is metaphysically linked to the unknown and hypothetical.

Taking into account this brief description, we may conjecture the incidence and interaction of the following *invited inferences* (inferences stimulated by the communicative context), here briefly referred to; they involve the *bleaching* of the temporal element of F (or FP) and the *strengthening* of the modal and evidential aspects:

- 1) Given a SoA and an α related to this SoA, if we say that α will happen in the F, it may be inferred that α has not happened > α will be verifiable > α is not verifiable yet > α is not certain, α is probable, α is possible.¹³ This paves the way for the use of F and C in the expression of doubt, of conjecture, of different degrees of possibility, probability, or approximation.
- 2) Given a SoA and an α related to this SoA, if we say that α will happen in the F, it may be inferred that we claim this according to our own point of view > it is our opinion, our belief... From dialogical and reportative context, it will pave the way for REC-type uses, inasmuch as, during interaction situations, SP/W marks his *non-prise en charge* (Abouda 2001) of the position expressed by the AD/R.
- 3) Given a SoA and an α related to this SoA, if we say that α will happen in the F, it may be inferred that α will happen after > α is a consequence of the SoA to which it is related. That explains the presence of F/FP in calculus sequences, of logical reasoning, in conditional constructions, etc. in which it expresses the result of an evaluation of the SoA.

These theoretical approaches have proven useful in explaining the emergence of the epistemic future (EpF; Martines 2015) and, as will be seen, of the Catalan epistemic conditional (EpC) and REC. In the Romance sphere, perhaps in the evolutionary trail that must have been drawn by Late Latin, cases of EpF and EpC become scarce and, a point not yet made with sufficient emphasis, linked to specific communicative contexts. Catalan will have been no exception to this. The semantization of the Ep sense, without a reference to the F, and with a prevailing modal and evidential role, seems to have followed a process characterized by gradualness and subjectification. It starts to emerge in contexts that may aid it, still oriented towards the F, but with a clear modal and evidential value. They are contexts in the 2nd and 3rd person, which include subjective predictions. In general, they indicate inferential processes in which the SP/W has analyzed and assessed a specific SoA, and utters a conclusion projected towards an ulterior time; this is done according to criteria that may be subjective (interests, beliefs...), encyclopedic information, perception and categorization of reality, etc. This connection with *futureness* (in a present or past realm) can be gradual. We can find contexts fundamentally oriented towards a posterior time:¹⁴

13. A similar metonymic process is that which explains the change of sense in *probable* ‘can be proven, verified’ > ‘can exist with a degree of certainty’.
14. In Martines (2015) we have provided a detailed analysis of emergence processes for Ep values of the F and the C. The reader can find the details in said articles; at present, we will limit ourselves

- (12) a. d'aquí a xv jorns, que *serà* lo jorn de sen Miquel (Descloit, *Crònica*, 13th C.b, IV, 35)
[from now to 15 days, that it *will be* Saint Michael's day]
- b. Denuncià-li l'àngel Sent Gabriel que él, Zacharies, *auria* un fil que *auria* nom Joan; lo qual no *beuria* vi ni servea, e *iria* davant lo Seyor en esperit e en virtut d'Elies (*Vides*, 13th C., II, p. 25)
[Saint Gabriel the angel announced to him that he, Zechariah, *would have* a son who *would be named* John; who would drink neither wine nor beer, and *would go* before the Lord in the spirit and virtue of Elijah]

Likewise, from ancient times we find contexts in which, besides the expression of *posteriority*, the F and FPC incorporate various nuances of subjectivity. These nuances are linked to specific pragmatic situations. For instance, a volitive nuance is frequent in the 1st person when the SP/W expresses, besides futureness, his will or commitment to carry out (or not) a given action; indeed, in varying degrees: from oaths found in the eleventh century (13) to more complex texts, where one can observe the variation of nuances between the 2nd and 3rd persons (14-17), more closely related to prediction (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 221-224; Narrog 2012: 171-184); it must be stressed that in cases of FPC (14), the SP/W reports in the 3rd person the words of a different speaker, who would have spoken in the 1st person.

- (13) *Juro ego Ramonde, fili Estefania, ad ti Ramonde, fili Ermesende, fideles ti seré de ista ora ad auante [...]. De esta ora ad auante non ti deceberé, ni deceber non ti faré* (Feudal oath, 1035-1076; Russell 1965: 64)
[I, R., son of Stefanie, do swear to you R., son of Ermesende, that I *shall be faithful* to you from this time forth [...]. From this day forth I *shall not deceive* you, nor *shall I have you deceived*]
- (14) Et dixit mihi Guilelm Arnall et conveng m'o che no *siria* a mos dons (Grievances of Guitart Isarn, 1080-1095; Russell 1965: 74)
[And Guilelm Arnall spoke to me, and agreed he *would not be* for my damage ('would not turn against me')]
- (15) [Sermon on the Temptations of Christ] Qan lo Diable vit e conog qe re d'aizò no *faria* N[ostre] S[èiner], portà ·l en la ciutad senta de Jherusalem e posà ·l sus e ·l temple (*Organyà*, c. 1200, 122)
[When the Devil saw, and understood that Our Lord *would do* none of that, he took him to the Holy City of Jerusalem and placed him on top of the temple]

to reproducing and summarizing the essential. Whenever possible, we provide new material in § 2; we analyze in § 3, from the perspective of intersubjectification, both examples from Martines (2015) and new material.

- (16) si Déus o vol, jo us *faré* ganar que valga CC solidos [...], que jo *faré* anar lo pleit d'en Rabinat e meu en vostre poder e *valrà*-us bé M solidos franceses que vós *haurets* per bon dret de tort [...] (Letter from a priest to a bishop, 1257; Rasico 2006: 404)
[if it please God, I *will make* you win the worth of 200 gold coins [...], that I *will* put mine and R.'s lawsuit in your power and it *will earn* you a thousand French gold coins that you *will receive* as a right of attack]
- (17) Mas con a Milà preÿcassen mot fortment e estegessen públicament, lo sobirà bisbe, quant ó saup, se pensà que Sen Pere era hom de gran coratye: per què no *auria paor* de la gran multitut dels nemics (*Vides*, 13th C.b, II, 431)
[But, because they preached very powerfully and were seen in public in Milan, the sovereign Bishop, in hearing of this, thought Saint Peter was a man of great courage; for this reason he *would not fear* the great multitude of enemies]

These cases all share an orientation towards the F: they project a SoA towards a time posterior to E; let us note, however, that a modal volitive component is expressed in the 1st person (3rd in FPC < 1st) of (13, 14 and 16): the SP/W commits himself to carrying out a given action at a later time (F o FP): *he commits to being faithful and to respect the rights of his lord* in (13), *not to go against the interest of his lord* in (14) or *to conduct the lawsuit in a way that favors his own interest and those of the bishop with whom he has dealings* in (16); on the other hand, in the 2nd and 3rd person forms of (15, 16 and 17), the SP/W predicts, views a certain SoA as possible in a future time: *the fact that Christ will not fall (was not going to fall) in the first temptation (turning stones into bread)* in (15), *the earnings of the fighting and how much the bishop will obtain from it* in (16) or *the fact that Saint Peter was not going to be afraid of facing the heretics* in (17). In these predictions, there is a subjective charge that combines the evidential and modal components: they are founded on *a*) the evaluation of the SoA, either directly (by observing Christ's behavior or through firsthand knowledge of the state of the fighting), or through reported speech (news of St. Peter's behavior); and on *b*) the formulation of a possibility (at a posterior time).¹⁵

From the end of the thirteenth century onwards, as we discover uses closer to the EpF/EpC, we also notice an increase of cases which, though oriented towards an ulterior time, display a modal nuance and marked predictive and inferential values. Subjective predictive contexts are common on which the product of an inference

15. The F appears frequently in the 1st person without a volitive value, but a rather predictive value with an Ep nuance (proportional to the SP/W's reduced control over facts or states; Langacker 2009: 151, Pietrandrea 2005: 120, Sentí 2013: 141). In the following example, the SP/W deems it possible, he represents himself in a F time being capable of knowing (*coneixeré*) whether somebody deserves punishment; to the contrary, the volitive sense remains in *combatré*: «prec-vos, sènyer, que m lexets parlar ab la emperadriu, que yo *coneixeré* bé en les sues paraules si mer mal en aquesta cosa; que, certes, si ela és culpable, yo no m *combatré* ja per ela (Descot, *Crònica*, 13th C.b, II, 51)» [I beg you, sir, let me speak to the empress, that I *shall know* from her words if she deserves ill in this matter; that, to be sure, if she is guilty, I *shall not fight* for her still].

based on the evaluation of the SoA is projected upon a time that is set in the future. A fact is deemed possible at a later moment based on a speaker's own assessment. Some instances of these can be seen below.

James I discusses with his knights the strategy to conquer Valencia, and their problems with supplies. Once the situation has been analyzed, he gives his opinion:

- (18) E, si aquest loch [el Puig] no·s té, València és perduda per aventura per tots temps, que jamés no·n *venrem* en tam bon lanç (Jaume I, *Fets*, 13th C.b, 97r)
[And if this place [the Puig] is not conquered, Valencia is lost, perhaps forever, as we *shall never* see an occasion as good as this]

Example (18) is inserted in a speech filled with the king's reproof of some of his least cooperative allies. After a few days, the king himself believes he has found the solution to the supplies issues. The passage in (19) describes how he reaches this conclusion, which was suggested to him by the masts of the many boats he has seen anchored in Tarragona: bring them over from Mallorca; this, he explains to one of his underlings:

- (19) E nós, qui entràvem en Tarragona per el cami desús de Vila-secca, vim arbres molts en Salou [...]. E dixem-li: «Ia cosa havem pensada: que creem que *trobarem* conseyl per al pug. Ir, quant passàvem per Vila-secca, vim arbres a Salou, e creem que hi haja conduyt [...].» (Jaume I, *Fets*, 13th C.b, 97v)
[And we, who were entering Tarragona by way of the upper path of Vila-secca, we have seen many masts in Salou [...]. And we said to him: «We have thought of something: that be believe *we shall find* the conquest of the Puig. Yesterday, as we passed Vila-secca, we saw masts in Salou, and we believe there may be supplies there]

A boatman, who senses the gravity of the political situation, and his passengers' status, anticipates he may obtain benefits by delivering them to their enemies:

- (20) Lo seyor de la barcha pensà·s que aquests eren honrats hòmens e que, si ó deya al castelà d'aquel castel, que·n *auria* bon gasardó d'él e, quax qui va fer leya hó sercar alre, partí·s de la barcha e anà·se·n al castelà del castel (Desclot, *Crònica*, 13th C.b, II, 178)
[The owner of the boat thought these were important men and that, if he told the master of that castle, he *would get* a good reward from him, and the same way one might go to get lumber, or anything else, he left his boat and went to the castle's master]

Still not abandoning a perspective of *ulteriority*, these three cases appear rather oriented towards the SP/W inasmuch as they report his opinions and beliefs (*speaker-oriented*, Narrog 2012) and make explicit the evidential basis of the prediction: encyclopedic knowledge (*the king has much military and political experience, knows the current strategy well (which he deems favorable to his plans of conquest)*

and the need of supplies in (18), or the direct observation of a SoA (*transport-capable vessels* in (19)) and his assessment based on his own perspectives, possibilities, values, interests... (*the desire to make the most of the occasion delivering the noble entourage to their enemy in exchange for a reward* in (20)).

Again, the C in place of the F is justified by the reported-speech type of the narration in (20). The evidential character is highlighted by the presence of verbs such as *pensar* ‘think’ or *creure* ‘believe’.

Likewise, there are contexts in which the temporal component has been weakened even further; they reproduce a reasoning process: they present the premises that lead inferentially to a conclusion, expressed in F, in present contexts, or in C, in past contexts. It is interesting to note that these may appear in covariation with the epistemic periphrases «*poder* ‘can’/*deure* ‘must’ + INFINITIVE» (see (21) and note 16). These are uses which are close to those observed in Late Latin as first evidence of the Ep value of F). We find them, for example, in the philosophical prose of Ramon Llull:

- (21) si la umana volentat, qui és criatura spirital, ha tan gran plaser hó desplaer per odorar, que és criatura corporal, ¡quant molt més pot haver gran plaser per voler Déus, qui és cosa sperital! ¡Ne quant més *haurà* la volentat de hom peccador major desplaer en desamar Déu, que en odorar la infernal pudor! (Llull, *Meravelles*, III, 1288-1289, 77)¹⁶

[if human will, a spiritual creature, takes great pleasure or displeasure in smell, being a bodily creature, how much more pleasure can it have in loving God, who is spiritual matter! And how much more displeasure *will it take* (‘must take’), the will of a sinner, in not loving God, than in breathing the stench of hell!]

- (22) Mas saber Deus que es en si metex, null home no o pot saber, cor null home no pot saber sa anima metexa que és, doncs, con *sabrá* Déus que es? (Llull, *Gentil*, c. 1274/1276, 52)

[But God knowing what he is in himself, no man can ever know it, because no man can ever know what is his own soul, therefore, how *will he know* (‘can he know’) what God is?]

We have already observed that the F/FP could carry a variably marked modal and evidential charge that could prevail over the orientation towards a posterior time. These cases are interesting precisely because the orientations towards a later time has been weakened (*bleaching process*). Here, we have made explicit the inferential scheme within which the conclusion (necessarily posterior to the evaluation of this SoA), charged with an epistemic value, can be formulated in

16. With «*deure* ‘must’ + INF»: «Si luxúria mou lo cors a peccar, quant més membraença de la passió de Crist e de la noblea de Nostra Dona *deu moure* la volentat a pietat, a perdonar!» (Llull, *Blaquerna*, II, 1276-1283: 68) [If lust moves the body to sin, the more I remember of the Passion of Christ and the nobleness of Our Lady, it *must move* the will to mercy, to forgive!].

F (or with the epistemic periphrasis «*deure* ‘must’ + INFINITIVE» (see previous note). Thus, as has been shown so far, these appear to be instances of the basic inference (see *supra* inference 3)) acting to link the notion of [POSTERIORITY] to [CONSEQUENCE]: the event formulated in F/C is perceived as a necessary possibility, derived from the given, assessed SoA.¹⁷

From the end of the thirteenth century onwards, the F and the C become more frequent in two contexts which are marked by subjectification. Rather than situating an event at a later time, the F and C (FP) forms serve to express the SP/W’s attitude regarding the speech act: the SP/W either deems it possible or does not question the viability of a SoA. The link to ulteriority has not been completely broken inasmuch as there seems to be a displacement towards a moment posterior to the verification of a possible SoA (Saussure & Morency 2012: 209; Morency 2010, Saussure 2013); we will return to these cases below to examine them in interactional contexts.

In a passage of the *Chronic* of king James I, an appropriate and elevated position was sought to build a tower during the siege of a city; in his investigation, the king had found several alternatives and, in the end, he had chosen a hill. The following day, he explained:

- (23) quan haguem menjat, enviam per Don Rodrigo Liçana e dixem-li: «Don Rodrigo, hojam missa maytí, que nós havem aestmat i pug que creem que *serà* bo a bastida» (Jaume I, *Fets*, 13th C.b, 132r)
[after we had eaten, we sent for *Don R. L.* and said to him: «*Don R.*, let us hear an early mass, because we have studied a hill we think *will be* (‘must be’) good for a siege tower»]

The hill had already been assessed (*havem aestmat*) and deemed adequate by the SP/W (the king) himself. The F, reinforced by the evidential *creem*, serves to express the supposition (‘the hill *is probably* appropriate’); and refers to a future verification of said assessment: when the siege tower is built, the choice will be confirmed.

We find an extensive series of similar examples in narrative contexts, with indirect interrogatives (introduced by *si*, *qui*, *qual*, *què*) that depend on verbs of knowledge or perception, on evidential verbs (*encercar* ‘seek, discover, find out’, *guardar* ‘look, verify, know’, *oir* ‘hear’, *saber* ‘know’, *veure* o *veer* ‘see’...), and verbs with an Ep value; in all of those, the verification of the conjecture is deferred. For instance, in (24) the confirmation of the news’ veracity will be carried out after these are heard and evaluated:

- (24) E! Hoïts? Les noves d’En Guillem d’Aguiló si *seran* veritat? (Jaume I, *Fets*, 13th C.b, 110v)
[Eh! Do you hear? The news of G., *will they* (‘can they’) be true?]

17. In C, see (28).

In past contexts, Cs are relatively frequent, and the most frequent in narrative texts; let us consider some. Saint Nicholas used to break nights into a neighbor's home and leave some gold to help him out; in the end, one night, this neighbor decided to stay awake to discover who this helper *had to be*:

- (25) *él pensà a vetlar, per so que sabés qui seria aquel qui a la sua freytura avia acorregut (Vides, 13th C.b, II, p. 41)*
 [he [the neighbor] thought to keep vigil in order to discover who *it would be* ('had to be') who had helped him in his hour of need]

Similarly, on this passage from the same source, the character opened her eyes to discover who *it had to be* that she had heard screaming (a demon!):

- (26) *E co Senta Juliana ubris un poc los uls, per so que veés qui siria aquel qui disia aytals paraules, [per què] lo demoni fugí, cridan (Vides, 13th C., II, p. 274)*
 [And when Saint Juliana opened her eyes slightly, to see who *it would be* ('had to be') who spoke those words, the demon took off, screaming]

Cases of a composite C are not infrequent.¹⁸ Also of interest (27), a case more closely related to the ones we will examine below in interactional contexts: a conjecture is stated in C with the purpose of eliciting a response in the listener. A woman, an elderly prostitute, had spent a long time in arduous penance: locked up, taking only bread and water and praying on her knees for three years. After assessing the hardship of her penance and divine mercy, she believes God may have forgiven her. She decides to ask the abbot who gave her this penance whether her sins *could already have been* pardoned: she utters a conjecture for her interlocutor to respond to:

- (27) *E quant ela ac estat III ayns enclausa, l'abat En Pannúcio ac compassió d'ela, per què se n'anà a l'abat qui avia nom Antoni, per so que li demanés si auria Déus perdonats los peccats en aquella dona (Vides, 13th C.b, III, p. 344)*
 [And when she had spent 3 years locked up, Abbot Pannúcio had mercy on her, so he went to Abbot Antoni to ask whether God *would have* ['had to have'] *forgiven* that woman's sins]

It would be remiss if we didn't consider the following example (from Martines 2015), as it reproduces the entire inference process (see (21), in F). It is a declaration in a process. The person speaking has suffered a burglary at home: one night while he slept with his wife, he heard some men walking on the roof, and heard a falling roof tile; because of this, he inferred that the burglars would have jumped and fallen, and therefore had to be hurt. He decided to verify this:

18. Two interesting examples of this case, from Llull (*Blaquerna*, II, c. 1276-1283, 92 and 164), have been discussed in Martines (2015).

- (28) si per ventura aquel qui anava sobre la teulada si *s'auria trencada* la cama al saltar que fêu e si *seria* assèn entorn. E posà-y la escala e pugà en lo terrat per guardar si *n seria* entorn (*Cort de Cocentaina*, 1277, 137)
[if by any chance the one who walked on the roof *would have* broken ['could have/should have broken'] his leg in the leap, and if he *would be* ['could/had to be'] still around. And he took a ladder and climbed up on the rooftop to see if he *would be* ['could/had to be'] around]¹⁹

We end this section with (29), in the middle of the road between magnitude estimations²⁰ and the interactional contexts we will discuss in § 3. In a dialogue on the possibility of organizing a fleet to recover the Holy Land, the pope asked how many boats he *could get* from the sultan at that time; after an advisor's response, the pope makes an approximate calculation of what crusaders *would need*:

- (29) E sobre açò demanà l'apostoli quin navili *poria haver* lo soudà. E dix el maestre: «Sire, sí m'ajut Déus, je vi que ell mes sa punya en armar e volia assetiar Acre, e anc no poc armar mas xvii entre galees e altres llenys». Pus dix l'apostoli: «Nós *n'haurièm mester* atres tantes o xx. E nós dixem-li: «Pare sant, no us cal» (*Jaume I, Fets*, 13th C.b, 193r)
[And on this the pope asked what army the sultan *could* ['had to be able to'] have. And the master said, «My Lord, may God help me, I saw he made a great effort to raise an army and he wanted to lay siege to Acre, and could never make more than 17 galleys and ships altogether». The pope said: «We *could need* about as much as that, or even 20». And we said: «Holy Father, you do not need them»]

3. Intersubjectification of the future and the future-of-the-past: the path to REC

As we have discussed above, and as it happens in processes of semantic change, including grammaticalization, subjectification must have occurred as the Ep value of F and FP emerged. This process did not halt at this point: especially in dialogical or reported-speech context, starting in the latter part of the thirteenth century one can observe types of usage of F and C that approached *intersubjectification*. These uses prefigure values which, decades or centuries later, will be found semanticized in texts. Each of the aforementioned values would require a specialized analysis, and this would demand we go beyond the scope of this paper. We shall therefore limit ourselves to a presentation and highlighting of the common and anticipating traits of the REC. Namely, the concessive C, mirative C, conjectural C for response elicitation, and, lastly, the reported-context conjectural C.

19. In the wife's declaration, parallel to the one above, we do not find the EpC: «Dix que veuria si *s'avia trencada* la cama o si jahia aly entorn» ['He said he would see if he *had broken* his leg or if he still lay around'].

20. On these uses, see Martínez (2015).

Like Traugott (2003: 124),²¹ we conceive of *intersubjectification* as a dynamic process of semantic change that leads to the development of markers to express the SP/W's attention «to the cognitive stances and social identities of the Addressee». This process of change may follow a scheme such as the following: «non-/less subjective > subjective > intersubjective» (Traugott 2010: 35). Already years before that notion was articulated, Traugott & Dasher's (2002) seminal work had extensively covered intersubjectification in an analysis of the development of adverbials with discourse marker function and the development of social deictics; likewise, it covered the field of modality, which is also related to the topic at hand. It should suffice to recall one study on the expression of the intersubjective value of *ought to* and, conversely, the rather subjective value of *should* from the twentieth century onwards in dialogical contexts: the SP/W utilizes *ought to* while aware and accepting of whatever it is the AD/R actually thinks, and saves *should* for the expression of a personal opinion. Similarly, the intersubjective use of *may* in contexts such as «She *may* jog, but she sure looks unhealthy to me» is addressed:

Here the first clause is concessive and presupposes that the interlocutor or someone has said that she runs («although she may jog, as you say...»). The speaker grudgingly accepts this, and then goes on to draw some conclusion that does not directly follow from modalized proposition. (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 115)

Among the functions of language most apparent in the SP/W's attention to the intersubjective «face» of the AD/R, Traugott (2014: 10) cites a minimum of two: the first related to the expression of politeness, that is, the way in which SP/W acknowledges the social status of the AD/R;²² and a second one related to meta-discursive functions, such as turn-giving or elicitation of response.

More recently, Narrog (2014) has dug further into this notion of intersubjectification. He proposes a distinction among three main types of semantic change: speaker-orientation (subjectification), hearer-orientation (or intersubjectification) and textual/discourse-orientation. He revisits the English usage of the modal verb *may*, markedly subjective, and the fact that it has developed a concessive value. Aside from intersubjectification, Narrog explains this phenomenon by identifying a textual, or «discourse-oriented» role, such as in: «We *may* have our differences from time to time, but basically we trust another's judgement». Here, we can see a proposition which has been introduced by *may*, and in which SP/W admits the possibility ('the existence of differences') held (presumably) by the AD/R, and a second proposition which contradicts the first. The concessive construction reflects the negotiation between the SP/W and AD/R: the protases of the concessive incorporate a proposition and a point of view (that of the AD/R), which stands in opposition to the assertions of the SP/W herself, which is included in the main clause; the point of view expressed in the protases may originate directly in the AD/R, or

21. An exposition of different conceptions of intersubjectification can be found in Nuyts (2014).

22. Despite its interest and its connection to the topics occupying us here, the analysis of the C of politeness or mitigation would go beyond the scope of this paper.

it may have been inferred by the SP/W. The resulting concessive construction is «primarily textual in the sense of connecting propositions». No less interesting is the fact that Narrog (2014: 46-48) sees in the concessive *may*, among others,²³ a case of «grammaticalized polyphonic (diachronic) structures, rendering voices of two or more discourse participants» (p. 47-48).

Squartini (2012), as a prolific scholar of evidentiality, has also recently addressed the conjectural F, the concessive F and the exclamative F in Italian. More than an epistemic modality, Squartini sees evidentiality – understood as an expression of the source (whether inferential, direct perceptions or reports) – as a basic trait to understand these uses of F. In a way similar to ours, he stresses the interactional and concessive character of F and, also related, of the exclamative F. He explains these as manifestations of intersubjectivity. He works with a concept of intersubjectivity that combines Nuyts' (2001a, 2001b) approach with Traugott & Dasher's (2002):²⁴

Intersubjectivity can be conceived as an evidential relationship between the speaker's subjective SELF and external inputs, whereby the speaker acknowledges what external inputs provide. Due to this interactional interplay, concessivity represents a very complex cognitive procedure in which SELF and OTHER, the two basic dimensions of evidentiality (Frawley 1992), are concomitantly at work: a subjective SELF acknowledges what comes from external sources that are intersubjectively shared by other participants. [...] This interactional interplay can be considered intersubjective in Traugott and Dasher's (2002) perspective, for it involves a dynamic extension from the speaker's subjectivity to the addressee's sphere, but in also intersubjective in Nuyts' (2001a: 34-35, 2001b) sense for it is based on the interlocutor's shared and possibly also objectively perceived knowledge. (Squartini 2012: 2124)

After a review of some Catalan attestations of EpF and EpC of the thirteenth century from an interactional viewpoint, we can observe that the expression of intersubjectivity must have played a role of note. They are, as has already been alluded to above (and as we shall see again in a moment), the kind of uses that herald values which are only later fixed. The interplay of modal (epistemic) and evidential components, as well as the *bleaching* of the temporary component in the process of communicative interaction, seems essential to understand these initial instances of intersubjectification of F/FPC towards the REC. Indeed, Martines (2015) presents a variety of cases that show *a)* the *bleaching* of the temporal component: the F/FPC does not refer to an ulterior moment. It merely maintains a kind of temporal link to ulteriority inasmuch as it «represents a future verification of a possible state of affairs in the present», in Saussure & Morency's (2012: 209-210) terms, formulated with regard to the well-worn example: «[*The doorbell rings*] That

23. Using similar parameters, Narrog (2012) presents an analysis of cases of imperatives forming conditionals in English (p. 41-43) and imperatives forming concessive conditionals in Japanese and other languages (p. 43-45).

24. According to Nuyts (2005: 14): «An evaluation is subjective if the issuer presents it as being strictly his/her own responsibility; it is intersubjective if (s)he indicates that (s)he shares it with a wider group of people, possibly including the hearer».

will be the postman».²⁵ And *b*), as already alluded, the *strengthening* (Traugott 1988) of the modal component (the SP/W accepts (or doesn't accept) the possibility of a specific SoA) and the evidential component (the inference which is constructed on an evaluation of the SoA, of the information acquired through direct sources, or of the attitude which is assumed of the AD/R).

In (30), a passage of the *Crònica* by Desclot (13th C.b), the king must urgently abandon the Castle of Perpignan because his life is at risk. A master builder knows of a secret, but undignified, escape (the sewer), and does not dare tell the king directly about this. So he does so indirectly, and the king misconstrues the message as a questioning of his courage and bravery. This passage is rich in discursive elements:

(30) *Mestre picapedres (Mp)*: Sènyer, [...] però tot altra hom, eceptat vós, hic asageria de axir per i loch que jo sé.

[Master builder (Mb): Your Majesty, [...] but any other man, except yourself, would try to escape through an exit I know]

Rei (R): Com! [...], e no só yo tanbé hom de aventurar tota res com null altre?

[*King (K)*: What! [...], and am I not a man of danger, like any other]

Mp: Ver és [...], mas vergonya és de dir a tan nobla e a tan honrrat senyor com vós sòts, que isqua per aytal loch com aquell és, majorment vós qui sòts stat malalt lonch temps e encare no sòts millorat.

[*Mb*: This is true [...], but it is embarrassing to speak of this to such a noble and honorable Sir such as you, that you should leave through such a place, especially since you have been recently ill and not yet quite well]

R: Quin loch és ayçò? [...]. Que fort *serà* perillós que no·u asaja d'axir, si null hom del món ho pot asajar; e axí dehits-me quin loch és.

[*K*: What place is that? [...]. How dangerous *may it be* that I might not cross it, if any other man in the world could do it]

Mp: Sènyer [...], quant obram lo castell, fêm una aygüera que ve de la casa hon hom cuyna [...]

[*Mb*: Sir, [...], when we built the Castle, we made a sewer that comes from the cooking room [...]]

R: ¡Bé·m tenits per frèvol e per despoderat, que yo no pusca asajar ço que altre hom asage!

[*K*: ¡I see you take me for a helpless weakling, that I could not attempt what any other man would do!] (Desclot, *Crònica*, 13th C.b, iv, 87)

25. Saussure & Morencey (2012: 209-210): «the speaker uses a future tense to refer a probable eventuality in the present (it is the postman who just rang de bell), thereby displacing the focus of a future event into the present (or conversely, projecting him/herself from the present into the future). The observable effect here is that the hearer understands the speaker's utterance as a probably calculation, thus resolving the inconsistency of the speaker manifesting an assumption about when it's obviously about the present». They regard the representation of a future verification as «an *allocentric* representation», that is, as one attributed to someone other than the SP/W at the moment of utterance (Saussure & Morencey 2012: 209; Morency 2010, Saussure 2013).

The SoA conveyed by the fearful words of the master builder leads the king, presumably a seasoned war veteran, to infer that the secret exit *has to be* dangerous for sure. Faced with these words, the king concedes that there may well exist such a difficult exit. However, he does not concede that this exit might be too difficult for him. In essence, the king is refusing the «frèvol e [...] despoderat» ('weak and powerless') image, that is, the suspicion of cowardice he has intuited in the builder's words. In this case, there is certainly, on the one hand, a displacement of SoA verification towards F: this is why the king demands to be shown this exit, and it will be decided later whether it is as difficult as assumed. On the other hand, it is an early example of the intersubjective and concessive character, oriented towards the AD/R and towards the text itself, according to Narrog (2012).

We find ourselves faced with an EpF; having said that, we still intuit a link to ulteriority: the situation depicted above would lead to a verification of the F, either through careful observation of the exit, or through additional information provided by the source (as is the case here).

Another royal chronicle that renders similar contexts with a comparable diversity of communicative situations was written near the end of the thirteenth century. In (31), during a battle, the king has had to depart from his closest aides and does not know how the fighting has progressed; when he sees them, he fears the worst:

- (31) quan nós entram per la ost [...], En Guillem de Muntcada e·N Ramon de Muntcada [...] exiren-nos a recollir. E nós descavalcam e anam envés éls a peu; En Guillem de Muntcada somris-se, e nós fom alegres, que haviem paor que no·ns dixés mal; e pensam-nos que no *seria* tan mal con nós cuydàvem. (Jaume I, *Fets*, 13th C.b, 36v)

[when we joined the host [...] G. M. and R. M. [...] came out to greet us. We unmounted and them; G. M. smiled at us, and we were merry, because we were afraid he would give us bad news; and we thought to ourselves it *would not be* ['mustn't be'] as bad as we were thinking]

Due to the bitterness of the war, and the distance to his knights, the king feared that the fighting had been unsuccessful. The fact that Guillem de Muntcada smiled at him made him assume that things did not go as badly as he had feared. The C in place of F is required by reported speech within a narration in the past-tense. The king's assumption, we should note, is verified next: when he receives Guillem de Muntcada's smile and the other chiefs' report. We should also note that, in this case, the opposition is not between the positions of an AD/R and a SP/W, but between the SoA initially imagined by the SP/W based upon his own assessment of the situation, and what Guillem de Muntcada's causes him to assume. The evidential source that has been accepted as possible (and later doubted) is not a report (that is inferred to be positive), but the SP/W's direct perception, as well as the assumptions that he makes based upon it. The concessive sense of the text can be expressed in the following paraphrase: «Given the battle's hardships, the SP/W had imagined the fighting had not been successful. Guillem de Muntcada's smile makes

him suppose the fighting *had to have been unsuccessful*, but not as unsuccessful as the first evaluation of the SoA led him to believe».

Squartini (2012: 268) has found a link between the concessive F and the exclamative F in Italian (as well as in Spanish).²⁶ It had not been observed that C could be used with a mirative value. We suggest it is a use directly linked with the conjectural C we described in § 2 as well as with the intersubjective dimension of its concessive value and reportative character: the SP/W displays his surprise and rejection of the state of things reported to him by AD/R (or assumed of him).

A mirative nuance of the use of F has also been suggested (Martines 2015) for two intriguing passages. In the first passage, the evidential source is the observation made of AD/W's behavior, and the inference it triggers in the SP/W: St. Dominic is about to be tormented, but he shows no fear: he sings merrily; the torturers, who would expect a different reaction, are amazed:

- (32) quant passava per lo loc on lo cuydaren aucir, él passà aquèn ses temor, cantan alegrement. Per què éls, maravelats, dixeren: «Digues tu, no *auràs paor* de mort?» (*Vides*, 13th C., III, 153)
[as he went by the place in which he was to be killed, he went without fear, singing merrily. On the face of which they said, in amazement: «Tell us, *will you have* ['have you'] no fear of dying?»]

In the second passage, a Christian is accused of robbery; the pagan authority in Ephesus demands he offers proof that the money is his, or inherited. They reject his arguments:

- (33) éls li dixeren que no disia ver, mes que volia escapar: «¿En qual manera *creyrem* en tu que aquests dines sien haüts de tos parens, con la scriptura d'él mostre que són feyts CCCLXXVII anys ha [...] Tu, sembla que vules decebre los savis de Efesi» (*Vides*, 13th C., III, 115)
[they told him he did not speak the truth, but wanted to escape: «How *will we believe* you ('may we believe you'), that you got this money from your parents, when the documents you provided show this happened 377 years ago [...] It looks like you want to deceive the wise men of Ephesus»]

The three texts that follow, all of them in C, are no less interesting. First there is a passage of St. Adrian's life. The emperor has ordered the saint's incarceration for refusing to worship the pagan idols. The saint's wife, also a fervent Christian, had visited him in prison and witnessed how he lived in chains, among fiery beasts. She had taken for granted that he was being tortured, and felt happy that he would this way achieve divine grace; in fact, she had encouraged him to remain strong and true to his faith. He had announced to her that, in spite of prison and of his chains, he would visit her to let her know when he would be killed: this

26. On the mirative F in Spanish and an analysis of Squartini (2012), among other proposals, see Rodríguez (in press).

way, she could be present during the ordeal. The wife then returned home. The following ensued:

- (34) Enaprès quant Sent Adrià ausí dir lo dia de la sua passió, él anà a la sua casa per fer saber la sua passió a la sua muler. On, con ela fos fora la casa, una femna li o anà dir, dién que son marit era solt e vengut de la presó. E quant la sua muler o ausí dir, no o crehec, dién: «E qui *l'auria pogut absoldre* dels liguamens? Ja Déus no o vula que él ne sia absolt, ni que's sia partit dels sans!». E mentre aysò disia, un enfant seu li venc dién: «Moséyer és vengut, dona mia». On, con ela's pensés que fos fuyt al martiri, ela's plorà mot fort e quant vehé él, ela li tancà la porta [...] (*Vides*, 13th C.b, III, 268)
 [Afterwards when Saint Adrian heard when his suffering and death would take place, he went home to let his wife know this. Because she was not in the house, a woman went to seek and tell her, saying her husband was free, come from prison. And when the wife heard her words, she did not believe it, and she said: «Who *would have freed* him ('could have freed him') of his chains? God forbid he were freed, or that he would have abandoned the saints!». And while she said this, a boy of hers came to tell her: «My lord is come, my lady.» Because she thought he had escaped, she cried copiously and when she saw him, she closed the door on him]

Clearly, the wife is surprised and rejects the possibility of her husband being free: she has left him in prison, tied down and expecting the day of his death. What is more: she wishes for her husband's martyrdom, because this will make him holy. She cannot conceive that anyone could have unchained him and let him go.

Also dated near the end of the thirteenth century, we find king James I's *Chronic*. This text abounds in dialogues with great discursive value. The king has ordered an investigation to discover who was minting new coins without his consent, and where. Within three days of investigation, *micer* Umbert, the judge, informs him he has discovered nothing; the king is disconcerted. The judge's information surprises the king, and he cannot believe there is nothing to find out about something as public as this matter:

- (35) e [*micer* Umbert] dix-nos: «Seyor, què volets que façam? Que nuyla re no podem trobar, de veritat, de la moneda, qui la fa, ni on se fa». E nós dixem: «Açò com *poria ésser*, que tan gran fama sia de fer moneda, e que no trobem neguna veritat? Gran maraveyla és. Que les mates, si sabien parlar, ho porien dir; car entre les mates e ls torrens la fan, can no troben casa on la puxen fer» (Jaume I, *Fets*, 13th C.b, 174v)
 [and [*micer* Umbert] told us: «Your Majesty, what do you want us to do? We have been able to discover nothing true about the coin: who makes it and where it is made». And we said to him: «How *could* this *be*, that this is so well known, and that we cannot discover anything true? It is a wonder. If shrubberies could speak, they would tell us, because they do the minting among shrubberies and ravines, whenever they can't find a house in which to do it]

We find again, in (34) and (35) in contexts in which the evidential source (the report presented by the child or the judge) stands in contrast to the assessment of the SoA the SP/W had made. The use of C, instead of F (also viable in this context), in combination with the modal *poder* ('can'), serves to highlight the uncertainty; it stresses an essential feature and, as we may see, one shared by these uses of F and C marked by intersubjectivity: the non-assumption (*non-prise en charge*, Abouda 2001, Dendale 2014), and the distancing from the evidential source.

There might be a more direct connection between the mirative C and the clearly intersubjective conjectural C. Again, this value of C had not been described in Catalan until now, and it seems to coincide with the *conditionnel de conjecture* in French, as described in Bouvora & Dendale (2013: 184-186) (36a and b), or the conditional *dubitative mood*, according to Squartini (2010: 112) (36c).

(36) a) *Seriat-ce* nostre professeur?

b) Il n'est toujours pas là. *Auriat-il* oublié le rendez-vous

c) Max *seriat-il* là? Je vois sa voiture

Jensen (1986: 275) had observed similar cases in Old Occitan, in which, according to this, the conditional «may serve to render notions of uncertainty or possibility [...]»: *Auriam los enaissi perduz?* (Appel, 9, 100) 'could we have lost them thus?'. More concretely, Jensen (1990: 353) specifies that in Medieval French and Occitan, «when appearing in an interrogative clause, the conditional may serve to render a notion of uncertainty or deliberation»; Jensen returns to the cited example in Occitan and compares it to the French: «*E ion e dolreie de tanta milia hominum?* (Jonas) 'should I not feel grief for so many thousands of men'».

In these cases, the C, *a*) is only found in interrogative sentences (or indirect interrogatives), in interactional contexts, in which the SP/W presents a conjecture (or rather, a doubt, according to Squartini 2010) to a (real or fictitious)²⁷ AD/W, «à partir d'indices et devant expliquer un événement ou un état de choses au moyen d'une inférence (par abduction ou déduction)», *b*) the SP/W presents «le contenu de l'énoncé de façon prudente voire hésitante», with a weaker certainty or level of security than if it appeared in F, *c*) the interrogation seeks to provoke a reaction in the AD/W: it aims to elicit his opinion, his own position on the matter (Bouvora & Dendale 2013: 184-186) or to get him to confirm or deny the information (formulated as a conjecture) that is included in the SP/W's question; hence, they are within the domain of elicitation of response referred to by Traugott (2012: 10), within the sphere of intersubjectification.

Let us consider the following three early examples. In (37), a man doubts the authenticity of the stigmata found on St. Francis of Assisi's feet and hands. The man approaches the saint (represented on an image) and confronts him with three questions that reflect he doubts the stigmata are indeed authentic; these questions

27. Even the interrogative can be directed towards the SP/W himself, as an internal deliberation.

include explanations he has thought of himself ('they are a miracle', 'they are pious imitation', or 'they are an astute antic of the friars') and compel the saint to provide an answer. This is the answer (!) obtained:

- (37) En Pola [Apúlia] fo un baró qui avia nom Roger, e pausà-sse denant la ymaga de Sent Francès e, enayxí con él estava, él se pensà dién: «¿*Seria* ya ver que Sent Francès resplendís per aytal miracle, o *seria* pietós escarniment, o *seria* maestria que aguessen trobada los frares?». E ayxi con él se pensava assò, sobtadament ausí un so enquaix que si una balesta trasqués un cayrel e sentísse nafrat en la mà sinistra. Mes con él no vesés forat en lo guant que portava en la mà, él se trasc lo guant de la mà e vesec en la palma gran nafra de què li ixia gran ardor, e dolor tant gran que a poc no moria (*Vides*, 13th C., III, 334) [In Puglia there was a man named Roger, and he placed himself before an image of Saint Francis and, as he stood there, he thought to himself: «*Would it be* true that Saint Francis would shine due to that miracle, or *would it be* a pious imitation, or *would it be* an artifice found by the friars?» And as he thought this, he heard a sudden noise like a crossbow shooting, and felt a wound on his left hand. But as he could not find a breach in his glove, he removed it and saw on the palm of his hand a large wound that stung and hurt so greatly, he could have died]

In (38), a prince has nearly flogged a canon (a priest), who had accused him of injustices towards the Church. As the punishment was about to be executed, however, the prince hears the pious and wise words of the clergyman, and wonders if maybe a new age has come. In this case, we have an internal deliberation although, to be sure, it has the effect of showing the canon what change of attitude his words have effected in the prince.

- (38) Molt fo meravellat lo princep de les paraules que·l canonge dehia e per açó maná que hom no·l açotás ni li feés mal, e dix aquestes paraules: «Tems ha estat que clergues sulien esser ergulloses e de vilanes paraules! On es açó vengut que tu has tan humils e tant devotes paraules? *Seria* tems vengut que humilitat e devoció se concordassen en vosaltres clergues e que nosaltres lechs ne prenguesem exempli de vosaltres? (Llull, *Blaquerna*, III, 1276-1283: 315) [The prince marveled immensely at the words the canon spoke, and thus commanded he should not be flogged or hurt in any way, and then he said these words: «There was a time clergymen were vain and vile in their speech! Whence come these words of yours, so humble and devoted? *Would have* the time *come* when humility and devotion return to clergymen, and we laymen should follow your example?»]

The third example (39) reproduces a conjecture made by a group of people among themselves. They pose a possibility they immediately attempt to confirm or discard. It refers to some knights who are under the emperor's orders to search for Saint Eustace. By chance, they take shelter at somebody's home who, after

observing him, they suspect might be him. They know they can identify him by a scar on his head, and decide to test that possibility:

- (39) E·ls cavallers, qui·l guardaven, disien entre si: «Bem fort sembla aquest home N'Eustaxi. Guardem si *auria* una nafra en lo cap que pres en la batala e, si la y à, él és». Per què lo guarderen e veseren que él era (*Vides*, 13th C., III, 229)
[And the knights that looked at him said to each other: «This man resembles Eustace a great deal. Let us see if *there would be* a battle wound on his head and, if he does, it is he». So they looked and saw that it was he]

There is still another value of C connected to the cluster of intersubjective uses we have presented thus far. This value occurs in contexts placed somewhere between reported speech ('représentation du discours autre', Kronning 2005) and the REC.

- (40) Sent Augustí comfonia mot los iretges per so car éls preïcaven entre si que no *seria* pecar qui aucisia Sent Augustí, lo qual disien que era aucidor con a lop (*Vides*, 13th C., III, 229)
[Saint Augustin confounded heretics enormously, as they preached among themselves that he who killed him *would commit* no sin, and the saint was regarded as a murderous wolf]

As we can see, a third person's words are reported in indirect speech, and these words are presented as a conjecture, an opinion expressed in C; otherwise, it would have been expressed in the present (*és* 'is') (direct discourse), or imperfect tense (*era* 'be-IMPERFECT') (in reported speech). This use of C certainly seems to mark the speculative character of the reported information, rather than the fact that it has been obtained second-hand, as the prototypical REC will later indicate.

This typology seems to also apply to the following text. It is a fragment of complaints and refutations exposed by Friar Bernat to Judge Jacme Sarroca due to abuses against his livestock. The text renders the entire series of refutations exposed by the complainant as reported speech, headed by *E dix...* 'And [he] said...'. Here too, if it weren't for Friar Bernat's epistemic use, the indicative past tense would have sufficed (v.g. *fonch feyt* 'was done'):

- (41) E [dix lo dit frare Bernat que] si les dites bèsties hó cabana de la senyora reyna [...] près alcun dampnatge [...] no *seria feyt* en colpa d'ell ne dels frares del Temple (*Pergamins e processos*, 1298, 231)
[And [the aforementioned Friar Bernat said that] if the aforementioned beasts or livestock belonging to Her Majesty the Queen [...] suffered any harm [...] it *would not have been done* through himself or the friars of the Temple]

Uses such as these could function as *bridging contexts* (Evans & Wilkins 2000: 550, Traugott 2012, Martines & Montserrat 2014), inasmuch as they could favor *invited inferences* that would open a path towards REC. Let us consider this briefly.

For a start, it helps to stress the polyphonic character of situations of intersubjectification considered thus far, particularly the one at hand (conjectural C in reported contexts). In both cases, we have:

- a) The SP/W_L or *locuteur-enonciateur* (Ducrot 1984, Kronning 2005, Bres 2014) who is responsible for E. Concretely, the author of St. Augustin's biography, in the first case; and the court scrivener who takes note of the declarations, in the second case.
- b) The AD/R: the readers of the texts, in one case, who are interested in St. Augustin's life; the judge and the litigating parties, in the other.
- c) The SP/W_S or *locuteur source*: the heretics, in the first; Friar Bernat, in the second.
- d) The words of SP/W_S reported by the SP/W_L, that is, the previous utterance *e*. It is a previous utterance 1) that the SP/W_L of (40) could have heard the heretics or that, most likely, they reached him through another reported source (written or oral); and 2) that the SP/W_L of (41) has heard directly and written during Friar Bernat's declaration. This previous utterance *e* is reported indirectly and introduced with a typical syntactic structure: speaking verb (*preïcaven* 'they preached'/*dix* 'he said') + completive subordinate (*que* 'that').

In both cases the content of *e* is presented as an opinion, as an epistemic formulation, as a possibility that has been borrowed from the SP/W_S: in (40) the heretics believed that *it could be it was not a sin* to kill St. Augustin because, as they said, he was a murderer himself; in (41) Friar Bernat explains that the damage suffered by the queen's cattle (if indeed they had been suffered), *had to be* someone else's responsibility, and not his. This explains the use of C. However, in both cases, the SP/W_L does not admit the reported conjectural interpretations as his own.

In both texts we find that 1), as we have said, there is information that the SP/W_L has borrowed from a SP/W_S; 2) there is propositional context not endorsed by the SP/W_L; and 3) there is propositional content whose veracity still needs to be confirmed. As stated at the beginning, these are central characteristics of the REC (Dendale 2014). Now, let us observe that they are still within the syntactic patterns of reported speech, and that it is probably the communicative context what triggers in the AD/R the inference that SP/W_L does not endorse the context of *e*: one cannot expect the author of St. Augustin's biography to endorse the views of persons he himself calls heretics (!); likewise, a text that collects declarations in a court of justice cannot take these declarations for good or true until the end of the process: he must be able to distinguish between fact and opinion. Furthermore, if it is an opinion, it is not certain: it is something that must be confirmed. Recall the inferences in 1), 2) (§ 2).

4. Conclusions

- a) Conceiving the F and the C as prospective tenses, in which the temporal, modal and evidential components are conjugated, brings some significant advantages

in explaining the diachronic process of semantic change and grammaticalization both have experienced in Catalan and in other Romance languages.

- b) The origin of the Ep value of F and of C has been conditioned by a tendency towards subjectification and intersubjectification. We assume it was in the late thirteenth century, at the very earliest, when the first clear cases of EpF and EpC crystallized, cases in which the temporary component (the location of an event at a posterior time) ceases to prevail over the modal and evidential aspects: the expression of the SP/W's attitude is focalized. This attitude derives from an assessment of the SoA, from the interpretation construed based upon direct observation, reported information or inferences. Perhaps in an immediate period of time, we started noticing some uses that can be explained in the light of intersubjectification; here, we have briefly discussed the concessive C, the mirative C, the conjectural C for response elicitation, and, finally, the conjectural C in reported contexts. All of these seem to play a part in the dialogical or polyphonic game, the reported character of information and the *non-prise en charge* of the SP/W, such that they (especially the last type) anticipate the REC proper. In general, these are uses which are still linked to ambiguous communicative contexts, or *bridging contexts*, and to the implicatures this context triggers in the AD/R.
- c) The later development of the REC, the EpF and the CpF in Catalan still poses many unanswered questions, especially in the light of historical data. It seems that the first evidences of REC in French and Catalan were coincidental. Why is REC not current in present Catalan, beyond academic and journalistic discourse? Why do there seem to be varieties of contemporary Catalan that do not use, or even reject as affected, the EpF and EpC? To what extent has this development remained free from Castilian interference, or from the standard contemporary Catalan construction process? Research on old and contemporary Catalan must continue, and it must be based on corpora.

References

Secondary literature

- Aaron, Jessi Elana (2007). «El futuro epistémico y la variación: gramaticalización y expresión de la futuridad desde 1600». *Moenia* 13: 253-274.
- Abouda, Lotfi (2001). «Les emplois journalistique, polémiques et atténuatif du conditionnel. Un traitement unitaire». In: Dendale, P. & Tasmowski, L. (éds.). *Le conditionnel en français*. Metz, Université de Metz, pp. 277-294.
- Aijmer, Karin (1985). «The semantic development of *will*». In: Fisiak, Jacek (ed.). *Historical Semantics*. Berlin: Mouton, pp. 11-21.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra (2003). «Evidentiality in typological perspective». In: Aikhenvald, Alexandra & Dixon, R. (ed.). *Studies in Evidentiality*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 1-31.
- Bourciez, Édouard (1910). *Éléments de linguistique romane*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Bouvora, Viara; Dendale, Patrick (2013). «*Serait-ce un conditionnel de conjecture? Datation, évolution et mise en relation des deux conditionnels à valeur évidentielle*». *Cahiers Chronos* 26: 183: 200.

- Brambilla Ageno, Franca (1965). «Sui valori modali del futuro nell'italiano antico». *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* VII, 1, 3: 118-119.
- Bres, Jacques (2014). «Le jeu dialogiques du futur et du conditionnel français». In: Anscombre, Jean-Claude *et al.* (eds.). *Médiativité, polyphonie et modalité en français*. Paris: Sorbonne nouvelle, pp. 19-34.
- Bres, Jacques; Azzopardi, Sophie; Sarrazin, Sophie (2010). «Le conditionnel en français: énonciation, ultériorité dans le passé et valeurs modales». *Faits de langues* 40: 37-43.
- Brinton, Laurel; Traugott, Elizabeth (2005). *Lexicalization and language change*. Cambridge: University Press Cambridge.
- Bybee, Joan; Perkins, Revere; Pagliuca, William (1994). *The evolution of grammar: tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Company, Concepción (2006). «Tiempos de formación romance. II. Los futuros y condicionales», *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española*, I. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, pp. 347-418.
- Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cuenca, Maria Josep; Massip, M. Àngels (2005). «Connectors i processos de gramaticalització». *Caplletra* 38: 259-277.
- De Hann, Ferdinand (2010). «Building a Semantic Map: Top-Down versus Bottom-Up Approaches». *Linguistic Discovery* 8.1: 102-117.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.347>>
- Dendale, Patrick (2014). «Le conditionnel de reprise: apparition en français et traitement dans les grammaires du XVI^e au XX^e siècle». In: Anscombre, Jean-Claude *et al.* (eds.). *Médiativité, polyphonie et modalité en français*. Paris: Sorbonne nouvelle, pp. 243-264.
- Ducrot, Oswald (1984). *Le dire et le dit*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Evans, Nick; Wilkins, David (2000). «In the mind's ear: The semantic extensions of perception verbs in Australian languages». *Language* 76, p. 546-592.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/417135>>
- Fleishchman, Suzanne (1982). *The future in thought and language. Diachronic evidence from Romance*. Cambridge: University Press Cambridge.
- Frawley, William (1992). *Linguistics Semantics*. Erlbaum: Hillsdale, NJ.
- Heine, Bernd (1995). «On the German *werden* future». In: Abraham, W. *et al.* (eds.). *Discourse Grammar and Typology*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 119-138.
- Herman, József (1997). *El latín vulgar*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Hertzenberg, Mari Johanne (2008). *Habere + infinitiv i latin. En undersøkelse av bruken og utviklingen*. Masteroppgave i latin. Institutt for filosofi, idé- og kunsthistorie og klassiske språk. Universitetet i Oslo.
- Hertzenberg, Mari Johanne (2012). «The use and development of *habere* + infinitive in Latin: an LFG approach». In: Kemenade, A. van & Haas, N. de (ed.), *Historical linguistics 2009 : Selected papers from the 19th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 373-398.
- Hopper, Paul; Elizabeth Traugott (1993 [2003]). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Jensen, Frede (1986). *The Syntax of Medieval Occitan*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Jensen, Frede (1990). *Old French and Gallo-romance comparative Syntax*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Kornfeld, Laura (2014). «Lecturas alternativas del futuro usos y significados de la perífrasis *ir a* + INFINITIVO». *Traslaciones*, 1 (1): 8-29. <<http://revistas.uncu.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/traslaciones/article/view/185/74>>.
- Kronning Hans (2005). «Polyphonie, médiation et modalisation: le cas du conditionnel épistémique». In: Bres, Jacques *et al.* (eds.). *Dialogisme et polyphonie*, De Boeck Supérieur, pp. 297-312.
- Langacker, Ronald (2003). «Extreme subjectification: English tense and modals». In: Cuyckens, H. *et al.* (eds.). *Motivation in Language: Studies in Honor of Günter Radden*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 3-26.
- Langacker, Ronald (2009). *Investigations in cognitive grammar*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin; New York.
- Martines, Josep; Montserrat, Sandra (2014). «Subjectivació i inferència en l'evolució semàntica i en l'inici de la gramaticalització de *jaquir* (segles XI-XII)». *Caplletra* 56: 185-211.
- Martines, Josep (2013). «El verb *estimar* i l'amor hereós i Joan Roís de Corella. Un acostament segons la pragmàtica diacrònica». *Afers* 76: 717-739.
- Martines, Josep (2015). «L'émergence des futurs épistémiques romans. L'exemple du catalan médiéval du XIII^e siècle». In: Baranzini, Laura *et al.* (eds), *Le futur dans les langues romanes*. Berne: Peter Lang.
- Morency, Patrick (2010). «Enrichissement épistémique du futur». *Cahiers Chronos* 21: 197-214.
- Narrog, Heiko (2012). *Modality, subjectivity, and semantic change: a cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Narrog, Heiko (2014). «Beyond intersubjectification: textual uses of modality and mood in subordinate clauses as part of *speech-act orientation*». In: Brems, Lieselotte *et al.* (eds.). *Intersubjectivity and Intersubjectification in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 29-52.
- Nuyts, Jan (2001a). *Epistemic Modality. Language and Conceptualization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nuyts, Jan (2001b). «Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions». *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 383-400.
<[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(00\)00009-6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(00)00009-6)>
- Nuyts, Jan (2005). «Modality: Overview and linguistic issues». In: Frawley, William (ed.). *The expression of modality*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 1-26.
- Nuyts, Jan (2014). «Notions of (inter)subjectivity». In: Brems, Lieselotte *et al.* (eds.). *Intersubjectivity and Intersubjectification in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 53-76.
- Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel (1998). *Del llatí al català: Morfosintaxi verbal històrica*. Valencia: Universitat de València.
- Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel (2002). «Les relacions temporals i aspectuals». In: Solà, Joan (dir.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, II, pp. 2567-2662.
- Pietrandrea, Paola (2005). *Epistemic modality: functional properties and the Italian System*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Rivero (2014). «Spanish inferential and mirative futures and conditionals: An evidential gradable modal proposal». *Lingua* 151: 197-215.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2014.04.009>>
- Rodríguez Rosique, Susana (in press). «Spanish future in evaluative contexts: A case of mirativity?». *eHumanista/IVITRA* 7.
- Saussure, Louis de; Patrick Morency (2012). «A cognitive-pragmatic view of the French epistemic future». *French Language Studies* 22: 207-223.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0959269511000445>>
- Saussure, Louis de (2013). «Perspectival interpretations of tenses». In: Jaszczolt, Kasia M. & Saussure, Louis de (eds.), *Time: Language, cognition and reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 46-72.
- Sedano, Mercedes (2005). «Futuro simple y futuro perifrástico en el español hablado y escrito». In: *Actas del XIV congreso internacional de la Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina (ALFAL)* A. Valencia-Espinoza. <http://www.mundofal.org/cdcongreso/cd/analisis_estructuras_linguisticas/sedano.swf>.
- Sentí, Andreu (2013). *Gramaticalització i subjectivació de la modalitat en català antic: un estudi de corpus de les perífrasis verbals <deure + INF> i <haver (a/de) + INF>*, doctoral thesis, Universitat d'Alacant.
- Slobbe, Bianca (2004). «Restructuring and the Development of the Romance Conditional Verb Forms». In: Blaho, Sylvia *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of Console XII*. Leiden: University of Leiden, pp.107-123.
- Solà, Joan (dir.) (2002). *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, I-III. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Soto, Guillermo (2008). «Sobre el llamado futuro de probabilidad. Algunas condiciones del valor modal de *-ré**». *Boletín de Filología*, XLIII, 193-206.
- Squartini, Mario (1999). «Riferimento temporale, aspetto e modalità nella diacronia del condizionale italiano». *Vox Romanica* 58: 57-82.
- Squartini, Mario (2004). «Disentangling evidentiality and epistemic modality in romance». *Lingua* 114: 873-895.
<[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841\(03\)00064-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841(03)00064-0)>
- Squartini Mario (2012). «Evidentiality in interaction: The concessive use of the Italian Future between grammar and discourse». *Journal of Pragmatics* 44, 15: 2116-2128.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.09.008>>
- Squartini, Mario (2001). «Filogenesi e ontogenesi del futuro italiano». *Archivio glottologico italiano* 86: 194-225.
- Squartini, Mario (2009). «Evidentiality, Epistemicity, and their Diachronic Connections to Non-Factuality». In: Hansen, Maj-Britt & Visconti, Jacqueline (eds.), *Current Trends in Diachronic Semantics and Pragmatics*. Emerald Group Publishing L., Bingley, pp. 211-226.
- Squartini, Mario (2010). «Where mood, modality and illocution meet: the morphosyntax of Romance conjectures». In: Becker, Martin & Remberger, Eva (eds.), *Modality and Mood in Romance*. New York; Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 109-13
- Thomas, Jean-François (2012). «Ultériorité dans le passé et éventualité en latin». *Faits de langues* 40: 13-20.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.3726/431382_13>
- Traugott, Elizabeth (1988). «Pragmatic Strengthening and Grammaticalization». *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, pp. 406-416.

- Traugott, Elizabeth (2003). «From subjectification to intersubjectification». In: Hickey, Raymond (ed.), *Motives for Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 124-139.
- Traugott, Elizabeth (2010). «Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification». In: Davidse, Kristin *et al.* (eds.), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 29-70.
- Traugott, Elizabeth (2012). «Pragmatics and language change». In: Allan, K. & Jaszczolt, Kasia M. (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 549-566.
- Traugott, Elizabeth (2014) «Intersubjectification and clause periphery». In: Brems, Lieselotte *et al.* (eds.), *Intersubjectivity and Intersubjectification in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 7-28.
- Traugott, Elizabeth; Dasher, Richard (2002). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth; Könnig, Ekkehard (1991). «The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited». In: Traugott, E. & Heine, B. (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, II, pp. 189-218.
- van der Auwera, Jan; Plungian, Vladimir. A. (1998). «Modality's semantic map», *Linguistic Typology*, 2: 79-124.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/lity.1998.2.1.79>>
- Visser, F. (1969). *A Historical Syntax of the English Language*, part 3: First Half: Syntactical Units with Two Verbs. Brill, Leiden.

Corpora and source texts

- Cartes Jaume II* = Masià, Àngels (1989). *Jaume II: Aragó, Granada i Marroc. Aportació documental*. Barcelona: CSIC.
- CICA = *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (CICA). Joan Torruella (dir.), Manuel Pérez-Saldanya; Josep Martines; texts selected by Vicent Martines. <<http://cica.cat/>>.
- CIMTAC = *Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis*. Josep Martines & Vicent Martines (dirs.); M. Àngels Fuster and Elena Sánchez (adj. dirs). Alacant. ISIC-IVITRA-UA.
- Cort de Cocentaina* = Ponsoda, Joan (1996). *El català i l'aragonès en els inicis del Regne de València segons el Llibre de Cort de Justícia de Cocentaina* (1269-1265). Alcoi: Marfil.
- Descloot, Bernat. *Crònica*, Miquel Coll (ed.). I-IV. Barcelona: Barcino, 1949-1950.
- Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya* = Sans, Josep M. (dir.) (2007). *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya X*, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Epistolari de València II* = Rubio, Agustín (1998). *Epistolari de la València Medieval II*. València/Barcelona. Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana/Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Jaume I: *Llibre dels fets del rei en Jaume*, Jaume Bruguera (ed.). Barcelona: Barcino, 1991.
- Llull, Ramon. *Libre de Evast e Blanquerna*, Albert Soler; Joan Santanach (eds.). Barcelona: NEORL, 2009.
- Llull, Ramon. *Llibre de Meravelles*, Salvador Galmés (ed.). Barcelona: Barcino, 1931.

- Llull, Ramon. *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*. Anthony Bonner (ed). Patronat Ramon Llull, 2001.
- Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*. Albert Hauf (ed.). Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 2005.
- Organyà* = *Homilies d'Organyà*. Amadeu-J. Soberanas *et al.* (ed.). Barcelona: Barcino, 2001.
- Pergamins e processos* = Guinot, Enric (ed.) (2010). *Pergamins, processos i cartes reials*.
- Documentació dispersa valenciana del segle XIII*. Valencia: Universitat de València.
- Processos de Lleida* = Farreny, M. Dolors (2014). *La llengua dels processos de crims a la Lleida del segle XVI*. Lleida: IEC.
- Pujades, Josep Maria Casas (ed.) (1975). *Dietari de Jeroni Pujades*. Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana.
- Rasico, Philip (2006). *El català antic*. Girona: Universitat de Girona.
- Russell, Paul (1965). *Mediaeval Catalan linguistic texts*. Oxford: Dolphin Book Co.
- Vides* = Kniazzezh, Charlotte Maneikis; Neugaard, Edward (ed.) (1977). *Vides de Sants Rosselloneses*. II, III, Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana.

Paradigms as triggers of semantic change: Demonstrative adverbs in Catalan and Spanish*

Manuel Pérez Saldanya

Universitat de València

saldanya@uv.es



Received: May 30, 2015

Accepted: September 7, 2015

Abstract

This paper sets out to analyse the development of demonstrative adverbs of place in Catalan and Spanish. The main questions dealt with in this study are the following: (i) why two-term and three-term deictic systems often display a certain lack of stability so that diachronically two-term systems sometimes become three-term (as in old Catalan and Spanish) or, the other way round, three-term systems become two-term (like in late Latin and in Catalan during the modern era); (ii) if the most normal and expected development is for deictic systems to take on anaphoric values, why in the case of the adverb *aquí* ('near the speaker and/or addressee') in Catalan and the adverb *ahí* ('near the addressee') in Spanish the opposite process happens; (iii) what role is played in these changes by the functional and formal relations set up within the paradigms of nominal and adverbial demonstratives in each language.

Keywords: spatial deictic systems; adverbial demonstratives; anaphora; grammaticalisation, paradigm relationships.

Resum. *El paradigma com a motor del canvi semàntic: els adverbis demostratius en català i castellà*

L'objectiu d'aquest article és analitzar l'evolució dels adverbis demostratius de lloc del català i l'espanyol. Les principals preguntes que es plantegen en aquest treball són les següents: (i) per què els sistemes dèictics binaris i ternaris mostren sovint una certa inestabilitat i diacrònicament els sistemes binaris es converteixen a vegades en ternaris (com s'esdevingué en el català i l'espanyol antics) o, a l'inrevés, els ternaris passen a ser binaris (com en el llatí tardà i en el català durant l'edat moderna); (ii) si allò més habitual i esperable és que els dèictics assumeixin valors anafòrics, per què en el cas de l'adverbi *aquí* del català i l'adverbi *ahí* de l'espanyol es produeix el procés invers; (iii) quin paper juguen en aquests canvis les relacions funcionals i formals que s'estableixen dins els paradigmes de demostratius nominals i adverbials de cada llengua.

Paraules clau: sistemes dèictics espacials; demostratius adverbials; anàfora; gramaticalització, relacions paradigmàtiques.

* This study has been carried out as part of a research project supported by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness "Gramàtica del Català Modern (1601-1834)" (MINECO, Ref. FFI2012-37103) and by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans "Constitució d'un corpus textual per a una gramàtica del català modern" (Gcm; PR2015-S04-MARTINES). I thank Maria Josep Cuenca, José Ignacio Hualde, Josep Ribera and Gemma Rigau for fruitful discussions on several aspects dealt with this paper.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction 2. Paradoxes and theoretical problems in the evolution of demonstratives 3. The restructuring of the system of demonstrative adverbs from Latin 4. The formation of the three-term system in Catalan	5. The formation of the three-term system in Spanish 6. More recent developments in Catalan 7. Conclusions References Corpus
--	---

1. Introduction

The formation and development of demonstrative adverbs of place in Catalan and Spanish gave rise to a series of questions that are especially significant for a theory of linguistic change in general and of space deixis systems in particular. The aim of this paper is to analyse these topics in Catalan and compare the results with the development in Spanish within a Romance framework. In this paper, I also want to highlight the importance of paradigmatic relations, as triggers of semantic change and as a mechanism that can explain cases that, at least on the surface of it, threaten the unidirectionality of grammaticalisation processes.

Space deictics are referential expressions that allow places to be described (1a) or entities to be located (1b,c) in relation to the position occupied by the interlocutors of the speech-act. From a category point of view, a distinction is usually made between adverbial demonstratives, which function as locative adjuncts or complements (1a), and nominal demonstratives, which can function either as determiners (1b) or as neutral pronouns (1c) in languages like Catalan and Spanish.¹

- (1) a. Deixa les sabates *aquí* (Catalan) / Deja los zapatos *aquí* (Spanish)
 ‘Leave the shoes here’
- b. Posa’t *aquestes* sabates (Catalan) / Ponte *estos* zapatos (Spanish)
 ‘Wear these shoes’
- c. Posa’t *això* (Catalan) / Ponte *esto* (Spanish)
 ‘Wear this’

The most widely used localisation parameter has to do with the proximity or distance from the place of utterance. It is usual that languages establish at least a two-way distinction, with two degrees of distance (proximal and distal), like English, which has two nominal demonstratives (*this/that*) and two parallel adverbs

1. Verbs of the type ‘go’ and ‘came’, also have a deictic meaning, which indicate movement in relation to the space occupied by the interlocutors. See Fillmore (1966) for the deictic meaning of these verbs in English, and Rigau (1976) and Cifuentes (2007) for the parallel verbs in Catalan and Spanish, respectively. On the category of demonstratives, see also Anderson & Keenan (1985: 279-280) and Dixon (2003).

(*here/there*). Also common are languages that present a three-way distinction, with three degrees (proximal, medial and distal), like Latin, which has three nominal demonstratives (*hic/iste/ille*) and different series of three parallel adverbial demonstratives (*hic/istīc/illīc*, *hāc/istāc/illāc*, etc.). Although it is not a universal property (Dixon 2003: 79-85), space deictics can also be used with an anaphoric function, and some nominal or adverbial demonstratives only have this function.² The Spanish adverb *ahí*, for example, has a deictic function in (2a), where it denotes the place occupied by the addressee, and an anaphoric function in (2b), where it has *Madrid* as antecedent. Plus, the Catalan clitic *hi* has a purely anaphoric function, as shown in example (2c), where it has *Barcelona* as antecedent.

- (2) a. Quédate *ahí*.
 ‘Stay *there*’
 b. Fueron primero a *Madrid* y de *ahí* a Cuenca. (*ahí* = ‘Madrid’)
 ‘They went first to *Madrid* and from *there* to Cuenca’
 c. A *Barcelona*, fa temps que no *hi* anem. (*hi* = ‘Barcelona’)
 ‘We haven’t been to *Barcelona* for a while’

The same as with other locatives items, adverbial demonstratives usually acquire more abstract temporal or notional values.³ For example, the Catalan adverb *aquí* ‘here’ has a temporal meaning in the construction *d’aquí (a)...* ‘in x time’ (3a) and a notional meaning in the consecutive constructions *d’aquí que...* ‘hence’ (3b).

- (3) a. Tornarem *d’aquí* un moment
 ‘We’ll be back in a moment’
 b. *D’aquí que* no ens diguéis res més
 ‘Hence, he didn’t tell us anything else’

2. Paradoxes and theoretical problems in the evolution of demonstratives

The development of demonstratives from Latin to the Romance languages of the Iberian peninsula poses a series of paradoxes and theoretical problems that are described below and that I shall attempt to address in this paper.

a) The first and most obvious question is related to the instability of two-term and three-term deixis systems. Table 1 shows the evolution of nominal demonstratives

2. In fact, corpus analysis shows that demonstratives frequently assume an anaphoric meaning. See Ribera & Cuenca (2013) and Cuenca & Ribera (2013) for a contrastive approach to demonstratives in fiction (English-Catalan, and English-Spanish, respectively).
3. On these temporal and notional extensions of the locative meaning, see Pérez Saldanya and Rigau (2011: § 4.3), for Catalan adverbial demonstratives, and Sánchez Lancis (1990:464-481), Maldonado (2013: 301-313) and RAE-ASALE (2009: § 17.8n, 179), for Spanish adverbial demonstratives.

Table 1. Development of the system of nominal demonstratives from Latin to Spanish

Deictic degree	Linguistic stage			
	Latin	Late Latin	Old Spanish	Today's Spanish
1st degree	HIC	(ecce/eccu) istu	(aqu)este	este
2nd degree	ISTE		(aqu)esse	ese
3rd degree	ILLE	(ecce/eccu) illu	aquel	aquel

Table 2. Development of the system of nominal demonstratives from Latin to Catalan

Deictic degree	Linguistic stage			
	Latin	Late Latin	Old Catalan	Today's Catalan
1st degree	HIC	(ecce/eccu) istu	(aqu)est	aquest
2nd degree	ISTE		(aqu)eix	
3rd degree	ILLE	(ecce/eccu) illu	aquell	aquell

from Latin to Spanish based on the masculine singular forms (and the masculine singular nominative in Latin). As the table shows, the Latin three-term system was reduced to a two-term system in Late Latin, due to the disappearance of the first degree demonstrative (HIC) and the semantic change of the second degree demonstrative (ISTE), which took on its value.⁴ At this stage, the demonstratives were usually reinforced by the deictic particle ECCE or the later ECCU, adopted in the Spanish reinforced forms (*aquel*, and in Old Spanish *aqueste* and *aquesse* that alternate with the simple forms *este* and *esse* respectively). Later on, the three-way system was reconstructed in Old Spanish by means of a form derived from the Latin demonstrative IPSE (*esse* or *aquesse*, modern *ese*), which initially had identifying and emphatic value (Pieroni 2010: § 3.5) and was used afterwards as a medial demonstrative.⁵ This three-term system has persisted to the present day in Peninsular Spanish, although some varieties of American Spanish seem to be moving to a new two-way contrast.⁶

The development of Spanish is also shared by Portuguese and initially by Catalan. However, unlike Portuguese and Peninsular Spanish, in most Catalan varieties, a further reduction took place at a later stage and a two-way system

4. On the restructuring of Late Latin, see, amongst others, Väänänen (1968: 194-197), Iso Echegoyen (1974), Lloyd (1993: 155-156, 261-262, 446-448), Casanova (1993) and Roca (2009: 518-520).
5. It was reconstructed in the languages of the Iberian peninsula and partly from Occitan. Old Italian also has a three-term system and so does today's Tuscan (Renzi & Vanelli 1995: 271, Vanelli 2010: 1248-1249).
6. This is the case of Argentinian Spanish and other varieties, in which the first degree is expressed by *este*, and the second either by *ese* or *aquel*. In this varieties the difference between *ese* and *aquel* is not one of distance but of register or genre, *aquel* being more formal and more contrastive than *ese*, but certainly not more distant. This recent development in American Spanish is not analysed in detail in this paper. On this subject, see Kany (1976: 320), Sedano (2003), RAE-ASALE (2009: § 17.2n), Guzmán & Sáez (in press).

has been adopted. As shown in table 2, in this new two-way system only the reinforced form *aquest* is kept to express the first degree, but not the parallel simple form *est*.⁷

The particular development of Catalan is even more surprising considering, as we shall see later on, that in this language the three-term system was documented much earlier than in Spanish and Portuguese.

b) The cyclical nature of the change shown in table 2 is not the only paradox in the development of Catalan. With the exception of Catalan, in all Romance languages, the place of the speaker (or near to it) and the place of the addressee (or near to it) can be distinguished by means of demonstratives. As is the case with English, in languages with a two-term system the distinction is established, respectively, by means of the proximal and distal demonstratives, as can be seen from the examples with demonstrative adverbs in (4).

- (4) a. Put your shoes *here*; do not leave them *there* (English)
- b. Metti le scarpe *qui*, non lasciarle *lì* (Italian)
- c. Pune pantofii *aici*; nu lasă-i *acolo* (Rumanian)

Likewise, in languages and dialects with a three-term system, the opposition is set up by means of the proximal and medial demonstratives, respectively, as shown in the examples with demonstrative adverbs in (5).⁸

- (5) a. Pon los zapatos *aquí*; no los dejes *ahí* (Spanish)
- b. Põe os sapatos *aquí*; não os deixes *ai* (Portuguese)
- c. Metti le scarpe *chi*; un lascialle *costì* (Tuscan)
- d. Posa les sabates *ací*; no les deixes *ahí* (Catalan from Valencia)
- e. Mets les chaussures *ici*, ne les laisse pas *là* (French)

It is only in Catalan that this distinction cannot be established by means of demonstratives, as shown in (6), where the demonstrative adverb *aquí* is used in both cases.

- (6) Posa les sabates *aquí*; no les deixis *aquí* (Catalan)

In English and in all Romance languages, with the exception of Catalan, the first degree describes the speaker's deictic space (the place that the speaker occu-

7. The three-term system has been preserved in varieties of Catalan spoken in Valencia and Aragon with the following nominal demonstratives: *est(e)* / *eix(e)* / *aquell*.

8. The third degree in Spanish uses the adverb *allí* (or *allá*), in Portuguese *ali*, in the Catalan used in Valencia *allí* (or *allá*), in Tuscan *alì* (or *là*) and in French *là-bas*.

pies or near to it) and the other or the other two degrees are defined by negation of it. According to this, in two-term system languages, the second degree indicates distance from the speaker and can therefore denote the addressee's deictic space (the place that the addressee occupies or near to it), as shown in figure 1.

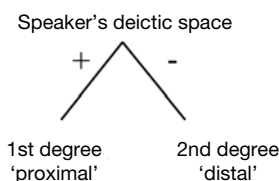


Figure 1. More usual two-term deictic system.

In three-term system languages, the intermediate degree expresses proximity but excludes the place of the speaker, that is, it indicates medial proximity, which is frequently associated with the addressee's deictic space.⁹ The third degree is defined negatively in respect of the second and indicates distance both from the speaker and from the addressee, as shown in figure 2.

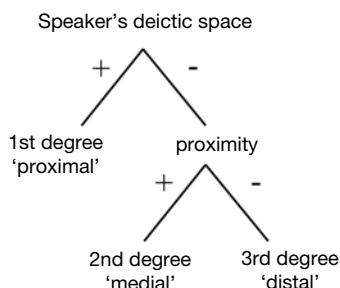


Figure 2. Three-term deictic system in Romance languages.

Only in Catalan does the first degree refer to the deictic place of both the speaker and the addressee, and the second degree, which is negatively defined, indicates distance in relation to both, as shown in figure 3.

9. For some authors the second degree of the three-term system is identified with the addressee's deictic space, as opposed to the first degree, which describes the speaker's space (Bello 1847: § 254, Vanelli & Renzi (1995: § 2.2.3), Wheeler et al 1999: § 6.2-3). Others, on the other hand, argue that it describes an intermediate space between the nearness of the place occupied by the speaker and the distance (Hottenroth 1982; Anderson & Keenan 1985: 282; Eguren 1999: § 14.3.2.1; Brucart 2002: § 7.4.2). In this paper we take the latter perspective, but with a clarification put forward by Saragossà (2004: § 3.2.1), which is historically relevant: the fact that the second degree indicates proximity, like the first, but with the difference that it excludes the speaker and is therefore frequently associated with the addressee's space.

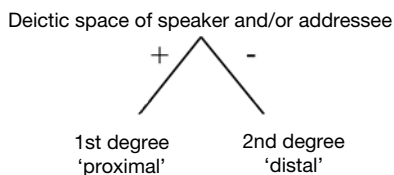


Figure 3. Two-term deictic system in Catalan.

c) The development of the deictic systems in Romance languages gives rise to a third paradox related to the supposed unidirectionality of grammaticalisation processes. Lexemes or constructions that are grammaticalised take on a grammatical value, or a higher grammatical value than they had at first. This usually occurs in conjunction with other changes, specifically in conjunctions with a greater syntactic fixation, an increased frequency of use, a more abstract and subjective meaning and, in certain cases, a phonic erosion.¹⁰

One of the classic examples of the processes of grammaticalisation and unidirectionality of change is the development of the Romance article based on the third degree nominal demonstrative (7a). In this case grammaticalisation is translated: (i) semantically in the step from a deictic value to a more grammatical anaphoric or identifying value, (ii) syntactically in fixation in the prenominal position, and (iii) formally in a strong phonological erosion associated with the cliticisation process. The same change from a deictic meaning to an anaphoric one, and to a greater syntactic fixation and formal erosion can be seen in the Romance languages with the formation of third person pronominal clitics based on Latin demonstratives. These clitics usually derive from the distal demonstrative (7b-d), but also from the proximal demonstrative in the case of the Catalan neutral pronoun *ho* (7e).

- (7) a. ILLUM 'that-accusative-masculine-singular' > él:o > elo > el (Spanish) / lo > el, l' (Catalan) 'the'
- b. ILLUM 'that-accusative-masculine-singular' > él:o > elo > lo (Spanish) / lo > el, lo, l', 'l (Catalan) 'him'
- c. ILLAM 'that-accusative-feminine-singular' > él:a > ela > la (Spanish) / la, l' (Catalan) 'her'
- d. ILLI 'that-genitive-singular' > él:i > eli > le (Spanish) / li (Catalan) 'to him/her'
- e. HÖC 'this-accusative-neuter-singular' > ho (Catalan) 'it'

The development of the system of demonstratives from Latin to Romance languages of the Iberian peninsula produced, at least apparently, a counter-example

10. On the concept of grammaticalisation and the unidirectionality of change, see, amongst others, Hopper & Traugott (1993: § 1), Traugott (1995, 2003), Company (2003) and Cuenca (2009). On the development of demonstratives into grammatical markers, see also Diessel (2006: 476-481).

to the unidirectionality of the processes of grammaticalisation.¹¹ In fact, in the case of demonstratives that take on intermediate degree value (for example *ese* and *ahí* in Spanish) the change goes from an identifying and anaphoric value to deixis, and in the case of *ahí* it also involves an increase in phonological content:

- (8) a. IPSUM ('self', '((s)he/it) self') > *ese* 'that'
 b. IBÍ ('the aforementioned place') > *hi* > *ahí* 'there'

3. The restructuring of the system of demonstrative adverbs from Latin

Latin displays a rich system of demonstrative adverbs which, in addition to the deictic or anaphoric distinctions associated with the root, enabled the expression of a number of spatial notions signalled by endings, as can be seen in table 3.¹²

The spatial notions associated with the endings blurred with the evolution from Latin to Romance and finally became expressed by the presence or absence of locative prepositions.¹³ As a result, some of the series eventually disappeared or changed their initial meaning. Spanish and Catalan have kept no adverbs derived from the series in -ŪC/-Ō, and those derived from the series in -INC/INDE eventually disappeared, with the exception of the clitic *en* in Catalan (INDE > *ne* > *en*, *ne*, *n*', *n*'), which preserves its original meaning (*En vinc* 'I come from there') but has also taken on other values related to the preposition *de* 'from, of' (partitive, genitive, etc.). Both languages have retained forms that derive from the series in -I(C) and -Ā(C). In Spanish, the adverbs in -*i* (*aquí*, *ahí* and *allí*) refer to more specific and objective locations, or locations conceived as points; similarly, the adverbs in -*á* (*acá* and *allá*) refer to more vague and subjective locations, or locations conceived as areas (Carbonero 1979: 73-76; Hottenroth 1982: 135; Sedano 1994, 2000, 2001; Eguren 1999: § 14.4.2.1; RAE-ASALE 2009: § 17.8f; Maldonado 2013).¹⁴ The same holds for Catalan, but the distinction is much less sharp, with the opposition between adverbs in -*i* and in -*à* only being kept in adverbs that indicate distance (*allí* and

11. This anomaly is referred to explicitly in the grammar of the RAE-ASALE (2009 § 17.2.ñ) when it explains the semantic change undergone by the Latin demonstrative *ipse* from the identifying value to the second degree deictic in peninsular Romance languages, saying: "constituye un proceso más anómalo desde el punto de vista tipológico que el contrario (es decir, la pérdida del valor deíctico de los demostrativos)".

12. See Ernout (1953: § 106, 139), Monteil, (1992: 276-278) and Bassols (1956: § 162) and others.

13. Like in English and in many other languages (Dixon 2003: 70), the locative and the goal are expressed without preposition, and it is the verb that enables an understanding of whether the adverb indicates location (*Vive allí* '(s)he lives there') or goal (*Irà allí* '(s)he will go there'). The other values, however, are expressed by means of the adverb preceded by a preposition, as in this case the same verb can be combined with different expressions of place: *Vino {desde/por} allí* '(s)he comes {from/through} there').

14. Most authors describe the opposition in terms of specific/vague locations (i. e. points and areas). However, in an interesting paper on the opposition between *aquí* and *acá*, Maldonado (2013) considers that this difference is derived from a more basic one based on degrees of "objectivity". From this point of view, *aquí* involves a medium degree of subjectivity or quasi-objectivity that marks nearby areas and *acá* involves a close nearness that determines a greater degree of subjectivity.

Table 3. Latin demonstrative adverbs

Referential value		Spatial notion			
		Locative 'location'	Adlative 'goal'	Perlative 'path'	Ablative 'source'
Deictic	1st degree	HĪC	HŪC	HĀC	HINC
	2nd degree	ISTĪC	ISTŪC	ISTĀC	ISTINC
	3rd degree	ILLĪC	ILLŪC	ILLĀC	ILLINC
Anaphoric		IBĪ	EŌ	EĀ	INDE

Table 4. Demonstrative adverbs in Old Spanish

Referential value		Adverbs
Deictic	1st degree	ECCU-HĪC > aquí
	2nd degree	ILLĪC > allí
Anaphoric		IBĪ > y (or hi)

allà), but not in the entire linguistic domain, as *allí* is used purely for literary purposes in some areas (Pérez Saldanya & Rigau 2011).¹⁵

This study focuses basically on the derivatives of Latin adverbs in -Ī(C), as they are the only ones that reconstruct the two-way system of Late Latin in a new three-way system.¹⁶ As with nominal demonstratives, adverbial demonstratives also experienced a simplification of the deictic system in Late Latin, which entailed the loss of second degree adverbs (ISTĪC, ISTĀC, etc.). This two-term system was initially retained in both Spanish and Catalan, with Old Spanish having a simpler system than Old Catalan. As shown in table 4, the system in Old Spanish was reduced down to three adverbs: two deictic (*aquí* and *allí*) and one anaphoric (*y*, also spelled *hi*, which would later give rise to *ahí*). The first degree adverb comes from the Latin first degree adverb with the reinforcement ECCU, whereas the other two forms come from the corresponding Latin adverbs.

The system of Old Catalan was more complex, as it includes five adverbs distributed in a full (or stressed) series plus another clitic (or unstressed) series. Three of these forms derive from the Latin first degree adverb (HĪC), one without reinforcement (*hic*), one with the reinforcement ECCE (*ací*) and a third one with the reinforcement ECCU (*aquí*).¹⁷

15. The same difference is found in Italian, which presents two parallel series of adverbs: *qui* and *lì*, on the one hand, and *quà* and *là*, on the other (Vannelli & Renzi 1995: § 2.2.2).
16. The fact that the three-way system was reconstructed in the -[i] adverbs and not in the -[á] adverbs is related to the meaning of each series and, specifically, with the fact that the three-way distinction is easier in those adverbs that refer to more specific locations, than in adverbs expressing more vague and subjective locations.
17. On this point Catalan is presented as a bridging language between Gallo-Romance and Iberian Romance languages: like those ones, they present forms derived from adverbs with the oldest reinforcement ECCE, and like these ones, they also have forms derived from adverbs with the latest reinforcement ECCU.

4. The formation of the three-term system in Catalan

Apart from the clitic *hic* in Catalan, which fell into disuse early on, the main difference between Old Catalan and Old Spanish has to do with the existence of a full adverb in Catalan (*aquí*) functionally parallel to the clitic *hi* (or *en* depending on the spatial notion).¹⁸ This difference can explain why the three-way deixis system could be reconstructed earlier in Catalan than in Spanish. In all medieval texts, *aquí* is documented mainly with an anaphoric function, which, as shown in table 5, seems to be the original one. This is the case in (9), where *aquí* is used twice, in both cases preceded by a locative phrase that functions as antecedent.

- (9) dix que menà los àsens a *casa d'en Berenguer Dalmau* e lexà'ls *aquí*; e la dona d'en Berenguer Dalmau donà-li del vin de la companya e begé més de ·IV· taces, e enaprés anà-se'n a *la taverna d'en Tamarit*, e begé *aquí* de vin [...] e enbriagà's (*Clams*: 122).
 'he said that he took the donkeys to *Berenguer Dalmau's house* and left them *there*, and Berenguer Dalmau's wife gave him wine from the company and he drank more than four glasses and then he went to *Tamarit's tavern*, and drank wine *there* and got drunk'

As indicated above, in this anaphoric function, *aquí* coincides, therefore, with the clitic adverbs *hi* and *en*. However, its tonic nature makes it the most emphatic option from a communicative point of view. In (10), for example, the three adverbs have the same locative phrase as antecedent (*la nostra posada*), but *aquí* is used in the sentence in which the place mentioned is most relevant: the one indicating that Infante Pere has had to stay overnight in the besieged inn.¹⁹

- (10) totes les gents de la villa de Murvedre se van abocar entorn *la nostra posada* ab armes, per manera que null hom no·n podia exir que no·n fos per ells reconegut qui era; axí que·l infant En Pere, qui y fo vengut, no·n poch exir, ans hagué *aquí* a romandre a jaure (*Epistolari*: 92-93).
 'All the people from the town of Morvedre arranged themselves around *our inn* with weapons, so that nobody could leave *there* without being recognised; so the Infante Don Pedro, who had gone *there*, could not leave *there*, but had to stay *there* to sleep'

Together with this anaphoric function, the adverb *aquí* was soon documented with a deictic value related to the place occupied by the addressee, or a space close to the speaker that could be used to refer to the space of the addressee as well in the event that the addressee was close to the speaker. The first examples that I have

18. The adverb *en* has the value of source, and the adverb *hi*, the other spatial notions (location, goal, path).

19. The distinction would therefore be similar to the one set up between the use of stressed or clitic personal pronouns in the cases where they alternated in the old language; for example, *dix això a ell* 'he said that to him' (with the stressed *ell*) compared to *dix-li això* 'he told him that' (with the unstressed *li*). Or in today's language between the use of double clitics with a stressed pronoun or on their own: *Li va dir això a ell* 'he said that to him' compared to *Li va dir això* 'he told him that'.

Table 5. Demonstrative adverbs in Old Catalan

Referential value		Adverbs	
		full	clitic
Deictic	1st degree	ECCU-HÍC > ací	HÍC > hic
	2nd degree	ILLÍC > allí	---
Anaphoric		ECCU-HÍC > aquí	IBÍ > hi (or y)

documented of this deictic use date back to texts from the second half of the 13th century or the first half of the 14th century. In these examples the deictic value is strongly linked to the situational context and to the type of speech-act, as shown in (11). In (11a) *aquí* seems to refer the space of the hearer, excluding the speaker. In (11b-c), *aquí* denotes a space close the speaker that is occupied by the addressee.

(11) a. e sobre azò éi vi ·I· ome e dix-li:

—«[Qui] està *aquí*?».

E anc aquel om no sonà mot, e éi dix-li altra vegada:

—«Qui està *aquí*?». (*Alcoi*: 24)

‘and he saw a man and said to him: «Who’s *there*?» and the man gave no answer, and he said again: «Who’s *there*?»’

b. E, entre aquestes paraules, éi s’adormí. E vesec Sent Marc qui li vénc e·s pausà costa lo seu lit, e ausí ·I· vou, a éi dient: —Què fas *aquí*, March? (*Vides*: 422)

‘And, with these words, he fell asleep. And he saw that St Mark came to him and stood next to his bed, and he heard a voice that said to him, «what are you doing (*t*)*here* Mark?»’

c. E quant la sancta ayçò viu, levà’s, e ab cara irada e ab grans critz li dix: «Ix d’él, mesquín, ix-ne!» E·l demoni li respòs: «E, si d’él isc, un entraré?» E per aventura avia aquí ·I· porquet, qui paxia aquí. «Ix d’*aquí*», dix la sancta, «e entra en aquest porc!» E aytan tost desesparà l’ome, e entrà en lo porc, e aucís-lo, e anà-sse’n. (*Diàlegs*: 49v)

‘And when the saint saw this, she got up and with an angry face and loud shouts she said to him «Leave him, wretch, leave! ». And the devil replied «And if I leave him, where shall I go?». And it so happened that there was a piglet there, grazing. «Get out of (*t*)*here*!» said the saint, “and enter that pig!». And straightaway it left the man and entered the pig, and he killed it and it went away’

The above examples are probably contextual deictic uses, similar to those that can be taken on by other anaphoric elements in contexts where the addressee is being questioned or asked something. This is what happens, for instance, in today’s Catalan with the anaphoric clitic *hi* in cases like the one in (12a), with the clitic referring to a box held by the addressee, or the example in (12b), with the clitic referring to a document that the addressee is reading. Likewise in (12c), where the clitic is in

correlation with the deictic *aquí* ('proximal' to the speaker or addressee in modern Catalan) and it denotes the place of the addressee or a space including it.²⁰

- (12) a. Què *hi* vols posar?
'What do you want to put *there*?'
b. Què *hi* diu?
'What does that say?' (*lit.* 'What *there* says')
c. Què *hi* fas, *aquí*?
'What are you doing *there*?'

Therefore, the fact that in Old Catalan the anaphoric adverb *aquí* can take on this type of contextual deictic values is not surprising. But it is surprising that these values eventually become lexicalised and produce a change that goes from anaphora to deixis. A factor that favours this fixation is the parallelism between space deixis and person deixis, and more specifically the fact that each space deictic is associated with one of the three grammatical persons. However, more specific factors must be added to this general factor in order to explain why the three-term deixis has not been reconstructed in all Romance languages. To account for these differences, paradigmatic relationships should be taken into account, and in particular, the analogical pressure that other elements in the adverbial demonstrative paradigm can exert to a specific anaphoric form within each language. As table 6 shows, at first *aquí* was linked to *hi* (and *en*) by their anaphoric function, but also with *ací* and *allí*, for their morphological structure and their syntactic distribution.

This formal and distributional proximity with both *ací* and *allí*, together with the fact that these two deictic adverbs also had anaphoric values,²¹ undoubtedly contributed to the contextual deictic values of *aquí* becoming fixed quite quickly. As table 7 shows, in this new system, *aquí* keeps its initial anaphoric function but incorporates the deictic meaning of medial distance, i.e. the possibility of denoting

20. In fact, these deictic uses of anaphoric items are consistent with some cognitive interpretations of deictic and anaphoric reference (cf. Ariel 1990; Cornish 1999) according to which what is distinct between deixis and anaphora is not the 'geographical' origin of reference, i.e. either exophoric in the former or endophoric in the latter. Thus, Cornish (1999: 22) states that "where they crucially differ [...] is in the fact that deictic reference has the effect of drawing an element of the utterance or discourse context to the addressee's immediate attention, whereas anaphoric reference presupposes that his or her attention is already focused on the intended referent". For a review of this approach to modes of reference based on attentional states and degrees of referent activation, see Ribera (2008: 89-94).

21. If *aquí* has a non-marked anaphoric value and is limited to retaking a previous locative, *ací* adds a subjective proximity value (i) and *allí* a distance value, as shown respectively in the following examples:

- (i) E altre dia passam per Uclés, que ns convidà lo maestre; e el dia que partim d'*ací* perferí'ns lo maestre que iria ab nós ab ·C· cavallers. (*Fets*: 341)
'And another day we went to Uclés, as the Maestre invited us; and the day we left *here* the Maestre offered to go with us with a hundred knights'
(ii) e puy hach sabudaria que al port d'Aygües Mortas éran. E quant no les trobà *allí*, no se'n volch pus destorbar e tornà-sse'n al port de Cadaqués. (*Crònica*: 123)
'And afterwards I found out that they were in the port of Aigües Mortes. And as he could not find them *there*, he did not want to delay further and he returned to the port of Cadaqués'

Table 6. Adverbs in [i/i] in Old Catalan (two-term deictic system)

Deictic	Anaphoric	
	Full form	Clitic
ací	aquí	hi
allí		

Table 7. Adverbs in [i/i] in Old Catalan (formation of the three-term deictic system)

Deictic	Anaphoric	
	Full form	Clitic
ací	aquí	hi
allí		

the space of the addressee as opposed to the space of the speaker. This deictic use emerges in emphatic contexts, where the addressee's space needs to be differentiated from that of the speaker and so it connects perfectly with the emphatic nature of *aquí* in respect of the anaphoric variant *hi*.

In 14th century texts, the deictic value of *aquí* seems to have become fully conventionalised already. Clear signs of this fixation are the relative frequency with which it is documented and the fact that in quite a few cases *aquí* contrasts with the first degree adverb *ací*, both in dialogues (13a), and in epistolary texts, in which *ací* denotes the place of the letter writer and *aquí* the place of the person the letter is being sent to (13b,c).

- (13) a. “Bé siau venguda, na Cristòfola! Què fets *aquí*?” E la dita Cristòfola dix: “Venia veure madona Trialles e esper-la *ací*”. E ell deposant dix: “Vial anfretant venits *ací*”, dient-ho de la sua cambre. (*Cavaller*: 178)
 ‘Welcome, madam Cristòfola! What are you doing *there*? And the aforementioned Cristòfola said “I came to see madam Trialles and I’m waiting for her *here*”. And the declarant said “Well, in the meantime come *here*”, referring to his bedroom.’
- b. Ffas-vos saber, senyor, que lo senyor rey vos tramet *aquí* dues galees per trametre a mi *ací* en Barchinona aquelles ·VII· mille lliures barchinoneses (*Reintegració*: 169)
 ‘I assure you, sir, that the King sent you *there* two galleys to bring (me) *here* to Barcelona those seven thousand pounds’
- c. E açò comanam als desús dits, e a vós ab ells ensemps, per ço com vosaltres, qui *aquí* sots, veets e conexets mils què se’n deu fer e què n’és pus expedient als afers, que no fem nós *ací*. (*Epistolari*: 172)
 ‘And we arranged this with the aforementioned and with you at the same time, for you who are *there*. You see and know better what has to be done and what is more suitable for business, than we can *here*’

A third sign of the fixations of the deictic value is the fact that *aquí* is used not only to express the addressee's deictic space but also to indicate the medial proximity to the speaker, as shown in the two appearances of *aquí* in (14) respectively.

- (14) Axiu d'*equy*, que veus *aquy* òmens, non ssé qí·s ssón! (*Cort*: 207)
 'Come out of *there*, there are men *there*, I don't know who they are!'

If at first the deictic value is derived from a contextual use associated with the addressee, its use for expressing medial proximity to the speaker looks more like a semantic broadening, which suggests a greater degree of fixation of the deictic value.

5. The formation of the three-term system in Spanish

As indicated above (§ 3), the initial system of demonstrative adverbs in Spanish had just one anaphoric element (the adverb *y*). This can explain why the three-term system took a little longer to appear in Spanish than in Catalan. The adverb *y* could be used with a contextual deictic value, but its formal and functional differences compared to the deictic adverbs (*aquí* and *allí*)²² hindered this use from becoming conventionalised. Therefore, the reconstruction of the three-term system in Spanish required the previous appearance of the analogical variant *ahí* of the adverb *y*, with the initial *a* that is characteristic of various demonstratives, and formally links this adverb to the deictics *aquí* and *allí*, as shown in table 8. Note, on the other hand, that if *y* was initially a stressed form, the appearance of the disyllabic *ahí* brought on the loss of tonicity of *y*, which progressively became a clitic adverb

The first documentary evidence of the analogical form *ahí* is found in 14th century texts or in copies from this period (Gutiérrez & Pascual 1995, Pascual 2010). As indicated in table 8, at first, *ahí* was used with the anaphoric value of *y*, as in (15), where it has *la plaça* ('the square') as antecedent.

- (15) Abaxé más la palabra, díxel que en juego fablava / porque toda aquella gente de *la plaça* nos mirava; / desque vi que eran idos, que omne *ay* non fincava, / començél dezir mi quexura del amor que me afincava. (*Buen Amor*: 166)
 'I lowered my voice, I told him I was joking / because all those people in *the square* were looking at us; / when I saw they had gone, that nobody was left *there* / I started to tell him my amorous complaints'

Later the anaphoric value was joined by a deictic value related to the place of the addressee by means of a process similar to the one already described for the

22. Note that the adverb *y* in Spanish is halfway between the adverbs *hi* and *aquí* in Catalan. Just like this one *y* can function by occupying the position of an adjunct or function as a complement to a preposition, as shown by the following example: "non avié y aún carrera fecha ninguna, ca nunca andudiera omne *por y*" (*General Estoria*: 12) 'They had not done any path *there*, because nobody had ever been *there*'. But it also displays symptoms of the start of the cliticisation process that will be consummated later.

Table 8. Adverbs in [i/i] in Old Spanish (documented in 14th century)

Deictic		Anaphoric	
Full form		Clitic	
aquí	ahí	y	
allí			

adverb *aquí* in Catalan (see § 4). The first clear examples are found in works from the 15th century (Corominas & Pascual, 1980-1991: s.v *ahí*; Sánchez Lancis, 1990: 58-60, Terrado 1990; Company & Espinosa 2014: 177), a time when the deictic value seems to be fully conventionalised.²³

- (16) a. Dicho e fecho; el buen onbre sabyo tomó la anpolla e púsola en una ventana donde ella la viese. E luego dixo ella: “¿Qué pones *ay*, marido?” (*Corbacho*: 152)
 ‘Said and done; the good wise man took the bottle and put it in a window where she would see it. And then she said “What are you putting *there*, husband?’
- b. —Vós non dezides verdad, que aquellos que vós dezides, e yo con ellos, somos *aquí* juntados por serviçio del rey, e somos sus servidores, tanto como vosotros, esos que *ay* estades. (*Victorial*: 510)
 ‘You are not telling the truth, as those you talk about, and I with them, are *here* together at the king’s service, and we are his servants, as are you, who are *there*.’
- d. MELIBEA. ¿Qué haces *ay* escondida, loca?
 LUCRECIA. Llégate *aquí*, señora; oyrás a tus padres la priessa que traen por te casar. (*Celestina*: 303)
 ‘MELIBEA. What are doing hiding *there*, crazy woman?
 LUCRECIA. Come *here* madam; you will hear how your parents are in a hurry to marry you off.’

Note also that, to the extent that *ahí* is a reinforced variant of *y*, pushed the latter into disuse. As a consequence, there is a double change in the system, as the conventionalisation of the deictic value in the adverb *ahí* runs parallel to the loss of vitality of *y*, which undergoes the process of cliticisation mentioned above that ends up with its morphological reanalysis in certain verbal forms (*hay* ‘there is’, *soy* ‘I am’, *voy* ‘I go’ and *estoy* ‘I am/stay’). According to Company & Espinosa (2014: 130-131, 198-199), this loss of vitality increased all the way through the 14th century, and became very prominent in the two first decades of the 15th century, although the adverb was still retained in some works until well into the 16th

23. Portuguese underwent a similar development to Spanish with the development of the adverb *ai*, which also came from the anaphoric *y* (Teyssier 1981).

century. So, unlike Catalan, the Spanish system was reduced to the full forms (*aquí*, *ahí* and *allí*) and has not maintained any specific anaphoric adverb.

6. More recent developments in Catalan

Once the three-term system had been reconstructed and the adverb *y* had disappeared, the Spanish system remained in place with no major changes up to the present day in Peninsular Spanish.²⁴ On the contrary, a more complex development took place in Catalan, since, as has already been described in § 2, the three-term system has disappeared in most Catalan varieties, giving way to a two-term system in which *aquí* indicates proximity to the speaker and/or addressee and *allà* (or *allí*) expresses distance. This change is already well documented in 17th century texts, as shown in the examples in (17): in (17a) both *aquí* and *ací* refer to the speaker's deictic space, and in (17b) *aquí* is used to refer deictically to the point in the text where the adverb appears.

- (17) a. *aquí* ahont jo só, debaix de mi ý de mos peus, és lo acte; que dit Gelmar Bonsoms, notari, m'o à dit en lo infern, hont ell està. Desfeu estas rajolas que estan *assí*, que, des de la setena rajola fins a la dotzena de la paret, se trobarà lo manual. (*Viatge*: 236)
 'Here where I am, under me and my feet, is the document; that the aforementioned Gelmar Bonsoms, notary, told me in hell, where he is. Break these tiles that are *here*, as between the seventh and the twelfth tile in the wall the document will be found'
- b. Y dire *aquí* una cosa la qual yo he considerada, y crec que molts la hauran advertida (*Geografia*: 245)
 'And I will say *here* something I have considered and that I think many will have already guessed'

In order to explain this restructuring of the system, both general factors and specific factors should be taken into account. The former are related to the nature of the deictic systems, independently of the forms of each specific language. The latter depend on the specificities of the demonstrative paradigm in Catalan.

6.1. General factors in the restructuring of the Catalan system

In terms of general factors, the possibility of using a second degree deictic (medial) with first degree value (proximal) can be favoured by the nature of space deictic items and three-way oppositions. Firstly, space deictics are opaque and elastic in nature. They are opaque because their mere utterance does not ensure that the referent can be identified (Eguren 1999: § 14.2.2), and they are semantically elastic because they can be used to describe more or less extensive places. This means

24. For the specificities of American Spanish varieties with a two-term deictic system, see footnote 25 below.

that a first degree adverb can denote the speaker's space compared to that of the addressee (*aquí donde estoy sentado* 'here, where I am sitting'), but also a wider place including them both (*Aquí, donde estamos, hace mucho calor* 'Here, where we are, it's very hot').

In addition, in three-term systems, the opposition between the first degree and the second degree is objective if it is associated with the place occupied by the speaker and the addressee, respectively, but not if two degrees of proximity are expressed: immediate and medial, respectively (Eguren 1999: § 14.4.2; Brucart 2002: 1492-1493).

The two factors mentioned above can undoubtedly contribute to the loss of opposition between proximity (first degree) and medial proximity (second degree), and this explains the possibility that a deictic expressing medial proximity changes to indicate simple proximity. This change, in fact, does not only affect the demonstrative adverb *aquí* in Old Catalan. The nominal demonstrative *ISTE* (see § 2) underwent the same change in Late Latin and can be found today in certain uses of the French adverb *là* and of the determiner *esse* in Brazilian Portuguese. As for French, *là* keeps the value of intermediate distance in comparison to *ici*, but it is used in certain contexts with the value of the proximal demonstrative (18a). Similarly, in Brazilian Portuguese, the second degree nominal demonstrative *esse* has colloquially displaced the first degree nominal demonstrative *este*, and is reinforced with *aquí* ('here') when reference is made to immediate proximity (18b).

(18) a. —Vous ne sortez pas? —Non, non, non, on bouge pas..., on reste là (Kleiber 1995: 13)

'Are you not going out? No, no, no, we are not moving... we are staying here (lit. there)'

b. *Essa mesinha aquí* ele recebeu de um amigo de Portugal (Jungbluth 2004-2005: 90)

'This table here (lit. that table here), he received it from a friend in Portugal'

6.2. Specific factors in restructuring the Catalan system

The fact that the reduction of the system was favoured by the nature of the space deixis and three-term systems does not fully explain why this reduction took place in Catalan and not in Peninsular Spanish. To justify these differences, once again, the specific paradigmatic factors of Catalan need to be taken into account. As shown in table 9, at first, *ací* and *aquí* were formally linked with other demon-

Table 9. Demonstratives in Old Catalan

Determiners		Pronouns		Adverbs	
(ai)cest	(aqu)est	---	açò	ací	ça
(ai)cell	aquell		allò	allí	llà (> allà)
---	(aqu)eix	ço	això	aquí	---

Table 10. Nominal and adverbial demonstratives in Today's Catalan

Deictic value	Category		
	Determiners	Pronouns	Adverbs
Proximal (to Sp. and/or Add.)	aquest	això	aquí
Distal	aquell	allò	allà / allí

strative determiners or pronouns. The adverb *ací* had a formal correlation with the other demonstratives that had arisen from the reinforcement ECCE, namely, the determiners *(ai)cest* and *(ai)cell*, the deictic pronoun *açò*, the phoric pronoun *ço* and the adverb *ça*. The adverb *aquí*, on the other hand, was correlated with determiners with the reinforcement ECCU: *aquest*, *aqueix* and *aquell*.

With later development, however, correlations changed. In the case of *ací* the correlations become weaker, as the determiners *(ai)cell* and *(ai)cest*, previously not very common, fell into disuse during the 14th century. The same happened with the adverb *ça* and with the pronoun *ço* a short time later (Casanova 2001). In the case of *aquí*, on the contrary, the relations became stronger. Although at first the determiners could have either simple forms or reinforced forms with *aqu-* in the two first degrees (*aquest/est* and *aqueix/eix*), the simple forms (*est* and *eix*) lost vitality from the end of the Middle Ages onwards across most of Catalan-speaking territory. Symptomatically they have not survived wherever *aquí* has been kept and the deictic system is two-term (Casanova 1993). By the end of the Middle Ages and especially in the Modern Age, *aquí* was better integrated in the systems of demonstratives, which is likely to have led to it gradually displacing *ací* and taking on the value of proximity both to the speaker (innovating value) and to the addressee (initial value).²⁵ The resulting paradigm is shown in table 10.

This change in the deictic value also had repercussions on the purely anaphoric value of *aquí*, which was gradually abandoned as part of a process that had begun in the Middle Ages and that could already be seen in the second half of the 16th century. The purely anaphoric value was basically assumed by the adverb *hi* (or *en* if the locative complement indicates the source of the movement).

25. As pointed out above (see footnote 6), different varieties of American Spanish also show a tendency to reduce the three-term system to a two-term system (Sedano 2003; RAE-ASALE 2009: § 17.8c; Di Tullio 2013: 335-336). In these varieties *acá* (or *aquí*) indicates proximity to the speaker and *ahí* signals distance (including proximity to the addressee) and becomes a variant of the more formal *allí*, which is also used for contrastive focus. This change is due to the general tendency to reduce three-term systems to two-term systems but it followed a different development than the one described for Catalan. The limitations of this study mean that this topic cannot be covered in detail. Suffice to say that once again, both general and specific factors played their part. In terms of general factors, the second and third degree are defined by negating the speaker's deictic space and they therefore share this feature (see figure 2). In terms of specific factors, in American Spanish the binary adverb series ending in *-á* (*acá* and *allá*) shows a much greater vitality than in Peninsular Spanish, where *acá* is not commonly used (Sedano 2001: 55-56; Maldonado 2013: 321; RAE-ASALE: 2009: § 17.8f). To conclude, note that *ahí* can be related formally with *allí*, via the palatal feature that shares the *i* of the former ([a.i]) and the consonant *ll* of the latter ([a.yi]), and this formal closeness might have favoured their semantic proximity.

7. Conclusions

As has been shown throughout this paper, the systems of space deixis frequently show a certain degree of instability and a tendency towards bidirectional restructuring. On the one hand, the evolution may be from a system of three-way opposition to a two-way one, as occurred in Late Latin and in most Catalan varieties in the Modern Age. On the other hand, the development may involve a change from a two-term to a three-term system, as occurred in Old Catalan, Old Spanish and Old Portuguese.

This two-way tendency is partly motivated by the very nature of deictic oppositions and by the opaque character of space deictics. The parallelism with personal pronouns favours a three-way distinction, in which the first degree is associated with the speaker's deictic space and the second degree is associated with the addressee's deictic space. Conversely, the fact that this objective distinction is not always pertinent, along with the possibility that the demonstratives express progressive degrees of distance, leads to the opposition becoming diluted in some cases. This may result in the demonstrative indicating medial proximity changing to indicate simple proximity.

In addition to factors related to the nature of space deictic systems, systems may be restructured depending on specific factors in each language, and, more particularly, on the paradigmatic relationships set up between the demonstrative forms of each language.

The change from two-term to three-term deixis documented in Old Catalan and Old Spanish can be explained by the possibility that anaphoric demonstratives can take on contextual deictic uses linked to the addressee's space. This contextual meaning became conventionalised very early on in Catalan because the anaphoric adverb *aquí* was in formal and distributional parallel to the deictic adverbs *ací* and *allí* from the outset. In Spanish the process occurred a little later, as first the form *ahí* had to be analogically recreated from the demonstrative *y*.

The change from three-term to two-term deixis that occurred in Catalan in the Modern Age was again favoured by paradigmatic factors and, specifically, by the loss of vitality of certain formal variants, which left the first-degree adverb *ací* increasingly isolated and led to the strengthening of the second-degree adverb *aquí*. As a result of these correlation changes, *aquí* gradually displaced *ací* and took on the value of proximity both to the speaker and to the addressee.

References

- Anderson, Stephen R.; Keenan, Edward L. (1985). «Deixis». In Shopen, Timothy (ed.). *Language typology and syntactic description: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 259-308.
- Ariel, Mira (1990). *Accessing Noun-phrase Antecedents*. London: Routledge.
- Bassols, Mariano (1956). *Sintaxis latina*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2 vol.
- Bello, Andrés (1847 [1988]). *Gramática de la lengua castellana. Destinada al uso de los americanos*. Tenerife: Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

- Brucart, Josep Maria (2002). «Els determinants». In: Solà, Joan; Lloret, Maria-Rosa; Mascaró, Joan; Pérez Saldanya, Manuel (eds.). *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2. Barcelona: Empúries, pp. 1435-1516.
- Carbonero Cano, Pedro (1979). *Deixis espacial y temporal en el sistema lingüístico*. Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.
- Casanova, Emili (1993). «Evolució i interferència en el sistema demostratiu català: una explicació». In: *Actes del Novè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*, III. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: Barcelona, pp. 161-195.
- Casanova, Emili (2001). «L'evolució de la construcció *ço que* > *lo que*, i d'altres amb *lo*: Factors i conseqüències». In: Pusch, Claus D. (ed.). *Katalanisch in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Satauffenburg Verlag, pp. 39-64.
- Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis (2007). «Verbos deícticos en español». In: Reinheimer-Rîpeanu, Sanda; Cuniță, Alexandra; Lupu, Coman; Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.): *Studii de Lingvistică și Filologie Romanică: Hommages offerts à Sandra Reinheimer Rîpeanu*. Bucarest: University of Bucharest, 2007, pp. 99-112.
- Company, Concepción (2003). «La gramaticalización en la historia del español». In: Company, Concepción (ed.). *Gramaticalización y cambio sintáctico en la historia del español*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, pp. 1-62.
- Company, Concepción; Espinosa, Rosa María (2014). «Adverbios demostrativos de lugar». In: Company, Concepción (dir.). *Sintaxis de la lengua española. Tercera parte: Preposiciones, adverbios y conjunciones. Relaciones interoracionales*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 129-244.
- Cornish, Francis (1999). *Anaphora, Discourse and Understanding. Evidence from English and French*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Corominas, Juan; Pascual, José A. (1980-1991). *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos, 6 vol. 1980-1991.
- Cuenca, Maria Josep (2009). «Gramaticalización». In: Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide; Valenzuela, Javier (eds.). *Lingüística Cognitiva*. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 281-304.
- Cuenca, Maria Josep; Ribera, Josep (2013). «Usos y estrategias de traducción inglés-español de los demostrativos en narrativa de ficción». *Anuario de Letras. Lingüística y Filología* 1: 39-84.
- Di Tullio, Ángela (2013). «*Ahí* y *Por Ahí* en el español de la Argentina». *Anuario de Letras. Lingüística y Filología* 1: 327-356.
- Diessel, Holger. (2006). «Demonstratives, joint attention, and the emergence of grammar». *Cognitive Linguistics* 17: 463-489.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2003). «Demonstratives: A cross-linguistic typology». *Studies in Language* 27: 61-112.
- Eguren, Luis J. (1999). «Pronombres y adverbios demostrativos. Las relaciones deícticas». In: Bosque, Ignacio; Demonte, Violeta (eds.). *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, vol 1. Madrid: Espasa, pp. 929-972.
- Ernout, Alfred (1953). *Morphologie historique du latin*. París: Klincksieck.
- Fillmore, Charles J. (1966). «Deictic categories in the semantics of 'come'». *Foundations of Language* 2: 219-227.
- Gutiérrez Cuadrado, Juan; Pascual, José A. (1995). «Observaciones desde el sentido común a algunas ideas al uso sobre la Historia de la lengua». In: Martí, Sadurní; Feliu, Francesc (eds.). *Problemes i mètodes de la Història de la llengua*. Barcelona: Cuaderns Crema, 1995, pp. 129-167.

- Guzmán Riverón, Martha; Sáez Rivera, Daniel M. (in press). «Morfosintaxis de los demostrativos indefinidos desde la época colonial a la actual». In: Rojas, Elena; Sánchez Méndez, Juan Pedro (eds.). *Morfosintaxis histórica del español de América*.
- Hopper Paul J.; Traugott, Elizabeth (1993 [2003]). *Grammatization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hottenroth, Priska-Monika (1982). «The system of local deixis in Spanish». In: Weissenborn, Jürgen; Klein, Wolfgang (eds.). *Here and there. Cross-linguistic studies on deixis and demonstration*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 133-153.
- Iso Echegoyen, José Javier (1974). «En torno al sistema deictico pronominal en latín y su paso a las lenguas románicas». *Revista española de lingüística* 42: 459-471.
- Jungbluth, Konstanze (2004-2005). «Os pronomes demonstrativos do Português Brasileiro na fala e na escrita». *Cadernos de Linguagem e Sociedade* 7: 83-105.
- Kany, Charles (1976). *Sintaxis hispanoamericana*. Madrid: Gredos
- Kleiber, Georges (1995). «D'ici à la et vice versa: pour les aborder autrement», *Le gré des langues* 8: 8-27.
- Lloyd, Paul M. (1993). *Del latín al español*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Maldonado, Ricardo (2013) «Subjetividad en la deixis. El caso de *aquí* y *acá*». *Anuario de Letras. Lingüística y Filología* 1: 285-326.
- Monteil, Pierre (1992). *Elementos de fonética y morfología del latín*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Pascual, José A. (2010). «La aplicación de los corpus a la Filología». In: Bahillo, E.; B. Burgos, B; Iglesias, A. M. (eds.). *Interlingüística XXI. Actuales líneas de investigación en el panorama internacional de los jóvenes lingüistas*. Valladolid, pp. 31-46.
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel; Rigau, Gemma (2011). «*Totz hic viuen ací, e yo sol no yc puc viure!*: Una aproximació històrica als adverbis demostratius». In: Lloret, Maria-Rosa; Pons, Clàudia (eds.). *Noves aproximacions a la fonologia i la morfologia del català*. Alacant: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, pp. 459-488.
- Pieroni, Sivia (2010). «Deixis and anaphor». In: *New perspectives on historical Latin syntax. 3: Constituent syntax: Quantification, numerals, possession, anaphora*. Baldi, Philip; Cuzzolin, Pierluigi (eds.). Berlin-Nueva York: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 389-501.
- RAE-ASALE [Real Academia Española; Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española] (2009). *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa, 2 vol.
- Ribera, Josep (2008): *La cohesió lèxica en seqüències narratives*. Universitat de València. Doctoral dissertation. [en línia]. <<http://www.tesisenxarxa.net/TDX-0917109-143808/index.html>> [data de consulta: 31/08/2015].
- Ribera, Josep; Cuenca, Maria Josep (2013). «Use and translation of demonstratives in fiction: a contrastive approach (English-Catalan)». *Catalan Review* 28: 27-49.
- Rigau, Gemma (1976). «Anem o venim? ». *Els Marges* 8: 33-53.
- Roca, Francesc (2009). «The left periphery of nominal constructions and the evolution of definite determiners in Romance». In: Rafel Cufí, Joan (ed.) *Diachronic Linguistics*. Girona: Documenta Universitaria, pp. 495-551.
- Sánchez Lancis, Carlos (1990). *Estudio de los adverbios de espacio y tiempo en el español medieval*, vol. I. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, doctoral dissertation.

- Saragossà, Abelard (2004). «El valor dels adjectius demostratius segons les lingüístiques catalana i castellana: problemes i solucions». In: Calvo, Cesáreo; Casanova, Emili; Satorre, Francisco J. (eds.). *Quaderns de filologia. Estudis lingüístics* 9: 199-243.
- Sedano, Mercedes (1994). «Evaluation of two hypotheses about the alternation between *aquí* and *acá* in a corpus of present-day Spanish», *Language, Variation and Change* 6: 223-237.
- Sedano, Mercedes (2000). «Variación entre *aquí* vs. *acá* y *allí* vs. *allá*: la situación en el español hablado de Caracas», *Iberoamericana* 1: 21-38.
- Sedano, Mercedes (2001). «Los adverbios demostrativos en Madrid, Caracas y Buenos Aires ¿Influencia de la direccionalidad?». In: Carbonero Cano, Pedro; Guillén Sutil, Rosario (eds.). *Sociolingüística andaluza 12. Identidad lingüística y comportamientos discursivos*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, pp. 49-62.
- Terrado, Xavier (1990). «Sobre la forma de contenido de los adverbios de lugar. Cuestiones de diacronía». *Sintagma* 2: 55-66.
- Teyssier, Paul (1981). «Le système des déictiques spatiaux en portugais aux xive, xve et xvie siècles». *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 6: 5-39.
- Traugott, Elisabeth Closs (1995). «Subjectification in Grammaticalisation». In: Stein, Dieter; Wright, Susan (eds.). *Subjectivity and Subjectivisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 31-54.
- Traugott, Elisabeth Closs (2003). «From subjectification to intersubjectification». In: Hickey, Raymond (ed.). *Motives for Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 124-139.
- Väänänen, Veikko (1968). *Introducción al latín vulgar*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Vanelli, Laura (2010). «La deissi». In: Salvi, Giampaolo; Lorenzo Renzi (eds.). *Grammatica dell'italiano antico*. Bologna: il Mulino, pp. 1247-1288.
- Vanelli, Laura; Renzi, Lorenzo (1995). «La deissi». In: Lorenzo Renzi; Salvi, Giampaolo; Cardinaletti, Anna (eds.). *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, vol 3. Bologna: il Mulino, pp. 261-376.
- Wheeler, Max W.; Yates, Alan; Dols, Nicolau (1999). *Catalan. A comprehensive grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.

Corpus

- (*Alcoi*): *Llibre de la Cort de Justícia d'Alcoi (anys 1263-1265)*. Edited by Maria Àngels Diéguez Seguí. València: Universitat de València, 2011.
- (*Buen Amor*): Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*. Edited by Alberto Blecha, Madrid: Cátedra, 1992.
- (*Cavaller*): *El cavaller i l'alcajota: un procés medieval*. Edited by Jaume Riera i Sans. Barcelona: Club Editor, 1973.
- (*Celestina*): Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*. Edited by Dorothy S. Severin, Madrid: Cátedra, 1993.
- (*Clams*): Maria Àngels Diéguez, *Clams i crims en la València medieval segons el "Llibre de cort reial de justícia (1279-1321)"*. Alacant: Universitat d'Alacant, 2002.
- (*Corbacho*) Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*. Edited by Joaquín González Muela. Castalia: Madrid: 1985.

- (*Cort*): Joan Miralles Monserrat, *Un llibre de cort reial mallorquí del segle XIV*, vol. II, Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics / Editorial Moll, 1984.
- (*Crònica*): Bernat Desclot, *Crònica*, vol. V. Edited by M. Coll i Alentorn. Barcelona: Barcino, 1951.
- (*Diàlegs*): Montserrat Alegre Urgell, "Diàlegs" de Sant Gregori. *Retranscripció i estudi lingüístic de la versió catalana de 1340*. Universitat de Barcelona, doctoral dissertation, 2004.
- (*Epistolari*): *Epistolari de Pere III*, vol. I. Edited by Ramon Gubert. Barcelona: Barcino, 1955.
- (*Fets*): Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets del rei en Jaume*, vol. 2. Edited by Jordi Bruguera. Barcelona: Barcino, 1991.
- (*General Estoria*) Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Primera parte*, vol.1. Edited by Pedro Sánchez Prieto-Borja. Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 2001.
- (*Geografia*): Josep Iglésies, *Pere Gil (1951-1622) i la seva geografia de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2002.
- (*Reintegració*): Gabriel Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració de la corona de Mallorca a la corona d'Aragó (1343-1349)*, vol. II, *Apèndix documental*. Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1997.
- (*Viatge*): «*Viatge a l'infern d'en Pere Portes*». *Llegendes de l'altra vida*. Edited by R. Miquel i Planas. Barcelona, 1914, pp. 212-238.
- (*Victorial*): Gutierre Díaz de Games, *El Victorial*. Edited by Rafael Beltrán Llavador. Madrid: Taurus, 1994.
- (*Vides*): *Vides de Sants Rosselloneses*, vol. 2. Edited by Charlotte S. Maneikis Kniazzezh and Edward J. Neugaard. Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1977.

The Polysemy of the verbs *pegar*, *apegar* and *empegar* in Catalan: A synchronic manifestation of semantic change*

Joan-Rafael Ramos

Universitat de València. Departament de Filologia Catalana
joan.r.ramos@uv.es



Received: May 19, 2015
Accepted: July 19, 2015

Abstract

In this paper we study the polysemy that the verbs *pegar* ('hit/stick'), *apegar* ('stick') and *empegar* ('stick') possess today in the Catalan language. First of all, we perform a thorough description of the meanings that each of these verbs have acquired not only in the standard but also in the colloquial language. Each of the meanings has been differentiated from the others by analysing the most prominent dictionaries currently available and a corpus of written texts. Additionally, a number of surveys on the spoken language have also been taken into account. Our research has shown that in the different Catalan dialects they do not always have the same meanings or the same verb forms. To be able to interpret how this polysemy has come about, we have taken cognitive linguistics as our theoretical framework. We have been able to show that the notion of image schema of path, combined with prototypicality effects and with the Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change, in which the mechanism of metonymy plays a fundamental role, can provide a satisfactory explanation for the semasiological complexity of the verbs under study.

Keywords: semantic change; polysemy; cognitive linguistics; metonymy; linguistic variation; Catalan.

Resum. *La polisèmia dels verbs pegar, apegar i empegar en català: una manifestació sincrònica del canvi semàntic*

En aquest article estudiem la polisèmia que tenen els verbs *pegar*, *apegar* i *empegar* en el català actual. Primer de tot, fem una descripció completa dels significats que han adquirit aquests verbs no tan sols en la llengua estàndard, sinó també en la col·loquial. Per distingir-ne els significats hem analitzat els diccionaris actuals més rellevants i un corpus de textos escrits. A més, també hem tingut en compte unes quantes mostres de la llengua oral. La nostra recerca ha posat de manifest que no hi ha els mateixos significats ni les mateixes formes en tots els dialectes. Per poder entendre com s'ha produït aquesta polisèmia, hem partit del marc teòric de la lingüística cognitiva. Hem pogut mostrar que, quan es combina la noció d'esquema d'imatge del camí amb els efectes de prototipicitat i amb la Teoria del Canvi Semàntic per Inferència Convidada, en què juga un paper

* This study is part of the research project entitled *Gramàtica del català modern (1601-1833)* funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MINECO: ref. FFI2012-37103).

fonamental la metonímia, podem obtenir una explicació satisfactòria de la complexitat semasiològica dels verbs estudiats.

Paraules clau: canvi semàntic; polisèmia; lingüística cognitiva; metonímia; variació lingüística; català.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	3. Interpretation of the polysemy
2. The polysemy of <i>pegar</i> , <i>apegar</i> and <i>empegar</i> today	4. Conclusions
	References

1. Introduction

The study of semantic change and polysemy in Catalan has advanced a great deal in recent years thanks to the research carried out from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. The studies by Martines (2000a, 2000b, 2013) and Montserrat (2007), and more recently the monographic study published in the journal *Caplletra* 56 (Martines 2014), have become a reference in the field. But there are still many topics to be addressed. One of these topics is the study of one of the verbs with the most dynamism in Catalan, the verb *pegar*. We still do not have an in-depth approach that reveals all of the semasiological variety of this verb and its variants *apegar* and *empegar*. In fact all we have available are the contributions made by Catalan reference dictionaries, especially the DCVB and the DECLC.

The study presented here is part of a more extensive research project on these verbs that we are currently working on. The aim of this study is not only to analyse the polysemy they display today but also to date and record the semantic evolution that they have undergone throughout the history of the Catalan language. Due to space restrictions, in this paper we will focus on just the synchronic perspective, although this will in no way prevent us from putting forward an explanation, from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, as to how the diversity of meanings noted in the text have developed.

The different meanings will be differentiated using information taken from the following contemporary reference dictionaries: *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* (DIEC), *Gran diccionari de la llengua catalana* (GDLC), *Diccionari Normatiu Valencià* (DNV), *Diccionari Descriptiu de la Llengua Catalana* (DDLC), *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (DCVB) and *Diccionari Etimològic i Complementari de la Llengua Catalana* (DECLC). Furthermore, we also have the documentary material provided by the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* (CTILC). The data will be completed using information about the spoken language.¹

1. The basic information from the CTILC about the verbs studied here is already summarised in the corresponding entry of the DDLC. Nevertheless, we have also carried out a more detailed search based on the extraction of the CTILC between the years 1901 and 1953. Accordingly, we wish to thank Joan Soler for his collaboration in exporting the data from the CTILC. Regarding the spoken language, the data come from 20 surveys carried out in different dialectal areas of the Catalan-

2. The polysemy of *pegar*, *apegar* and *empegar* today

Based on the sources we have used as a reference, in this section we show the meanings that the verbs under analysis have developed in the Catalan in use today. These meanings cover all the variation that can exist in Catalan. That is to say, there are meanings that are common in the formal written language, but we can also find values that are typical of the informal colloquial language. In some cases a meaning appearing in a dictionary may even have become obsolete in the spoken language. Likewise, the geographical extension of a particular meaning may also be different. We will attempt to take account of all these incidences in the paper.

2.1. *The verb pegar*

The meanings will be ordered such that the first senses will be those more commonly found in the standard language, according to information from the normative dictionary of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (DIEC). This will be followed by the meanings that, despite being found on a widespread basis in Catalan, are not typical of the standard language or do not appear in the DIEC. The last to be dealt with will be the meanings that can be considered as being of a dialectal nature. For the sake of convenience, we have assigned a letter to each meaning.²

With regard to the usual senses in the standard language, the following meanings can be distinguished:

Meaning A: 'touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit'. As reflected in all the lexicographical sources that were studied as well as in the surveys, this is the most prototypical meaning in modern-day Catalan and is in generalised usage throughout the whole geographical area.³

- (1) Va pegar (una punyada) al germà.
 AUX.PAST.3SG hit.INF (a punch) to the brother
 'He punched his brother'

speaking domain (Balearic, Central and North-western Catalan and Valencian). We are fully aware that the limited number of surveys precludes the possibility of considering this study of the spoken language as being a comprehensive representation of the Catalan dialects. We do believe, however, that as complementary material it is useful as a way of orienting us towards the dialectal tendencies of the verbs under study. Indeed, many of these tendencies already appear in the dictionaries analysed or can be deduced from the examples in the CTILC. I also wish to express my gratitude to those who so willingly collaborated in this study, with special thanks to Robert Albiac for having coordinated 10 surveys in the geographical area in which North-western Catalan is used.

2. It should be noted that, when it comes to classifying which meanings appear in each of the reference sources, the dictionaries do not display a unified list of the different senses. In some cases we have therefore had to interpret the semantic equivalences, often from the examples given.
3. In the case of *pegar* + NP (noun phrase, with a meaning denoting impact) (1), Catalan alternates between *pegar* and *donar*, although there is usually a preference for the verb *pegar* in the Valencian-speaking area.

4. The other Catalan dialects often prefer to use *fer* or *donar*. A good example of this variation can be found in the *Atles Lingüístic del Domini Català* in its entry dealing with the concept of *besar* ('kiss'): <<http://aldc.espaix.iec.cat/files/2013/06/Mapa-3.pdf>>. Owing to space restrictions, in this paper we cannot conduct an in-depth study of this kind of constructions, which also open up the way to the rich phraseology of the verb *pegar* – especially rich in Valencian – although not exclusive to it: *pegar foc* ('set fire to'), *pegar voltes* ('think over'), *pegar cabotades* ('nod off'), etc. They would also be part of phraseological structures such as: *pegar de cap* ('fall'), *pegar en pedra* ('run into hard opposition'), etc.

Meaning F: ‘stick with an adhesive material’. This meaning appears in the DIEC, although as a secondary form that refers the user to *apegar*. It is also included in the DCVB and in the DDLC, as well as in the DECLC, but only in the historical records or quotations. It does not appear in the GDLC or in the DNV. It is usually infrequent in the spoken language and is also sporadic in the written language.

- (6) ?Hem pegat els cartells a la paret.
 Have.1PL stuck.PP the posters on the wall
 ‘We have stuck the posters on the wall’

The other meanings that we outline below do not appear in the normative dictionary (DIEC). Hence, with regard to the standard language, they can be or indeed are considered to be senses that are either dialectal or typical of the colloquial language. The first of these meanings that we will deal with are those found on a general basis throughout the language:

Meaning G: ‘fight, brawl’. Despite being a generalised sense present throughout the whole of the Catalan language, it is only explicitly mentioned in the DNV and in the DDLC.

- (7) El teu germà i un foraster s’han pegat.
 Your brother and a stranger themselves.REFL have.3PL hit.PP
 ‘Your brother has had a fight with a stranger’

Meaning H: ‘Suit, fit, match’. This meaning is only included in the DDLC and the DCVB. The surveys conducted on the spoken usage show that this meaning is widely extended throughout all the Catalan dialects.

- (8) No (li/hi) pega gens el quadre que has posat al menjador.
 No (it.DAT/there.LOC) sticks/hits at all the picture that have.2SG put.PP in the dining room
 ‘The picture you put up in the dining room doesn’t go with it at all’

Meaning I: ‘cheat’.⁵ Although this meaning does not appear in the DIEC, GDLC or DECLC, it is included in the DNV, DDLC and DCVB and is used throughout the whole geographical area, but only in colloquial contexts.

- (9) Ell es pensa que la dona li la/la hi pega.
 He himself.CL thinks that the wife him.DAT+it.AC.FEM/it.AC.FEM+him.DAT hits
 ‘He thinks his wife is cheating on him’

5. In this sense, the verb is accompanied by the lexicalised feminine accusative pronoun *la*.

Meaning J: ‘have an accident’.⁶ This sense does not appear in any of the lexicographical sources that we have used as a reference but, as occurred with the previous meaning, it is in colloquial usage in all the Catalan dialects.

- (10) Ens la vam pegar quan vam entrar
 Ourselves.REFL it.AC.FEM AUX.PAST.1PL hit.INF when AUX.PAST.1PL enter.INF
 a l'autovia.
 on the dual carriageway
 ‘We had an accident as we were going onto the dual carriageway’

The following meanings are used today in a smaller geographical area:⁷

Meaning K: ‘head towards, end up’. This meaning is not included in the DIEC or the GDLC, but does appear in the others. It is common in spontaneous uses in Majorcan and Valencian, while a certain recession is observed in the North-western area.⁸

- (11) Ahir va pegar cap a València.
 Yesterday AUX.PAST.3SG stick.INF towards Valencia
 ‘He went to Valencia yesterday’

Meaning L: ‘be oriented towards a place’. Although the dictionaries that were consulted do not explicitly mention this meaning of the verb *pegar*, the surveys that we conducted and some of the examples provided by the DDLC and the DECLC show its existence in colloquial Majorcan, the North-western and Valencian speech.

- (12) La finestra de la casa pegava al riu.
 The window of the house stick.PAST.3SG to the river
 ‘The window of the house looked out onto the river’

Meaning M: ‘be close to a place without actual contact’. This meaning is included in the DDLC and the DECLC, but does not appear in the other dictionaries. The DECLC provides spoken sources mainly from the Balearic dialect but also from the Ribagorçan and Valencian varieties. It should be noted, however, that

6. As in the previous case, it contains the lexicalised feminine accusative pronoun *la*.

7. The DCVB includes the absolute use of the verb *pegar*, which it defines as ‘assault, attack; set upon somebody (especially one animal against another or against something)’. We have considered this syntactic usage as being included within meaning A.

8. Massip (1991: glossary) also noted this usage in the area around Tortosa. On the other hand, we have observed that when asking about the place, in the area of Majorca it is accompanied by a lexicalised object pronoun (dative or accusative): *A on li/la pegues avui?* (‘Where are you going today?’). The lexicalisation of the pronoun is not a recent phenomenon, as the historical dictionary published by Aguiló (1915: s.v. *pegar*) already included the form with the accusative. Moreover, it should be noted that the element that acts as the subject of the sentence does not necessarily have to be a person, but can also be an inanimate element that involves a trajectory or course, such as a path, a road, a shortcut, etc.

the examples given are often a continuation of meaning L ('be oriented towards a place'). Our surveys record this usage in the Ribagorça area, but not in the Balearic or Valencian dialects.

- (13) Aquest poble pega amb la capital.
 This town sticks with the capital
 'This town lies next to the capital'

Meaning N: 'come into contact (the sun, the wind, water) with certain intensity'. This meaning appears in the DNV and the DDLC but not in any of the others. Although its use is declining in the North-western variant, it is common in Majorcan and Valencian.⁹

- (14) En aquella part li/hi pega el sol.
 In that part it.DAT/there.LOC sticks/hits the sun
 'It's quite sunny in that part'

Meaning O: 'dedicate oneself to, carry out an activity with certain intensity'.¹⁰ It is recorded in the DNV, DDLC, DCVB and DECLC, but does not appear in the DIEC or in the GDLC. This meaning is used by Valencian and Balearic authors, as indicated in the DCVB and the DDLC, and is not considered unusual in the North-western dialect.

- (15) Li pega a la beguda / a córrer / (a escriure) en francés.
 Him.DAT sticks/hits to the drink / to run.INF / (to write.INF) in French
 'He drinks a lot / He often goes running / He usually writes in French'

Meaning P: 'cause a certain feeling, especially in terms of mood'. This meaning is given in the DNV and the DDLC, but the other dictionaries do not mention it. It is used in Valencian and appears in texts written in Balearic Catalan.¹¹

- (16) Les teues paraules li van pegar molt malament.
 Your words him.DAT AUX.PAST.3PL stick/hit.INF very badly
 'He didn't like what you said at all'

9. The fact that this meaning implies intensity is not always obvious. Indeed, with a subject like *the sun*, among Valencian speakers the verb *pegar* needs an intensifying complement for it to take on this intensifying meaning, i.e. 'heat', otherwise it merely expresses contact, 'touch'.

10. With this meaning, *pegar*, which presents the lexicalised dative clitic, shares many similarities with meaning D, that is, with the light verbs. This is due to the fact that it is the presence of certain sentential constituents that determines its final meaning: *Aquell jugador li pega bé* 'that player plays well'; *Quan és al treball, li pega fort* 'when he is at work, he works hard'.

11. The CTILC offers a couple of examples by Pere Capellà (*L'amo de Son Magraner*, Palma de Majorca, 1952).

Meaning Q: ‘suddenly start’. This case is included in the DNV, DCVB and DECLC, but has no entry in the DIEC, GDLC and DDLC. The results of the surveys show that usage today is restricted to the Valencian area, although the DCVB and CTILC also record it in the writings of several authors from the Roussillon and Catalan regions dating back to the early 20th century.

- (17) Quan va veure el perill, va pegar a
 When AUX.PAST.3SG see.INF the danger, AUX.PAST.3SG stick/hit.INF to
 córrer.
 run.INF
 ‘When he saw the danger, he ran off’

Meaning R: ‘be too much’. Only the DECLC includes this meaning. As indicated by this lexicographical source and confirmed by our surveys, this meaning is often used in the districts around Tortosa and in Valencian.¹²

- (18) L’arròs pega en dolç.
 The rice sticks/hits in sweet
 ‘The rice hasn’t got enough salt in it’

Meaning S: ‘insist on something or act insistently against someone’.¹³ This meaning does not appear among the senses or the examples in the dictionaries consulted, except for the DCVB and the DDLC, which both contain examples from the late 19th century. The oral surveys that we carried out show that they are still in use in Valencian and, albeit residually, in the southern part of the North-western region.

- (19) L’ha pegada en ell/en comprar-se un cotxe.
 It.AC.FEM has stuck/hit.PP.FEM on him/on buy.INF+himself.REFL a car
 ‘He acts insistently against him/insists on buying himself a car’

Meaning T: ‘reach a certain place, up to a certain point (which is seen as being excessive)’. This sense is only recorded in the DCVB. It is used in Majorca, as is also shown by our survey, but it has not been recorded in the other territories in which the language is used.

- (20) L’herba era mala de segar perquè li pegava
 The grass be.PAST.3SG bad of mow.INF because him.DAT stick/hit.PAST.3SG
 pel pit.
 by the chest
 ‘The grass was hard to mow because it was too long’

12. In the southernmost parts of the Valencian region, there is also a syntactic variant constructed with the preposition *per* instead of *en*. Moreover, in Valencian a property assigned to the subject of the sentence may also have a locative meaning: *La casa d’ella pega (per) lluny* ‘Her house is too far away’.

13. In this case, the feminine clitic pronoun *la* is included in the verb.

Meaning U: ‘come across unexpectedly’. This case does not appear in any of the dictionaries consulted. In the spoken language, it appears colloquially in Valencian.

- (21) Si pegues en un professor dur, no aprovaràs.
 If hit.2SG on a teacher hard, not pass.FUT.2SG
 ‘If you find yourself with a demanding teacher, you won’t pass’

Meaning V: ‘put together, be one thing touching another’. It does not appear with this meaning in the information about the contemporary language offered by the following publications: DIEC, GDLC, DNV and DDLC, yet it does appear in old examples in the DCVB and the DECLC. It does not appear to be used in the spoken language either, except for the case with the participle *pegat* (22b), which we have found in the North-western area, especially in the part under Aragonese administration.

- (22) a. ?Pega aquella cadira a/contra la paret.
 Stick.IMP that chair to/against the wall
 ‘Put that chair up against the wall’
 b. ?Aquest poble està pegat a la capital.
 This town is stuck.PP to the capital
 ‘This town is right next to the capital’

Meaning W: ‘stick’. This sense is included in the DDLC, but is not recorded in the DIEC, the GDLC or the DNV. The DCVB and the DECLC, on the other hand, only offer historical examples. It is usually infrequent in the spoken language and is found only sporadically in the written language.

- (23) ?El peix es pega a la paella.
 The fish itself.CL sticks to the frying pan
 ‘The fish is sticking to the frying pan’

Meaning X: ‘pass on, transmit (an illness, a custom, an obsession, a way of speaking)’. This case does not appear in any of the following sources: GDLC, DNV, DIEC, DECLC. In contrast, it is included in the DCVB and in the DDLC, but in quotations from before 1900.

- (24) ?Li vam pegar la grip.
 Him.DAT AUX.PAST.1PL stick-INF the flu
 ‘We passed the flu onto him’

2.2. The verbs *apegar* and *empegar*

The variant forms with prefixes, *apegar* and *empegar*, have not developed as many senses as *pegar* in the language used today and are not so generalised, geographi-

cally speaking. The form *apegar*, on the one hand, shares the following meanings with *pegar*:

Meaning F: ‘stick with an adhesive material’. This sense is recorded in the DIEC, GCLC, DNV, DDLC and DCVB and only appears in the DECLC in the quotations (examples from before the year 1900). It is common in the Valencian and North-western dialectal areas, but is rarely found in the rest of the Catalan dialects.¹⁴

- (25) Hem apegat els cartells a la paret.
 Have.1PL stuck.PP the posters on the wall
 ‘We have stuck the posters on the wall’

Meaning W: ‘stick’. It appears in the DDLC and in the DCVB. The DECLC only records it in historical quotations. This sense is not explicitly mentioned in the DIEC, GDLC or DNV. In the spoken language, *apegar* can be found in the Valencian and North-western dialectal areas.

- (26) El peix s’apega a la paella.
 The fish itself.CL sticks to the frying pan
 ‘The fish is sticking to the frying pan’

Meaning X: ‘pass on, transmit (an illness, a custom, an obsession, a way of speaking)’. This meaning appears in the DIEC, GDLC, DNV, DCVB and DDLC, and in some old examples quoted in the DECLC. In the spoken language it is used in the Valencian and North-western dialectal areas.

- (27) Li vam apegar la grip.
 Him.DAT AUX.PAST.1PL stick.INF the flu
 ‘We passed the flu onto him’

Meaning V: ‘put together, be one thing touching another’. This meaning does not appear in any of the dictionaries consulted, but is frequently heard in colloquial Valencian and North-western speech.

- (28) a. Apega aquella cadira a/contra la paret.
 Stick.IMP that chair to/against the wall
 ‘Put that chair up against the wall’
 b. Aquest poble està apegat a la capital.
 This town is stuck.PP to the capital
 ‘This town is right next to the capital’

Conversely, *apegar* has taken on other meanings that are not shared by *pegar*:

14. This is what was found in the surveys we conducted. See also Veny (2008: 12).

Meaning Y: ‘latch onto somebody, get in touch with somebody to gain some kind of benefit from them’. This meaning is included in the DDLC and in the DCVB but does not appear in the others. In the region of Valencia and in the North-western area it is typically used in the colloquial spoken language.

- (29) Com que vol progressar, s’apega a l’alcalde.
 As wants progress.INF, himself.CL sticks to the mayor
 ‘As he wants to go up in the world, he latches onto the mayor’

Meaning Z: ‘link, have a strong inclination’. It is included in the DDLC and in the DCVB, but not in the others. It is used colloquially in the Valencian region and in the North-western area.

- (30) Viu molt apegat a sa mare.
 Lives very stuck.PP to his mother
 ‘He has a very close relationship with his mother’

On the other hand, all the dictionaries show the same sense of *empegar*, which we represent as ‘Meaning Θ’: ‘smear with pitch or with some other adhesive material’.

- (31) Va empegar i cosir la bóta de vi.
 AUX.PAST.3SG smear with pitch.INF and sew.INF the cask of wine
 ‘He smeared with pitch and sewed the wineskin’

Nevertheless, except for the DIEC, where meaning F (‘stick with an adhesive material’) appears as a secondary form, and the DDLC, which also includes meanings W (‘stick’) and X (‘pass on an illness, a custom, an obsession, a way of speaking’), the other dictionaries that were consulted do not offer any more meanings. Our surveys place the spoken use of these senses of the verb *empegar* in an area restricted to the North-western region, especially in the district of the Segrià, where meaning V (‘put together, be one thing touching another’) is also known. In the rest of the Catalan dialects and in the written language, it is usually infrequent.¹⁵ It should be noted that we have no written or spoken examples of usage of *empegar* with meanings Y and Z.

3. Interpretation of the polysemy

In the previous section we have seen how the verb *pegar* displays a notable degree of polysemy in current language usage, although its geographical and diaphasic

15. On referring to the peculiarity of the speech used in Lleida, Masip *et al.* (2000) cite meanings W and X. In the period under study, the CTILC only included one written example of *empegar* with meaning W, in this case used by the Lleida-born writer Antoni Sabater Mur (*La dansa de les fulles*, 1937).

distribution is not always uniform. Meanings A, B, C, D and E are generalised throughout the whole Catalan language and are typical of the standard language. Meanings G, H, I and J, although generalised, are usually considered colloquial solutions. Meanings K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T and U, depending on the individual case, are rather limited in their dialectal scope (Balearic, North-western, Valencian) and are typically found in colloquial language. Meanings F, V, W and X have become obsolete in language usage today. In fact these meanings are covered in the Valencian and North-western areas by the verb *apegar*, which also expands the meaning to cases Y and Z. Finally, *empegar*, besides its standard meaning Θ , has developed, dialectically, a semantic extension towards meanings F, V, W and X.

Given the heterogeneity of meanings in the language used today, the question arises as to how it can be explained. To do so, we will base our explanation on cognitive linguistics and more particularly on its studies on semantic change, which consider polysemy in synchrony as being but a manifestation of semantic changes in diachrony. According to cognitive linguistics,¹⁶ language reflects our vital experiences and allows us to conceptualise the world. Meaning therefore plays a fundamental role and cannot be separated from our experience, which leads to the assumption that semantics must be linked to pragmatics (Traugott 2012). Hence, linguistic expressions and grammatical constructions are a formal manifestation of the way in which we conceptualise the world. In this conceptualisation of the world, and more particularly in the explanation of semantic change, prototypicality effects become especially significant (Geeraerts 1997: § 1.3), as do metonymic and metaphorical mechanisms (Barcelona 2011; Paradis 2011) and their relationship with the Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change (Traugott and Dasher 2002), and the concept of image schema (Soares da Silva 2003; Oakely 2007 and Peña Cervel 2012, as well as the works included within them).

In the following we will see how these three theories may have interacted to explain the semantic change of the verb *pegar* and of its formal variants *apegar* and *empegar*.

3.1. Early manifestations of semantic change

First, let us recall that the Latin etymon of *pegar* is *PĪCĀRE* ‘smear, stick with pitch’, derived from the noun *PIX*, *PICIS* ‘pitch’ (Coromines 1983-1991).¹⁷ As claimed by

16. For an introduction to cognitive linguistics and the theories that we draw on in this paper, the reader is invited to see the handbooks by Ungerer and Schmid (1996), Cuenca and Hilferty (1999), Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007) and Ibarretxe and Valenzuela (2012).
17. Historically it is related to other Latin cognates: *pegar* (Spanish), *pegar* (Portuguese and Galician), *pegar* (Occitanian), *péguer* (French), *picàre* (Sardinian) and (*ap*)*piccare* (Italian). We have not found it recorded in Romanian, at least in the modern-day language. With regard to Italian, there is no agreement among philologists when it comes to determining the etymology of the cognates *appicare* and *piccare*, but the meanings acquired throughout the history of the Italian language (cf. Battaglia 1961-2002: s.v. *piccare*) show that there must be a relationship with the etymon *PĪCĀRE*, despite the fact that at some time or another a process of blending (Pascual 2012) might have taken place with a hypothetical etymon **PĪCĀRE* ‘hit with a pick’. Likewise, it should be noted that the

Coromines (1983-1991) and we ourselves have found in our research, in Catalan texts from the 13th and 14th centuries the verb *pegar* had already taken on a more generic sense. Indeed, it no longer designates the specific action of smearing or sticking with pitch, but instead expands the sense to ‘stick with any material’ (meaning F) and to ‘stick’, without the need to state what adhesive material is used (meaning W). Note that this semantic change is governed by a metonymic process, since the attention is focused on the final effect (the sticking) and not on the cause (the action of smearing or sticking with pitch): smear with pitch > stick with pitch > stick.

With these senses, the verb *pegar* can be characterised as an action verb, and as such it should be conceptualised as a motion verb (Palancar 1999). At this point, then, it is important to refer to the theoretical concept of image schema, and more particularly to a schema with a spatial basis. In this case, the representation suggests a displacement that starts out from a point (source) until it reaches a destination (goal). This trajectory or displacement involves the image schema of path and a directionality (see Figure 1). In the case we are dealing with here, the element that moves is focused on as a *trajector* (or *figure*) in relation to the element that acts as a *landmark* or point of reference (*ground*) for the movement initiated by the trajector.

But it is important to note something that will become essential to be able to interpret the semantic change. Thanks to the prototypical meaning of *pegar*, the element that acts as a trajector, that is to say the entity that we wish to paste, is conceptualised as being in contact with the element that acts as a landmark, i.e. the part that the projector will be stuck to. Therefore, the resulting visual representation is that of contact (Figure 2).¹⁸

Contact involves spatial proximity and if two entities are so close to each other, they can exert a mutual influence and display a link or connection between them.

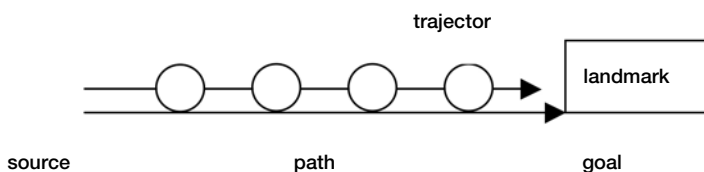


Figure 1. Image schema of path.

French form *péguier* is not used in the language today, but does appear in mediaeval French (DMF). It is not our intention to go into Latin cognates in depth in this paper, since that would fall beyond the scope of this study and needs to be dealt with separately.

18. Some scholars, such as Peña Cervel (2012), also refer to contact as another experiential pattern that gives rise to an image schema, although they consider it to be a subsidiary of the near-far image schema and, at the same time, dependent on the basic image schema of path.

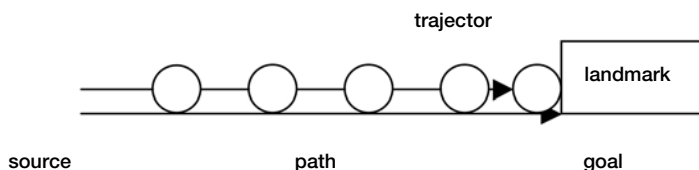


Figure 2. Image schema of contact.

If one of them is stronger than the other, it can even control or exert power over the other one (Peña Cervel 2012: 83).

Hence, we can say that contact, together with motion, are two prototypical characteristics of the verb *pegar* in this early stage of the Catalan language. Indeed, these prototypical characteristics were the starting point from which the meaning of ‘stick’ must have soon begun to expand, a process that we can represent as a radial semantic network (Figure 3). In this network there are some meanings that are more central and give rise to other derived senses, grouped in clusters, which at the same time and due to family resemblance can overlap with or be linked to other senses that have their origin in another basic or derived meaning.¹⁹

3.2. Consolidation of new basic meanings

As we understand it, everything seems to point to the fact that three meanings have derived from the sense of ‘stick’ and have become essential to be able to interpret the semasiological complexity of the verbs under study: meaning X, ‘pass on’, meaning V, ‘put together, be one thing touching another’, and meaning A, ‘touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit’.²⁰

The creation of meaning X, ‘pass on’, can be explained easily by means of a metonymic association, derived from the subjectification of the original sense. With *pegar*, initially material entities could come into contact. Now the speaker raises the level of abstraction of the meaning of the verb and establishes a link between non-material elements (an illness, a habit, a way of speaking) and material elements (people), who receive or experience that relationship. Thus, *pegar* becomes a more expressive alternative with which to designate contagions: contact gives rise to contagion.

When two entities are in contact, we can conceptualise them as a new unit resulting from an agglutination or we can infer that one is placed beside the other, such as in meaning V, ‘put together, be one thing touching another’. In this case, the trajectory in the image schema of path means that the element we focus our

19. For the sake of simplicity, Figure 3 only shows the meanings given in the previous sections, and no explicit mention is made of the verbs involved. The definition of these verbs can easily be established by consulting the synthesis at the beginning of section 3.

20. In fact these are the meanings that are usually exemplified in historical dictionaries such as the DECLC and the DCVB.

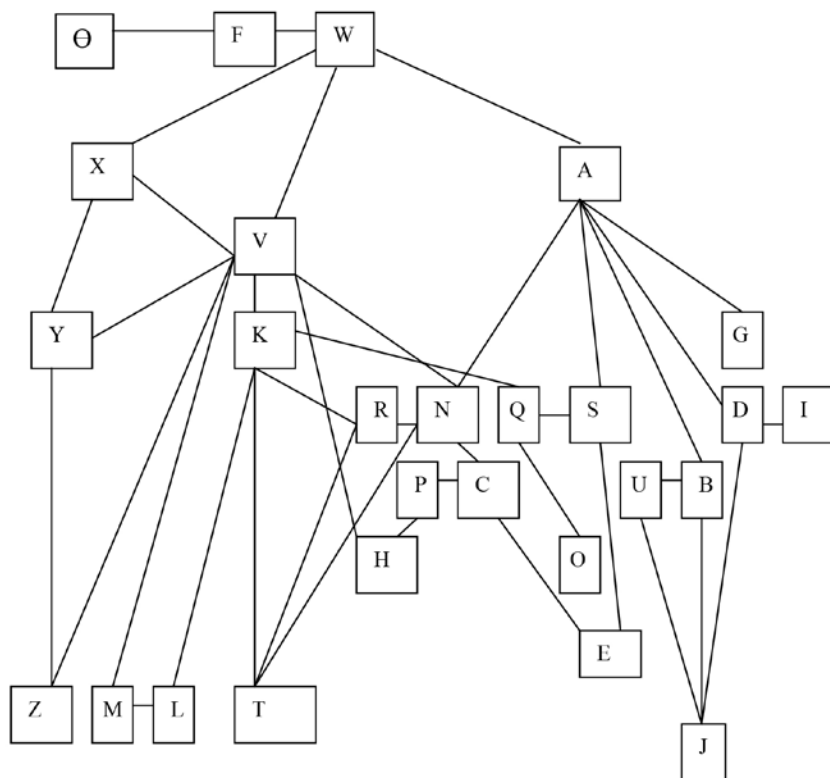


Figure 3. Radial semantic network.

- A: 'touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit'.
 B: 'trip, bump into an obstacle'.
 C: 'occur unexpectedly (a thought, a passion, an illness, a bad smell)'.
 D: 'do, give'.
 E: 'persist obstinately in, suddenly take to'.
 F: 'stick with an adhesive material'.
 G: 'fight, brawl'.
 H: 'suit, fit, match'.
 I: 'cheat'.
 J: 'have an accident'.
 K: 'head towards, end up'.
 L: 'be oriented towards a place'.
 M: 'be close to a place without actual contact'.
 N: 'come into contact (the sun, the wind, water) with a certain intensity'.
 O: 'dedicate oneself to, carry out an activity with certain intensity'.
 P: 'cause a certain feeling, especially in terms of mood'.
 Q: 'suddenly start'.
 R: 'be too much'.
 S: 'insist on something or against someone'.
 T: 'reach a certain place, up to a certain point (which is seen as being excessive)'.
 U: 'come across unexpectedly'.
 V: 'put together, be one thing touching another'.
 W: 'stick'.
 X: 'pass on, transmit (an illness, a custom, a mania, a way of speaking)'.
 Y: 'latch onto somebody, get in touch with somebody to gain some kind of benefit from them'.
 Z: 'link, have a strong inclination'.
 Θ: 'smear with pitch or with some other adhesive material'.

attention on, the trajector, is seen as being next to the landmark and not at the same point as the landmark, which was the case with meanings F, W and X. The verb *pegar* therefore takes on a new sense based on the fact that two elements in contact are two elements that are close to each other. This association is also the one that guides meaning M ('be close to a place without actual contact'), although in this case the idea of motion is of a metaphorical nature, it is imaginary, since it expresses a static situation.²¹

Meaning A, 'touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit', is the third of the basic derived meanings and the one that will eventually become the most prototypical representative in the language today. In this case we also reach this new meaning on the basis of the idea of the image schema of path that results in contact. But the difference with respect to the previous cases is that this contact is perceived as an aggression. In our cultural setting, and more so in a society like that of mediaeval times, the act of two people approaching each other until coming into contact can be taken to mean two things: either a high degree of intimacy,²² or completely the opposite, an attack on one's privacy. In Catalan, the speaker, through a metonymic association, decides on this second option, that is to say, contact implies an aggression. But other associations of a metaphorical and metonymic nature were also made: the person with more power attacks, having power is having force, and a person who has force acts with intensity. That must be how meaning A 'touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit' came into being. After becoming conventionalised, this meaning could later involve not only persons but also things.

The semasiological expansion of a verb can result in the appearance of other verbs or formal variations as a consequence of an onomasiological or synonymic change. The reasons underlying this may be that one of the senses developed is no longer perceived as being so prototypical or simply that some interest has arisen to reduce the degree of polysemy with the aim of favouring communication (Grondelaers, Speelman and Geeraerts 2007). This process would explain how the verb *pegar* came to alternate as a synonym with the formal variants *apegar* and *empegar*. These variants must have been felt to be more marked and communicatively more effective in the particular case of meanings F, W, X and V (and also Ø, in the case of *empegar*), since they allowed a clear semantic differentiation to be made with respect to meaning A. Moreover, this alternation is responsible for the fact that the verb *pegar*, with the same senses, has eventually become obsolete in the language today.²³ Likewise, the appearance of the new formal variant *apegar*,

21. This perception can be related to what some authors have called the *imaginary path* or *fictive motion* (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 227; Montserrat 2007: 355; Soriano 2012: 117). Other cases that could be included as examples of imaginary or fictive motion are the formal possibilities of expressing meaning V by means of a stative construction: copulative verb + past participle (for example, (22b)).

22. In the case of intimacy, up to the point of sexual connotations, there is the example of the use that is made of the verb *pegar* in Brazilian Portuguese.

23. As regards the alternatives that can be used instead of the verb *pegar* with these meanings, future research will have to determine onomasiological aspects such as the role of verbs like *enganxar* or

which pushes the traditional form *pegar* somewhat into the background, means that the innovative form is the one that generates novel unrecorded senses with *pegar*. In this case we are referring to meanings Y and Z. In these cases we can interpret that from the concept of proximity it is also possible to infer a capacity of influence. This allows us to link meaning V with meaning X, which gives rise to the adjacent senses Y ('latch onto somebody, get in touch with somebody to gain some kind of benefit from them') and Z ('link, have a strong inclination'). This is an extension of the meaning of *apegar* towards more abstract usages following a process of metonymy: contact entails a link and an additional fact: the material or emotional benefit.

3.3. *New interconnected semantic extensions*

Meaning V develops other semantic extensions that are not linked to the form *apegar* but instead to the form *pegar*, which have been geographically more widely extended. Here we are referring to meaning K, 'head towards, end up'. In this case, the contact that occurs between the element that is displaced and the point where it should encounter the other element is projected more upon the directionality of the course than upon proximity. Apart from this meaning, meaning L, 'be oriented towards a place', is developed and, thanks to metonymic associations, it allows the directional value of meaning K to join up with the proximity value of meaning M.

Moreover, meaning V opens up the way to other values that are, however, now also linked to meaning A. Earlier we have pointed out that a basic characteristic conveyed by meaning A is intensity. Yet, by metonymy, intensity can easily be associated to excess: an intense action is an action in an extreme degree, and can therefore be perceived as excessive. By linking meanings K and A, this association is the one that has guided the dynamic meaning T, 'reach a certain place, up to a certain point (which is seen as being excessive)', and the static meaning R, 'be too much'. This second case takes things a step further, since metaphorically we go from the conceptual domain of space to the conceptual domain of states; the motion is therefore fictive and the verb takes on a sense that is similar to that of the attributive verbs. The case of N, 'come into contact (the sun, the wind, water) with a certain intensity', also maintains a connection with these meanings. With this value, an atmospheric agent heads towards another element in an intense manner.

Likewise, we can speak of the semantic extension of meanings K and A in cases Q, O and S. In all three cases there is a movement that makes it possible to establish contact between the protagonist, a person, and the place, although this place is not generally of a physical nature but instead expresses an action that was carried out with a certain intensity. This abstraction of the locative referent allows the formation of syntactic structures in which *pegar* takes on functions that are close to those of the auxiliary verbs, especially when followed by an infinitive.

aferrar (as well as *encomanar* for meaning X) in the current dialectal distribution. Furthermore, in ancient Catalan there is another case in which the prefixing of a verb makes it possible to overcome both polysemy and synonymy: *parer* (*parèixer*) 'seem' / *aparer* (*aparèixer*) 'appear' (Ramos 2013).

Through a metaphorical mechanism, we go from a spatial domain to a temporal or modal domain, which allows us to glimpse the beginning of a process of grammaticalisation (Pérez Saldanya 2008; Cuenca 2012; Company 2012). For example, with sense Q, ‘suddenly start’, it adds an inchoative aspectual meaning; with sense O, ‘dedicate oneself to an activity with certain intensity’, it is associated to a reitervative aspectual meaning; and with sense S, ‘act insistently’, it is related with a negative modal appraisal. Meaning E, ‘persist obstinately in’, is also linked to this last function. At the same time this meaning connects to other meanings we will comment on in the following.

In this case we are referring to meanings C (‘occur unexpectedly (a thought, a passion, etc.)’) and P (‘cause a certain feeling’). These meanings taken on by the verb *pegar* are still compatible with the image schema of path, but now the relationships that are established between the protagonists become more abstract. The destination is no longer a physical place and has become a person who experiences the consequences of a cause: syntactically the location is expressed with a dative and the verb takes on a value that is similar to the psychological verbs. Also in relation to these senses, mention should be made of meaning H, ‘suit, fit, match’. In this case, the element on which we focus our attention is put into contact with a space and we use our experience of the world to appraise whether the focused element and the space within which it is inserted can remain together. This also allows us to establish a link with meaning V.

Turning to the basic meaning A, ‘touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit’, we can see that, from an asymmetrical violent attitude or situation in which there is an actor who assaults an experiencer, it becomes possible to infer another situation in which the dispute is symmetrical: aggression and reply from the victim. This metonymic inference gives rise to meaning G, ‘fight, brawl’.

Later on in time, there may be a turn in the way the violent contact is perceived. The verb *pegar* can also be used in communicative contexts in which we do not perceive the protagonist of the action as an assailant that moves to attack someone, but rather as a victim or the experiencer of the motion that is carried out. We are therefore dealing with, on the one hand, meaning B (‘trip’), in which the impact takes place with a physical element and, on the other, meaning U (‘come across unexpectedly’), which establishes a more abstract relationship – the impact now takes place with a metaphorical element – generally related to a person’s behaviour. These senses have given rise to another far more modern meaning, J (‘have an accident’). With this new value, *pegar* takes on the reflexive verbal form (*pegarse*) and appears with a lexicalised accusative clitic, which generically represents the kind of blow involved.

One of the syntactic possibilities the verb *pegar* has with meaning A (1) is to make explicit mention of the kind of blow that was dealt (punch, slap, stab, etc.). This use alternates in modern-day Catalan with the verb *donar*, although it is far more expressive with *pegar*. This expressiveness was undoubtedly responsible for the fact that this verb derived a new sense, D (‘do, give’). Following the image schema of path, with this new meaning the focus of attention is on the verbal object (direct object), which moves towards a destination (4). But the fact that this object does not

specify the kind of blow, but instead involves an action in itself, leaves the meaning of violent contact expressed by the verb somewhat in the background and it now simply expresses intensity. At this point, *pegar* may even eventually become just a light verb, without there necessarily being any association with intensity. The most obvious case is its usage in the Valencian dialectal area.²⁴

Meaning A, in its transitive manifestation and in connection with meaning D, also opens up the path, through metonymic extension, to meaning I, ‘cheat’. In this case, the actor is interpreted as moving with the aim of carrying out an aggressive action (the accusative complement, nowadays lexicalised) upon another person. The victim does not consider this attack to be physical, but instead psychological. It therefore implies a lack of mutual trust, and it is from there that the idea of cheating is inferred.

4. Conclusions

Our study has allowed us to show that the polysemy of the verb *pegar*, from the synchronic point of view, does not have the same incidence in all the Catalan dialects and that many of the senses have become typical of the colloquial language. This has favoured more expressive and emphatic solutions, above all in the case of Valencian (cf. Martines 2000a). Broadly speaking, we have observed that the verb forms *apegar* and *empegar* have only partially acquired the polysemy of *pegar*. Moreover, their geographic scope is more restricted.

In relation to the etymological origin of *pegar*, the current polysemic distribution shows that a change in prototypical meaning has taken place. The meaning of ‘stick’ has given way to other meanings that have become more central and have generated new senses. This is the case, for example, of the sense of ‘touch with a certain amount of violence or intensity, hit’, which has become generalised throughout all Catalan dialects and is typical of the standard language. Finally, we have observed that the model of cognitive linguistics can provide a satisfactory explanation for the polysemy described here. Semantic changes respond to associations that are essentially based on metonymy and are part of a complex semantic network in which the meanings overlap and connect with each other to give rise to new meanings.

References

- Aguiló, Marià (1915). *Diccionari Aguiló*. Barcelona: Altafulla (facsimile edition, 1988-1989).
- Alcover, Antoni Maria; Moll, Francesc de Borja (1985). *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear (DCVB)*. Palma de Mallorca: Moll. <<http://dcvb.iecat.net/>>.
- AVL (2014). *Diccionari normatiu valencià (DNV)*. <<http://www.avl.gva.es/dnv>>.

24. Further studies need to be conducted in the future to investigate the possibilities of the verb *pegar* in this kind of construction. For the time being, we can point out one obvious fact: *pegar*, unlike *fer* or *donar*, is incompatible with verb complements that do not indicate an action (fear, disgust, shame, etc.; present, book, etc.) (Palancar 1999).

- Badia i Margarit, Antoni Maria; Veny, Joan; Pons, Lúdia (1993). *Atles lingüístic del domini català: qüestionari*. Barcelona: IEC. <<http://aldc.espais.iec.cat/mapes/>>.
- Barcelona, Antonio (2011). «Reviewing the properties and prototype structure of metonymy». In: Benczes, Réka; Barcelona, Antonio; Ruiz de Mendoza, Francisco José (eds.). *Defining metonymy in cognitive linguistics: towards a consensus view*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., pp. 7-59.
- Battaglia, Salvatore (1961-2002). *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*. Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese.
- Company, Concepción (2012). «Historical Morphosyntax and grammaticalization». In: Hualde, José Ignacio; Olarrea, Antxon; Rourke, Erin (eds.). *Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*. Londres/New York: Blackwell, pp. 673-692.
- Coromines, Joan (1983-1991). *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana (DECLC)*. Barcelona: Curial.
- Cuenca, Maria Josep (2012). «La gramaticalización». In: Ibarretxe, Iraide; Valenzuela, Javier (dirs.). *Lingüística cognitiva*. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 281-304.
- Cuenca, Maria Josep; Hilferty, Joseph (1999). *Introducción a la lingüística cognitiva*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF)*. <<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>>.
- Enciclopèdia Catalana. *Gran diccionari de la llengua catalana (GDLC)*. <<http://www.diccionari.cat/>>.
- Geeraerts, Dirk; Cuykens, Hubert (2007). *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford: University Press.
- Geeraerts, Dirk (1997). *Diachronic Prototype Semantics. A Contribution to Historical Lexicology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Grondelaers, Stefan; Speelman, Dirk; Geeraerts, Dirk (2007). «Lexical variation and change». In: Geeraerts, Dirk; Cuyckens, Hubert (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 988-1011.
- Ibarretxe, Iraide; Valenzuela, Javier (dirs.) (2012). *Lingüística cognitiva*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- IEC (2007). *Diccionari de la llengua catalana (DIEC)*. <<http://dlc.iec.cat/>>.
- IEC. *Diccionari descriptiu de la llengua catalana (DDLC)*. <<http://dcc.iec.cat/ddlc/index.asp>>.
- Martines, Josep (2000a). «El canvi lèxic en català (ss. XVI-XX). Una aproximació des de la lexicologia diacrònica cognitiva (i). Les novetats i la llengua catalana». In: IEC (ed.). *Jornades de la Secció Filològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans a la Universitat d'Alacant el dia 16 d'octubre de 1998*. Barcelona: IEC, pp. 35-64.
- Martines, Josep (2000b). «L'expressió de les emocions i la creativitat lèxica: 'estimar' / 'amar'. Entre l'eufemisme i la metàfora cultural». In: *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*. Santander: Universidad Menéndez Pelayo, vol. 2, pp. 1221-1243.
- Martines, Josep (2013). «El verb *estimar* i l'amor hereós i Joan Roís de Corella. Un acostament segons la pragmàtica diacrònica». *Afers* 76: 717-739.
- Martines, Josep (ed.) (2014). *Caplletra* 56. Special issue on «Semàntica i lexicologia diacròniques. Perspectives noves».
- Martines, Josep; Montserrat, Sandra (2014). «Subjectivació i inferència en l'evolució semàntica i en l'inici de la gramaticalització de *jaquir* (segles XI-XII)». *Caplletra* 56: 185-211.

- Masip, Robert *et alii* (2010). *Lo nou diccionari lleidatà-català*. Lleida: Alfazeta.
- Massip, Maria Àngels (1991). *El lèxic tortosí. Història i present*. Doctoral thesis. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona. <<http://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/1686;jsessionid=4E2C9B9D5D355C55A5247ED873FABFFB.tdx1>>.
- Montserrat, Sandra (2007). *La semàntica diacrònica cognitiva: una aplicació a propòsit de venir, arribar i aplegar (segles XII-XVI)*. Alacant/Barcelona: IIFV/PAM.
- Oakley, Todd (2007). «Images Schemas». In: Geeraerts, Dirk; Cuykens, Hubert (eds.) (2007). *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford: University Press, pp. 214-235.
- Palancar, Enrique (1999). «What do we give in Spanish when hit? A constructionist account of hitting expressions». *Cognitive Linguistics* 10-1: 57-91. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/cogl.1999.003>>
- Paradis, Carita (2011). «Metonymization. A key mechanism in semantic change». In: Benczes, Réka; Barcelona, Antonio; Ruiz de Mendoza, Francisco José (eds.). *Defining metonymy in cognitive linguistics: towards a consensus view*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., pp. 61-98.
- Pascual, Esther (2012). «Los espacios mentales y la integración conceptual». In: Ibarretxe, Iraide; Valenzuela, Javier (dirs.). *Lingüística cognitiva*. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 147-166.
- Peña Cervel, María Sandra (2012). «Los esquemas de imagen». In: Ibarretxe, Iraide; Valenzuela, Javier (dirs.). *Lingüística cognitiva*. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 69-96.
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel (2008). «Entre *ir* y *venir*: la gramaticalización y el reanálisis». In: Company, Concepción; Moreno de Alba, J.G. (eds.), *Actas del 7º Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española, vol. I*. Madrid: Arco Libros, pp. 231-285.
- Rafel, Joaquim (dir.). *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* (CTILC). Institut d'Estudis Catalans. <<http://ctilc.iec.cat/>>.
- Ramos, Joan-Rafael (2013). «Distribució sintàctica de *parer*, *aparer* i *apparer* en català antic (segles XIII-XVII)». *eHumanista/IVITRA* 4: 349-369.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2003). «Image schemas and category coherent: The case of the Portuguese verb *deixar*». In: Cuyckens, H.; Dirven, R.; Taylor, J.R. (eds.). *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 281-322.
- Soriano, Cristina (2012). «La metàfora conceptual». In: Ibarretxe, Iraide; Valenzuela, Javier (dirs.). *Lingüística cognitiva*. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 97-121.
- Traugott, Elisabeth C. (2012). «Pragmatics and language change». In: Allan, K.; Jaszczolt, K.M. (eds.). *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 549-566.
- Traugott, Elisabeth C.; Dasher, Richard (2002). *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ungerer, Friedrich; Schmid, Hans Jörg (1996). *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. London/New York: Longman.
- Veny, Joan (2008). *Discurs del Dr. Joan Veny i Clar en el solemne acte de la seua investidura com a doctor Honoris Causa*. València: Universitat de València.

Phraseologization as a process of semantic change

Elena Sánchez López

Universitat d'Alacant. Departament de Filologia Catalana
elena.sanchez@ua.es



Received: June 24, 2015
Accepted: August 10, 2015

Abstract

On the one hand, phraseology has sorted out how to describe Phraseological meaning from a synchronic perspective. On the other, cognitive diachronic linguistics has thoroughly described the process of semantic change and the mechanisms leading to it, but mostly focusing on grammaticalization. The aim of the present paper is to bring together these two perspectives in order to account for the existence of Phraseological Units, i.e. the emergence of Phraseological Meaning. This integration of perspectives will require a well defined theoretical framework. First of all, we will establish the definition of PhU and the scope of Phraseological meaning. Then, we will compare grammaticalization to phraseologization process. In this comparison, we will pay special attention to the new role assigned to inference as a mechanism leading to semantic change. Finally, we will apply the developed theoretical framework to an actual PhU: *al peu de la lletra*.

Keywords: phraseology; phraseologisation process; semantic change; diachronic cognitive semantics; pragmatics.

Resum. *La fraseologització com a procés de canvi semàntic*

Per una part, la fraseologia ha aconseguit definir el significat fraseològic des d'una perspectiva sincrònica. Per l'altra, la lingüística cognitiva diacrònica ha descrit el procés de canvi semàntic i els mecanismes que el provoquen, però centrant-se sobretot en el procés de gramaticalització. L'objectiu del present article és conjugar aquestes dues perspectives a fi de retre compte de l'aparició d'Unitats Fraseològiques, és a dir, el sorgiment del significat fraseològic. La integració d'aquestes perspectives requerirà un marc teòric ben definit. En primer lloc, establim la definició d'unitat fraseològica i l'abast del significat fraseològic. Després, compararem els processos de gramaticalització i de fraseologització. En aquesta comparació, pararem especial atenció al nou paper que s'ha assignat a la inferència com a mecanisme provocador del canvi semàntic. Finalment, aplicarem el marc teòric desenvolupat a una unitat fraseològica real: *al peu de la lletra*.

Paraules clau: fraseologia; procés de fraseologització; canvi semàntic; semàntica cognitiva diacrònica; pragmàtica.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4. Concluding remarks
2. Theoretical framework: perspective shift	References
3. Phraseologization and Phraseological change: <i>al peu de la lletra</i>	

1. Introduction

Phraseology was initially seen as an anecdotal phenomenon with anomalous features, just appealing for folklorists. Afterwards, it aroused the interest of linguists, who focused mainly on its structure and its taxonomy. Nowadays, within the framework of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics, we can see that much of what was traditionally considered arbitrary and difficult to classify is in fact systematic and motivated. We just have to adopt the right approach and pay attention to context and diachrony.

The current stage of a language is the end-result of an evolutionary process over time, i.e. of a diachronic process. This statement is especially relevant for Phraseological Units (PhU), since they still reflect their point of origin. As lexical relicts from an earlier language stage —where they were created—, they are evidently the result of language change. Thus, their formation process, phraseologization, can be considered as a process leading to semantic change: a complex process yielding units with new semantic features. Despite its intrinsic interest, few studies have been devoted to it.

In the area of Iberian Studies we cannot find research works dealing specifically with semantic change connected to phraseological units. In contrast, historical evolution of monolexical words has been thoroughly investigated (e.g. Martines Peres 2000a, 2000b, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014, 2015 for Catalan words). From this perspective, we can even find some papers on formation of polylexical elements (Garachana 2012, 2014) or of lexical units on the basis of more than one element (Buenafuentes de la Mata 2002). Martines' remark stating that "cognitive diachronic semantics, with the increasing contribution of pragmatics and cultural history, can open new paths to the field of observation and explanation of the generation of new meanings" (Martines Peres 2015) was the initial motivation of this paper.

In the field of phraseology, a few studies have dealt with the evolution of PhU. Burger (1996), Baranov and Dobrovol'skij (1996), Howarth (2000), Sánchez (2013) and Sánchez & Fuster (2012, 2014) have approached the phraseologization process, while Dräger (2012) and Sánchez & Fuster (2012, 2014) have addressed phraseological change. These works are very important, since they claim the existence of these processes and the necessity of a diachronic approach towards phraseology, but they do not really go into their causes, triggers or mechanisms.

In addition to them, linguists aiming to analyse PhU had to include processes in their descriptions, to account for their current features. For instance, Corpas (1996: 21-27) names several PhU features, such as institutionalization, stability and idioma-

ticity resulting from processes connected to language evolution. Ruiz Gurillo (1997: 85-104) thoroughly describes fixation and idiomaticity as main features of PhU and reflects on the processes leading to them. Timofeeva (2012) adopts a similar position, despite not adopting a diachronic perspective, she refers to processes (e.g. phraseologization, motivation) in order to determine and account for phraseological meaning. Her approach is basically synchronic, but her exhaustive descriptive model of phraseological meaning is a key starting point for our diachronic analysis.

In the field of cognitive diachronic linguistics, the main focus has been placed on grammaticalization and its associated changes. Thus, semantic change has initially been studied in connection to lexical words becoming grammatical words. Nevertheless, its findings (e.g. the role of metaphor and metonymy as “mechanisms” of semantic change) tend to spread out of this domain. In addition, the resemblance between grammaticalization and phraseologization has been pointed out by several researchers (Pérez Saldanya 1997; Pérez Saldanya & Salvador 1995; Cuenca 2000; Ruiz Gurillo 2001, 2010).

However, we cannot find a clear precedent for the description of processes leading to the emergence of Phraseological meaning. On the one hand, phraseology has sorted out how to describe Phraseological meaning from a synchronic perspective (Ruiz Gurillo 1997, 1998, 2001; Timofeeva 2012; Burger 1996; Baranov & Dobrovol'skij 1996; Dobrovol'skij 2005). On the other, cognitive diachronic linguistics has thoroughly described the process of semantic change and the mechanisms leading to it (Heine et al. 1991; Barcelona 2000; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Traugott and Dasher 2002), but mostly focusing on grammaticalization. We will now try to integrate these two perspectives and retain the best of both worlds.

The aim of the present paper is to bring together these two perspectives (phraseology and cognitive diachronic linguistics) in order to account for the existence of Phraseological Units, i.e. the emergence of Phraseological Meaning. This integration of perspectives will require a well defined theoretical framework. First of all, we will establish the definition of PhU and the scope of Phraseological meaning. Then, we will compare grammaticalization to phraseologization process. In this comparison, we will pay special attention to the new role assigned to inference as a mechanism leading to semantic change. Finally, we will apply the developed theoretical framework to an actual PhU: *al peu de la lletra*.¹

2. Theoretical framework: perspective shift

In spite of being evidently a product of language change, PhU have not been analysed under the light of semantic change theory. This might be attributed to the fuzzy definition of this kind of units and to the scarce data on historical evolution of PhU. We will provide a clear and broad definition of PhU in addition to some diachronic data in order to show that the emergence and change of follow regular patterns, namely, those of semantic change.

1. It is a phraseological unit in Catalan language, literally meaning *to the foot of the letter*. Its phraseological meaning will be discussed at the end of the paper.

2.1. The unit: a (Poly)lexical unit

The field of Phraseology is characterized by producing a great amount of literature on the features and taxonomy of its units. It is not the aim of this paper to reflect this discussion. We just would like to acknowledge that our conception of PhU was coined by Ruiz Gurillo (1997, 2001). In spite of being the most clarifying and inclusive PhU description from a synchronic perspective, we will need a still broader definition for our diachronic approach. For the purpose of this paper, PhU is understood as (poly)lexical unit.

As we were saying, phraseological units are multiword lexical units, in Burger's (2010:15-32) words, they are items characterized for their polylexicality and their fixity.² While he finds polilexicality easy to identify, he admits fixity is not so simple to prove. Therefore, he names visible features that can make it more tangible, such as generalized use³, psycholinguistic fixity (speakers conceiving it as a unit), structural fixity (with variations) and pragmatic fixity. In addition to the essential features, he also mentions idiomaticity as a secondary trait. He refers to "semantic idiomaticity", i.e. the difference between phraseological meaning and the meaning resulting from the combination of its constituent parts.

Timofeeva (2012) completes this definition with the description of phraseological meaning.⁴ To really capture all its components, she presents a complex "macrocomponential" model, including 6 different information blocks: Denominative block, Motivational block (or Image), Rationalized Evaluation block, Emotive-Emotional Evaluation block, Style block and Grammar block. Style and Grammar blocks are important, but we consider them self-explanatory. The identification of the Evaluation blocks is a great contribution to phraseology by Timofeeva. They are pragmatic features and depend on the Image.

The Image is a key component of phraseological meaning. In her book, Timofeeva speaks of motivation, motivational block and Image component. We conceive motivation as a cognitive process, as defined by Piirainen (2012: 48), it consists in activating "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". The result of the process is an Image connecting the lexical structure (the Form) and the (denominative) Meaning. Therefore, we prefer to designate the component as *Image* and the process as *Motivation*.

From our view, the Phraseological sign consists of three parts: Form (non-compositional meaning), (denotative) Meaning and (conventionalized) Reality. Synchronically, the Image (emerging from the motivation process) is the component holding them together. As we can see in Figure 1, the connection between Meaning and Form is established through the Image component, on the basis of Reality (the world knowledge and the knowledge of the context).

2. *Polilexikalität* and *Festigkeit* in the original in German.

3. *Gebräuchlichkeit* in the original in German.

4. Note that this description refers to a prototypical PhU, i.e. a polylexical unit with figurative meaning.

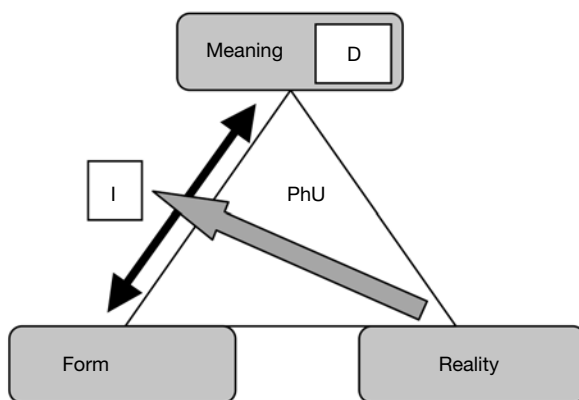


Figure 1. Phraseological sign.

The information blocks described by Timofeeva (2012) are just the first meaning level, i.e. the conventionalized meaning of the PhU. If we see the isolated PhU, we can recognize these features, because they are fixed and form part of language system. From a systemic perspective, since we can simultaneously see its Form—and the meaning resulting from the combination of its constituents—and its denotative phraseological Meaning, a PhU is by definition polysemous. In a discourse context, phraseological Meaning can be reinforced by contextual elements, but it may also be cancelled, the hearer being thus led to the non-compositional meaning of the expression.

In addition, this kind of units has also fixed pragmatic values. As Levinson (2004: 263) claims, pragmatic inferences end up embedded in semantic representations causing pragmatic “intrusion”. These inferences are easier to see in PhU than in monolexical units, mostly for their Image component. From a systemic perspective, according to Timofeeva (2012: 248), PhU present Conventionalized Implicatures and Generalized Conversational Implicatures. Inserted in a discourse, its Generalized Conversational Implicatures, depending on their degree of conventionalization, may be cancelled or modified and new Particularized Conversational Implicatures may. Since they are not part of language system, they are synchronically no so relevant for phraseology. However, from a diachronic perspective, they are quite important, since they might eventually become generalized and even conventionalized. But we do not want to jump to diachrony yet, let’s go step by step.

2.2. The process: Phraseologization

Phraseologization consists of all the changes affecting a free word combination until it becomes a frozen Phraseological unit (pure idiom⁵). At this point, we would

5. In Howarth’s (2000: 216) terminology.

like to remark that the prototypical PhU is not the frozen one, but the one with figurative meaning⁶ (as described above).

Cognitive diachronic linguistics has traditionally focused on the grammaticalization⁷ of words. Several authors (Pérez Saldanya 1997; Pérez Saldanya & Salvador 1995; Cuenca 2000; Ruiz Gurillo 1997, 2001, 2010) have pointed out the resemblance between grammaticalization and phraseologization process. We agree that these two processes have a lot in common, but they differ in an important aspect. While grammaticalization involves lexical words becoming grammatical words (or grammatical words changing its meaning), phraseologization is concerned with phrases turning into (poly)lexical units. We could call it lexicalization, but, attending to tradition and to the fact that this term is used for conveying different meanings,⁸ we will designate it as phraseologization.⁹

From our perspective, phraseologization can be seen in 4 stages,¹⁰ as indicated in Table 1. On the top row, we name the resulting items according to the terminology we consider more appropriate. However, since in English language they usually receive other names, I also include the most common denomination in the bottom row.

Grammaticalization and phraseologization share their main features (c.f. Company 2012: 668), with some particularities due to the different levels they act at. In Table 2 we compare the meaning and form changes in a grammaticalization process (as described by Company 2012: 688) to those in a phraseologization process (as observed in real examples).

As we can see, they coincide at their respective levels. Items (i), (iv), (xi) and (xiv) are worth a comment. Logically, regarding phraseology, (i) the phrase-

Table 1. Stages of the phraseologization process

Phraseologization (systemic level)			
1. Free word combination	2. Restricted word combination	3. Phraseological Unit with figurative meaning	4. Frozen Phraseological Unit
Phrase	Collocation	Idiom with figurative meaning	Pure idiom

6. Cf. Ruiz Gurillo (1997, ch. 3).

7. "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 [1913] 1958; Givón 1979; Lehmann 1982; Heine and Reh 1984; Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991a, 1991b; Hopper and Traugott 1993)" (Bybee 2007)

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" (Traugott and Brinton 2005).

9. Nevertheless, we are aware of the fact that this very name reflects the dominating synchronic approach in phraseology. Since it is not conceived as phrase becoming a lexical unit, but as a set of words becoming (conceptually) a phrase.

10. This progression is based on the non-discrete classification of PhU by Ruiz Gurillo (1997, ch. 3).

Table 2. Meaning and changes in grammaticalization process (Company 2012: 688) compared to those in phraseologization process]

Grammaticalization (Company 2012: 688). The equal sign (=) means that the consequence is a direct result from the preceding cause	Phraseologization
(i) Weakening or loss of lexical-referential meaning = increase of more abstract grammatical meaning = decategorization/ recategorization	Weakening or loss of phrase meaning = increase of more abstract lexical-meaning = it ceases to act as a phrase
(ii) Extension across contexts = generalization and frequently obligatorification of the sign = increase of use = less diatopic variation.	Extension across contexts = generalization of the sign = increase of use as a unit.
(iii) Lessening of autonomy = weakening or loss of morphosyntactic freedom.	Lessening of autonomy = weakening or loss of Formal freedom.
(iv) Freeing of contextual restraints = growth in frequency.	Freeing of contextual restraints = growth in frequency.
(v) Reduction of scope = intrapositional predication or intra-word scope.	Reduction of scope = its components are fixed
(vi) Grammatical integration = paradigmaticization.	Grammatical integration = Paradigmatization, the new function implies a new category , in this case is its inclusion as an adverb, and adjective, etc. (Grammar Component by Timofeeva 2012).
(vii) Frequently, but not necessarily, univerbation: two words = one word.	Could happen, but (in Catalan) we will not consider it as PhU anymore.
(viii) Frequently, but not necessarily, erosion and loss of phonological weight.	Could happen, especially in stress languages.
(ix) Layering: a functional domain, over time, may accumulate more than one construction to express that domain.	Layering: secondary naming condition .
(x) Divergence: the same etymon splits into different analysis.	Divergence (over time).
(xi) Persistence of syntactic–semantic etymology: the original meaning, quite weakened, usually persists when grammaticalization progresses, and, somewhat paradoxically, that etymological meaning facilitates the advancement to new contexts.	Persistence of Form and Meaning : the original non-compositional meaning (Form), usually persists when phraseologization progresses. The Image created from speakers to motivate the denotative Meaning facilitates the advancement to new contexts .
(xii) More polysemy.	More polysemy.
(xiii) Renewal of already extant categories.	Renewal of already extant meanings .
(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 lexicographic entry must be enlarged. 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.	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 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.

Table 3. Acquisition of new grammatical meanings (Heine 2002: 86) compared to acquisition of new lexical meanings

Scenario of acquisition of new grammatical meanings (Heine 2002: 86)			Phraseologization process (3.1.)
Stage (grammatical meanings)	Context	Resulting meaning	Stage (lexical meanings)
I. Initial stage	Unconstrained	Source meaning	1. Free word combination
II. Bridging context	Specific context giving rise to an inference in favour of a new meaning	Target meaning foregrounded	2. Restricted word combination
III. Switch context	New context which is incompatible with the source meaning	Source meaning backgrounded	3. Phraseological Unit with figurative meaning
IV. Conventionalization	Target meaning no longer needs to be supported by the context that gave rise to it; it may be used in new contexts	Target meaning only	4. Frozen Phraseological Unit

meaning is lost and a lexical meaning appears (although they may coexist). (iv) The phrase belongs then to a new category, assimilable to those of lexical units. (xi) Its Form (non-compositional meaning) and its (denotative) Meaning (comparable to the syntactic-semantic etymology in the grammaticalization process) persist. They are fixed, but due to the progression of time, the real etymology is not recognized anymore. Thus, the speakers tend to remotivate its connection and create an Image. This Image facilitates the advancement to new contexts. (xiv) The new created PhU is lexicalized: it has to be included in the dictionary, thus enlarging the lexicon of a language, and the 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.

As can be observed in Table 3, the stages in the acquisition of grammatical meanings in connection to grammaticalization process (Heine 2002: 86) are identical to those of acquisition of lexical meanings by a phraseologization process. In addition, context conditions as well as resulting meaning are also applicable to both processes. Even the concepts source and target meaning could be assimilable to Form (non-compositional meaning) and (denotative) Meaning.

2.3. Mechanisms: *Implicature, reanalysis and analogy*

Mechanisms triggering phraseologization have not been diachronically studied. Ruiz Gurillo (2001) established that phraseology was not an anomalous phenomenon i.e. that it followed the creation patterns of general language. Logically,

since metaphor and metonymy were considered as the main mechanisms for language creativity and semantic change (cf. e.g. Ruiz Gurillo, 2001; Baranov and Dobrovol'skij 1996: 52-ff., cited by Timofeeva¹¹ 2012: 132-139), they were also responsible for acquisition of new semantic values regarding phraseologization.

These researchers followed the dominant view that metaphor and metonymy were the mechanisms triggering semantic change. It seemed, indeed, to be consistent with the phenomenon they were observing. The point is, they were observing it synchronically and isolated. They could see an element from the past (the Form) and its evolution (the canonical Meaning) and tried to explain the relation between them by reconstructing the process. However, with the help of text corpora we could verify that it does not coincide with the actual process, as you will see in section 3.

Timofeeva (2012) opened the way to identify the mechanisms of semantic change regarding PhU, when she included CI, GCI and PCI as part of phraseological meaning. In addition, an important line of research (c.f. Traugott and Dasher 2002) identified the regular patterns in meaning change and found out that implicature was the crucial mechanism of semantic change. On this basis, and with our observation of corpus data, our view is that Historical Pragmatics (c.f. Traugott 2004) plays a major role in phraseologization.

According to this line of research, 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. Fixation of a new interpretation of a linguistic expression is designated as semantic reanalysis. The new meaning is supported and spreads through on the basis of analogy. These are roughly the principles of the *Invited Inferencing*¹² *Theory of Semantic Change* (IITSC). In the following section we will observe phraseologization under the light of this theory.

3. Phraseologization and Phraseological change: *al peu de la lletra*

Before starting our diachronic description, we would like to remark that this kind of studies is always an approximation to reality, on the basis of the data we have nowadays. The aim is to identify the oldest attestation, assume that it is the origin and explain its evolution attending to gathered data. For this purpose, we used corpora representing three different stages of the Catalan language, namely, Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Antic (CIGCA)¹³, Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Modern (CIGCatMod)¹⁴ and Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC).¹⁵

11. We can access the works by Baranov and Dobrovol'skij thanks to their inclusion in Timofeeva's (2012) book, for they are written in Russian.

12. *Invited Inference* is the equivalent to *Particularized Conversational Implicature* in Levinson's (2004) terminology.

13. Including Catalan texts from 13th-16th centuries.

14. Texts from 1601-1833.

15. Texts from 1833-1988.

3.1. Phraseologization

First of all, I would like to make an initial remark: 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, it would be an Utterance-type-context.

As shown in Table 1, a PhU can go through four stages over time: free combination word (phrase) > Restricted word combination (collocation) > Phraseological Unit with Figurative Meaning (Idiom with Figurative Meaning) > Frozen Phraseological Unit (Pure Idiom). These are all stages a word combination can go through in terms of phraseologization. Note that at stages 1. and 2. speakers perceive them as word combinations, but at stages 3. and 4. they are already understood as units. We should not see this transition as a chain of abrupt changes, since all these transformations happen gradually.¹⁶ In fact, some different stages of the same combination may coexist in time. It is also evident that not every combination goes through all stages: in the course of time some of them stay in one stage, others just disappear. We even could see the same set of words with different values, depending on which synchronic cut we take into consideration.

These reflections are relevant to the discussion on PhU taxonomy, since a PhU can diachronically change its category or even belong to two (or more) categories at the same time. For instance, a restricted word combination can be considered as a collocation, which can become a completely fixed phrase as time goes by. That is, collocations could diachronically be seen as phrases’ ancestors.

The prototypical PhU is that in stage 3: a polylexical idiomatic unit. We call it prototypical because it is the salient one, since speakers perceive it as anomalous. The Image is quite visible at this stage, conferring it a figurative sense, which makes it a marked expression¹⁷. This Image component also facilitates analogy to other polylexical units, being responsible for phraseological change.

3.1.1. First stage: Free word combination (initial stage)

At an initial stage, the phrase was just a free word combination within a non-constrained context and it did not present any phraseological meaning. *Al peu de* (at the foot of) was an already fixed unit, which was usually employed as a preposition with 3D objects standing at the foot of another 3D object (1).

16. On a synchronic cut, this gradual transition was already pointed out by Ruiz Gurillo (1998: ch. 3), among others.

17. According to Levinson’s M-heuristic (2004: 63-85).

- (1) Dementre que ella anava enaixí, guardà e viu en un alt arbre molt bell e molt gran, carregat de moltes flors, e de moltes fulles, e de molts fruits; l'arbre era al peu de la muntanya.
 'while she was walking, she looked up and saw a tall, very nice and very big tree, loaded with flowers, leaves and fruits; the tree was at the foot of the mountain.
 (1271-1274) *Llibre de Contemplació*, Ramón Llull (CIGCA)

3.1.2. Second stage: restricted word combination (bridging context)

The phrase begins to be used in legal documents [s.th. important] *al peu de* [a legal document], to indicate at the end of the document (2 a-c). At this point, it can already be considered as a restricted word combination, with a pragmatic (phraseological) meaning provided by the context. Since the [items] at the end of the [legal document] are important considerations made by an authority, they had to be read carefully and, if applicable, duly performed. This implies a high degree of exactitude. The target meaning begins to emerge, but is still in the background. Therefore, this could be considered as the bridging context.

Note that not just the cotext is relevant for the emergence of the new meaning. The real world context, where documents were handwritten and dispositions placed at the end of legal documents, is also quite important for the phrase interpretation. Language synchronic cut plays also a significant role, since *lletra* is primarily understood as written document. While today it would be understood as an alphabet letter.

- (2) a. E manaren a mi, Bernat Struch, notari scrivà de jurats, de les dites coses fer lo present acte al peu del dit consell
 'And they requested me, Bernat Struch, notary public, to put on the record the said things at the foot of the mentioned council'
 (15th) *El Manual de Consells de Gandia a la fi del segle XV* (CIGCA)
- b. E liurà a mi, dit Bernat Astruch, notari, una cèdula, requerint aquella fos insertada al peu del que dessus ha dit
 'And they gave me, Bernat Astruch, notary public, a document, requiring it to be included at the foot of the above said'
 (15th) *El Manual de Consells de Gandia a la fi del segle XV* (CIGCA)
- c. Com a notari de la dita vegueria, fféu acte públich, lo qual acte continua al peu de la dita deposició e enquesta de la dita na Valentina.
 'As a notary public of the said area, I put on the records, records that follow at the foot of the said deposition and inquiry of the said Miss Valentina'.
 (15th) *Processos de Crims del segle XV a Lleida* (CIGCA)

3.1.3. Third stage: Phraseological Unit with Figurative Meaning (switch context)

The phrase is now fixed and the speakers perceive it as a unit. A reanalysis has taken place, since a phrase with a circumstantial complement function has become an adverb of manner. Its Form (compositional meaning) and its phraseological

Meaning have drifted apart due to language and history evolution. Thus, speakers cannot see its connection anymore, they tend to motivate¹⁸ it and create the Image. Since the PhU is not the primary means for naming the thing, property, event, etc. it refers to, at this stage, we have a Phraseological Unit with Figurative Meaning¹⁹ and all the components described by Timofeeva (2012: 201-254).

Linguistically speaking, this would be the switch context, since the target meaning [exactly] is now in the foreground, but the source meaning is still present (3a).

- (3) a. Manà que los prínceps y jutges seculars tinguessen cuidado particular de fer cumplir los testaments y últimas voluntats dels defuncts **al peu de la lletra**
 ‘He ordered to princes and secular magistrates that they should be attentive to make comply deceased’s testaments and last wills **at the foot of the letter** [exactly]’
 (16th) *Història general de Catalunya – II* (CIGCA)
- b. Confès que temptat me viu;| però en fi la cortesia| pogué obligar-me a venir, |com ell, **al peu de la lletra**
 ‘I confess I was tempted to;| but eventually courtesy| obliged me to come,| as he did, **at the foot of the letter** [on foot]’
 [Context: Porfiri went to bring Barbara’s letter to Valentí. When they have everything prepared to ride back to Alexandria, Valentí says he wants to go on foot.]
 (1617) *Comèdia famosa de la gloriosa verge i màrtir Santa Bàrbara* (CIGCatMod)
- c. Puestos, pues, a la ligera y del modo que Avendaño quiso y supo se pusieron en camino de Toledo **ad pedem litterae** y sin espadas
 ‘Then, light dressed, in the way Avendaño wanted and could, they setted out for Toledo **ad pedem litterae** [on foot] and swordless’
 (ca. 1606) *La ilustre fregona*, Cervantes
- d. Morlà: Es pensen estes senyores que lo que el cartell proposa és tot **al peu de la lletra**; però li falta la nota.
 ‘Morlà: These ladies think that that proposed in the bill is all **at the foot of the letter**; but the note is missing.’
 (17th) *Poesies i col·loquis*, Pere Jacint Morlà (CIGCatMod)

As the source meaning is still present, the PhU can be defamiliarized, i.e., it can be used in a context favouring the source-meaning (literal) interpretation (3b-d). This use is not neutral, but humorous²⁰. And it is so because the speaker knows that [exactly] is the ‘regular’ interpretation.

18. *Motivation* is to be understood as the cognitive process defined in 2.

19. According to Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005: 14), a unit is considered figurative when it meets two criteria: being an additional naming and having an Image component.

20. Pragmatically speaking, it is so because the acquired GCI are cancelled by the context

In (3b, c) the unit is used as a synonym of “on foot”, because its Form includes *the foot* of the letter. The speaker finds it funny, since he knows its phraseological meaning and also its solemn origin. In (3c) this origin is even highlighted for the fact of being cited in Latin, the “legal language”. However, the “usual” expression in Latin for this meaning was, and still is, *ad litteram*. The reading in (3b) is not evident for a current reader, but the similar use in the contemporary example (3c) in Spanish confirms our intuition.

In (3d), the author creates a context where both readings are activated: there should be a note at the *foot* [end] of the letter with further [exact] information, but the note is missing. At this stage, the PhU is polysemous, since the reader can see both the Form (source meaning) and the Meaning (target meaning), although the target meaning is in the foreground. The author takes advantage of this polysemy to create a pun.

3.1.4. Fourth stage: Frozen Phraseological Unit (conventionalization)

At the last stage of phraseologization, the PhU is completely fixed, ie, frozen. Its Form, its Meaning and their connection to Reality remain preserved, but it acts as a monolexical unit, displaying just the target meaning. The speakers do not perceive its constituent parts anymore and they just see a normal word (with a signifier and a signified) referring to an object (process, etc.). In this case, defamiliarization becomes impossible, because the non-compositional meaning has disappeared, thus, polysemy is not present anymore. Phraseological change on the basis of Image or Form analogy becomes also improbable.²¹

- (4) a. Per açò existia la Diputació del General: pera mantenir lo pacte entre la nació y lo rey; pera fer complir al peu de la lletra lo manat en les Corts; ‘For that reason there was a General Deputation: to maintain the pact between nation and king; to make comply at the foot of the letter [exactly] what has been ordered by the Council;’ (1894). *Institucions de Catalunya*, Salvador Bové (CTILC)
- b. Da· Ruf: ¿De veras? D· Jos· Sí; cuand prometo, senyora, cumpleixo al peu de la lletra ‘Miss Ruf: Really? Mr Jos: Yes, when I make a promiss, my lady, I always fulfill it at the foot of the letter [exactly]’ (1866) *Qui al cel escup...*, Marcial Busquets (CTILC)
- c. Aquesta Profecia se ha cumplert al peu de la lletra, y fou feta set cents anys antes de la vinguada de Christo ‘This Prophecy was [exactly] to the foot of the letter complied [fulfilled], and it was made seven hundred years before Christ’s birth’ (1837) *Promptuari catolich*, Josep Arnautó (CTILC)

21. Assuming it is completely frozen, phraseological change on the basis of Image or Form analogy or defamiliaration are impossible, but in actual language an image rest remains usually available. Maybe for the fact that its components are written separately.

At this point, it is a (poly)lexical unit with no special pragmatic value and the cycle starts again. As we can see (4a), it is likely to be combined with *complir* ‘comply’ and laws or regulations (4a), but it extends its scope and can be also used with *promesa* ‘promise’ (4b) or *profecía* ‘prophecy’ (4c).

3.2. Phraseological change

By adopting a diachronic approach to phraseology, we can not only explain the creation process of PhU, but also their modifications through time, that is, phraseological change.²² Except for some exceptions (Dräger 2012, Sánchez & Fuster 2012, 2014), this set of processes have been traditionally neglected by researchers. Nevertheless, we find it especially interesting, since it deals with the way historical and language change affect a polylexical linguistic element.

The following description of the process is mainly based upon Dräger’s (2012: 204–ff) description of the three levels of Phraseological change and their interaction. In addition, we take into account the components of Phraseological meaning as described by Timofeeva (2012) and our observations of the phenomenon in corpora (c.f. Sánchez & Lozano 2015).

We should not forget that, once fixed, a PhU is a lexical unit, thus, it can evolve just like a monolexical word, by acquiring new meanings. However, especially while being in stage 3, it is also a special kind of lexical unit, since it conveys a Denotative (non-compositional) Meaning through a (compositional) Form. Speakers tend to motivate this connection through the Image, basing on the Reality (world knowledge and knowledge of the context). But the PhU was

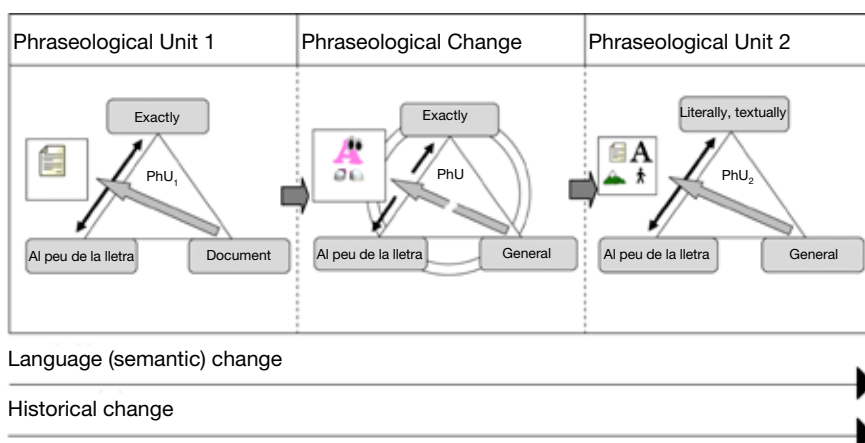


Figure 2. Phraseological change.

22. Fleischer (1982: 193–194) & Barz (1985: 193) refer to this process as “secondary phraseologization”.

created somewhere in the past, which means that Reality, as well as Language have changed since then. These changes affect the relation between the three parts of the PhU (and the Image, the component holding them together).

At stage 3, speakers cannot see the physical situation anymore. The *letter* [document] is not present and *at the foot of a letter* is perceived as a unit. Thus, the primary interpretation of the unit, the Image, is a letter with feet. Since the non-compositional reading is not compatible to reality, speakers identify it as a figurative meaning and tend to make sense of it by means of analogy. Since the speaker knows that *al peu de la muntanya* ‘at the foot of the mountain’ implies proximity and that a document has letters on it, he concludes the expression means [proximity to a document], ie, literally, textually. The existence of the PhU *a la lletra, ad litteram* [to the letter] favours this reading. Therefore, a new meaning arises (5a,b).

- (5) a. Y allargántmela ’ns despedirem, prometent, per ma part, retornarlhi aquella á la major brevetat. Esta, copiada al peu de la lletra, estava concebuda en los termes següents. “A En Llorens del Puig.”
 ‘And giving it [the letter] to me, we said goodbye, promising, on my side, to give it back to her as soon as possible. It, copied at the foot of the letter [literally], was written in the following terms. “To Mr. Llorens del Puig.”’
 (1880) *La familia del Mas dels Salzers*, Gayetà Vidal de Valenciano (CTILC)
- b. Repetirem ara copiantlas y traduhintlas al peu de la lletra las no menos memorables paraulas de un mestre de la ciencia de la Administració, de Sir Henry Cole
 ‘We will now repeat, copying and translating them at the foot of the letter [literally], the non less memorable words of a master of Administration science, of Sir Henry Cole’

3.3. Summing up

Since Phraseologization is a long process, in this case starting in the 15th century, we present a summing up table with its key elements. We include: the different stages regarding phraseology and diachronic linguistics, the Form of the combination at each stage, its Phraseological meaning, the relevant utterance-type context and the Image emerging at each step.

Table 4. Phraseologization process of *al peu de la lletra*

Phraseologization: <i>al peu de la lletra</i>				
Stages (phraseology)	1. Free Word combination	2. Restricted Word combination	3. Phraseological Unit with figurative meaning	4. Frozen Phraseological Unit
Stages (diachronic linguistics)*	Initial stage	Bridging context	Switch context	Conventionalization
Form	Al peu de	[s.th. important] al peu de [a legal document]	Complir [les instruccions] al peu de la lletra	Complir les instruccions al peu de la lletra
Phraseological meaning	Ø	At the end of the document	Exactly	Exactly Literally Textually
Utterance-type context	Unconstrained	(still not a unit)	(as a unit) Complir	(as a unit) Complir Copiar
	Unconstrained	Legal texts	Used in new communication contexts	Unconstrained
	Not relevant	Handwriting Dispositions at the end of legal documents	Previous context conventionalized in the unit, but not actively present anymore	Typing
Image	Ø (Source meaning)	Image: end of document (Target meaning 1 foregrounded)	Image: a letter with feet (Source meaning backgrounded)	Ø (Target meaning2)

* Stages of acquisition of grammatical meaning according to Heine (2002: 86).

4. Concluding remarks

Phraseological Units, far from being anomalous, are quite ordinary language items underlying semantic change.

Phraseology is the ideal “test bench” to prove the general validity of the *Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change*. Since Phraseological Units carry a heavier semantic load, the conventionalized implicatures are more visible in them than in other language elements. Therefore, the different change stages are also more evident.

A prototypical context description is essential to understand the process. In fact, the initial context is part of the unit because it becomes conventionalized, although speakers do not always know how to interpret it. In these cases, the Image arising is also an important factor leading to semantic change.

References

- Baranov, A. & Dobrovol'skij, D. (1996). «Idiomatichnost' i idiomy», *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 5, pp. 51-64. [cited by Timofeeva (2012)]
- Barcelona Sánchez, A. (2000). *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads. A cognitive perspective*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Barz, Irmhild (1985). «Primäre und sekundäre Phraseologisierung». In: Fleischer, Wolfgang (ed.). *Textbezogene Nominationsforschung. Studien zur deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft. Linguistische Studient, Reihe a, 123. Berlin, pp. 119-140.
- Buenafuentes de la Mata, Cristina (2002). «Procesos de gramaticalización en el estudio de los compuestos del español: el caso del elemento mal/a(-)». *Anuari de Filologia: XXIII-XIV*, pp. 11-12. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Burger, Harald (1996). *Phraseologie: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Burger, Harald (2010). *Phraseologie: eine Einführung am Beispiel des Deutschen*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.
- Bybee, Joan. (2007). *Frequency of Use and the Organization of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Corpas, Gloria (1996). *Manual de fraseología española*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Cuenca, M. Josep (2000). «L'estudi de les construccions idiomàtiques des de la lingüística cognitiva i l'anàlisi contrastiva». In: Salvador, Vicent & Piquer, Adolf (eds.) *El discurs prefabricat. Estudis de fraseologia teòrica i aplicada*. Castelló: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, pp. 33-48.
- Dobrovol'skij, Dmitrij and Piirainen, Elisabeth (2005). *Figurative language: cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Dräger, Marcel (2012). «Plädoyer für eine diachrone Perspektive in der Phraseographie». In: Filatkina, Natalia; Kleine-Engel, Ane; Dräger, Marcel & Burger, Harald (ed.): *Aspekte der historischen Phraseologie und Phraseographie*. Heidelberg: Winter, pp. 193-226.
- Fleischer, Wolfgang (1982). *Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. Leipzig.
- Garachana, Mar (2012). *Teoría de la gramaticalización. Estado de la cuestión*. Unpublished manuscript, Universitat de Barcelona. <http://www.academia.edu/11963627/Teor%C3%ADa_de_la_Gramaticalizaci%C3%B3n._Estado_de_la_cuesti%C3%B3n>
- Garachana, Mar (2014). «Gramática e historia textual en la evolución de los marcadores discursivos. El caso de no obstante». *Rilce: Revista de Filología Hispánica* 30.3: 959-984.
- Garachana, Mar and Rosemeyer, Malte (2011). «Rutinas léxicas en el cambio gramatical. El caso de las perifrasis deónticas e iterativas». *Revista de Historia de la Lengua Española* 6, pp. 35-60.
- Heine, Bernd; Claudi, Ulrike and Hünemeyer, Friederike (1991). *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, Bernd and Kuteva, Tania (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul and Traugott, Elizabeth C. (1993/2003). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horn and Ward (eds.) (2004). *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Howarth, Peter (2000). «Describing diachronic change in English phraseology». In: Corpas, Gloria (ed.): *Las lenguas de Europa: estudios de fraseología, fraseografía y traducción*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, pp. 213-230.
- Huang, Yan (2007). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- IEC. *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC)*. (Ctilc.iec.cat, 22.05.2015).
- Levinson, Stephen ([2000] 2004). *Significados presumibles: la teoría de la implicatura conversacional generalizada*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Barbara (1985). «On semantic change in a dynamic model of language». In: Fisiak, Jacek (ed.) *Historical semantics. Historical Word-Formation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 297-323.
- Martí Sánchez, Manuel (2005). «Explorando la definición real de los fraseologismos». *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* (clac) 24. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, pp. 47-73.
- Martines, Josep (2000a). «L'expressió de les emocions i la creativitat lèxica: *estimar* 'amar', entre l'eufemisme i la metàfora cultural». In: *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval. Santander, setiembre, 1999*. Santander: UIMP, pp. 1221-1243.
- Martines, Josep (2000b). «El canvi lèxic en català (ss. XVI-XX). Una aproximació des de la lexicologia diacrònica cognitiva (i). Les novetats i la llengua catalana». In: *Jornades de la Secció Filològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans a la Universitat d'Alacant el dia 16 d'octubre de 1998*. Barcelona: IEC, pp. 35-64.
- Martines, Josep (2012a). «La integració conceptual o *blending* i l'arc de Sant Martí. Vers una semàntica cognitiva diacrònica i cultural», *eHumanista-IVITRA*, 2, p. 240-270.
- Martines, Josep (2012b). «El canvi semàntic a propòsit de *enze, enza*. Estudi del lèxic d'Enric Valor». *Ítaca. Revista de Filologia*, 2, pp. 143-204.
- Martines, Josep (2013). «El verb *estimar* i l'amor hereós i Joan Roís de Corella. Un acostament segons la pragmàtica diacrònica», *Afers*, 76, pp. 717-739.
- Martines, Josep (forthcoming). «Diacronia i neologia: canvi semàntic, subjectivació i representació del pensament. El català esmar, des de 'taxar' fins a 'inferir' i 'imaginar' i més enllà». *Caplletra* 59.
- Martines, Josep (forthcoming). «L'émergence des futurs épistémiques romans. L'exemple du catalan médiéval du XIII^{ème} siècle». In: Laura Baranzini et al. (ed.), *Le futur dans les langues romanes*, Peter Lang.
- Martines, Vicent (dir.). *Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Antic* (CIGCA).
- Martines, Vicent (dir.). *Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Modern* (CIGCatMod).
- Meillet, Antoine (1912/1958). «L'évolution des formes grammaticales». *Scientia*, 12(6), pp. 384-400 (reimpr. Meillet 1958: 130-148).
- Meillet, Antoine (1958). *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*. Paris: Champion.
- Narrog, Heiko and Heine, Bernd (eds.) (2011a): *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Narrog, Heiko & Heine, Bernd (eds.) (2011b). «Introduction». In: Narrog, Heiko & Heine, Bernd (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-16.

- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel (1997). «Entre el lèxic i la gramàtica: els processos de gramaticalització». In: *Cicle de conferències 95-96. Lèxic, corpus i diccionaris*. Barcelona: Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada (Universitat Pompeu Fabra), pp. 91-111.
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel and Vicent Salvador (1995). «Fraseologia de l'encara i processos de gramaticalització». *Caplletra* 18, pp. 85-108.
- Piirainen, Elisabeth (2012). *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond. Toward a Lexicon of Common Figurative Units*. New York: Peter Lang.
- 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, pp. 107-132.
- Ruiz Gurillo, Leonor (2010). «Interrelaciones entre gramaticalización y fraseología en español». *Revista de Filología Española* XC 1: 173-194.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/rfe.2010.v90.i1.201>>
- Sánchez López, Elena (2013). *Estudi de la llengua d'Ausiàs March a través de les col·locacions. Una aproximació semiautomàtica*. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Sánchez López, Elena and Fuster Ortuño, M. Àngels (2012). «La fraseología 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 Fuster Ortuño, M. Àngels (2014). «Estudi de les unitats fraseològiques de la tercera esfera des d'una perspectiva diacrònica». *Caplletra* 56, pp. 243-267.
- Sánchez López, Elena and Lozano Sañudo, Belén (2015). «La traducción de unidades fraseológicas con sentido figurado: Cuando los árboles no nos dejan ver el bosque». Unpublished manuscript, Universitat d'Alacant.
- Timofeeva, Larissa (2012). *El significado fraseológico. En torno a un modelo explicativo y aplicado*. Madrid: Liceus.
- Traugott, Elizabeth (2010). «Grammaticalization». In: Jucker, Andreas H. & Taavitsainen, Irma (eds.), *Historical Pragmatics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 97-126.
- Traugott, Elizabeth (2004). «Historical Pragmatics». In Horn, Larry & Ward, Gregory (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 538-61.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Dasher, Richard B. (2002). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. and Heine, Bernd (eds.) (1991). *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Modal verbs, future and grammaticalization in Old Catalan. A cognitive approach

Andreu Sentí

Universitat de València

andreu.senti@uv.es



Received: May 19, 2015

Accepted: June 17, 2015

Abstract

The process of grammaticalization of Catalan modal verbs *deure*, *haver* and *tenir* involves a semantic change, a rise of new meanings and an increase in their semantic network. On the one hand, deontic modal verbs develop inferential evidential meanings, and, on the other, future meanings (posteriority).

This corpus-based study focuses on the rise of future meanings of modal verb *deure* ('must') (between the 12th and the 16th centuries). We have been able to analyse the process of grammaticalization with absolute reliability thanks to the applied technology of the Corpus of Old Catalan (CICA and CIGCA), in which linguistic variation is quite representative. This study takes a cognitive perspective (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999, 2006; Pelyvás 2000, 2006) that provides us with the tools to set up a semantic network and the paths of semantic change.

Keywords: modality; future; semantic change; Cognitive Grammar; grammaticalization; subjectification; conceptual schema.

Resum. *Verbs modals, futur i gramaticalització en català antic: una aproximació cognitiva*

La gramaticalització de les perífrasis verbals modals <*deure* + INF>, <*haver (a/de)* + INF> i <*tenir a/de* + INF> va comportar una evolució semàntica i un procés de polisemitització ric i complex. Les perífrasis d'obligació desenvolupen, per una banda, uns valors evidencials d'inferència i, per l'altra, uns valors de posterioritat temporal o futur.

Aquest estudi de corpus mostra el sorgiment i evolució dels valors de futur de la perífrasi amb *deure* entre els segles XII-XVI. Amb les eines informàtiques d'un corpus del català antic (CICA i CIGCA) prou representatiu podem observar el procés de gramaticalització amb la màxima fiabilitat possible. L'estudi pren una orientació cognitivista (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999, 2006; Pelyvás 2000, 2006) que ajudarà a configurar la xarxa semàntica de les perífrasis i els patrons de canvi semàntic que s'han produït.

Paraules clau: modalitat; futur; canvi semàntic; Gramàtica Cognitiva; gramaticalització; subjectivació; esquema conceptual.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction 2. Semantic connections between modality and future 3. Quantitative data 4. Emergence of future meanings of the modal verb <i>deure</i>	5. Future meaning of <i>deure</i> and the reconfiguration of the modal map in the 16 th century 6. Conclusions Textual Corpus References References
--	---

1. Introduction

In Old Catalan (11th-16th c.), modal verbal periphrasis <*deure* + INF> ('must') was the prototypical and the most frequent periphrasis to express deontic necessity (Senti 2015). During the process of grammaticalization of the periphrasis, in the course of the 11th c. and the 16th c., new meanings appear and the semantic network of *deure* broadens significantly, following two grammaticalization patterns: i) NECESSITY > INFERENTIAL EVIDENTIALITY¹ and ii) NECESSITY > FUTURE (Cabanès 1996, Martines in press, Schmid 2008). At the end of the Middle Ages, the semantic network of the periphrasis will have changed and the modality map in Catalan will be reconfigured. On the one hand, the new inferential evidential readings got to consolidate as a new semantic core of the periphrasis (Senti 2015). On the other hand, with the grammaticalization and the appearance of the new future readings the category (*deure*) became more conventionalized, but this meaning did not settle and nowadays it is not one of the meanings of the verb in Modern Catalan. In this article we will focus on the latter case of frustrated grammaticalization. Due to the space reasons, we will not consider the development of inferential evidential readings (see Senti 2015 for the analysis of the grammaticalization pattern NECESSITY > INFERENTIAL EVIDENTIALITY).

In order to explain semantic change and evolution of *deure* we will apply Langacker's (1987, 1991) Cognitive Grammar (CG) framework. The framework proposed in these studies, as well as in further contributions (Langacker 1999, 2006; Pelyvás 2000, 2006) provides a convincing answer to two crucial semantic challenges: on the one hand, explaining the semantic network of the words (or constructions) and thus defining the phenomenon of polysemy and, on the other hand, explaining the semantic change. According to the CG framework, when the speaker/ground (S/G) wants to express a meaning and turns to a conventional schema, there can be a full sanction if this schema is conventionalised and entrenched. This is the case of the prototypical and more or less peripheral readings. In other cases, the schema may not go along with conventionality, which results in a partial sanction, that is, a change in the conceptual structure and, of course, a semantic change.

1. See Senti and Cornillie (in press) for the account of inferential evidential meanings in connection with the epistemic modality.

The periphrasis <*deure* + INF> in Old Catalan evolves and two more semantic cores emerge, a future reading and inferential evidentiality. The approach to the polysemy offered by the CG allows representing a semantic network of the semantic nuances and, at the same time, it allows putting together all the similar readings under a strong semantic core, or a prototypical reading that corresponds to the conceptual schema. As we will show, the evolution of the periphrasis reflects some modifications in the conceptual schema of the construction that incorporates force dynamics (Talmy 1988). The conceptual origin of necessity, the force, is gradually attenuating, which uncovers a subjective conceptualization of the scene.

This is a corpus study based on the corpora CICA and CIGCA, a balanced and representative corpus of Old Catalan with typologically different texts. In order to study *deure* we have analysed 2490 instances aiming to reach the highest precision in the study of Old Catalan.² According to the corpus, in general, the periphrasis has a high frequency of use until the 15th c. (between 0,08-0,1%). In the 16th c. though it decreases to 0,03%. Indeed, it is in the 16th c. when a change in modality and evidentiality occurs in Catalan. The grammaticalization of the periphrasis <*haver* (*a/de*) + INF>³ replaces *deure* as a prototypical periphrasis of obligation (Sentí 2015), while a new semantic reading of *deure*, inferential evidentiality, becomes more widespread and the future reading retreats until it completely disappears.⁴ In this piece of research we will look at the origin and the evolution of future readings.

2. Semantic connections between modality and future

Modality and future are two concepts that, by definition, are very close. Modality is a linguistic category that modifies the status of the reality expressed in a sentence. That is, it lowers the validity of the sentence.⁵ Future, at the same time, is a hypothetical tense; it denotes something unknown and uncertain. A concept that covers both of these notions is that of *irrealis*.⁶

Such cognitive and semantic proximity explains why in Romance languages there are verbs, periphrases and constructions that are able to express both different modal meanings and future, or also meanings that are half way from the former to

2. However, corpus studies always have some methodological restrictions that are difficult to avoid (see Sentí 2013).

3. For a full diachronic study of the periphrasis the reader can refer to Sentí (2012).

4. See Sentí (2013) and Sentí and Antolí (2014) for a detailed quantitative analysis of semantic readings of the periphrasis and its evolution.

5. Given this perspective, one could include past and future tenses into such a vast category. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that, in general, the past and the future encode a state of affairs as a factual, regardless of it being real or not in the world. By contrast, modal category makes a reference precisely to an undetermined factual status (Narrog 2012: 6-7).

6. In fact, many typological studies have tried to analyse morphemes or markers that mark the difference between the real and the unreal (*realis/irrealis*). Some languages use specific *irrealis* morphemes to encode modality and future. However, this perspective also has some difficulties because *irrealis* is a very vast and ambiguous term. The reader can refer to de Haan (2006: 41-45, 50) for a state of the art.

the latter. There is an amalgamation of meanings related to future or modality (cf. Martines in press). This is the case of modal verbs in romance languages and in Catalan, such as *deure*, *haver* and *tenir*. Besides, deontic modal meaning inherently entails a realisation that is posterior in time to the act of speech: every obligation is carried out afterwards.

A good example illustrating such connection is precisely the forming of Romance modal periphrases at the late stages of Vulgar Latin. Latin modal periphrases <HABEO + INF>, <DEBEO + INF> and <UOLO + INF>⁷ appeared in colloquial speech and were gradually replacing Classical Latin forms that expressed modal meanings. Around the 3rd c. AD some instances with future meaning had already been documented (Fleischman 1982). Without any doubt, it was the periphrasis featuring HABEO with a future meaning that became the most widespread over the Romance-speaking territories, probably because it was not loaded with that much of lexic and modal meaning when compared to the others, so that it ended up forming synthetic future (Future Simple) in modern Romance. However, the periphrases with DEBEO and UOLO were not a successful alternative to the classical forms that expressed future in Latin (Herman 2001: 86). Nevertheless, both of these periphrases entered Romance languages with a kind of future meaning manifested in some particular contexts.⁸

In ancient, preliterary Catalan texts we already find the modal verb *deure* with a future or posteriority meaning. As we will see, it is an underdeveloped meaning with modal nuances and it is bound to particular contexts only. In the course of the Medieval Period grammaticalization of the periphrasis continues and frequency of use of the verb with this reading increases. Thus, next to the transitional meanings, there will appear some new, more defined future meanings that will be distanced from modality.

3. Quantitative data

The prototypical meaning of the periphrasis with the verb *deure*, that of deontic necessity, and all the peripheral meanings of necessity represent the central core of the category. Inferential evidentiality develops and consolidates in the 16th c. when it represents about 30% of the instances in the studied corpus (cf. Senti 2015). Future meanings, by contrast, were present in Old Catalan from the very beginning. As the corpus shows, the development of the future meaning of the verb *deure* in Old Catalan follows a different path to that of the evidential meaning. In the period from the 11th c. to 1350 posteriority meanings of *deure* already gain some significant presence,⁹ possibly because this meaning was already developed in Latin. The

7. Meyer-Lübke (1900, II: §112) makes a reference to them and shows six different ways to substitute the future: *cantare habeo*, *habeo cantere*, *volo cantare*, *habeo ad cantare*, *debeo cantare*, *venio ad cantare*.

8. In addition to the original deontic value, posteriority readings of <DEBEO + INF> were also documented in Romance languages.

9. It happens especially in the 13th c. (b) because in the chronicles (*Fets*) there are many situations of communication that allow for an inference of posteriority reading.

Table 1. Core meanings of the periphrasis with *deure* in Old Catalan (11th c. - 16th c.)

	Preliterary	13b ¹	14a	14b ²	15	16
Necessity	85,96%	84,72 %	92,97%	75,68%	72,06%	61,58%
Evidentiality	0,88%	0,8%	1,62%	6,9%	7,87%	29,94%
Future	6,14%	11,02%	2,7%	13,22%	16,52%	3,95%

1. In order to refer to the first half and the second half of a century we will use the letters *a* and *b*: 13th c. (*a*) or 13th c. (*b*).
2. We find it interesting to divide the 14th century in two parts: the first half (14a) and the second half (14b). This grade of precision in the chronology allows pointing out a relevant evolution.

next stage (1350-1499) marks a kind of a turn: there is a considerable increase in frequency. Out of the total of instances, about 13-16% have a posteriority meaning. Such an increase shows an important settlement of the new meaning, although it is bound to particular communicative contexts, from which it does not distance enough. In the 16th c. it becomes completely residual. The quantitative data are represented in the Table 1.

4. Emergence of future meanings of the modal verb *deure*

4.1. Prototypical construction: deontic modality

In Old Catalan the modal verbal periphrasis <*deure* + INF> was the prototypical periphrasis to express deontic necessity (see Fig. 1, a construction represented within the Cognitive Grammar framework, Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999, 2006 and Pelyvas 2000, 2006). This reading forms an objective schema, in which the conceptual origin of modality is a force that comes from the imposer, a role that represents the locus of potency, that is, an external authority that is capable of sending out a force, an obligation. The imposer of the deontic modality is a moral, legal or social authority that can apply force to the doer, or the subject, the individual that has to carry out the proposed action, the state of affairs (SoA):

- (1) car com una constitució és feta en cort, si·s publica, se *deu publicar* tota ab integritat sens afegir·hi un mot ne tolre·n un altre (Safont, *Dietari*: 91, 1411-1484)
‘As a constitution is made in *cort* (a government body), it *must be published* in its entirety, without adding any word or omitting another one’

The schema in the Figure 1 represents the prototypical reading of deontic necessity. The force, the arrow in bold, affects the subject or the doer, in order for him to carry out the action. The semi-oval line that links the subject of the verb *deure* (first circle of the doer) with the subject of the action or the infinitive (second circle of the doer) shows that it is the same participant.

The doer, the target of potency, in his turn, sends out a very weak counterforce that is represented as a crossed arrow. The obligation is so strong that it does not

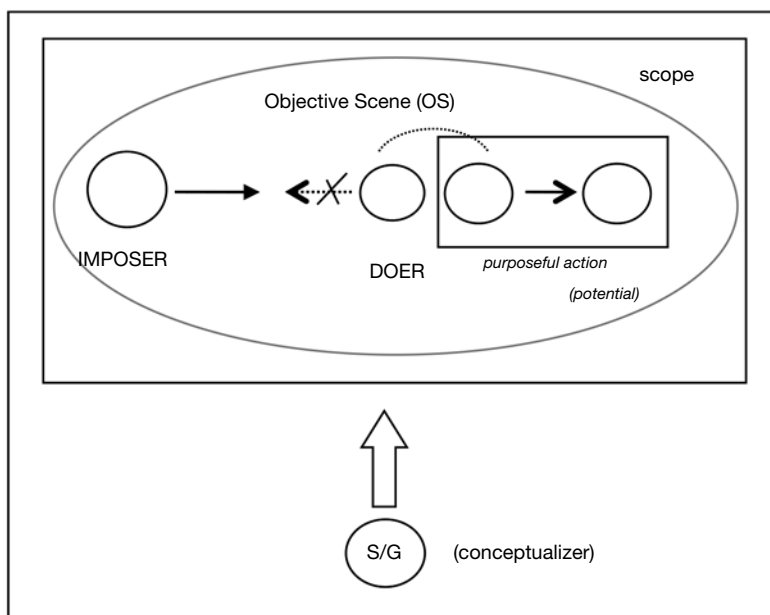


Figure 1. Conceptual schema of the prototypical deontic meaning of *<deure + INF>*.

leave any possibility of not carrying out the potential action. In other words, the counterforce is not effective at all.

All the elements of the schema appear in the objective scene, which points out to all participants of the schema being prominent. The interaction of the forces, the modal relation and the SoA are focalized on the contents codified by the periphrasis *<deure + INF>*. However, the S/G is not in the scene, he observes all the elements of the scene from the outside of the scope of predication. All in all, the construe of the schema is objective.

Next to the prototypical meaning of deontic necessity, there is a continuum of peripheral instances of *deure* that can be considered as elaborations of the prototypical conceptual schema (Fig. 1), such as external necessity (van der Auwera i Plungian 1998) or other more subjective readings with a slightly weakened force. For the reasons of space we do not describe them in this piece of research.

Among the above mentioned instances there is one type especially relevant to approach the future readings because it highlights the posteriority feature of the periphrasis. It is a meaning that can be found in administrative texts, in which the source of obligation is the current legislation. The legal authority makes a proposal of a law that can be interpreted as ‘to be expected’ or ‘to be set’. With such a nuance, the schema presents an authority acting as the imposor that offers a project of the law, that gives some rights in the future. That is why the temporal schema is strengthened, but the necessity reading is still there.

- (2) La ja dicta Rumia demana per raon de sa maire; demana sa legítima e son dreit d'aquel dreit que sa maire avia ni *aver devia* en aquella honor de la serra subirana de Fígols (*Medieval 31*: 105, 1250-1255)
 'Above mentioned Rumia asks for the reason of her mother; she asks for her legitimate inheritance and her (inherited) right that her mother had and she *had to have* for the sovereign land of Fígols'

4.2. Transitional meanings towards posteriority

Different studies on grammaticalization and semantic change have mentioned an intermediate stage in the process prior to achieving semantic change. At this stage there are some instances that can be attributed both to the original meaning and to the innovative meaning: indeterminate, ambiguous meanings, bridge contexts (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991). In what follows we consider those instances in corpus that admit a double interpretation. We will call them transitional uses (Goossens 2000) because they are located at the periphery of the prototypical meaning of necessity and at the same time, for some reason, they admit the inference of innovative meanings.

As we will show in what follows, all the meanings of transition from necessity towards future that the verb *deure* develops are related to the notion of planning. Attenuation of the locus of potency leads to the strengthening of the relation between the S/G (who is a point of reference) and the SoA. That is to say, the obligation weakens and it becomes possible to interpret it as a plan, which is the origin of the innovative reading.

On the one hand, we find some transitional instances that are very similar to the above-mentioned peripheral value, 'to be set by the law' or 'to have the right to'. In such cases though the future meaning is more defined. The future interpretation is reinforced because any plan is carried out in posteriority to the act of communication.

- (3) si donams nós a vós czo que avems ni *aver i devons* per a[l]quna raó (*Medieval 26*: 97, 1241)
 'thus I am giving to you what I have or *will have* for some reason'

We have documented five of ancient instances from Old Catalan, in which there is the same periphrastic structure featuring <*deure* + *haver-hi*>. We have also found the same reading in Occitan (4) and Latin (5) texts. It is in the Occitan text where the linguistic context reinforces the future reading. In this instance the adverb *adenant* reveals the interpretation of posteriority.

- (4) Eu Peire de Creissel et eu Uga, sa maire, dam et ab aquesta present carta liuram a te [...] tot quant nos avem ni adenant aver i devem (*PACI*: 69, 1151)
 'I, Peire de Creissel, and I, Uga, his mother, are giving you and with this lletter we are giving you all that we have or *will have* from now on'

- (5) Totos meos directos quod ego habeo vel *habere debeo* (MiS-AnText: 20.1176)
 ‘All of my direct (relatives) that I have or *will have*’

As one can see, it is a repeated formula for official administrative texts and it is a part of a fixed formula that comes from Latin. It is important to remember that in that period Medieval Latin was by default the language of writing. In the end, it shows that the necessity reading is close to that of future, and that even in Latin it unfolded some future nuances. This is the beginning of a grammaticalization pattern that will further develop in Old Catalan.

On the other hand, we also find another type of periphrasis that can be interpreted as i) necessity (deontic or external) or ii) future scheduling. In these cases, there is an element in the context showing that the state of affairs will be carried out in the future, that it is planned. Modal meaning is still quite present but the planning (inherent to the future-oriented deontic modality) becomes more relevant. It often appears in the form of inchoative infinitives that indicate the beginning of some activity: *fer batalla* ‘fight battle’, *entrar* ‘go in’, *passar* ‘pass’, etc.:

- (6) Los cavallers e ·ls altres qui *deven fer* batalla deven ésser mesurats sots aquesta forma (*Furs*: vol. VIII, 54, 1261-1271)
 ‘The knights and others that *will fight* the battle must be measured by this form’
- (7) E enviam missatge la nuyt per los bisbes e per los rics hòmens que los dixés que al matí se *devia fer* açò (*Fets*: foli 84r)
 ‘And I sent a message at night for the bishops and the rich people saying that in the morning this *will have to be done*’
- (8) Per què us pregam afectuosament, si neguns temps nos *devets servir*, que, ab lo tresorer ensemps, nos acorregats ivaçosament d’alcuna bona quantitat ab què puxam arrencar la host (*Pere IIIa*: carta 1, 1343-1348)
 ‘We beg you kindly, if you ever *serve* us, that you, together with the treasurer, pay us a good amount with the help of which we can start an army’
- (9) Aprés que elles són bé farçides e plenes, entren-se’n en lurs cambres [...] e dormen entrò que *deuen sopar* (*Metge, Somni*: 220, 1398)
 ‘After they are stuffed and full, they go to their rooms [...] and they sleep until they *have to have supper*’
- (10) E la luna resta endret del meu cap e dels braços, senyalant lo camí que yo *dech fer*, e no és restada atràs ni al costat (*Tirant*: 1104, 1460)
 ‘And the moon is above my head and arms, showing me the way I *will have to make*, and it is not behind me or on the side’

Another transitional meaning shows a little more clearly the proximity of such instances to the future meaning.

- (11) Per qé él s'aproxmave a la passió qe *devie rede[bre]* en Jherusalem (*Homilies*: 124, c. 1200)
 'Because he was approaching the passion that he *was about to receive* in Jerusalem'
- (12) Qar així o trobam en la homelia de sent Gregori, qe u-monge fo e, qan se *dec morir*, devezi tot son aver e partí'l, estirs dos besans qe li oblidaren (*Homilies*: 122, c. 1200)
 'Because we find it in the homily of Saint Gregory, that there was a monk and, when he *had to die*, he divided all he had, except two besans that he forgot'
- (13) en la festa de Sent Pere él *devia preïcar* als clerges (*Vides*: 439, 1275-1299)
 'during Saint Peter's holiday he *would preach* to the clirics'

Here *deure* expresses a necessity different from the deontic one. The locus of potency of the necessity is not represented by a moral, legal or social imposer, but by future that is known for certain by everyone. For example, in (11) *deure* refers to something expected: everyone knows that the passion of Jesus Christ led to his death. Similarly, in (12) there are two periphrases in the same context: the S/G knows what the future is and he actually tells it in the same text: «estec-ne .XXX. dies en pena», that is, the monk died and went to hell. In the end, a narrative scene is generated, in which the S/G already knows all the sequence of facts.

In the context of the past, *deure* expresses posteriority to a prior moment. Therefore, the role of the imposer (the necessity) weakens, and the reference to temporal posteriority of the periphrasis strengthens. The source of force is the encyclopedic knowledge of the S/G who knows what happens in the future and who can say *necessàriament deu morir, morirà* ('he must inevitably die, he will die'). With these instances, the conformation of the conceptual schema has significantly changed, it is more subjective now. The process of grammaticalization of the periphrasis moves forward to more defined and more subjective meanings of posteriority or future.

Actually, the co-appearance of the verb *deure* with the infinitive *morir* 'to die' is not accidental because death is inevitable. Therefore, the developing of the new meaning of *deure* begins in a specific context, a narrative, in which from the present (C) one observes a point in the past (A) and a further moment (B) that is known and will surely occur, as shown in Fig. 2.

It is precisely the past context that lets us have the encyclopedic knowledge that makes sure the future prediction will be fulfilled: to some extent, it is a necessity.

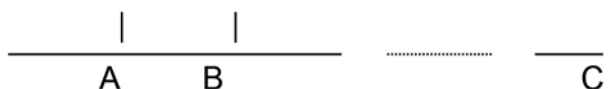


Figure 2. Narrative schema that allows the appearance of the posteriority meaning.

Finally, there is another context, in which the verb *deure* has a future reading: some subjunctive mood clauses with the meaning of posteriority.

- (14) lo papa consentí que *dagués ésser amenat* a la ciutat de Roma e que conegués quina fos la sua mesura (*Diàlegs*: foli 6r, 1250-1290)
 ‘the Pope agreed that he *will be led* to the city of Rome and that he will know what its measurement is’
- (15) no és dona ni donzella en lo món que de bon grat no·l *degués amar* e subjugar-se a tota sa voluntat (*Tirant*: 483, 1460)
 ‘there is no woman or maiden in the world who *will not love* him and obey him with all her determination’

All in all, some specific communicative contexts are what encourages the beginning of the semantic change, allowing an interpretation of necessity different to the prototypical one: a legislative planification, some narrative contexts or subjunctive clauses. Such transitional meanings show a more general obligation and a conceptual schema with a weakened force that brings us closer to more defined future meanings, as we will see in the next section. All in all, they are links of the semantic chain that highlight the gradual character of semantic change.

4.3. *The future meaning of modal verb deure: scheduled future and imminent future*

4.3.1. *Scheduled future*

Alongside with the transitional meanings of the modal verb *deure*, we can also find contexts with a pure future meaning. The periphrasis consolidates a type of future that we have labeled *scheduled future*, and its frequency increases up to represent 16% of all instances of the periphrasis in the 15th c. We have chosen the term *scheduled* because the posteriority in time expressed by it is always linked to a kind of schedule.

- (16) devench molt gelós, e, encés de rabiosa ira, l’aguera mort en qualsevol partit, sinó pensant que dins breus dies la batalla se *devia fer* e aquella toldria la qüestió (*Curial*: 103, 1435-1445)
 ‘He became very jealous and, ignited by anger, he would have killed him at any opportunity, but thinking that in a few days the battle *had to happen*, which would make the matter disappear’

In this example there is a force coming from a foresight or scheduling that anchors the SoA, *que es fes la batalla* ‘that the battle had to happen’, in the future.

The periphrases with this meaning do not sanction the prototypical conceptual schema of deontic necessity, there is rather a semantic extension. The interaction of forces has weakened and it reveals the future orientation of the construction that already was there. That is why the schema incorporates the timeline (t). The locus of potency is modified: it is not the obligation anymore, it is the planning/

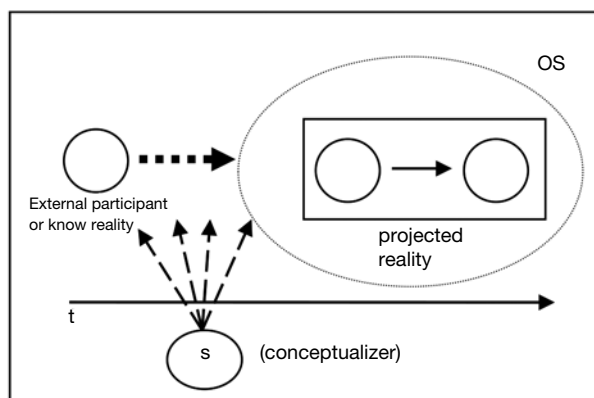


Figure 3. Conceptual schema of *<deure + INF>* with a scheduled future reading.

scheduling. Now the potency comes from some external to the SoA circumstances that project a future reality. In this regard, it is interesting to establish a link with Langacker's dynamic evolutionary model (1991a: 277) and the notion of projected reality, because here the S/G conceptualizes a reality projected from the force of the path of the known reality.

The force has attenuated but it has not faded away completely. What remains of it is the planning because the illustrated meanings show that *deure* does not get a completely temporal conceptual schema with a completely temporal locus of potency. In other words, scheduled future can be viewed as a logical projection of the facts according to the speaker's encyclopedic knowledge (force).

As shown in the schema (Fig. 3), at this stage the relation of forces is still present but the agentive doer is not there anymore. The force applies directly to the whole SoA and not the doer, as it happened in the case of the necessity reading. Therefore, there is an objective scene (OS) with the SoA projected in the future. At this point, we are talking about an attenuation of the force and also of its target. In the end, the configuration is still objective because the locus of potency is still external to the S/G.

The periphrasis often co-occurs with infinitives denoting movement or change of state, such as *venir* 'come', *anar* 'go', *metre* 'put', *entrar* 'enter', *morir* 'die' that highlight the temporal schema. In many instances there are particles expressing time (see the underlined). There are instances dating back to the 13th c. (b), even though their number increases in the period from 1350 to 1500. That is why in the second half of the 14th c. this conceptual schema can be considered as the new core meaning of the periphrasis.

- (17) E, quan vench que fom segurs d'aquel estol que no *devie venir* de tot en tot, tornam-nos-en (*Fets*: foli 61v, XIIIb)
'And when we were sure that squadron was definitely not *going to come*, we went back'

- (18) Que com lo senyor rey a bon estament de la ciutat e del regne de València entena en breu de dies ésser en la dita ciutat e per aquesta rahó moltes honrades persones *deuen venir* a la dita ciutat (*Manual I*: 340, 1306-1324)
‘Because His Majesty the King of the City and of Kingdom of Valencia will in some days be in this city, many honourable people *will come* to this city’
- (19) Interrogatus si ere emprès entre ell testis deponens e lo dit P. Verger que la muller d’aquest testis *degués morir*. (*Marquès*: foli 20r, 1374-1477)
‘When interrogated if they had decided who was to testify, the mentioned P. Verger said that the wife of that witness *was to die*’
- (20) per lo matí, sabut per nosaltres que micer Francesch Blanch e micer Pere de Falchs, missatgers de aquesta ciutat a vós, senyor, trameses, *devien entrar* en aquella (*Epistolari IIa*: carta 115, 1412-1424)
‘we know that Sir Francesch Blanch and Sir Pere de Falchs, messengers of this city, directed to you, Sir, *will enter* there in the morning’
- (21) vigília de sent March, los consellers e altres buscaris de lur consell, volgueren fer cridar lo Consell de Cent Jurats per lo sendemà que *devia ésser* sent March (Safont, *Dietari*: 67, 1411-1484)
‘on the eve of Saint Mark, the counsellors wanted to convene the Council of One Hundred Juries for the next day, that *had to be* the day of Saint Mark’

4.3.2. Subjectification, grammaticalization and imminent future

Finally, the periphrasis <*deure* + INF> makes another step in grammaticalization and developing of future meanings: the meaning of *imminent future* (‘to be about to do something’) emerges. The conceptual schema presents a more subjective configuration and a major attenuation of the force. We have documented this meaning in some older texts already.

- (22) E per ço cor no y avia loc ún se pogués posar, veu-la hom encare ara, qui garda al pug, penjar axí con si devia caur (*Diàlegs*: foli 2r, 1250-1290)
‘And because of that, because there was no place where it could be placed, one can still see it, guarding the hill, as if it *was going to fall*’
- (23) E, quan vench que·l sol se·n *devia entrar*, entraren-se·n los sarraïns (*Fets*: 167r, s. XIIIb)
‘And when the sun *was to set*, entered the Saracens’
- (24) aquest testis víu qu’el dit A. jaheïa en i lit e gitava poderosament en i baci e, segons que paria, soferi[a] gran mal que semblave degués gitar los budels (*Marquès*: foli 25v, 1374-1377)
‘This witness saw that A. was lying in bed and he was throwing up a lot into a bucket, and, as it seemed, he was so sick that he *was about to throw up* his guts’

- (25) Los seynals que signiffiquen pestilència ja present en l'ær són axí com terbolament en l'ær, car adés parrà que *dege ploure* e puixs no plou (*Agramont*: 59b, 1348)

'The signs of a plague present in the air are as a cloud in the air, as recently it seemed it was going *to rain* and it didn't rain'

The contexts of (22)-(25) do not admit any other interpretation apart from the imminent future. In (23) there is an inanimate subject, the sun, that makes the same cycle every day, so that everyone knows that it will set (*entrarà*). The infinitive of the periphrasis in (25) is an atmospheric (zerovalent) verb that does not fit into deontic modality. Actually, all of the four examples above have such a context that there cannot possibly be any obligation or intention of the participant: the sun, the rain, the gravity and being sick cannot be intentional.

The frequency of the periphrasis with this meaning increases considerably starting from 1350, and especially in the 15th century.

- (26) Encontinent Orfeu callà, e jo, axí com aquell qui havia gran desig de hoir ço que *dir-me devia*, pregué-l instantment que·m volgués acabar ço que m'havia començat explicar dessús (*Metge, Somni*: 186, 1398)

'Then Orpheus became silent as the one who had a big desire to tell me what he *was about to tell* me, and I asked him then to finish what he had started telling me before'

- (27) —Senyora, yo ·m pens que si aquesta donzella que ací és hagués sabut que vós la *deguéssets retenir* ací, e vós metre-us en companyia del cavaller per anar al torneig, crech que ab dur cor hi fóra venguda (*Curial*: 139, 1435-1445)

'Madam, I think that if this maiden that is now here knew that you *would keep* her here and to send her to the tournament accompanied by the knight, I think she would be reluctant to come'

- (28) E fon tanta la remor que feren que paria que cel e terra ne *degués venir* (*Tirant*: 1383, 1460)

'And the noise that they made was such that it seemed that the sky and the ground *would sink*'

- (29) E fonch-li imposat aquest cognom Tremolós per tal causa; ço és, que com *devia entrar* en batalla, ho havia a fer cavalcada (*Carbonell, Cròniques*: 245, 1495-1513)

'And so he was given the name of Tremolós for this reason: when he *was about to go into* a battle, he did so riding a horse'

Such meanings can sanction the conceptual schema of the scheduled future but with some nuances, as shown in Fig. 4.

In this schema there is a more subjective configuration because the modal relation has attenuated more and reveals the modal scanning of the conceptualiser

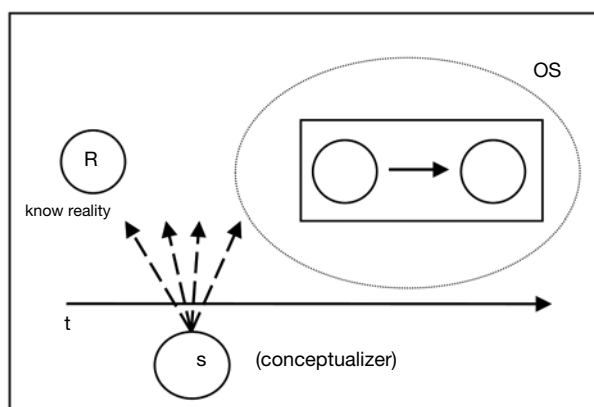


Figure 4. Conceptual schema of <deure + INF> with a more subjective future meaning.

(C); the verb *deure* refers to a known reality, it is related to the state of affairs. The (semi)-auxiliary is a point of reference (R), that is, an element subjectively related to the SoA because it gives all the spotlight to the projected reality, to the SoA that is in the objective scene (OS). A confirmation of the subjectification of the future meaning is the presence of hedges that point to the speaker's inference to the surrounding reality (see the underlined text: *parrà, semblave, paria...*).

This schema is different from that of the scheduled future because the external modal force (represented by the horizontal arrow in the Fig. 4) has faded away. By contrast, in cases of imminent future the locus of potency is attenuated: the force does not come from a known reality that allows planning, it is rather the inference that the speaker makes on what can happen judging by the reality he knows.

All in all, the periphrasis takes another step in grammaticalization and develops a more subjective meaning, in which the speaker's conceptualization is the locus of potency. After all, this stage is when major subjectification of the scene happens.

4.3.3. Frustration of the grammaticalization

Corpus data show that in the 16th c. the future meaning that had been important during the previous centuries does not stay. However, as we know (Senti 2015), *deure* consolidates another semantic core, the inferential evidential meaning. It is hard to say why this meaning does not stay while the process of grammaticalization makes a progress during the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, in what follows we suggest a possible reason for that.

5. Future meaning of *deure* and the reconfiguration of the modal map in the 16th century

Our hypothesis of the frustrated grammaticalization pattern NECESSITY > FUTURE of the verb *deure* is based on two points. The first one refers to semantic characteristics of the periphrasis and the second one, to general reshaping of modal semantics of the periphrases that happens in the 16th century.

With regard to the semantic reason, in this study we have been able to state that *deure* does not develop a completely subjective future meaning, that is, the conceptual schema does not completely attenuate the force. Although the S/G incorporates in the locus of potency of the more subjective conceptual schema of imminent future (Fig. 4), there is always a little bit of the objective force (in this case, inference of reality) that prevents the formation of a purely prospective schema. The persistence of the prototypical meaning prevents a major evolution (Traugott 2012). This could explain the fact that we do not find such meaning in the first person because the periphrasis cannot express intention, as we saw in the examples (23), (24) and (25). It is possible that the notion of planning (or of inference) interpreted as something remaining of the modal force still matters. In order to get to a pure future meaning, a greater subjectification process would have been needed, where the speaker could project his intention and attitude and where he could be free from external planifications and inferences. This is what the process of grammaticalization of those periphrases that follow such a pattern of semantic change is like, for example, analytical Romance periphrasis <HABEÖ + INF> (Bybee *et al.* 1994; Pérez-Saldanya 1998: 280-282), or Romance future periphrases featuring the verb *anar* ‘to go’. However, *deure* does not follow this path. Although it does develop partially subjective future meanings, it does not achieve a complete subjectification.

The second reason is related to the reconfiguration of the modal map that happens in the 16th c. On the one hand, in the 16th c. the verb *deure* changes a lot (Sentí 2013, 2015): i) the frequency of its use decreases; ii) it gives up the role of the prototypical periphrasis of necessity and passes it to the periphrasis *haver de*; iii) it consolidates the evidential semantic core and iv) its future meanings become obsolete. On the other hand, the emergence of such periphrases of necessity as *haver* and *tenir* that gain frequency of use might be crucial. In the 16th c. *haver* and *tenir* strengthen their future meanings (Sentí 2012). Everything points to these periphrases occupying the place of *deure* as a periphrasis with a (scheduled) future meaning.

As shown in the chart (Fig. 5), there is a reconfiguration in the modal map of Catalan in the 16th c. when compared to the 15th c.: the prototypical periphrasis to express necessity is not *deure* anymore, it is replaced by *haver*. At the same time, the periphrasis with *haver* takes over all the future readings that both periphrases had in the 15th c. (in red).

In fact, the periphrasis with the verb *haver* develops the same readings of posteriority that we have analysed for *deure* and, if necessary, it gets to some more subjective structural conformations (Sentí 2012). Actually, in Modern Catalan,

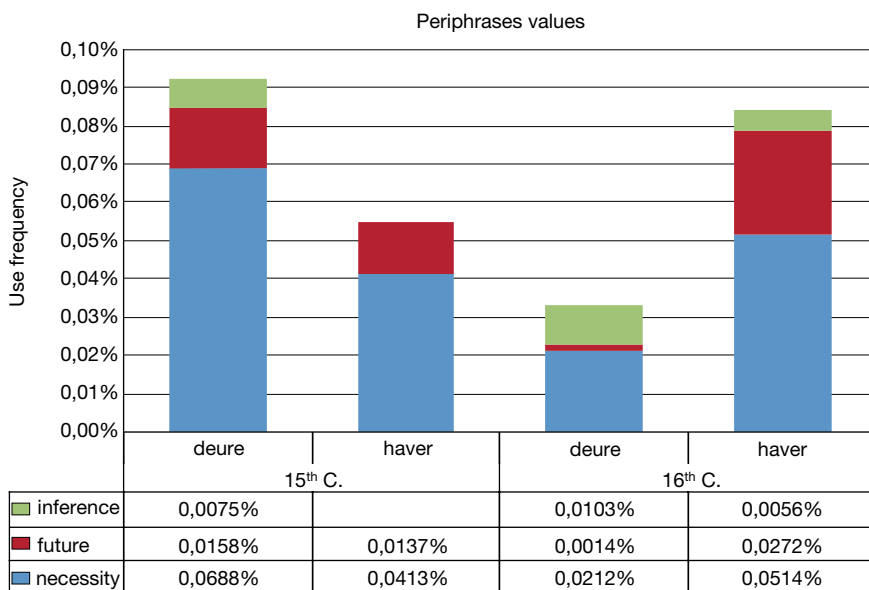


Figure 5. Necessity, future and inference readings in the 15th and 16th centuries. Frequency of use of *deure* and *haver*.

modal periphrasis with the verb *haver* may have a future reading. However, the one with the verb *deure*, cannot.¹⁰

- (30) *Havia de pujar a l'avió quan es va recordar de l'informe*
 'He was *about to board* when he remembered the report'

6. Conclusions

This corpus study shows that the periphrasis <*deure* + INF> goes through the process of grammaticalization during the Middle Ages. We have shown that this process brings with it some contextual demarcation and emergence of new readings that have a conceptual schema with a more subjective configuration (scheduled future and imminent future). There is a grammaticalization pattern

10. Indeed, in Modern Catalan, *deure* does not preserve this meaning. Future or Future in the Past is used instead, as well as the periphrasis <*haver de* + INF> (Senti 2012) or <*voler* + INF> (Gavarró and Laca 2002: 2716). This semantic space has recently been invaded by the aspectual periphrasis <*anar a* + INF>, which is the result of the influence of Spanish. In future studies it is important to look into the semantic distribution of the aspectual periphrases with the verbs *haver* and *anar*.

NECESSITY > SCHEDULED FUTURE > IMMINENT FUTURE, which unfolds gradually and has well-defined stages that contribute to the universal pattern of semantic change that had already been discovered (Bybee et al. 1994).

The number of instances of the verb *deure* with future meanings is representative and increasing up until 1500. Such instances illustrate a progressive attenuation of the source of conceptual force and uncover the temporal schema of the periphrasis, which causes semantic change. We have noticed that the increasing subjectification of the conceptual schema entails the emergence of new nuances that are more distanced from the modality. In the end, we have tried to offer an explanation of how the semantic change occurs and what the evolution of the semantic network of the (semi-)auxiliary *deure* was like.

Finally, we have shown that in the 16th c. the situation changes dramatically: instances with future readings almost disappear. From our point of view, this kind of frustrated grammaticalization can be explained by the fact that the subjectification of the periphrasis does not go far enough: *deure* does not develop a subject-oriented future meaning, and this could stop its further evolution. In other words, modal meaning, transformed into a planning or an inference, is still present. Moreover, another fact must be taken into consideration, the evolution of the periphrasis <*haver* (*a/de*) + INF>, which develops future meanings and occupies this space.

Textual Corpus References

- (Agramont) d'AGRAMONT, Jacme, <1348> *Regiment de Preservació de la Pestilència*, a cura de Joan Veny, Lleida, Universitat de Lleida i Enciclopèdia catalana, 1998. [Manuscript 1388]
- (Carbonell, Cròniques) CARBONELL, Pere Miquel, *Cròniques d'Espanya*, <1495-1513> vol. 1, a cura d'Agustí Alcoberro, Barcelona, Barcino, 1997. [Manuscript 1547]
- (Curial) *Curial e Güelfa*, <1435-1445> ed. d'Antoni Ferrando, Tolosa de Llenguadoc, Anacharsis Éditions, 2007. [Manuscript 1445-1458]
- (Diàlegs) ALEGRE URGELL, Montserrat, *Diàlegs de Sant Gregori. Retranscripció i estudi lingüístic de la versió catalana de 1340*, <1250-1290> Universitat de Barcelona, tesi doctoral, 2004. [Manuscript 1340]
- (Epistolari IIa) RUBIO VELA, Agustí, *Epistolari de la València medieval*, v. II, <1412-1424> València / Barcelona, Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana / Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998.
- (Fets) *Llibre dels Fets del rei en Jaume*, vol II, ed. de Jordi Bruguera, Barcelona, Barcino, 1991. [Manuscript del 1343]
- (Furs) *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA): Furs de València* <1261-1271>, J. Torruella (dir.), Manel Pérez-Saldanya, Josep Martines and Vicent Martines. <<http://lexicon.uab.cat/cica>>. 2010. [Manuscript de 1349]
- (Homilies) *Homilies d'Organyà <XIib>* a cura d' A.-J. Soberanas, A. Rossinyol, A. Puig, Barcelona, Barcino, 2001.
- (Manual I) *El primer manual de consells de la ciutat de València (1306-1326)*, <1306-1324> estudi i transcripció de Vicent Anyó Garcia, València, Ajuntament de València, 2001.

- (Marquès) *Procés criminal contra Antònia Marquès <1374-1377>*, Rabella i Ribas, Joan Anton (1998). *Un matrimoni desavingut i un gat metzinat. Procés criminal barceloní del segle XIV*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- (Medieval) Russell-Gebbett, Paul (1965). *Mediaeval Catalan Linguistic Texts*, Oxford, The Dolphin Book Co.LTD.
- (Metge, Somni) Metge, Bernat. *Lo somni. El sueño*. <1398> edició de Julia Butinyà, Madrid, Centro de Lingüística Aplicada «Atenea», 2007. [Manuscript XV]
- (MiS-AntText) Miret i Sans, Joaquim (1904). “El més antig text literari escrit en català precedit per una colecció de documents dels segles XIè, XIIè i XIIIè”. *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, VII, p. 5-47, 215-220.
- (Pere IIIa) *Epistolari de Pere III*, <1344-1348> vol. I, a cura de Ramon Gubern, Barcelona, Barcino, 1955, p. 71-102.
- (Safont, Dietari) Safont, Jaume, *Dietari o Llibre de jornades (1411-1484) de Jaume Safont*, ed. de Josep Maria Sans i Travé, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, 1992. [Manuscript 1454-1484]
- (Tirant) MARTORELL, Joanot, *Tirant lo Blanch*, <1460> ed. d'Albert Hauf, València, Tirant lo Blanch, 2005. [Manuscript 1490]
- (Vides) *Vides de sants roselloneses*, <1275-1299> v. II, edició a cura de Charlotte S. Maneikis Kniazzezh i Edward J. Neugaard, amb prefaci i aportacions de Joan Coromines, Barcelona, Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1977.

References

- Bybee, Joan L.; Perkins, Revere; Pagliuca, William (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press.
- Cabanes, Vicent (1996). “Les perifrasis modals de necessitat-obligació i probabilitat en català. Seguiment diacrònic. Segles XIII-XX”. *Caplletra* 20: 129-164.
- CICA = *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA)*. Torruella, Joan (dir.): Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel; Martines, Josep; Martines, Vicent. <<http://cica.cat>> [query 2009-2013].
- CIGCA = Martines, Josep; Martines, Vicent (dirs.): “Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Antic” In *Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis* [CIMTAC], Fuster, M. Àngels; Sánchez, Elena Sánchez; Ruiz, Ramon. Alacant, ISIC-IVITRA [query 2010-2013].
- DCVB = Alcover, Antoni Maria; Moll, Francesc de Borja (1928-1962): *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, 10 vol. Palma: Editorial Moll. [<<http://dcvb.iecat.net>>]
- de Haan, Ferdinand (2006). “Typological approaches to modality”. In Frawley, William (ed.). *The Expression of Modality*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fleischman, Suzanne (1982). *The Future in Thought and Language. Diachronic Evidence from Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gavarró, Anna; Laca, Brenda (2002): “Les perifrasis temporals, aspectuals i modals”. In Solà, Joan et al. (dir.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. iii. Barcelona: Empúries, pp. 2663-2726.
- Goossens, Louis (2000). “Patterns of meaning extension, ‘parallel chaining’, subjectification and modal shifts”. In Barcelona, Antonio (ed.). *Metaphor and Metonymy at*

- the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 149-169.
- Heine, Bernd; Claudi, Ulrike; Friederike Hünemeyer (1991). *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*, 2 vol. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Herman, József (2001). *El latín vulgar*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.
- Jensen, Frede (1986). *The syntax of Medieval Occitan*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Jensen, Frede (1990). *Old French and Comparative Gallo-Romance Syntax*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs (2012). "Pragmatics and language change". In Allan, Keith; Jaszczolt, Kasia M. (ed.). *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 549-565.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Linguistics*, vol. I. *Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1991). *Foundations of Cognitive Linguistics*, vol. II. *Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1999). *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2006). "Subjectification, Grammaticization, and Conceptual Archetypes". In Athanasiadou, Angeliki; Canakis, Costas; Cornillie Bert (eds.). *Subjectification: Various Paths to Subjectivity*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 17-40.
- Martines, Josep (in press). "L'émergence des futurs épistémiques romans. L'exemple du catalan médiéval du XIIIème siècle", dins Laura Baranzini et al. (ed.), *Le futur dans les langues romanes*, Peter Lang.
- Martines, Josep (this volume). "Semantic change and intersubjectification: the origin of reprise evidential conditional in Old Catalan".
- Meyer-Lübke W. (1900). *Grammairre des langues romanes*. Trad. fr. de Auguste Doutrepont et Georges Doutrepont. 3 vol. Paris: H. Welter. [Reimpressió. 1974, Ginebra: Slatkine.]
- Narrog, Heiko (2012). *Modality, Subjectivity, and Semantic Change: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford York: Oxford University Press.
- Pelyvás, Péter (2000). "Metaphorical extension of *may* and *must* into the epistemic domain". In Barcelona, Antonio (ed.). *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 233-250.
- Pelyvás, Péter (2001). "On the development of the category modal: a cognitive view. How changes in image-schematic structure led to the emergence of the grounding predication". In Kocsány, Piroska; Molnár, Anna (eds.). *Wort und (Kon)text*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 103-130.
- Pelyvás, Péter (2006). "Subjectification in (expressions of) epistemic modality and the development of the grounding predication". In Athanasiadou, Angeliki; Canakis, Costas; Cornillie, Bert (eds.). *Subjectification: Various Paths to Subjectivity*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 121-150.
- Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel (1998). *Del llatí al català: Morfosintaxi verbal històrica*. València: Universitat de València.
- Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel; Hualde, José Ignacio (2003). "On the origin and evolution of the Catalan periphrastic preterit". In Claus, Claus D.; Wesch, Andreas (eds.).

- Verbalperiphrasen in den (ibero-)romanischen Sprachen*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, pp. 47-60.
- Schmid, Beatrice (2008). «L'expressió de l'obligació al *Llibre del Consolat de Mar* i com és traduïda al castellà». In Brandenberger, Tobias; Schmid, Beatrice; Winet, Monika (eds.). *Traducción y estilística. Para el profesor Germán Colón en sus ochenta años* (=ARBA 20). Basel: Universität Basel, pp. 19-40.
- Segura, Carles (2012). "El passat perifràstic en català antic. Una revisió a partir d'estudi de corpus". *eHumanista/IVITRA* 2: 118-147.
- Sentí, Andreu (2012). "Gramaticalització i subjectivització del verb modal *haver* (a/de) en català antic. Un estudi de corpus segons la gramàtica cognitiva." *eHumanista/IVITRA* 2: 85-117.
- Sentí, Andreu (2013). *Gramaticalització i subjectivació de la modalitat en català antic. Un estudi de corpus de les perífrasis verbals <deure + Inf> i <haver (a/de) + Inf>*. PhD dissertation, University of Alacant (Josep Martines, director).
- Sentí, Andreu (2015). "Subjectification and attenuation in the conceptual schema of the Catalan modal verb *deure* with evidential meaning". *e-Humanista/IVITRA* 8.
- Sentí, Andreu; Antolí, Jordi (2014). "La inferència en l'aflorament dels valors evidencials en català antic." *Caplletra: Revista Internacional de Filologia*, 56: 157-183.
- Sentí, Andreu; Cornillie, Bert (in press), "The rise of the evidential readings of the Catalan periphrasis *deure* + infinitive." In Garachana; Montserrat; Pusch (eds.). *From composite predicates to verbal periphrases in Romance languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Squartini, Mario (2004). «Disentangling evidentiality and epistemic modality in romance». *Lingua* 114: 873-895.
<[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841\(03\)00064-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841(03)00064-0)>
- Talmy, Leonard (1988). "Force dynamics in language and cognition". *Cognitive Science* 2: 49-100.
- van der Auwera, Jan; Plungian, Vladimir. A. (1998). «Modality's semantic map», *Linguistic Typology*, 2, 79-124.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/lity.1998.2.1.79>>

Competition of synonyms through time: Conceptual and social salience factors and their interrelations*

Augusto Soares da Silva

Catholic University of Portugal. Center of Philosophical and Humanistic Studies
assilva@braga.ucp.pt



Received: June 17, 2015

Accepted: July 15, 2015

Abstract

This paper highlights three theoretical and descriptive insights into synonymy and lexical variation and change: (1) the diachronic development of synonymous forms reveals essential aspects about the nature and motivations of synonymy; (2) the emergence and competition of synonymous forms can either result from conceptual salience factors or from social salience factors; (3) synonym competition sheds light upon processes of language variation and change. Focusing on the interplay between conceptual and social aspects of language variation and change, this study subscribes to the framework of Cognitive Sociolinguistics, an emerging extension of Cognitive Linguistics as a meaning-oriented and usage-based approach to language. Two corpus-based case studies in lexical synonymics of Portuguese will be presented. The first case study shows the semantic development of the verb *deixar* ‘to leave, to let’ from Old to Modern Portuguese and its most competitive synonyms, namely *abandonar* ‘to abandon’ and *permitir* ‘to allow’. The second case study includes the development of four dozens of sets of denotational synonymous nouns selected from the lexical fields of football and clothing in European and Brazilian Portuguese in the last 60 years. The two diachronic studies show essential aspects of synonymy and lexical variation and change.

Keywords: synonymy; lexical change; lexical variation; conceptualization; onomasiology; prototypicality; cognitive linguistics; lexical sociolectometry.

Resum. *La competició dels sinònims en el temps: Factors de rellevància conceptual i social i les seves interaccions*

Aquest article se centra en tres observacions teòriques i descriptives sobre la sinonímia, la variació lèxica i el canvi lèxic: (1) el desenvolupament diacrònic de formes sinònimes revela aspectes essencials de la naturalesa i la motivació de la sinonímia; (2) l'aparició de formes sinònimes i de la competició que en resulta es pot deure a factors de rellevància conceptual o de rellevància social; (3) la competició entre sinònims aporta llum als processos de variació i canvi lingüístics. Des de la interacció entre els aspectes conceptuals i socials de la variació i el canvi lingüístics, aquest estudi s'integra en el model de la Sociolingüística Cognitiva, una ampliació emergent de la Lingüística

* This study was funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, as part of the UID/FIL/00683/2013 research project.

Cognitiva, entesa com a orientació lingüística orientada al significat i basada en l'ús. Hi presentem dos casos d'estudi de corpus sobre la sinonímia lèxica en portuguès. El primer cas descriu el desenvolupament semàntic del verb *deixar* 'deixar' del portuguès antic al modern, al costat del seus sinònims més en competitiu: *abandonar* 'abandonar' i *permitir* 'permetre'. El segon cas d'estudi s'ocupa del desenvolupament de quatre dotzenes de conjunts de sinònims denotatius del camp lèxic del futbol i del vestir en el portuguès europeu i del Brasil durant els últims 60 anys. Ambdós estudis diacrònics mostren aspectes essencials de la sinonímia i de la variació i el canvi lingüístics.

Paraules clau: sinonímia; canvi lèxic; variació lèxica; conceptualització; onomasiologia; lingüística cognitiva; sociolectometria lèxica.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	5. Synonyms and lectal varieties: the diachronic development of football and clothing denotational synonyms in European and Brazilian Portuguese
2. Synonymy revisited	
3. Synonyms and near-synonyms	
4. Prototypicality as a differentiating factor of synonyms: the diachronic development of <i>deixar</i> and its synonyms <i>abandonar</i> and <i>permitir</i>	6. Conclusions
	References

1. Introduction

This study takes as its starting point three hypotheses. First, the study of the diachronic development of synonymous forms reveals essential aspects about the nature and motivations of synonymy. Second, the emergence and competition of synonymous forms can either result from *conceptual* salience factors, namely prototypicality (semasiological salience) and entrenchment (onomasiological salience), from *social* salience factors, i.e. sociolinguistic, stylistic or pragmatic prevalence, or even from interaction of both salience factors. Crucially, prototype-theoretical features of the concepts involved (Geeraerts 1985, 1997; Taylor 1995) can determine the necessary differences between synonyms within and across lectal varieties or even across languages. Moreover, the lectal features of the items involved are not only able to determine the occurrence of synonyms across lectal varieties, but can also be responsible for motivating the differences of prototypical structure between synonyms. The third hypothesis is that synonym competition sheds light upon processes of language variation and change (Grondelaers, Geeraerts & Speelman 2007; Geeraerts & Speelman 2010), including convergence and divergence processes between lectal varieties and the processes of linguistic stratification and standardization (Soares da Silva 2010, 2012, 2014). Focusing on the interplay between conceptual and social aspects of language variation and change, this study subscribes to the framework of Cognitive Sociolinguistics (Kristiansen & Dirven 2008; Geeraerts, Kristiansen & Peirsman 2010), an emerging extension of Cognitive Linguistics (Geeraerts & Cuyckens 2007) as a meaning-oriented and usage-based approach to language.

These hypotheses will be tested on two different corpus-based case studies in lexical synonymics of Portuguese. The first case study presents the semantic development of the verb *deixar* ‘to leave, to let’ from Old to Modern Portuguese and its most competitive synonyms, namely *abandonar* ‘to abandon’ and *permitir* ‘to allow’ (Soares da Silva 1999, 2003). The second case study includes the development of four dozen sets of denotational, synonymous nouns selected from the lexical fields of football and clothing in European and Brazilian Portuguese in the last 60 years (Soares da Silva 2010). Their aim is to examine the impact of item-related features (i.e. endo-/exogenousness, foreign influence, neologism) and concept-related features (i.e. prototypicality, vagueness, innovation, semantic field) in the production of denotational synonyms within and across the two national language varieties.

After this introduction, the aim of Section 2 is to revisit the notion of synonymy, thus examining some of its essential aspects. In Section 3, different types of synonymy, as well as the distinction between synonyms and near-synonyms will be looked into. Prototypicality is the subject of Section 4, analyzed as a distinguishing factor between synonyms. In Section 5, we will deal with lectal synonymy. It will be shown that synonyms can be the manifestation of a process of convergence or divergence between national intralinguistic varieties. We will then wrap up this study with a section devoted to the discussion of the results and some conclusions.

2. Synonymy revisited

Synonymy is traditionally regarded as a phenomenon in which two or more linguistic forms – usually two or more lexical items – convey the same meaning. Synonymy is as widely known as it is easily recognized, which is reflected in the numerous synonyms dictionaries and thesauri that exist. However, whether one asserts or rejects the existence of a case of synonymy, it will ultimately depend on the definition of synonymy itself. If synonymy is viewed in terms of semantic similarity or referential identity, synonyms are easily found in any language. On the other hand, understanding synonymy not only as referential identity but as sociolinguistic, stylistic and contextual identity, i.e. total identity, synonyms are rather hard to find.

Even though the prototypical case of semantic equivalence is lexical synonymy, its domain is not confined to the lexicon. Viewed as semantic equivalence, synonymy is as relevant in the lexicon as it is in other domains: in grammatical theory, as the basis of constructional alternation; in sociolinguistics, as the basis of “sociolinguistic variables”; in typology, as the basis of crosslinguistic comparison; in applied linguistics, as the basis of translational equivalence. It is important, therefore, to approach the concept of synonymy from a broader perspective than is traditionally done, as a case of *semantic equivalence* not only of forms, but also of functions.

The traditional perspective on the notion of synonymy in lexical semantics is that of the structuralist model of lexical relations, according to which “the meaning of a given linguistic unit is defined to be the set of (paradigmatic) relations that the unit in question contracts with other units of the language (...), without any attempt being made to set up ‘contents’ for these units” (Lyons 1963: 59; 1977). Synonymy

is, therefore, understood as a relation of semantic equivalence between lexical items analyzed at the system level, without taking into consideration the referential, pragmatic and contextual levels. It is thus necessary to replace this traditional, typically structuralist notion of synonymy with one that does not equate semantic equivalence with systemic relations of meaning, but that takes into perspective the encyclopedic, referential and contextual aspects of meaning. These aspects are decisive in establishing a semantic equivalence relationship as well as in the identification of synonymy. Once one abandons the lexical relations model, and particularly its assumptions regarding a stable systemic structure of meaning relationships, the notion of synonymy becomes more flexible and more fluid, in conformity with the flexibility that characterizes meaning (Soares da Silva 2006). This is how meaning is analyzed under a conceptual theory, as represented by the Cognitive Semantics paradigm (Geeraerts & Cuypkens 2007, Geeraerts 2010, Soares da Silva 2006).

Synonymy is the onomasiological counterpart of polysemy. This implies that several of the most typical aspects of polysemy, as it has been studied in Cognitive Semantics (Soares da Silva 1999, 2006), can be brought into the study of synonymy. This way, the referential level has to be included in the identification of synonymy, unlike what the structuralist model of lexical relationships proposes. As a matter of fact, semantically equivalent items may differ in their referential field of application, both as to their contextual, syntagmatic and, as it will be shown later, even their prototypicality differences. On the other hand, similarly to what happens with polysemy (Geeraerts 1993, Soares da Silva 2006), the different criteria that rule synonymy may not converge, thus leading to contradictory results. What is considered synonymy on an intuitive basis or in an experimental methodology may not be considered as such from a referential or distributional point of view. Crucially, what speakers think they are doing with words does not necessarily coincide with what they are, in fact, doing with them. A further aspect has to do with the fact that equivalences and differentiations of meaning that are relevant in one context may not be felt as such in another. In more specific terms, equivalence of meaning (synonymy) can be established at a more abstract level and vanish at a more specific level, just like a differentiation of meanings (polysemy) can be found at a more specific semantic level and disappear at a more abstract one. Crucially, meaning takes the form of a *schematic network* (Langacker 1987; Tuggy 1993, 2007; Soares da Silva 2006), where meanings can be construed in schematic and vague terms at the higher level of the network and in more specific and concrete terms at its lower level. As it happens with polysemy, which can operate at different levels of schematicity – thus being necessary to pull the meaning “up” or “down” (Soares da Silva 2006) – synonymy is also able to work at different levels in the schematic network.

From these observations, it emerges that not only is synonymy a more flexible and contextual phenomenon than the traditional conception makes us believe, but also that there are different possible patterns for the identification of synonymy. Besides, there are several types of synonymy, determined by contextual effects and grading levels of the schematic networks of meaning. Its identification must always take into account the effects of context, meaning flexibility and the correlation between the various methods of semantic equivalence.

There are, obviously, some unanswered questions regarding synonymy. One of those questions is how to determine equivalence of meaning and at what level that equivalence is to be found. This issue corresponds to the problem of differentiation of meanings within polysemy (Soares da Silva 2006). Another question is whether a difference in form will always correspond to a difference in meaning or function. Cognitive and functional theories of grammar, like Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001), claim that a difference in form is necessarily meaningful, apparently not recognizing synonymy. However, these grammatical theories have paid much attention to the different *construals* (conceptual perspectivizations) of a given situation, grammatically coded in alternative constructions. Furthermore, a third question is how to identify constructional synonymy and how to distinguish between cases of synonymy determined by social factors, and those which are conceptually determined.

3. Synonyms and near-synonyms

There are two types of onomasiological variation building the basis of two types of synonyms. On the one hand, there is onomasiological variation involving conceptual differences, and this variation may be linked to synonymy, hyponymy or other relationships. In this case, synonymy occurs in contexts where semantically close concepts designate the same entity or situation, such as *atacante* ('forward') and *jogador* ('player') (exemplifying a hyponymy relation) or *abandonar* ('to abandon') and *deixar* ('to leave') (differing in the intensity of the abandonment). These synonyms are said to be *near-synonyms*. Naturally, this is a vague designation and one cannot fully know the extent of conceptual differences within a near-synonymic relationship can go. The most important aspect, though, of this kind of synonymy lies in the fact that a given entity or situation is susceptible of being conceptualized in different ways. This is why this kind of synonymy reveals conceptual differences.

On the other hand, there is another type of onomasiological variation, such as in *atacante* and *avançado* (both meaning 'forward'), which are geographically distinct, the former used predominantly in Brazilian Portuguese, and the latter in European Portuguese. These are denotational synonyms, or simply *synonyms*, and this onomasiological variation can be called *formal onomasiological variation*, in contrast with *conceptual onomasiological variation* illustrated in the previous examples (Geearterts, Grodelars & Bakema 1994). Denotational synonyms are thus characterized by the fact that their differences are not conceptual, but social in nature, namely sociolinguistic, stylistic or pragmatic. These synonyms are particularly interesting from a sociolinguistic perspective because they often display sociolinguistic differences and it is these differences that motivate the very existence of, and competition between, lectal varieties.

These two types of synonymy may coexist in the same pair of synonyms, as in, for example, *abandonar* ('to abandon') and *deixar* ('to leave'), whose differences are conceptual and social. In any case, it is important to point out that the distinction between synonymy and near-synonymy depends both on the type of semantic

equivalence under consideration and on the level of detail with which one construes the respective schematic networks of meaning.

4. Prototypicality as a differentiating factor of synonyms: the diachronic development of *deixar* and its synonyms *abandonar* and *permitir*

The verbs *deixar* ('to leave') and *abandonar* ('to abandon') are synonymous in contexts like in (1); and the verbs *deixar* ('to let') and *permitir* ('to allow') are synonymous in contexts like in (2).

- (1) a. O João deixou a família e o emprego.
 the John left the.F family and the job
 'John left his family and his job.'
- b. O João abandonou a família e o emprego.
 the John abandoned the.F family and the job
 'John abandoned his family and his job.'
- (2) a. O João não deixou que ela saísse do país.
 the John not let that she leave of-the country
 'John didn't let her leave the country.'
- b. O João não permitiu que ela saísse do país.
 the John not allowed that she leave of-the country
 'John didn't allow her leave the country.'

Aiming toward a better understanding of the nature and motivations of the synonymy between *deixar* and *abandonar* and between *deixar* and *permitir*, let us consider briefly the historical development of the verb *deixar* (thoroughly analyzed in Soares da Silva 1999, 2003). Figure 1 systematizes the semantic development of the verb *deixar*, from Classical Latin to nowadays (the circles in bold type indicate prototypical centers).

The verb *deixar* comes from the Latin etymon *laxare* 'to loosen, to slacken' (bonds, fastenings, bolts, ropes, cables, attachments; body, mind). It was on the basis of 'to let go' ('to release'), a metonymic development which became prototypical around the second century AD, that two groups of senses ('to leave' and 'to let') were formed. This formation started in Late Latin, and comprised the following two groups of senses: (i) on the one hand, 'to grant (peace, truce, and rights)' and 'to forgive (sins, debts)' – senses which were to disappear in the Romance verb – and also 'to allow, to authorize'; (ii) on the other hand, 'to leave', 'to go away, to abandon', 'to leave somewhere or in a state'. It appears, then, that it was already in Latin that almost all the present-day senses of *deixar* had developed.

From Late Latin to Portuguese, a process of *deprototypicalization* of 'to let go' followed, which led to the consolidation of the two groups into two prototypical semasiological restructurings, and to a homonymic tension between them. The prototype of *deixar* shifts from the spatial domain to the psycho-social and moral

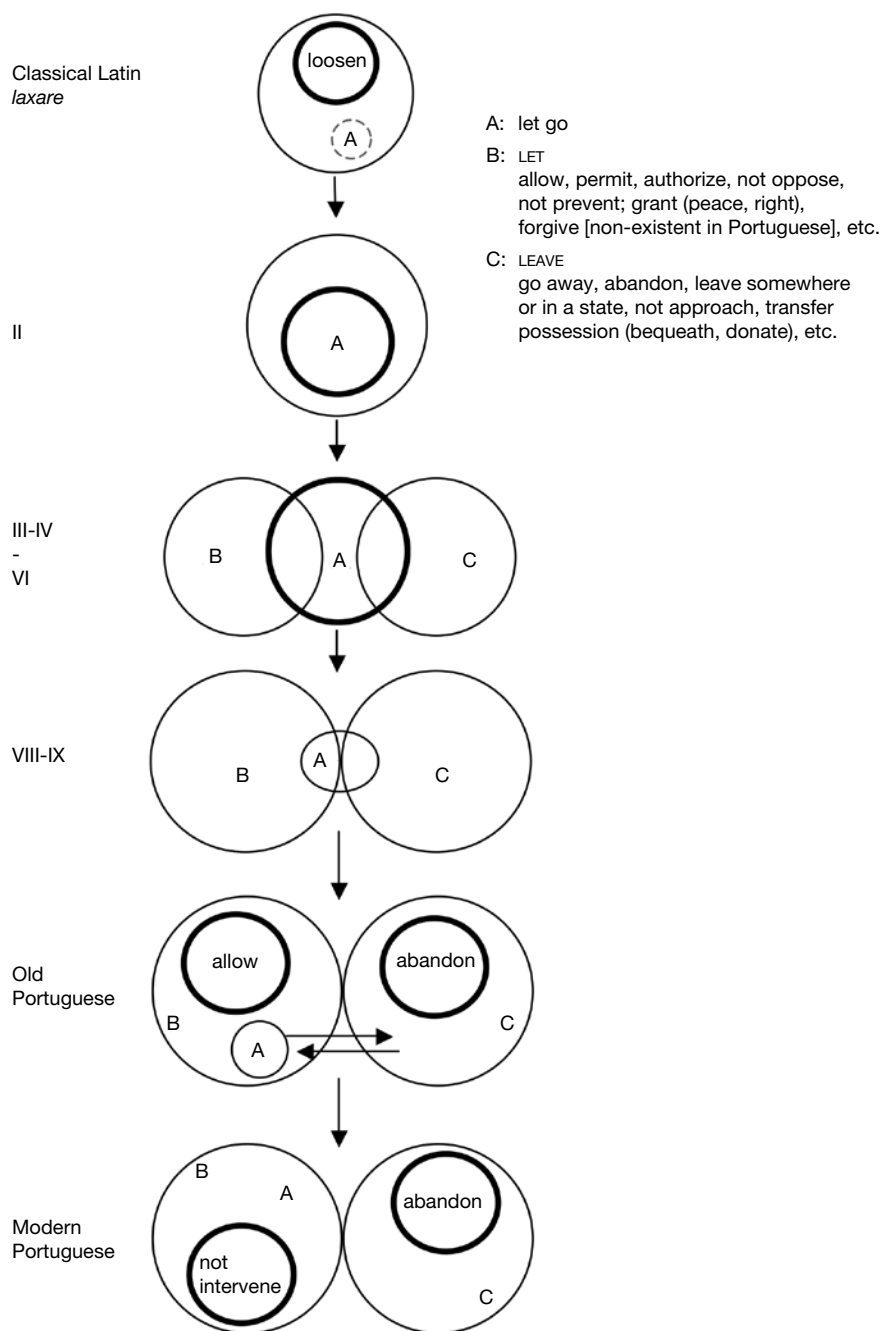


Figure 1. The semantic development of *deixar*.

domains, giving rise to, on the one hand, the prototypicalization of ‘to allow, to permit, to authorize’ and, on the other hand, the prototypicalization of ‘to abandon’.

The verbs *abandonar* ‘to abandon’ and *permitir* ‘to permit’ were introduced in Portuguese in the late stages of Old Portuguese: *abandonar* is a Gallicism (from the Old French *abandoner*, formed by the locutions *a ban doner* ‘leave in full freedom’ and *(laisser, mettre) a bandon* ‘(let, put) in somebody’s power, at somebody’s mercy’) and was introduced around the sixteenth Century; *permitir* is a juridical Latinism (from *permittere* ‘to permit, in a legal context’) and was introduced in the fifteenth Century. The late entry of *abandonar* and *permitir* into Portuguese led to a situation of full conceptual and distributional synonymy with the two prototypical uses of *deixar* at the time. However, this situation rapidly caused a semantic dissimilation which took the shape of a prototype reorganization, mainly in the semasiological structure of *deixar*.

On one side, the introduction of *permitir* allowed the passive use of ‘not to prevent’ to become prototypical in comparison with the active sense of ‘to allow’. The promotion of passivity gave origin to a structural asymmetry of prototypical centers. Whereas in Old Portuguese the two prototypical meanings of *deixar* (‘to abandon’ and ‘to allow’) were both active, from Classical Portuguese onwards, one of the prototypical centers remains active (‘to abandon’) and the other becomes passive (‘not to prevent’).

On the other side, the new verbs *abandonar* and *permitir* have positioned the prototypical meanings of *deixar* on hierarchically more schematic levels, namely ‘to actively suspend the non-spatial interaction with what is characterized as static’ in *deixar* with a nominal complement and ‘not to passively oppose what is presented as dynamic’ in *deixar* with a verbal complement. In terms of Talmy’s (1988, 2000) force dynamics, the opposition is between the cessation of impingement on the natural disposition of the Agonist to rest, and the non-occurrence of impingement on the natural disposition of the Agonist to motion. A crucial fact with onomasiological implications is that the verb *deixar* started to have in each of its two groups of meanings a general or schematic prototype and at the same time a specific or local prototype.

Another differentiating factor consists in the nondenotational (or nonreferential) differences of meaning. In relation to *abandonar*, *deixar* expresses ‘abandonment’ with a lesser degree of intensity and emotional density, hence *deixar* can be used as a euphemism for the process conveyed by *abandonar*. Let us, then, compare examples (3) and (4): example (3) is not as strong and it is more euphemistic than (4); the speaker chooses (4) if (s)he is willing to convey, or unwilling to attenuate, a negative evaluation regarding the subject’s attitudes and the negative consequences regarding the abandoned object. There is therefore a difference of emotional meaning.

- (3) O João deixou a sua mulher/o emprego/o partido comunista/os
 the John left the.F his.F wife/the job/the party communist/the.pl
 estudos.
 studies
 ‘John has left his wife/his job/the communist party/his studies.’

- (4) O João abandonou a sua mulher/o emprego/o partido comunista/os
 the John abandoned the.F his.F wife/the job/the party communist/the.pl
 estudos.
 studies
 ‘John has abandoned his wife/his job/the communist party/his studies.’

In contrast to *permitir*, *deixar* belongs to a non-formal register (a difference in stylistic meaning) and presupposes a more familiar (or *subjective*) authority (a difference in pragmatic meaning and also in conceptual meaning). Example (5) is thus more adequate in a familiar context, as in from father to daughter, whilst (6) is more suitable in an institutional situation, from someone in a higher position to one of their subordinates. Moreover, *deixar* possesses the advantages which result from its relative grammaticalization, namely the advantage of construing a more direct causative relation other than *permitir*. Therefore, the verbal complement of *deixar* is selected as a whole, unlike what happens with the verbal complement of *permitir*.

- (5) Ele deixou a Maria chegar mais tarde.
 he let the.F Mary arrive more late
 ‘He let Mary arrive later.’
- (6) Ele permitiu que a Maria chegasse mais tarde
 he allowed that the.F Mary arrive.sbj more late
 / autorizou a Maria a chegar mais tarde.
 authorized the.F Mary to arrive more late
 ‘He allowed/authorized Mary to arrive later.’

Comparing the onomasiological salience of these verbs, *deixar* has a more salient role than *abandonar* when used to convey the more neutral emotive expression of abandonment among interpersonal and functional relationships. It is also more salient than *permitir* in contexts of less formality, less normativity and more interpersonality. This local onomasiological saliency of *deixar* also derives from the global onomasiological saliency of a basic level category, as well as from a semasiological saliency, or prototypicality, of the processes of abandonment and giving permission in the referential field of application of *deixar*.

Now, what does the semantic development of *deixar* and its synonyms *abandonar* and *permitir* reveal about synonymy? First, prototypicality is a differentiating factor for synonyms, both synchronically and diachronically. Synchronically, two or more synonyms can be referentially and distributionally equivalent but have different prototypical structures. In Modern Portuguese, the verb *permitir* is referentially and distributionally equivalent to the permissive meaning of *deixar* with a verbal complement (not mentioning the syntactic differences of *permitir* as a “verb of control”), both being verbs of permission in a strict sense. However, the prototype of *permitir* is the active meaning of giving permission, whereas the prototype of *deixar* with a verbal complement is the passive meaning of non interfering. In

Classical and Modern Portuguese, the verb *abandonar* is referentially and distributionally equivalent to the specific prototype of *deixar* with a nominal complement, but *deixar* with a nominal complement also possesses a more schematic prototype which influences the specific prototype of *deixar* and that extends it to other points in the semasiological structure of *deixar*.

This result is the same as the one achieved by the pioneer study of Geeraerts (1988) on the pair of synonyms *vernielen* and *vernietigen*, both with the meaning of ‘to destroy’ in nineteenth-century Dutch. Both verbs were used to designate the exact same situations and to display the same collocational properties, albeit possessing different prototypes: *vernietigen* was used predominantly with an abstract meaning, whereas *vernielen* was used to designate, mainly, an act of physical destruction.

Diachronically, competition and differentiation between synonyms occur through the semasiological reorganization of prototypes. The introduction of the verbs *permitir* and *abandonar* at the final stages of Old Portuguese was one of the main factors for the successive restructurations of the prototypical centers of *deixar*, and those prototypical restructurations had a major role in the differentiation of the three verbs.

As a second result, we found that the social features of the items involved interact with prototype-based features of the concepts involved. Stylistic, emotive and pragmatic needs motivated the emergence of *permitir* and *abandonar* in a period where the semasiological complex of *deixar* became well-established. The same social features also facilitated the prototype reorganizations of *deixar*, and contributed to the conceptual differentiation of prototype structures between *deixar* and *permitir-abandonar*.

5. Synonyms and lectal varieties: the diachronic development of football and clothing denotational synonyms in European and Brazilian Portuguese

This case study is a development of the author’s previous sociolexicological and sociolectometrical research into the lexical convergence and divergence that has taken place between European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) in the last 60 years (Soares da Silva 2010, 2012, 2014a, b). Focusing on the lexical fields of football and clothing concepts, three main issues are addressed by means of a corpus-based and sociolectometrical approach: (i) whether onomasiological heterogeneity is greater in BP than EP; (ii) the impact of item-related features (such as endo-/exogenousness, foreign influence, neologisms) and concept-related features (such as prototypicality, vagueness, recent origin) in the production of denotational synonyms within and across the two national varieties; (iii) the impact of item-related and concept-related features of denotational synonyms on the convergent/divergent evolution of the two national varieties.

The study is concerned with onomasiological variation between semantically equivalent terms (denotational synonyms) and therefore takes into account the concept expressed by the lexical item and the different ways of expressing it. The *onomasiological* method has been adopted to study language-internal variation,

since denotational synonyms often display sociolinguistic differences and it is these differences that motivate the very existence of, and competition between, language varieties. In addition, looking at alternative expressions of lexical meanings provides us with a reliable control mechanism to avoid the potential statistical bias caused by an asymmetric distribution of concepts.

The data include thousands of observations of the usage of alternative terms to refer to 43 nominal concepts from football and clothing terminologies in the 1950s, 1970s and 2000s. Corpus material was extracted from three different sources: (i) sports newspapers and fashion magazines from the early years of the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s/2000s; (ii) Internet Relay Chat (IRC) channels related to football (traditional chat fora); and (iii) labels and price tags pictured from shop windows in two Portuguese and Brazilian towns respectively. The sub-corpus of football contains 2.7 million tokens selected from 8 newspapers (4 Portuguese and 4 Brazilian newspapers) and 15 million tokens collected from Internet chats. The sub-corpus of clothing extends to 1.2 million tokens gathered from 24 fashion magazines (14 Portuguese and 14 Brazilian magazines) and 1,300 pictures of labels and price tags photographed from clothes shop windows. These two sub-corpora make up the CONDIVport corpus (Soares da Silva 2008).

The study uses advanced corpus-based and sociolectometrical methods to measure onomasiological heterogeneity and convergence/divergence between lectal varieties. Two sociolectometrical techniques were used: uniformity measures and featural measures. Onomasiological heterogeneity, convergence, and divergence between lectal varieties can be calculated using uniformity measures. The internal uniformity (I) measure consists of calculating onomasiological homogeneity within a single language variety. It reaches its highest value when all the speakers, in every circumstance, choose the same lexical item to denote a given concept. The internal uniformity value will decrease the greater the amount of terms that compete to denote the same concept, and the more dominant some of these terms become. The external uniformity (U) measure consists of calculating uniformity between language varieties. Diachronically, convergence and divergence can be quantified through increasing or decreasing external uniformity. Synchronically, the greater the distance there is between the standard and substandard registers, the smaller external uniformity there is between these two registers. Featural (A) measures provide the proportion of terms possessing a special feature, such as that of being borrowed. These measures are based on *onomasiological profiles*, i.e. sets of alternative synonymous terms, together with their frequencies. For instance, the profile for the concept GOAL₁ includes the alternative terms *bola*, *goal*, *gol*, *gól*, *golo*, *ponto* and *tento*.

On the basis of the CONDIVport corpus, 21 onomasiological profiles from football terminology and 22 onomasiological profiles from clothing terminology were compiled. As selection criteria, concepts that were onomasiologically-formally heterogeneous, and concepts that were representative of their respective lexical fields were chosen. As for the corresponding lexical items, terms with a strong popular mark were excluded to avoid inflating differences. As regards the 21 profiles from the field of football, a total number of 183 terms were studied in a

database containing 90,202 observations of these terms used in sports newspapers and 143,946 observations of their use in Internet chats. As for the 22 profiles of clothing items for men (M) and women (F), 264 terms were studied in a database compiling 12,451 observations of their use in fashion magazines and 2,775 observations of their use in labels and price tags pictured from clothes shops. The profiles for football are: BACK, BALL, COACH, CORNER, DRIBBLING, FORWARD, FOUL, FREE KICK, GOAL₁, GOAL₂, GOALKEEPER, MATCH, MIDFIELDER, OFFSIDE, PENALTY, REFEREE, ASSISTANT REFEREE, SHOT/KICK, SHOT/PLAYING, TEAM, WINGER. The profiles for clothing are: BLOUSE F, CARDIGAN M/F, COAT F, COAT M, DRESS F, JACKET M/F, JACKET (BLOUSON) M/F, JEANS M/F, JUMPER M/F, LEGGINGS F, OVERCOAT M/F, RAINCOAT M/F, SHIRT M, SHORT JACKET F, SHORT JACKET M, SHORT TROUSERS M/F, SKIRT F, SUIT M, SUIT/OUTFIT F, TAILORED JACKET M/F, TROUSERS M/F, T-SHIRT M/F.

Figures 2 and 3 systematize the results of the internal and external diachronic analysis of the last 60 years. They present the percentages of internal uniformity within each national variety and external uniformity between the two national varieties in the corpus of football and in the corpus of clothing in the three time periods studied, namely the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s-2000s. The first number of each pair of results represents the unweighted uniformity and the second number the weighted uniformity. The results displayed on the horizontal lines are the percentages of external uniformity between the Portuguese (P) and Brazilian (B) variety in the 1950s, 1970s and 2000s. For instance, the weighted uniformity between the two national varieties in the corpus of football is 43.78% in the 1950s and 56.76% in the 2000s. This means that the two varieties converge in football vocabulary. The results shown on the vertical and diagonal lines are the percentages of external uniformity obtained from one time period to another and between the different time periods. For instance, the weighted uniformity between the 1950s and the 1970s in the corpus of football is 86.74% for the Portuguese variety and 49.96% for the Brazilian variety. The results associated to each variety and time period are the percentages of internal uniformity or internal onomasiological homogeneity. For instance, the internal uniformity/homogeneity in the corpus of football in the 1950s is greater in the Portuguese variety (61.09%/51.86%) than in the Brazilian variety (46.93%/30.85%), both for unweighted and weighted measures.

The results obtained for football terms (Figure 2) and clothing terms (Figure 3) differ with regard to the issue of lexical convergence/divergence between European and Brazilian Portuguese (compare the percentages of external uniformity displayed on the horizontal lines): divergence is found in the corpus of clothing (decreasing external uniformity) and restricted convergence is found in the corpus of football (increasing external uniformity). The hypothesis of divergence is therefore confirmed in the lexical field of clothing but not in the lexical field of football. Clothing terms are more representative of common vocabulary and, therefore, the results obtained for clothing are probably closer to the sociolinguistic reality. The slight convergence observed in the field of football is probably the effect of globalization and standardization of the vocabulary of football.

As regards football terms (Figure 2), we see convergence between the two national varieties from 1950 to 1970, expressed in the increase in weighted uni-

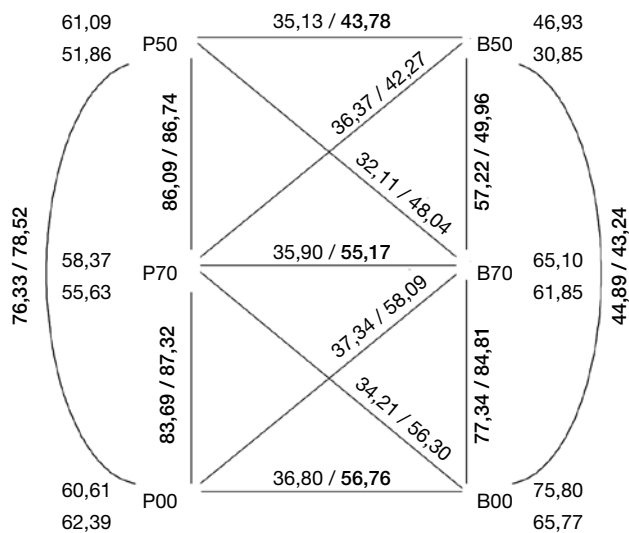


Figure 2. Uniformity results for football terms.

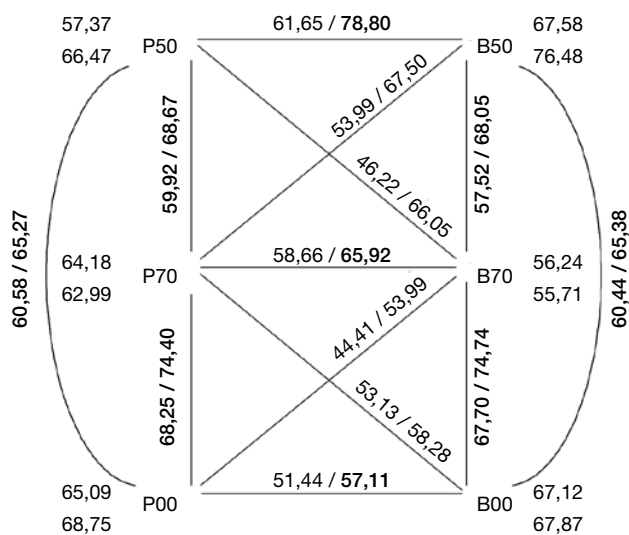


Figure 3. Uniformity results for clothing terms.

formity (from 43.78% in 1950 to 55.17% in 1970), but there is no significant change in the extent of convergence at the level of the unweighted uniformity (it remains fairly even) nor between 1970 and 2000 (we see an increase of only 1.59%). As for clothing terms (Figure 3), the two national varieties diverge along the three time periods. This is expressed in the decrease in (unweighted and weighted) uniformity from 1950 to 1970 and from 1970 to 2000. Weighted uniformity decreases 12.88% between 1950 and 1970 (from 78.80% to 65.92%) and 8.81% between 1970 and 2000 (from 65.92% to 57.11%); throughout the whole period, weighted uniformity decreases 21.69%.

The percentages of uniformity shown on the vertical and diagonal lines in Figures 2 and 3 indicate similarities, but also some differences between the two lexical fields. In the football corpus (Figure 2), many more changes occurred in the Brazilian variety (see the vertical lines) over the long term (1950 to 2000) and also during the first time period (1950 to 1970). This means that internal evolution is stronger and faster in the Brazilian variety than in the Portuguese variety. Furthermore, the Brazilian variety seems to have come closer to the Portuguese variety between 1950 and 1970 (see the diagonal line): the 1970s Brazilian database not only came closer to the 1970s Portuguese database but also to the 1950s Portuguese database, namely the weighted uniformity between B70 and P50 is greater (48.04%) than the weighted uniformity between B50 and P50 (43.78%). We could infer that the convergence happens mainly in the Brazilian variety. This interpretation is problematic, though. In fact, there is a factor which may partly explain why BP exhibits greater changes, as well as the apparent approaching of BP towards EP in the first two periods. This factor is the introduction of loanwords which have had a greater influence on BP.

In the clothing corpus (Figure 3), we see symmetry in the evolutionary trends of both varieties (global changes and intermediate changes are identical) and divergence on both sides, in both time periods. The changes are not stronger or faster in one variety than in the other, but, rather, they are identical in the two varieties (see vertical lines). Uniformity between the varieties in two different periods (P70 and B50, B70 and P50, P00 and B70, B00 and P70) is always smaller than uniformity between the varieties in the preceding period (P50 and B50, etc.) (see diagonal lines).

This means that a specific orientation of one variety in relation to the other does not seem to exist (neither approaching nor moving apart) in the lexical fields under analysis. Both varieties diverge from each other in the vocabulary of clothing. The fact that BP undergoes many changes in the vocabulary of football does not necessarily mean that BP is coming any closer to EP, in the sense of BP conforming to EP.

Finally, Figures 2 and 3 show greater internal changes in the Brazilian variety than in the Portuguese variety in both lexical fields (see the percentages of internal uniformity associated to each variety and time period). In the football corpus, there is a great increase in internal onomasiological homogeneity in BP, mainly between 1950 and 1970 (from 30.85% to 61.85%), whereas only minor changes are found in EP (from 51.86% to 55.63%). It is the Brazilian variety which exhibits a greater decrease in the number of alternative terms; only in two (BACK and MIDFIELDER) of the twenty-one onomasiological profiles are there more synonyms in BP00 than in

EP00; in the rest of the profiles there are either fewer (eleven profiles) or the same number (eight profiles) of synonyms in BP00; there are four profiles with only one term in BP00 (FOUL, OFFSIDE, GOALKEEPER and FREE KICK), which is not observed in EP00; and finally, within the set of the 21 profiles and respective 183 terms, 93 are from EP00 against 71 in BP00. In the clothing corpus, internal uniformity percentages show two things. First, there is a consistent evolutionary pattern: the internal uniformity decreases between 1950 and 1970 (except in the Portuguese database at the level of the unweighted measure) and increases between 1970 and 2000 in both varieties. The fluctuations in internal uniformity may be related to a process of lexical renovation with regard to fashion, particularly clothing. Second, there are greater changes in the Brazilian variety than in the Portuguese variety, especially between the intermediate periods (long term changes are also observed but only at the level of the weighted uniformity).

We will now examine the impact of item-related and concept-related features on the global evolutionary trend. As regards the item-related features, the influence of endogenous, exogenous and binational terms, the influence of loanwords and the influence of neologisms and Brazilian terms were measured. As for the corpus of football, we found a marked increase of binational terms, a decrease of endogenous terms which appears to be stronger in Brazil and greater changes of exogenous terms in Brazil. These changes are consistent with the convergent trend previously observed (between 1950 and 1970) and confirm that the Brazilian variety is subject to greater change than the Portuguese variety. As for the corpus of clothing, the global divergence observed earlier is associated with two internal changes: one is the decrease in binational terms; the other change, having a greater impact than the previous one, is the increase of endogenous terms on both sides. Again, the Brazilian variety changes more than the Portuguese variety.

Tables 1 and 2 show that the influence of foreign terms, namely English loanwords (A'_{Engl}) in the vocabularies of football and clothing, and French loanwords (A'_{Fr}) in the vocabulary of clothing, is stronger in the Brazilian variety (B) than in

Table 1. Loanwords in the corpus of football (from the 1950s to the 2000s)

A'_{Engl} (P50)	7.1%	<	A'_{Engl} (B50)	18%
A'_{Engl} (P70)	9.8%	<	A'_{Engl} (B70)	17.1%
A'_{Engl} (P00)	10.2%	<	A'_{Engl} (B00)	16.2%

Table 2. Loanwords in the corpus of clothing (from the 1950s to the 2000s)

A'_{Fr} (P50)	17.6%	\approx	A'_{Fr} (B50)	18.5%
A'_{Fr} (P70)	15.9%	\approx	A'_{Fr} (B70)	18.1%
A'_{Fr} (P00)	10.2%	\approx	A'_{Fr} (B00)	7.9%
A'_{Engl} (P50)	3.3%	\approx	A'_{Engl} (B50)	4.2%
A'_{Engl} (P70)	5.8%	\approx	A'_{Engl} (B70)	7.6%
A'_{Engl} (P00)	16.9%	\approx	A'_{Engl} (B00)	16.8%

Table 3. Adaptations/translations of English borrowings in the corpus of football

A' _{Engl.adapt} (P50)	6%	≅	A' _{Engl.adapt} (B50)	2.8%
A' _{Engl.adapt} (P70)	7.9%	<	A' _{Engl.adapt} (B70)	16.9%
A' _{Engl.adapt} (P00)	8.9%	<	A' _{Engl.adapt} (B00)	16%

Table 4. Brazilian terms in the corpus of European Portuguese for football

A' _{Braz} (P50)	0.8%	2.3%
A' _{Braz} (P70)	1.0%	3.4%
A' _{Braz} (P00)	1.1%	2.0%

the Portuguese variety (P). These results confirm the hypothesis of the Brazilian variety's greater receptivity to loanwords, whether through direct importation or adaptation.

As regards the adaptation of foreign terms, Table 3 illustrates the greater tendency of the Brazilian variety to adapt foreign borrowings, in contrast with the Portuguese variety which tends to replace them by vernacular terms. The percentage of adapted borrowings from English (A' _{Engl.adapt}) in the field of football increases dramatically in the Brazilian database between 1950 and 1970. For the overall 21 onomasiological profiles, we find 23 adaptations and 19 loan translations in the Brazilian database against 6 adaptations and 14 loan translations in the Portuguese database.

As regard neologisms, it is of more interest to see their influence on the vocabulary related to clothing. It is not a surprise that new clothing terms or new uses of preexisting terms are introduced in both varieties. These new terms or uses contribute to the global divergence between the two varieties, although they are not the only determining factor.

Table 4 reveals that the anticipated growing influence of BP on EP, particularly in the field of football, is not clearly confirmed. Two measurements of the Brazilian terms (A' _{Braz}) in the corpus of the Portuguese variety (P) are given in this table: the percentages on the left include widely known Brazilian terms and the ones indicated on the right show all the Brazilian terms registered in reference dictionaries. As regards the percentage of Brazilian terms used in the European variety, the weighted measure varies from 0.8% to 2.3% in P50 and from 1.1% to 2% in P00.

We will now see to what extent item-related features contribute towards lexical heterogeneity (synonyms) between the two national varieties (lectal synonyms). Three correlations were found. First, a positive correlation is observed between endogenousness, English loanword and neologism, on the one side, and lexical heterogeneity, on the other side, in both national varieties. This means that lectal heterogeneity (number of synonyms and completion between them) increases as a concept adds endogenous terms, English loans and neologisms. Second, a negative correlation is observed between French loans and lexical heterogeneity in the vocabulary of clothing in both varieties. This means that lexical heterogeneity decreases as a concept adds French loanwords. This nega-

tive correlation can be interpreted as a specific effect of the semantic field in question; both varieties tend to behave in the same way with regard to French fashion and clothing terms. Finally, a negative correlation is observed between exogeneity and English influence, on the one side, and lexical heterogeneity, on the other side, in the vocabulary of football as regards the European variety. This means that lexical heterogeneity decreases as a concept adds exogenous terms and English loanwords.

Finally, we calculated the correlation between concept-related features such as salience, vagueness, innovation, and lexical heterogeneity in both national varieties. Three correlations were found. First, a negative correlation is observed between prototypical concepts and lexical heterogeneity. As we can see in Figures 2 and 3, the weighted uniformity percentages are always higher than the non-weighted uniformity percentages. This means that lexical heterogeneity (synonymy) increases as a concept becomes more frequent. Second, a positive correlation is observed between new concepts and lexical heterogeneity. This means that lexical heterogeneity increases as new concepts emerge. Finally, a positive correlation is observed between vague concepts and lexical heterogeneity. For example, the word *blusa* is used to name the concepts BLOUSE F, JUMPER M/F and T-SHIRT M/F, and the word *jaqueta* is used to designate JACKET M/F and BLOUSE M/F. This means that lexical heterogeneity increases as different concepts overlap.

What does the development of football and clothing denotational synonyms in both national varieties of Portuguese reveal about synonymy? First, item-related features such as endogeneity (endogenous terms), foreign influence (loanwords) and word creation (neologisms) contribute to lexical heterogeneity within and across national varieties. These factors of lexical heterogeneity are social. This result was already expected, given that social factors unleash the emergence and the interaction between lexical varieties and, on the other hand, those lexical varieties give birth to the heterogeneity lexical, i.e. the occurrence of synonyms.

Second, concept-related features such as concept salience, concept vagueness and concept creation also contribute to lexical heterogeneity within and across national varieties. These factors of lexical heterogeneity are clearly conceptual. Salience and vagueness are more interesting because they are non-orthodox concept features, well studied in Cognitive Linguistics, in particular by prototype theory. Unlike the previous one, this was an unexpected result for two reasons: on the one hand, because, traditionally, conceptual factors regarding the emergence of dialectological lexical heterogeneity are not recognized; on the other hand, because the resulting heterogeneity concerns denotational synonyms, i.e. conceptual factors may determine the occurrence of synonyms without conceptual differences. This last result shows how conceptual and social factors can interact in order to make the occurrence of synonyms among lexical varieties happen.

Third, linguistic pluricentricity has a notable effect on onomasiological heterogeneity, particularly in the development of denotational synonyms and, inversely, denotational synonyms are good indicators of linguistic pluricentricity. Finally, standardization can diminish lexical heterogeneity but it doesn't have to. Our results for football terms are clear regarding this issue.

6. Conclusions

Our discussion of the notion of synonymy and the analysis of two case studies on lexical synonyms through time give way to some conclusions. First, synonymy is a flexible phenomenon of semantic equivalence of expressions. It depends upon context and upon the grading levels of the schematic networks of meaning. This implies that one should abandon the traditional structuralist model of synonymy that regards it as a relationship of meaning between lexical items at the systemic level, and embrace the encyclopaedic, referential and contextual aspects upon which a relationship of semantic equivalence depends.

Second, prototypicality is a differentiating conceptual factor for synonyms, both synchronically and diachronically, and it may very well be the only one, or at least the most important differentiating factor, as it was shown via the synonyms *deixar*, *abandonar*, and *permitir*. This means that to study synonymy only from a qualitative point of view or by looking only at meaning differences is rather restrictive; one should also study synonymy from the point of view of quantitative differentiation or salience differences.

Third, prototypicality is a conceptual factor that generates synonyms across lectal varieties. As seen in the onomasiological profiles of football and clothing terms across the European and Brazilian varieties of Portuguese, the less frequent and vaguer concepts are those more susceptible to the occurrence and competition of synonyms between the two national varieties. This implies that by taking only into account aspects of geographic and social differentiation, a study of synonymy becomes too narrow.

Fourth, social features, such as stylistic, emotive and pragmatic features interact with prototype-based conceptual features in differentiating synonyms. For example, social differences can motivate differences of prototypical structure between synonyms. Moreover, social features, such as endogenousness, foreign influence, neologism, and stylistic stratification, interact with prototype-based and other conceptual features in the emergence and competition of denotational synonyms within and across lectal varieties.

Finally, competition of synonyms through time highlights the sufficient semantic similarity and necessary semantic differences between synonyms, correlations of conceptual and social factors of synonymy, the role of prototypicality in lexical change and variation, and convergence and divergence between national varieties and other lectal varieties.

References

- Croft, William (2001). *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cuyckens, Hubert; Dirven, René; Taylor, John (eds.) (2003). *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, Dirk (1985). *Paradigm and Paradox. Explorations into a Paradigmatic Theory of Meaning and its Epistemological Background*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

- Geeraerts, Dirk (1988). Where does prototypicality come from? In Rudzka-Ostyn, Brygida (ed.), *Topics in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 207-229.
- Geeraerts, Dirk (1993). Vagueness's puzzles, polysemy's vagaries. *Cognitive Linguistics* 4-3, 223-272.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/cogl.1993.4.3.223>>
- Geeraerts, Dirk (1997). *Diachronic Prototype Semantics. A Contribution to Historical Lexicology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Geeraerts, Dirk (2010). *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geeraerts, Dirk; Grondelaers, Stefan; Bakema, Peter (1994). *The Structure of Lexical Variation. Meaning, Naming, and Context*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, Dirk; Cuyckens, Hubert (eds.) (2007). *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Geeraerts, Dirk; Speelman, Dirk (2010). Heterodox concept features and onomasiological heterogeneity in dialects. In Geeraerts, Dirk; Kristiansen, Gitte; Peirsman, Yves (eds.), *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 23-39.
- Geeraerts, Dirk; Kristiansen, Gitte; Peirsman, Yves (eds.) (2010). *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goldberg, Adele (1995). *Constructions. A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Goldberg, Adele (2006). *Constructions at Work. The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grondelaers, Stefan; Geeraerts, Dirk; Speelman, Dirk (2007). Lexical variation and change. In Geeraerts, Dirk; Cuyckens, Hubert (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 988-1011.
- Kristiansen, Gitte; Dirven, René (eds.) (2008). *Cognitive Sociolinguistics: Language variation, Cultural Models, Social Systems*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, Vol. 1: *Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1991). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, Vol. 2: *Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2008). *Cognitive Grammar. A Basic Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lyons, John (1963). *Structural Semantics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Lyons, John (1977). *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (1999). *A Semântica de deixar. Uma Contribuição para a Abordagem Cognitiva em Semântica Lexical*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian & Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2003). Image schemas and category coherence: The case of the Portuguese verb *deixar*. In Cuyckens, Hubert; Dirven, René; Taylor, John (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 281-322.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2006). *O Mundo dos Sentidos em Português: Polissemia, Semântica e Cognição*. Coimbra: Almedina.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2008). O corpus CONDIV e o estudo da convergência e divergência entre variedades do português. In Costa, Luis; Santos, Diana; Cardoso,

- Nuno (eds.) *Atas do Encontro Linguateca 10 anos*. <<http://www.linguateca.pt/LivroL10/Cap04-Costaetal2008-Silva.pdf>>.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2010). Measuring and parameterizing lexical convergence and divergence between European and Brazilian Portuguese. In Geeraerts, Dirk; Kristiansen, Gitte; Peirsman, Yves (eds.), *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 41-83.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2012). Comparing objective and subjective linguistic distances between European and Brazilian Portuguese. In Reif, Monika; Robinson, Justyna A.; Pütz, Martin (eds.), *Variation in Language and Language Use: Linguistic, socio-cultural and cognitive perspectives*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 244-274.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2014a). The pluricentricity of Portuguese: A sociolectometrical approach to divergence between European and Brazilian Portuguese. In Soares da Silva, Augusto (ed.), *Pluricentricity: Language variation and sociocognitive dimensions*. Berlin and Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, 143-188.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (2014b). Measuring and comparing the use and success of loanwords in Portugal and Brazil: A corpus-based and concept-based sociolectometrical approach. In Zenner, Eline; Kristiansen, Gitte (eds.), *New Perspectives on Lexical Borrowing: Onomasiological, methodological and phraseological innovations*. Berlin and Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, 101-141.
- Soares da Silva, Augusto (ed.) (2014). *Pluricentricity: Language variation and socio-cognitive dimensions*. Berlin and Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Talmy, Leonard (1988). Force dynamics in language and cognition. *Cognitive Science* 12, 49-100.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog1201_2>
- Talmy, Leonard (2000). *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. Vol. I: *Concept Structuring Systems*. Vol. II: *Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Taylor, John R. (1995). *Linguistic Categorization. Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tuggy, David (1993). Ambiguity, polysemy, and vagueness. *Cognitive Linguistics* 4-3, 273-290.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/cogl.1993.4.3.273>>
- Tuggy, David (2007). Schematicity. In Geeraerts, Dirk; Cuyckens, Hubert (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 82-116.

Meaning construction in creative metaphors: Conventional meaning integration through *generic interfacing* in a blend, and conditions of propagation and lexicalization*

Alicia Urquidi

Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg
alicia.urquidi@uni-bamberg.de



Received: June 4, 2015

Accepted: July 9, 2015

Abstract

Given certain semantic and pragmatic conditions discussed in this article, innovative metaphors and metonymies may end in propagation and eventual lexicalization of new meanings in the language system. Paying attention to instances of creative *uses* of figurative language in context may provide valuable evidence for such changes in the system. Innovation creates new meaning, but creative figurative language must also recruit conventional elements into meaning construction. However, as conventional figurative and novel meaning are not processed the same way – the former tends to be processed as a comparison, the latter as more abstract categorization –, conventional elements function as generic content in novel blends. This gives rise to a phenomenon dubbed *generic integration*. Furthermore, cognitive processes of comprehension depend upon and give rise to pragmatic inferences that complete utterance meaning. Therefore, in order to be viable for propagation, novel metaphors and metonymies must fulfill structural *iconicity*, and pragmatic *relevance* requirements.

Keywords: metaphor; conventional meaning; generic interfacing; lexicalization; lexical spreading.

Resum. *La construcció del significat en les metàfores creatives: la integració del significat convencional a través de les relacions d'interfície genèriques i les condicions de propagació i de lexicalització*

Quan es donen les condicions semàntiques i pragmàtiques que expliquem en aquest article, les metàfores i metonímies innovadores poden donar lloc a la propagació de nous significats en el sistema lingüístic i a la seva lexicalització posterior. Si atenem a les mostres d'*usos* creatius del llenguatge figurat en el seu context, podem obtenir dades valuoses sobre aquests canvis en el sistema. La innovació crea nous significats, però el llenguatge figurat creatiu també ha de fer servir

* I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Vicent Martines, Prof. Dr. Josep Martines and their colleagues from the Department of Catalan Philology at the University of Alicante for their hospitality and support in my visit, during which I drafted this paper. Special thanks are due to Reviewer A and their thoughtful, helpful suggestions for improvement.

elements convencionals en la construcció del significat. No obstant això, com que no processem el significat figuratiu convencional i el nou de la mateix manera —aquell tendeix a processar-se mitjançant una comparació i aquest mitjançant una categorització més abstracta—, els elements convencionals funcionen com contingut abstracte en les noves fusions. Això dona lloc al fenomen de la *integració genèrica*. A més, els processos cognitius de comprensió depenen d'inferències pragmàtiques que completen el significat de l'enunciat i en creen de noves. Per tant, perquè es puguin propagar, les metàfores i metonímies de nova creació han de satisfer requisits d'*iconicitat* estructural i de *rellevància* pragmàtica.

Paraules clau: metàfora; significat convencional; relacions d'interfície genèriques; lexicalització; propagació lèxica.

Table of Contents

Introduction	4. Types and processes of creative metaphors in economics news
1. Creative and conventional metaphor in discourse	5. The path towards lexicalization
2. The conceptual basis of Economics language	6. Summary and conclusions
3. Corpus and methodology	References

Introduction

Cognitive linguistics, a functional approach to language, assumes it is patterns of language use that give origin to language knowledge (Evans and Green 2011: 108; Tomasello 2003: 5). Croft (2000) calls language in use an «interface» mediating between the «conventions of a language (those aspects of use that make language stable) and mechanisms that result from deviation from convention resulting in language change» (cited in Evans and Green 2011: 109). Specifically in usage, according to Steen (2011: 31), metaphor is characterized by «its attention to any linguistic form that can express a cross-domain mapping, and any cross-domain mapping in conceptual structure that can be judged to be metaphorical», as opposed to «conventional metaphors in linguistic form and conceptual structure that are part of the study of grammar.» This can equally be applied to metonymy, as it is common usage in cognitive metaphor studies¹, and it highlights the fact that, like all language, figurative language is eminently dynamic in use, subject to a number of factors that determine its communicative success.

Metaphor and metonymy can be novel or conventional, and these aspects may be regarded statically (metaphor-as-product) or dynamically (metaphor-as-process). While a static approach provides us with a «picture» of a conceptual metaphor in terms of its internal semantic-conceptual structure and language structure conventionally associated with it, a dynamic approach allows us to understand how these – conventional as well as other – conceptual structures come to be through

1. For a discussion of the meaning of «metaphor» in a generic and specific sense, see Müller (2008).

cognitive processes of language comprehension. This opposition also reflects the dichotomy between synchrony and diachrony.

Intuition suggests that a dynamic approach can best do justice to the complex processing that makes possible the creation of conceptual meaning through figurative language in use. In fact, this is the view adopted in this paper: a dynamic approach, modelling creative uses of metaphor and metonymy through the application of integration networks to describe processes of conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), the preferred descriptive schemata to account for novel metaphor processes and structure (Evans and Green 2011; Müller 2008; Brandt and Brandt 2005; Urquidi 2013).

Croft's view of language usage as an «interface» between innovation and the language system is supported by our present evidence. Our analysis of four novel metaphors used in news reporting on economics shows that these function as veritable recruiters of conventional conceptual structures, formerly novel but currently stable metaphors and metonymies, reactivating their conventional but transparent metaphoricality – in one sense *awakening* these *sleeping* metaphors (Müller 2008) – and integrating meaning associated with their original metaphoricality into new meaning, as well as contextual clues that render it relevant.

Moreover, we are able to show that conventional metaphor and metonymy get recruited in the creative process as a tool for categorization that can be modelled as *generic information*, which informs space-building with generic qualities input spaces must share. This goes in support of Bowdle and Gentner's (2005) *Career of Metaphor Theory*, and their view that conventional metaphors will often be processed as categorization, and not comparisons. In Müller's (2008) terminology, conventional structures are indeed activated, but perhaps less «awakened» than «sleepwalking».

Attention to metaphors in language usage – as opposed to grammar – must involve accounting for extra-grammatical forms of linguistic behavior, and is therefore subject to a clear distinction between conventional and novel metaphors. After discussing this opposition in the following section, section 2 will introduce frequent domains of conceptual metaphor that form the basis for economics language both in expert and non-expert communication. After a brief account of methodology and a corpus description on section 3, 4 and 5 will provide an account of the types and functions of creative metaphorical and metonymical expression in the corpus, giving special attention to their conceptual dimension and processes that generate new meaning. Some of Brandt and Brandt's (2005) changes to the model of conceptual blending, incorporating discursive and contextual factors will be applied to these metaphors. Finally, the conclusion will present a summary of this study's findings in relation to broader lexical innovation processes.

1. Creative and conventional metaphor in discourse

It is by now undisputed that, in terms of figurative language, the conventional-novel opposition actually constitutes a *cline* of metaphoricality, along which metaphorical (and metonymical) expressions may be placed (Lakoff and Johnson 1980;

Stefanowitsch and Gries 2006; Svanlund 2010; Kövecses 2010). Various criteria have been proposed to operationalize the relative difference in metaphoricity, and subsequent attempts have been made at testing them. Croft and Cruse (2004: 204ff) describe four diachronic stages of metaphoricity.

The frequency of occurrence of metaphorical expressions in well-constructed corpora has been one factor tested, with the expectation that conventional (conceptual) metaphors would present more frequent realizations in usage than novel ones. This general approach has been tested in Swedish (Svanlund 2010) and English (Stefanowitsch 2006), among others. Although compelling in empirical terms, this approach may not offer the complete picture. Additionally, it is only appropriate for testing 1) conceptual metaphors that 2) are already conventionalized to a degree that allows them to be found in large corpora with a certain significant frequency. Goatly (1997: 108) suggests further criteria such as a lack of morphological derivation, concreteness of meaning, historical awareness, and «the sense of arbitrariness and a tradition of agreement among members of a community». Indeed, the question of determining metaphor conventionality is a tricky, subjective matter, and an attribution of relative conventionality or novelty of metaphors, both conceptual and linguistic, needs to be justified by these criteria on a case to case basis, and in the broader context of each utterance in the case of metaphorical expressions.

In her tour-de-force monograph, *Metaphors Dead and Alive, Sleeping and Waking*, Müller (2008) disaggregates what has traditionally been regarded as *metaphoricity* into three different aspects: *conventionality*, *transparency* and *attention* to metaphor. The first two aspects, conventionality and transparency, are a matter of language-as-system, which includes the conceptual dimension. Attention, a question of usage, can result in either inactive *sleeping* or activated *waking* metaphors, a condition which may be triggered by contextual and discursive factors, as well as the form of the utterance in question. Moreover, Steen (2011) argues one can distinguish pragmatically between *deliberate* and *non-deliberate* metaphors.

In this paper, metaphorical expressions considered creative will be assumed to fulfill the requirements for being *both* activated and deliberate, meaning that the author will be assumed to be both conscious of their salient metaphoricity and *employing* them in a conscious manner. Given the genre of newspaper discourse, in which rhetorical elements play an important role in successfully communicating contents within limited space, the writer's awareness of generic style and a general *metalinguistic* consciousness is a safe assumption to make, and it will be made in this study. Furthermore, Kövecses (2009: 12) argues that *style*, that is, the «linguistic choice and variation to the communicative setting, subject matter, medium, audience, etc.» represents a major sub-dimension of within-cultural metaphorical variation in the media. In other words, it will be assumed that at least some – though not all – of the causes for metaphorical and metonymical innovation in this genre can be found in its style and the demands placed by its more general socio-discursive and linguistic contexts.

2. The conceptual basis of Economics language

Any attempt to study creative metaphors in the domain of ECONOMICS needs to take into account the broad conceptual, metaphorical basis that underlies conventional economics language. This has been a frequent matter of investigation, and past research has revealed their omnipresence both in the academic discourse, and more informal contexts of communication on the topic, such as the media. Mirowski (1994) and McCloskey (1989; 1991 and others), to name two of the most notable authors and works, have shown how pervasive metaphorical structures are in academic economic thought in the English language, structuring knowledge, supporting theories and providing models to analyze the social phenomena which is economics' object of study. Herrera and White (2012: 136) summarize a number of source domains that have been empirically proven to build the basis of conventional business metaphors. Domains such as «war, competitive games, living organism[s], marriage, meteorology, natural disasters, verticality (MORE IS UP), are more than likely to surface in any extensive study of business discourse».

In a broad study of metaphorical texts in English, Richardt (2005) argues there is a large and conventional body of *commonsense* knowledge, which is conceptual in nature and builds a *Commonsense Model of Economics* that overlaps somewhat with an *Expert Model*, both of which provide the basis for language production and readers' understanding of economic literature. This is an interesting distinction to make, reinforced by Skorczynska and Deignan's (2006: 88) work, that shows that lay and expert usage of metaphors in popular economics and business discourse differ in their «patterns, frequencies, and functions of linguistic metaphor in texts even where the topics of the texts are similar.» These differences notwithstanding, it is safe to say that even lay speakers are aware of and may utilize the ubiquitous conceptualizations of expert speakers, which are deeply ingrained in our language and culture.

The extensive conceptual basis of the language of economics has a few interesting implications for popular discourse in Economics. First, it implies that a large number of terms and phrases, which would otherwise appear quite transparently metaphorical, are frequently used and may constitute the only existing means of expressing concepts or describing economic phenomena. A tax haven, *paraíso fiscal*, is literally and quite transparently a 'tax paradise', which does nothing to erode its status as the only official Spanish term to refer to the phenomenon in question. And by now, a 'real estate bubble', *burbuja inmobiliaria*, is attaining a similar degree of conventionality while remaining a very transparent metaphor, which is to say always potentially subject to cognitive activation as such. And this the second implication derives from the first: the fact that such a great part of the metaphorical basis of Economics is highly transparent makes it an easy source of creative writing through activation of dormant, transparent metaphors. Also as a consequence, it renders very high the likelihood of creative or novel metaphors producing mixed metaphors. Due to the high conventionalization of these metaphors, it is likely that its users will not notice them as such (they will use them in an inactive or 'sleeping' mode, to use Müller's (2008) term, or in *categorizational* mode, following Bowdle and Gentner (2005), without attention to their transparency, and might embed new,

unconventional and highly transparent, metaphorical coinages in phrases which are themselves highly transparent but more conventional.

This mixing of metaphors will likely activate the conventional, sleeping phrases and produce, for example, a humorous effect (as in (1), which will be further analyzed in section 4).

- (1) En **el pico de la burbuja** [...], el abandono escolar creció hasta at the peak of the bubble the abandonment school grew until ser el más alto de Europa. be the most high of Europe
‘At the peak of the bubble, the school dropout rate rose to be the highest in Europe’

3. Corpus and methodology

To carry out this qualitative study, 18 print issues of Spanish daily newspapers were considered, 16 of *El País* and 2 of *El Mundo*, between March 2014 and March 2015. An analysis of meaning construction, using conceptual blending theory, will be carried out on metaphorical expressions that have been construed as creative, innovative or novel, following the criteria listed on section 1.

This kind of analysis must take into account the fact that print media is a genre that contains multitudes: it is a polyphonic and multigeneric discourse. Polyphonic, because it includes both explicitly (through citations) and implicitly (through unmarked reproduction of hegemonic or minority discourse) the voices of different social actors, as well as reporters’, editors’ and copy-editors’. It is multigeneric, because it includes pieces of different generic traditions such as reports, brief notes, interviews, analysis pieces, opinion pieces, as well as letters to the editors. Not least of all elements such as headlines with very specific formal and functional traits. This study will therefore attempt to factor these issues in, as much as possible.

4. Types and processes of creative metaphors in economics news

4.1. Double foregrounding or interface metaphors

The following are examples of a very typical creative metaphor found in our corpus:

- (2) Mercadona es sin duda el líder de la distribución de la Mercadona is without doubt the leader of the distribution of the **alimentación** en España. Ha sido capaz de crecer en ventas durante food in Spain. Has been able to grow in sales during toda la crisis. Sin embargo, la cadena [...] ha **entrado en una fase** all the crisis. However, the chain has entered in a phase **de digestión**. of digestión.
‘Mercadona is undoubtedly the leader of food supply in Spain. It has managed to grow in sales during the entire crisis. However, it has now entered a digestive phase.’ (*El País*, 07.03.2014)

- (3) **Sombras en la nueva tarifa de la luz.**
 shadows in the new price of the light.
 ‘Shadows in the new electricity price.’ (*El País*, 01.04.2014)

These creative metaphors are triggered by their co-text, and the most evident effect is stylistic – a humorous «wink» to the reader, a play with words. In both cases it is evidently a metaphor in which the source domain is found in the topic of the text. In (2), a food metaphor (PROFIT IS FOOD) is used to refer to stagnation after a period of growth in a company’s balance. Of course, there are already various conventional conceptual metaphors in Spanish – as well as other languages – to refer to micro- and macroeconomic processes like «growth», itself a metaphor based on the conceptual metonymy MORE IS BIGGER, to which the utterance refers to as well: «capaz de crecer en ventas». The metaphor in (3) is also triggered directly by the topic in discussion: there are ‘shadows’ in the ‘light’ (electricity) bill. In Spanish, ‘light’ is a conventional expression that refers metonymically to ‘electricity’. Kövecses (2009: 12-13) has also identified a type of metaphor like (2) and (3), and regards them as instances of metaphorical variation in which the innovative choice depends «on the meaning of the sentences’ constituents’ – namely, in the present case, what we could regard as the subject matter, or topic».

This type of metaphor has been described as *double foregrounding* (Bröne and Fayaerts 2005: 75, cited in White and Herrera 2009), and *interface* (White and Herrera 2009: 136-137), a pattern characterized by a «condition whereby lexis proper to the semantic field of the subject matter under discussion is employed figuratively. [...] and] there is a leakage from mainstream denotative to figurative senses». It is also characterized by processing initiated with a metonymical step between elements in the domain of the subject matter, after a first mention of the latter builds the corresponding space. This is why it has been called *double foregrounding*: there is a double mapping, first metonymic in inner-space, and then metaphoric towards a different space (White and Herrera 2009).

4.2. Generic interfacing

The concept of *interfacing* is insightful, though, as it also reflects the semantic step that goes from the conventional to the novel figurative parts of conceptual meaning. Indeed, it also reflects Croft’s (2000) insight that creative language use and innovation emerges in the interstice between conventional and novel usage. Therefore, another phenomenon, described in this section, is dubbed *generic interfacing*, as it transforms pre-existing conventional figurative meaning into a part of the generic space of a blend.

In Spanish, English, German, as well as many other languages, ecological issues – taxes for environmental reasons – are metonymically (and quite conventionally) referred to as ‘green’. This is employed in a new metaphor that elaborates on this ‘greenness’:

- (4) Estos sabios proponían revisar la **ensalada de impuestos verdes** locales
 these wise proposed revise the salad of taxes green local
 y autonómicos.
 and autonomous
 ‘These experts proposed revising the salad of local and autonomous green taxes’ (*El País*, 03.03.2015).

Green is probably the color most saliently associated with nature in Western culture, which explains how easily the reader can identify the referent. Based upon this transparent, conventional collocation, a second figurative step is taken that reactivates its metaphoricity and expresses a new, partly deontic meaning. «Greenness», in its conventionally metaphorical sense is now also conventionally part of <green>’s polysemy, and as such can be viewed as a generic quality in the generic space. This would make input space-building dependent on these having a property generically stated as ‘a type of green object’, in other words, input spaces

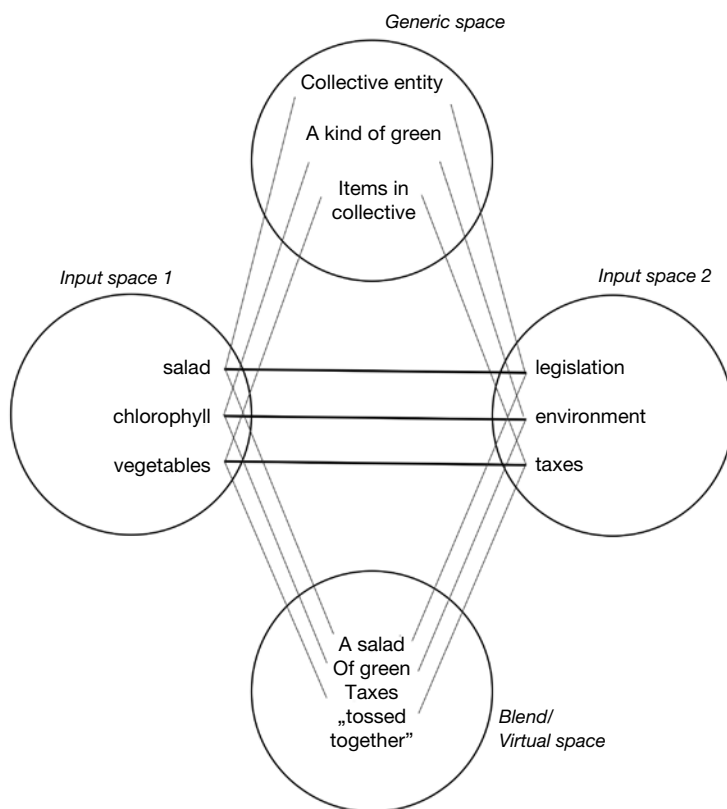


Figure 1. Ensalada de impuestos verdes as a conceptual blend.

generated under the generic space will have to be able to be *categorized* as green, before they can proceed to be blended.

A similar pre-blending step occurs in the following examples cluster, with the only difference that instead of a metonymy, the conventional figurative content integrated as a generic element is a metaphor: The conventional metaphor A COMPLEX SYSTEM IS A SHIP seems quite frequent in Economics (Zinken 2007, cited in Zinken and Musolff 2012: 3), instantiating basic metaphors such as ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY with a VEHICLE schema, both of which are described in Richardt's (2005) *Commonsense Model of Economics*. In order to compare a British bank with a British pirate ship and, metonymically, with the infamous Pirate Drake, the following utterances are used:

- (5) LCH.Clearnet **hizo de Drake**.
 LCH.Clearnet did of Drake
 'LCH.Clearnet acted as Drake'.

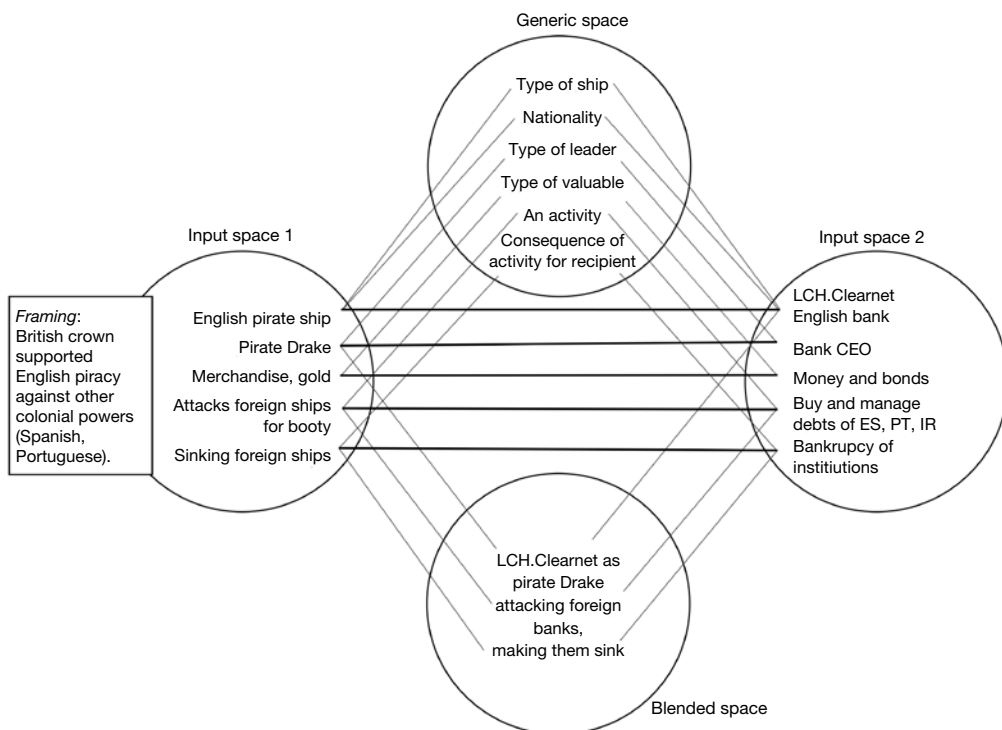


Figure 2. LCH.Clearnet hizo de Drake as a conceptual blend.

- (6) **Espanoles, portugueses, italianos e irlandeses** tienen buenos motivos Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, and Irish have good motives para recordar su **infausto nombre**. to remember its fateful name
 ‘Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians and the Irish have good reason to remember his fateful name’.
- (7) LCH.Clearnet (u otra) garantiza cobros o pagos, y LCH.Clearnet (or another) guarantees collections or payments, and endurece y relaja a su placer las condiciones. Si las agrava, hardens and relaxes at its pleasure the conditions. If them worsens, exige más bonos a cambio del mismo dinero, deprecia la demands more bonds in exchange for+the same money, depreciates the deuda española y **la hunde**. debt Spanish and it sinks
 ‘LCH.Clearnet (or another) guarantees collections or payments, and hardens and softens loan conditions at its will. If it hardens them, it demands more bonds for the same amount of money, depreciating the Spanish debt and sinking it’ (*El País*, 05.03.2015).

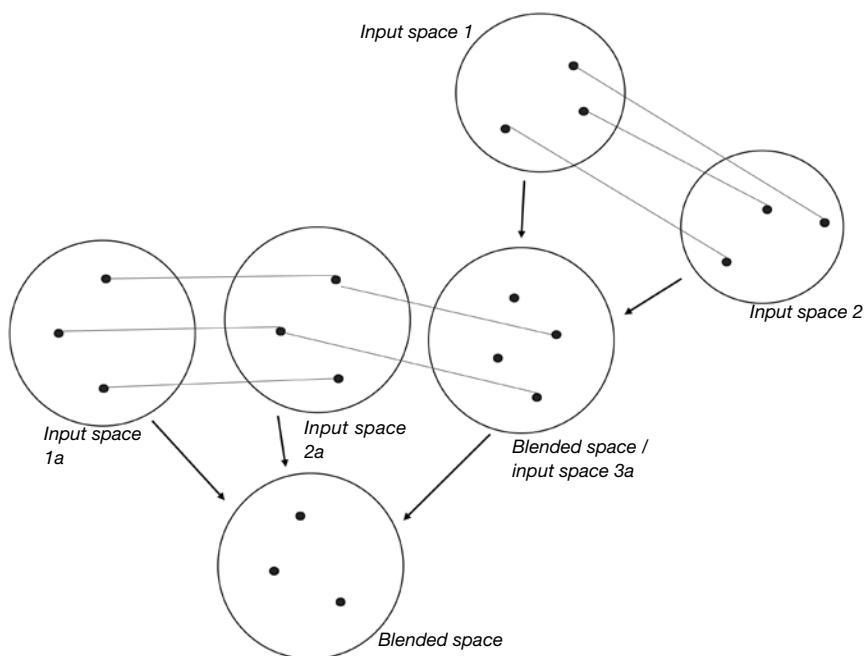


Figure 3. A multiple blend (adapted from Evans and Green 2011).

Because of its extension, this cluster can be considered an allegory. But the mechanism is the same: the way ‘green’ fits in the example above, ‘a type of ship’ in the generic space produces input spaces that can be categorized as ‘types of ships’.

The generic job of this type of interfacing is significant because it explains the fact that only spaces which fit into the category (green, boats) are generated as inputs. It does not merely generate one input, but it determines which additional input spaces will be considered for an innovative blend. Conventional meaning does not therefore merely contribute with information, it does so with generic information that structures the entire blend.

Note that Turner and Fauconnier (2002) described a similar structure for the metaphor: Death is The Grim Reaper, represented as a multiple blend (see Figure 3). The conventional content is a previous metaphor that produces a blended space in which Death possesses Agency. Grady and Green represent the meaning construction with a blended space acting as an input space for a new, in a multiple blend, or a chain of figurative blends.

Though in principle this representation reflects the processes of meaning creation that have taken place, one after the other, to generate the end-blend, it does not reflect the relative differences in conventionality between both blends. In fact,

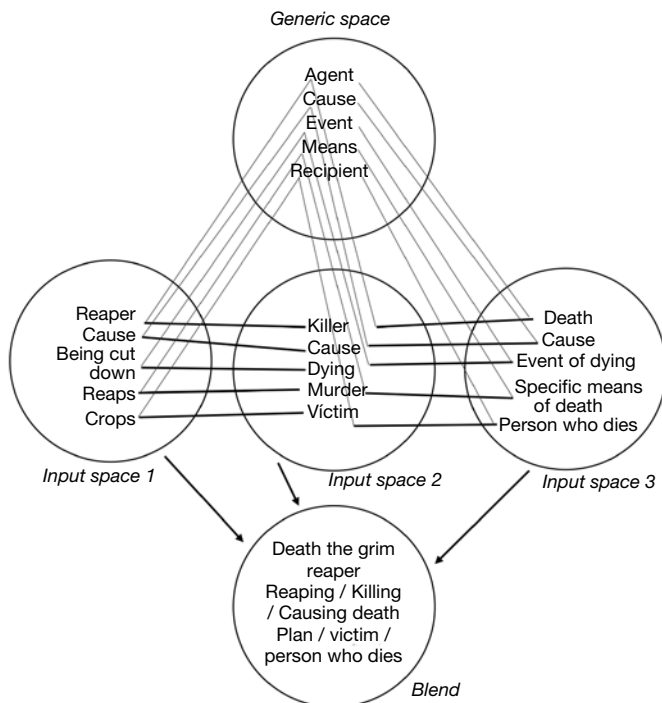


Figure 4. Death is The Grim Reaper with generic interfacing, adapted from Evans and Green (2011).

we believe both steps take turn in different synchronic moments of the language system, that is to say they are diachronic and as such will likely *be processed differently*, namely as categorizations and not comparisons (Bowdle and Gentner 2005). It is our claim that generic interfacing is a special case of multiple blending, in which a previous (older, more conventional) blend is absorbed schematically into the generic space.

4.3. *Mixed metaphors*

As Müller (2008) argues, the effect of mixed metaphors is only possible due to the fact that conventionalized verbal metaphors – those typically regarded as ‘dead’ – do maintain a certain degree of metaphorical transparency. Because, how can it be «problematic to combine conventionalized, supposedly dead metaphors with different lexical roots, if those roots have been cut off?» (Müller 2008: 138). Also, that the commonplace notion that mixed metaphors in discourse constitute a kind of stylistic error, though, comes from a normative view of language, «the perspective of the linguistic expert (the collective-mind view)», as opposed to that of the individual «who produced the mix (the individual-mind-view)» (Müller 2008: 146–147). An examination of the phenomenon of mixed metaphor, according to Müller (2008: 147), intends to

rehabilitate the perspective of the producer of mixed metaphors. The phenomenon of mixing metaphors is a highly revelatory form of metaphor use in discourse, for it allows us to reconstruct how language users experience and process metaphoricity in conventionalized verbal metaphors when they speak or write.

As has been discussed above, mixed metaphors may often be found in the subject matter of economics, a consequence of the extensive conventional metaphor complex that underlies it. They occur because the speaker fails to consciously identify one or more of the metaphors as such. What results is an inconsistency on the literal level – which is what motivates the German name for the phenomenon: *Bildbrüche* or ‘image breaks’ – (Müller 2008) and an utterance such as (8), as well as (1) cited above:

- (8) Europa, **metastizada** de populismo y **minada** por el escepticismo
 Europe, metastasized by populism and mined by the skepticism
 ciudadano.
 citizen
 ‘Europe, metastasized by populism and mined by citizen skepticism’ (*El País*,
 01.04.2014)²

2. This seems to recall the canonical expression *minar los ánimos*, in which *minar* is read as ‘undermine’, in which Europe is conceived as a solid body, not a territory. However, due to the context of the utterance, in which further war metaphors were present, this reading was preferred. A different reading is just as valid and either makes no difference to the substance of the present analysis, which is that this metaphor relies on mixed conceptualizations.

- (1) En **el pico de la burbuja** [...], el abandono escolar creció hasta
 at the peak of the bubble the abandonment school grew until
 ser el más alto de Europa.
 be the most high of Europe
 ‘At the peak of the bubble, the school dropout rate rose to be the highest in Europe’

The «peak of a bubble» is a difficult construction to imagine: a bubble’s existence depends on the perfect balance in its spherical shape. Any sort of ‘peak’ would disrupt this balance and destroy the bubble. This is a reality most speakers will accept as true: bubbles are spheres, spheres have no peaks. In the figurative reading, though, the mixed metaphor does seem to make sense. In this reading, a ‘peak’ is a topological metaphor for the highest value in a ‘curve’ (another metaphor) that describes the development of any given measure, such as housing prices. The ‘peak’ of the bubble refers here to the moment in which housing prices attained a maximum. And the bubble, of course, refers to the uncontrolled increase in these prices and housing debt. So despite its inconsistency, this is a coherent metaphor: it possesses a shared entailment.

In (8), Europe is conceptualized as both a body and a territory, an inconsistent image. A body may suffer a metastatic disease – that is, an advanced form of cancer – but not a territory, at least not literally. Likewise, a territory may be mined, but not a body. This literal incompatibility qualifies as a mixed metaphor. As in (1) above, though, these metaphors do seem to make sense from the perspective of the reader, and the writer clearly must have known what he or she meant. Müller

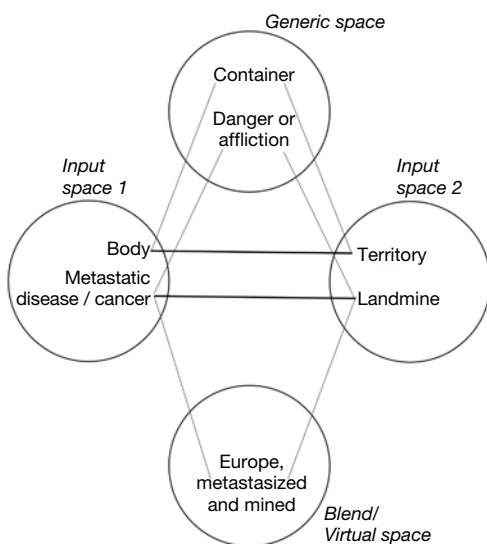


Figure 5. Europa, metastasizada y minada.

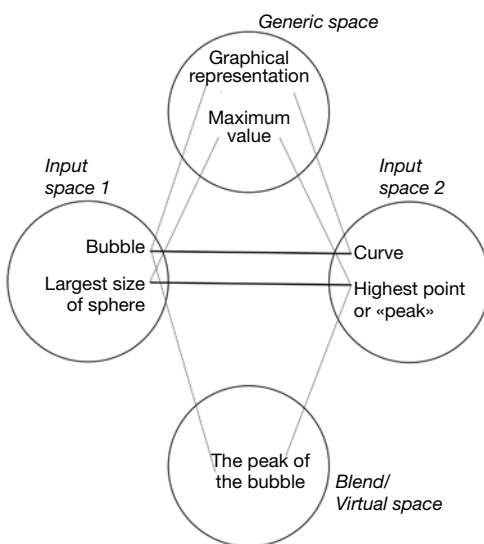


Figure 6. El pico de la burbuja.

(2008) proposes that a blending analysis of the integration that occurs in these types of metaphors can help understand why this is the case. It is interesting to note that, also in these examples, some of the generic content originates in a very conventional, primary metaphor of time: time is space.

In her conceptual blending analysis of mixed metaphors, Müller notes that not all the information in the input spaces end up being projected into the blend, but that *selective projection* takes place, in which the speaker judges which *salient* elements of both images will be «mapped from one input space onto another one and projected from a blended space where they [are] combined, interacted, and produce new meaningful structures» (Müller 2008: 167). As we can see in figures 3 and 4, this is also the case in the mixed metaphors discussed here. Each blend suppresses elements of the input spaces that would be irrelevant or even detrimental to the construction of intended meaning. In (1), the structure of the graphical representation in input space 2, a curve where a maximum is a peak, is suppressed, and so is the maximum value of input space 1, the largest size of the bubble. Example (8) suppresses the incompatible ontological metaphors instantiated in both input spaces and instead focuses on the elements that do have something relevant in common, namely the dangers that Europe possesses within itself, conceptualized as cancer and land mines, both of which are found within their respective containers.

As an instance of creative use of metaphor and metonymy, we believe that mixed metaphors are, in general, cases of involuntary creativity with the potential to create emergent meaning, albeit one with low lexicalization potential due to 1) its low iconicity and 2) low relevance due to expensive cognitive processing required to establish meaning.

5. The path towards lexicalization

The phenomenon that presents synchronically as *different degrees of metaphoricality manifested in different utterances* may be viewed from a diachronic perspective as forming part of a broader process, in which extremely novel cases of metaphors have a chance to make their way through time and language, to eventually constitute new (lexical) units in the system. This relationship between both temporal dimensions is also expressed in Goatly (1997: 107):

[T]he distinction between metaphorical and literal language is not clear-cut: the same processes of matching necessary for literal utterances come into play in the understanding of metaphorical utterances; and repeated metaphors provide us with cognitive furniture and become absorbed by word-formation and other Lexicalization processes into the dictionary.

Croft's (2000) approach to language change also considers both perspectives. The synchronic view takes a look at language structure at any given point in time, and the diachronic view considers the change in language structure. For language change, the salient element in the synchronic dimension is innovation, while in the diachronic dimension it is *propagation*, that is, when the change «spreads through the linguistic community and becomes established as a new convention (cited in

Evans and Green 2011: 123-124). When and why does propagation occur, and do all innovations undergo propagation?

We know from experience that universal propagation of innovation is not the case, and even the most gratifying of our coinages can fall into obscurity shortly after its inception. Bowdle and Gentner (2005) name two main constraints to the metaphorical creation of polysemous words, which function through extending the base term by new meanings.

First, the alignment of the target and base concepts must be able to suggest a coherent category. Mappings that focus on relational structures are therefore more likely to generate stable abstractions than mappings that focus on less systematic object descriptions. [...] Second, even if a metaphor is able to suggest a coherent category, the abstraction must not already be lexicalized. This follows from E.V. Clark's (1992) principle of preemption by synonymy: If a potential innovative use of a term is synonymous with a well-established term, then the former will be preempted by the latter and will be considered unacceptable. (Bowdle and Gentner 2005: 198)

This approach, named the «Career of Metaphor Theory», predicts that «coherent categories» which give recognizable structure to the content expressed are more likely to be lexicalized. This prediction can be disaggregated into a semiotic and a cognitive-pragmatic aspect. From a pragmatic perspective, at least some of the structures generated in a conceptual blend are processed pragmatically as inferences, a wealth of possible implicatures emerging from a blend in communication is evidence of a metaphor or metonymy's ability to produce cognitive effects in the speakers, and therefore its potential for propagation. The metaphor or metonymy's likelihood to generate stable abstractions can be, from a semiotic perspective, also expressed as a form of *iconicity*.

Bowdle and Gentner (2005) give further criteria to characterize metaphors vis-à-vis their conventionality, namely the type of comprehension processing they will prompt a reader or listener to engage in. They distinguish between two matching processes used to cognitively process literal utterances: categorization and analogy, which are employed differently in conventional and novel metaphor comprehension processes. A diachronic process they label *the Career of Metaphor* consists of an «evolution toward metaphoric polysemy» of a base term, initially employed in a creative manner for a new referent, allowing it to «take on additional, related meanings» (Bowdle and Gentner 2005: 198), as is regularly and often the case in lexical change. However, according to the *Career of Metaphor* hypothesis, with increasing conventionality of a metaphorical expression, the means of processing it changes, from a comparatively expensive cognitive operation of establishing analogies between individual elements of the base and the target, to a more efficient categorization of the target into a more abstract category indicated by the base. In other words, repeated use of a certain novel metaphor can generate an abstract, metaphoric category that will facilitate and speed up its processing (Bowdle and Gentner 2005: 197 ff.) As we have seen in section 4 with generic interfacing, this difference is also reflected in novel conceptual blends that recruit conventional figurative meaning, not reconstructing the complete input spaces with all the «map-

plings that focus on less systematic object descriptions», but absorbing these as abstractions into the generic space.

Therefore, whether the blended spaces in the innovative blends presented above will transcend into conventionality depends on their ability to become *icons*, in a system that does not already possess another sign for that same meaning, and on their ability to generate relevant inferences for other speakers. This will be tested in the frequency and types of meaning spaces constructed in communication.

The pragmatic dimension of meaning construction has been explored in Brandt and Brandt (2005), in which a change in the model of conceptual blending was proposed that includes a *semiotic space* composed of the elements of meaning that are present in the situation of utterance. Figure 7 shows the ‘salad of green taxes’ metaphor in a blend that includes the *semiotic space*. As can be seen in figure 7, co-text and context are distributed among the *pheno-world*, the *communicative situation* and the *semiotic act* itself.

From this integrated space, Relevance on three different levels must be identified if the hearer is to understand the intended speaker meaning. *Semiotic relevance* allows the hearer to reconstruct the *presentation* and *reference* spaces (inputs 1 and 2 respectively in classic blending models) thanks to her understanding of the signs uttered. These spaces are then projected onto a *virtual space*, which corresponds to the blended space of meaning, but excludes any and all pragmatic inferences, or emergent meaning caused by an interpretation of the blend in context. Related to the pheno-world, *argumentational relevance* provides the schemata which allows the reader to take the virtual space and construe its emergent meaning as something

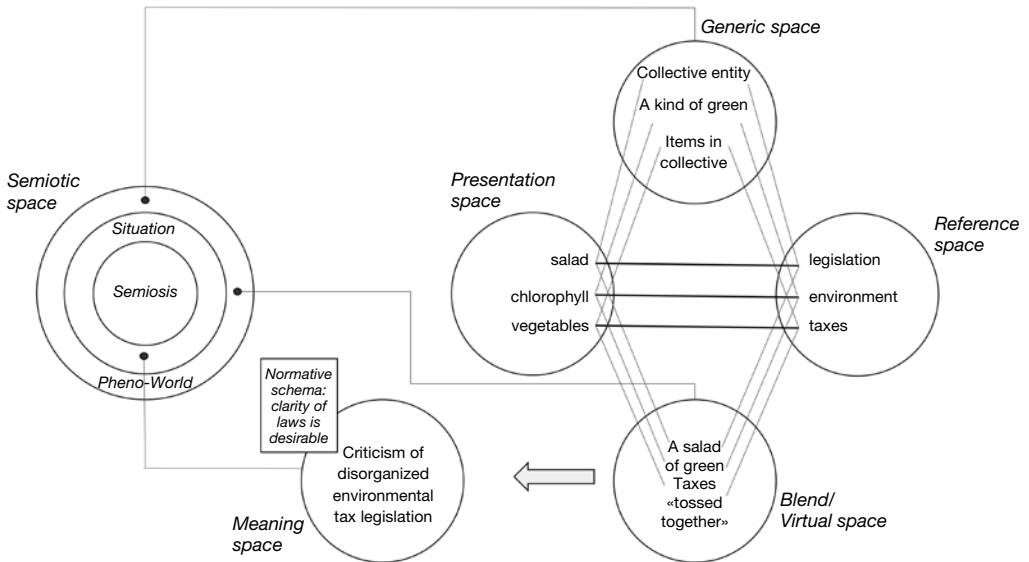


Figure 7. Ensalada de impuestos verdes in communication.

disorderly, as well as green. *Illocutional relevance* relates to the intended effects of the utterance as a speech act, in this case the fact that it is meant as an element of style whose purpose is to catch the newspaper reader's attention. Once these are interpreted, the blend gives rise to a meaning space, which contains the intended meaning of the utterance, complete with all and any inferences construed in the communicative situation between speaker and hearer.

While Brandt and Brandt (2005) argue against the necessity of a generic space and exclude it in their modelling of blending processes, it is our belief that the generic space *does* explain something, namely the integration of conventional meaning into the blend. We have therefore decided to include it in this adapted model. We do agree with Brandt and Brandt's observation that pheno-world relevance must guide space-building, and contributes much of a blend's content in recruited frames and schemes, and meaning in the pragmatic interaction between blend and context. Nevertheless, the built spaces must be structured by common generic properties. This explains how the domains of these spaces get selected from the entirety of the pheno-world, and how conventional figurative meaning is inherited.

6. Summary and conclusions

In this paper, various metaphors displaying processes of interplay between conventional and innovative figurative content were analyzed. The processes of double foregrounding, generic interfacing, and the mixing of metaphors all require dynamic models to describe how different types of content, including metaphors and metonymies with different degrees of conventionality, interact to produce new meaning.

Crucially, we have found that conventional figurative meaning does not only contribute to a blend in providing conceptual content: it does so with generic information that structures the entire blend. This observation reveals one, to this date unknown implication, of the Career of Metaphor Theory for integration networks modelling of creative blends. Conventional metaphor and metonymies that are processed cognitively as categorizations must be treated differently than creative ones, and modelled accordingly as generic content.

In considering the processes of comprehension of creative utterances via blends in their pragmatic contexts, it becomes clear that a creative figurative expression must fulfill structural *and* pragmatic requirements in order to have a chance at propagation. While the Career of Metaphor Theory states the need for coherence in a metaphor's structure, which renders it more versatile in language than less coherent representations, this coherence is, in our opinion, a function of iconicity, a structure's ability to mirror users' experiences, as well as its relevance. Relevance, relating to the ability of a metaphor's virtual space to generate pragmatic implications in its given pheno-world and situation contexts, can explain how the construction of coherence happens in the mind of a speaker, in an interplay between the structure of the linguistic sign and its experienced content.

References

- Bowdle, Brian F.; Gentner, Dedre (2005). «The Career of Metaphor» in: *Psychological Review*, 112:1, p. 193-216.
- Brandt, Line; Brandt, Per Aage (2005). «Making sense of a blend» in: *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 3, p. 216-249.
- Evans, Vyvyan; Green, Melanie (2011). *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Croft, William; Cruse, Alan (2004). «Chapter 8: Metaphor» in: *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 193-221.
- Croft, William (2000). *Explaining Language Change*. London: Longman.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan (2009). «Metaphor and Political Communication» in: Musolff, Andreas; Zinken, Jörg: *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 97-115.
- Fauconnier, Gilles; Turner, Mark (2002). *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gentner, Dedre; Bowdle, Brian F. (2001). «Convention, form and figurative language processing», in: *Metaphor and Symbol*, 16:(3&4), 223-247.
- Gibbs, Raymond W. (2012). «Metaphors, snowflakes, and termite nests» in: MacArthur, Fiona et. al.: *Metaphor in Use*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Goatly, Andrew (2007). *Washing the Brain – Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Goatly, Andrew (2011[1997]). *The Language of Metaphors*. London: Routledge.
- Herrera-Soler, Honesto; White, Michael (2009). «How Business Press Headlines Get Their Message Across: A Different Perspective on Metaphor» in: Musolff, Andreas; Zinken, Jörg: *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 135-152.
- Herrera-Soler, Honesto; White, Michael (2012). *Metaphor and Mills: Figurative Language in Business and Economics*. Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Koller, Veronika (2009). «Missions and Empires: Religious and Political metaphors in Corporate Discourse» in: Musolff, Andreas; Zinken, Jörg: *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 116-134.
- Kövecses, Zoltán (2009). «Metaphor, Culture, and Discourse: The Pressure of Coherence» in: Musolff, Andreas; Zinken, Jörg: *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 11-24.
- Kövecses, Zoltán (2010). «A new look at metaphorical creativity in cognitive linguistics» in: *Cognitive Linguistics*, 21:4, p. 663-697.
- Lakoff, George; Johnson, Mark (2003[1980]). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mirowski, Philip (1994). «Doing what comes naturally: four metanarratives on what metaphors are for» in: Mirowski, Philip: *Natural Images in Economic Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 3-19.
- McCloskey, Deirdre (1989). *The Rhetoric of Economics*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Müller, Cornelia (2008). *Metaphors Dead and Alive, Sleeping and Waking*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Steen, Gerard (2009). «Three Kinds of Metaphor in Discourse: A Linguistic Taxonomy» in: Musolff, Andreas; Zinken, Jörg: *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 25-39.
- Steen, Gerard (2011). «The contemporary theory of metaphor – now new and improved!» in: *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9:1, p. 26-64.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol und Gries, Stefan Th. (eds.) (2006). *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Svanlund, Jan (2007). «Metaphor and convention.» in: *Cognitive Linguistics* 18:1. p. 47-89.
- Tomasello, Michael (2003). *Constructing a Language: A Usage-Based Theory of Language Acquisition*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Urquidi, Alicia (2013). «Metaphorische Konvention und Innovation in spanischer Sprache am Beispiel der Wirtschaftsmetapher» in: Wagner-Braun, Margarete; Raev, Ada; Hermann, Iris (eds): *Kolloquium 2013. Beiträge Bamberger Nachwuchswissenschaftlerinnen*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, p. 93-116.

Catalan Journal of Linguistics style sheet

• **Document format.** Manuscripts should be written in English. Font 12 point Times New Roman, interline at 1.5, use margins 2,5 cm (1 inch). Phonetic symbols must be set in Doulos SIL or Charis SIL.

• **Heading.** Title, with title capitalisation, in boldface. Name of the author(s), affiliation(s) and e-mail address(es). Acknowledgements, as a footnote, called by a flying asterisk.

• **Abstracts.** A 150 word abstract is required. A Catalan version of the abstract should be included. Authors are also asked to provide the keywords of the article.

• **Sections and paragraphs.** Headings of main sections: in boldface. Headings of first order paragraphs: in italics. Headings of second order paragraphs or others: in italics with text beginning at the same line.

• **Text.** The beginning of a paragraph should be left indented, except for the first paragraph of a section. Words, phrases or sentences in a language other than English appearing in the body of the text should be followed by a translation in simple quotation marks.

References should follow this format: Chomsky (1981), Kayne (1981, 1982), Belletti & Rizzi (forthcoming), Jackendoff (p.c.). If the page number or an example is expressed: Rizzi (1990: 20), Rizzi (1990: ex. (24)). When the reference is included between parentheses, drop the ones enclosing the year: (see Rizzi 1990: 20).

• **Examples.** Example numbers should go between parentheses, left aligned (Arabic digits for examples in the text; lower case Roman for examples in footnotes). Example texts should start at the first tab. If there is more than one example within a number, lower case alphabet letters should be used followed by a stop and a tab. Examples must be referred to as (1), (5a,b), (6b-d), (ii), (iii c-e), (iv a,b), etc.

• **Glosses.** Examples from languages other than English should be accompanied by a gloss and, if necessary, by a translation into English. Align glosses with examples word by word. Translations should be in simple quotation marks.

• **References.** References should be according to the following pattern, with full names of authors included. Reference entries for multiple works by the same author(s)/editor(s)

should be listed chronologically, with the oldest publication at the top and the newest at the bottom. Please, provide the DOI of articles if available.

a) Book:

Borer, Hagit. 1983. *Parametric Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783108085506>

b) Journal article:

Kayne, Richard S. 1993. Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. *Studia Linguistica* 47: 3-31.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9582.1993.tb00837.x>

c) Book article:

Jaeggli, Osvaldo & Safir, Ken. 1989. The Null Subject Parameter and Parametric Theory. In Jaeggli, Osvaldo & Safir, Ken (eds.). *The Null Subject Parameter*, 1-44. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-2540-3_1

d) Dissertation, manuscript, or work in preparation:

Pesetsky, David. 1982. *Paths and Categories*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
Chomsky, Noam. 1994. *Categories and Transformations*. Unpublished manuscript, MIT.

• **Publication rights.** CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS is published under the licence system Creative Commons, according to the modality «Attribution-Noncommercial (by-nc): derivative work is allowed under the condition of non making a commercial use. The original work cannot be used with commercial purposes». Therefore, everyone who sends a manuscript is explicitly accepting this publication and edition cession. In the same way, he/she is authorizing CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS to include his/her work in a journal's issue for its distribution and sale. The cession allows CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS to publish the work in a maximum period of two years. With the aim of favouring the diffusion of knowledge, CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS joins the Open Access journal movement (DOAJ), and delivers all its contents to different repositories under this protocol; therefore, sending a manuscript to the journal also entails the explicit acceptance by its author/s of this distribution method.

Catalan Journal of Linguistics

Vol. 14, 2015

ISSN 1695-6885 (in press); ISSN 2014-9718 (online)

<http://revistes.uab.cat/catJL>

Semantic change

Index

- 7 **Martines, Josep; Montserrat, Sandra.** Semantic change.
- 11 **Antolí Martínez, Jordi M.** *Voler* + infinitive in Catalan: From the imminence aspectual periphrasis to the epistemic and evidential marker (from the 13th century to the present day).
- 33 **Baranzini, Laura; Ricci, Claudia.** Semantic and pragmatic values of the Italian *imperfetto*: Towards a common interpretive procedure.
- 59 **Maldonado, Ricardo; Guzmán, Rocío.** *Luego entonces*. An argumentative intersubjective marker.
- 79 **Martines, Josep.** Semantic change and intersubjectification: The origin of reprise evidential conditional in Old Catalan.
- 113 **Pérez Saldanya, Manuel.** Paradigms as triggers of semantic change: Demonstrative adverbs in Catalan and Spanish.
- 137 **Ramos, Joan-Rafael.** The Polysemy of the verbs *pegar*, *apegar* and *empegar* in Catalan: A synchronic manifestation of semantic change.
- 159 **Sánchez López, Elena.** Phraseologization as a process of semantic change.
- 179 **Sentí, Andreu.** Modal verbs, future and grammaticalization in Old Catalan. A cognitive approach.
- 199 **Soares da Silva, Augusto.** Competition of synonyms through time: Conceptual and social salience factors and their interrelations.
- 219 **Urquidi, Alicia.** Meaning construction in creative metaphors: Conventional meaning integration through *generic interfacing* in a blend, and conditions of propagation and lexicalization.