Movement Towards Discourse Is Not Grammaticalization: The Evolution of *claro* from Adjective to Discourse Particle in Spoken Spanish[1]

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1. Introduction

The lexical item *claro* has evolved from adjective to discourse particle, as seen in examples (1) and (2):

(1) C: este:, yo d descubro cuando - grabo algo se oyen los ruidos de - así a <u>alejados</u> de esos que uno no no <u>queridos</u>, con una nitidez <u>impresionante</u>.

    F: e he he

    C: <u>sí:</u>, **muy claros**, fieles y y y en cambio lo que usted quiere grabar no sale.   6a12[2]

    Translation:

    C: er, I have seen that when - I record something, those sounds like - far away, those that one doesn't doesn't like, well, you hear them with an impressive sharpness.

    F: he he he

    C: yeah, very **clear**, like the original and and and instead what you really want to record doesn't show up.

(2) A: acidófilus son con las lacta - <u>lactobacilos</u>. Son

                              [

    M: ah, para preparar el yogur. **Cla:ro**.

                                        [

    A: e: lactobacilos, son - lo:s bichitos que tienen los yogur.

            [

    M: <u>**cla::**</u>ro   1a15

[2] The numbers and letters after each example indicate its location in the corpus. The conventions used in the transcription are as follows. A single bracket '[' between two utterances indicates that they overlap. The sign '=' marks partial overlapping between the end of a turn and the beginning of another. Utterances appear between parentheses when I am not sure of the accuracy of the transcription. Three periods between parentheses '(…)' mean that it was impossible to ascertain what the speaker said. A hiatus of any kind in the speech flow is marked by '-'. A pause is indicated by parentheses '()'. A number between parentheses '(1.4)' shows the length of the pause (in seconds and tenths of seconds). Words or utterances underlined mark that this portion is perceived as salient (strong primary stress, or high pitch, or uttered with a louder voice, etc.). Lengthening is indicated by ':' after a vowel or a consonant. The construction relevant for the analysis is shown in **bold characters**.

Translation:
A: lactophilous are with the lacta - <u>lactobacillus</u>. They are
                                    [
M: ah, to prepare the yoghurt. **Cla:ro**.[3]
                                                [
A: um lactobacillus, they are
     - the little bugs that yoghurt has
                        [
M: **<u>cla::ro</u>**

In (1) *claro* has an adjectival use, in (2) in its first occurrence it is utilized to point out that speaker M understands, in its second occurrence it indicates that speaker M agrees with speaker A.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, I will attempt to trace the path of the evolution of *claro* from adjective to discourse particle. Second, I will show the consequences of this evolution for the theory of grammaticalization. The analysis is based on a corpus of twenty hours of informal conversations encompassing middle-class Rioplatense speakers natives of La Plata, Argentina. From this corpus, I analyzed two hours of conversations. Five speakers are involved. The total number of tokens is 208. I also did a preliminary concordance with a corpus of texts from the 13th to the 19th Centuries (Davies 2002). The portion of the corpus that I consulted contains 1,654 texts with 79,715,000 words.[4]

2. The evolution of *claro*

The lexical form *claro* comes from the Latin adjective *clarus*, which already had extended its meaning, as seen in (3):

(3) **clarus clara clarum**: bright, loud, distinct, certain, known, illustrius (Blánquez Fraile 1961, Facciolatus and Forcellinus 1828, Oxford 1984, Thesaurus 1907).

In Spanish, the discursive use of *claro* originates in its meaning 'luminous', registered in the Real Academia Española (1956) and Moliner (1994) dictionaries, shown in (4):

(4) bañado de luz 'covered with light' (Real Academia Española 1956)
   con luz o con mucha luz 'with light or with plenty of light' (Moliner 1994).

I hypothesize that the evolution of *claro* from adjective to discourse marker has followed the path illustrated by Figure 1 below. This hypothesis is based on the observation that semantic change generally proceeds from concrete to abstract, in the sense that the human mind utilizes concrete meanings to express novel, more abstract ones (Heine et al. 1991). For this reason, I postulate the concept *luminous* at the origin of the evolution. In any case, both the concept of *luminous* and the concept of *evident* were already present in Latin and very probably both passed into Spanish. Therefore, to absolutely prove the first three stages of the evolution, a meticulous diachronic text-based study should be performed in Latin. In addition, to definitely establish that the proposed evolution of *claro* discourse marker is correct (the stages that follow the phase *concept evident*), we would need records of oral exchanges from the 19th Century, when the first token of discursive use is recorded (example (5) below). Notice that written accounts of oral use, such as plays, only reflect the author's intuition and may not be the appropriate tool to verify subtle changes, for instance that the sense of *agreement* arises before the sense of *acknowledge receipt* (Figure 1). The only definite data

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[3] As a discourse particle, *claro* may have many translations in English, depending on the context. This may cause confusion in locating it in the text. Consequently, I have chosen not to translate it.

[4] The sources that the Davies (2002) corpus lists for this period are: the *Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, *Archivo Digital de Manuscritos y Textos Españoles*, *Biblioteca Virtual*, *Gonzalo de Berceo: Obras Completas*, *Comedia (University of Arizona)*, and *Proyecto Filosofía en español*.

available consists of an array of discursive uses of *claro* in conversations by middle-class rioplatense speakers in 1986. My hypothesis is clearly extrapolated from this present-day data.
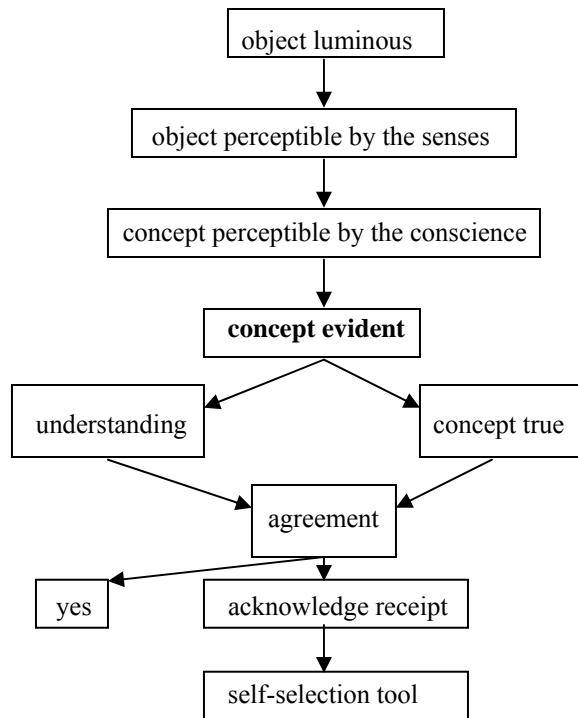

Figure 1: The evolution of *claro*

I conjecture that the evolution schematized by Figure 1 has the following motivation. An object under lots of light is easily perceptible by the senses. This process of perception of objects is then transferred to the perception of concepts. A concept easily perceived by the conscience is therefore evident. It is from this concept of *evident*[5] that the discourse use of *claro* arises. The feature of *evident* is present in all further steps of the process of discursivization (with the exception, perhaps, of the last one)[6]. A concept that is evident is understood without difficulty. It is very suggestive that the first discursive use of *claro* that appears in the concordance conveys that a concept is evident and also it conveys understanding. It comes out in a comedy, *El médico a palos*, an imitation of Molière's *Le médecin malgré soi* (1648), published in Valencia in 1815:

(5) Bartolo: ¿Come bien?
Don Gerónimo: Sí señor, con bastante apetito.
Bartolo: ¡Malo!... ¿Duerme?
Juliana: Sí señor, unas ocho u nueve horas suele dormir regularmente.
Bartolo: ¡Malo!... Y la cabeza ¿La duele?
Don Gerónimo: Ya se lo hemos preguntado varias veces: dice que no.
Bartolo: ¿No? ¡Malo!... venga el pulso… Pues, amigo, este pulso indica… ¡**Claro**! Está claro.
Don Gerónimo: ¿Qué indica?
Bartolo: Que su hija de usted tiene secuestrada la facultad de hablar. (*El médico a palos, Acto II Escena V,* Valencia 1815).

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[5] This term is not to be taken as designating the semantic notion of *evidentiality*, which refers to the source of information. Although both concepts are epistemically related, *evident* here simply indicates that what is presented is easily perceived by the senses or by the mind.

[6] Notice that Martín Zorroaquino and Portolés Lazaro (1999) consider *claro* a discourse marker of evidentiality.

Translation:
Bartolo: Does she eat well?
Don Gerónimo: Yes sir, with great appetite
Bartolo: That's bad!... Does she sleep?
Juliana: Yes sir, she sleeps about nine or ten hours regularly.
Bartolo: That's bad!... Does she have headaches?
Don Gerónimo: We have asked her many times: she says no.
Bartolo: No? Bad!... let's see her pulse… Well, my friend, this pulse shows… **Claro**! It is
    clear now
Don Gerónimo: What does it show?
Bartolo: That this daughter of yours has her faculty of speech sequestrated.

Here, the character Bartolo indicates that the cause of the problem has become evident to him, that he now understands.

It seems that this process of discursivization, once started, has increased at a steady pace. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that in my rioplatense corpus, *claro* adjective has one token out of 208, therefore constituting only 0.48% of the data. The fact that 99.52% of the occurrences are discursive, suggests that the process of discursivization of *claro* is now at an advanced stage. On the other hand, although the first written record appears in the 19th Century, this does not necessarily indicate that the discursive use begins at this time. Notice Menéndez Pidal's (1950) observation that an element in the language may remain invisible for many centuries because it has not been documented. We must take into consideration that the incipient discursive use of *claro* is mainly oral, making it less likely for it to be registered in written documents. Precisely, example (5) represents a dialogue.

The discursive use must have developed from constructions such as *está claro, es claro, claro que*, etc. Probably a group of these constructions, and not just one, is responsible for the discursive development of *claro*. Table 1 lists these constructions and the date they first appear in the concordance.

Construction	Date
es claro que	13th Century
claro es que	15th Century
claro es	15th Century
claro que	15th Century
está claro que	16th Century
claro está que	16th Century
claro está	16th Century
es claro	17th Century
está claro	17th Century

Table 1: Constructions with *claro*

I will exemplify further steps of the evolution (as schematized in Figure 1) with data from the rioplatense corpus. In the rioplatense corpus, *claro* is also utilized by the speaker to indicate that she understands. Example (6) presents a dialogue between mother and daughter, trying to disentangle family relations:

(6) A: <u>ah</u> Isabel. Pero la Isabel era d era de - la <u>santiague:ña</u>.
   M: <u>no::</u>. <u>Delicia</u> es la santiagueña. Ella - aquélla era la que viven en calle ocho,
               [
   A: no (0.8) (...)
   M: (0.8) sesenta y ocho y ses
             [
   A: <u>no:</u>, Delicia es la del Ña:te.

M: la del Ña:te.
          [
A: la chica que se murió no <u>es</u> la hija de ella. No:, la chica que se murió es la de
                                                      [
M: no:, es la de Ñate.
A: Ña:te
M: Es la del Ña:te.
            [
A: la de Ñate. No era hija de ellos.
M: no no:
    [
A: ¿y ellos qué tenían, este:
M: a Graciela
A: Gracie:la
        [
M: Graciela y el chico que se llama Daniel. (0.8) Graciela que se casó.
                                         [[
A: **claro**.   **claro**, **claro**.
M: el chico no sé.
A: **claro claro.** Sí, ahora sí.   1b6
Translation:
A: ah Isabel. But Isabel was f was from - the one from Santiago
M: no:: Delicia is the one from Santiago. She - the other one was - those who live in Eighth
                      [
A: no (0.8) (…)
M: Street, (0.8) between Sixty Eighth and Sixt
                                [
A: no: Delicia is Ñate's wife.
M: Ñate's wife
        [
A: the girl who died is <u>not</u> her daughter. No:, the girl who died is Ñate's.
                                      [[
M: no:, is Ñate's.   is Ñate's.
                                                             [
A: is
   Ñate's. She was not their daughter.
M: no no:
    [
A: and who did they have, er
M: Graciela
A: Gracie:la
        [
M: Graciela and this Daniel boy. (0.8) Graciela, who married.
                                      [[
A: **claro**   **claro**, **claro**
M: the boy, I don't know.
A: **claro claro**. Yes, now yes.

In this passage, speaker A states that she finally understands. This is reinforced by A's statement *sí, ahora sí* 'yes, now yes [I understand]'.

    An evident concept may be seen as residing in the real endpoint of an epistemic scale. This next stage is shown in (7), where *claro* indicates that the utterance that follows is true and evident:

(7) L: después tendrás que llevarle alguna co:sa, nena
     M: ¿qué le podrás llevar para ella?
     A: no es necesa:rio, no:. Y si ella
                                    [
     M: pero alguna vez que viene.
     A: ¿eh? Claro=
     M: =para alguna vez que viene. **Claro**, de acá no hay nada lindo para mandarle. 1a10

     Translation:
     L: you will have to get her something, girl
     M: what could you give her?
     A: no:, it is not necessary. Because she
                                    [
     M: but when she comes to see you.
     A: ah? Yes=
     M: =when she comes to see you. **Claro**, here you can't find anything interesting to give her.

Speaker M indicates that it is true and known to all that where she lives you cannot find anything interesting to send as a gift.

In the next stage of the process, the speaker utilizes the 'understanding' and 'true and evident' senses[7] of *claro* to indicate agreement. This phase is exemplified in (8), a dialogue between two instructors:

(8) C: además, este, no se <u>controla</u>. Por ejemplo, hay tipos que <u>fa:ltan</u>, que faltan por cualquier
        co:sa, que - que llegan <u>t:arde</u>, que hacen esperar a los alumnos, y prote:stan los alumnos
        (porque si si) pagan en cuotas, no se <u>puede</u> hacer esperar a los alumnos.
                                                                               [
     F: **claro**   6b21

     Translation:
     C: besides, er there is no <u>control</u>. For example, there are guys who don't show up, who will
        take any excuse to be absent, who - who arrive <u>late</u>, who make students wait, and the
        students complain (because if if) they pay tuition, you can't make the students wait
                                                                               [
     F: **claro**

Speaker F expresses that he agrees with what speaker C says: that students, who pay for their tuition, should not be subject to instructors who miss classes or who arrive late. The senses of 'understanding' and 'true and evident' are here extended to indicate agreement.

A further extension of the 'agreement' sense is the utilization of *claro* to convey 'yes' after a yes-no question, as shown in (9):

(9) L: para darle a las <u>chicas</u> también?
     M: **cla:ro**. Alguna le voy a dar a Pepa. 1a8

     Translation:
     L: to give to the girls too?
     M: **cla:ro**. I will give some to Pepa.

Until this point in its evolution, *claro* has extended its reach from within the noun phrase to groups of sentences. However, the process develops further. The sense of 'agreement' is subsequently

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[7] I utilize the term 'sense' to avoid deciding if these are meanings or messages of *claro* (Contini-Morava 1995). However, it could be argued that the meaning of discoursive *claro* is the concept of 'evidential', and that the other senses are messages that arise from the interaction of this concept with different contexts.

exploited to regulate the conversation. A first step in this direction is the utilization of *claro* to acknowledge receipt, as in (10):

(10)   C: yo no <u>soy</u> partidario del muerto olvida:do, no: no: no:. A mí, los muertos, yo me
       acuerdo. Los muertos que yo apre:cio - aprecié, yo los - revi - para mí viven en - en - en
       la memoria yo los - yo los revivo. Yo no, este:, yo no no - no <u>quiero</u> olvidar.
   F: **claro**
   C: no me interesa olvidar. (1) Ahora si un tipo que no conozco, o que e se (…) la gente que
       uno ha aprecia:do, que - que: que: muchas veces - le han hecho favo:res a uno, lo han -
       le han dado prueba de de esti:ma, de apre:cio, así, por qué va a ser tan (…).
   F: **claro**
   C: usted dirá, ya está m - <u>misas</u>, no. No voy a la misa. Pero yo, yo, lo <u>gua:rdo</u>. Yo lo revivo.
   F: **claro** (2) en fin, jem (2) pero: (0.8) ¿y el único que se fue de la Alianza quién fue? Fui
       yo, ¿no? 6b15

   Translation:
   C: I am not in favor of forgetting the deceased, no no. Me, I remember the dead ones. The
       dead that I esteem - I esteemed, I - I revive th - for me they are alive in - in - in my
       memory I revive them. I don't er I don't don't - I don't <u>want</u> to forget.
   F: **claro**
   C: I am not interested in forgetting. (1) Now, if a guy I don't know, or who er has (…)
       people that one has liked, who - who who many times - had payed favors to us, who
       have - who have shown regard, consideration, these kind of things, why are you going
       to be so (…).
   F: **claro**
   C: you might say, there you go M - no, not Mass. I don't attend Mass. But I I I keep him in
       my memory. I make him alive again.
   F: **claro** (2) well, um, (2) but: (0.8) Who was the only one who left the Alliance Française?
       It was me, was I?

The sense of 'agreement' is still present here but is minimal. Speaker F is merely acknowledging receipt of C's utterances. We can see in this conversation that speaker F is not interested in what C is telling. Notice that in the last turn, F expresses a token agreement, and after two self-corrections and three silences he tries to introduce a new discourse topic.

A further step towards the regulation of conversation is the utilization of *claro* as a self-selection tool. This is shown in example (11). Here, speakers M and L comment about a shop owner who employs a worthless dependent out of consideration for two elderly aunts.

(11)   M: Le paga p siempre para ayudarlas a <u>ellas</u> que que tanto le habían hecho
           por él cuando vino de Italia.
            [
       L: **claro**, porque ellas a él lo han criado, se puede decir.   1b20
       Translation:
       M: he always pays the guy t to help <u>them</u> who had done so much
           for him when he came from Italy.
            [
       L: **claro**, because they had practically raised him.

In (11) *claro* conveys a token agreement, and is used as a tool by speaker L to secure the turn, as revealed by the overlapping between M and L's turns. The sense of 'agreement' is negligible and speaker L utilizes *claro* to self-select. Notice that her utterance overlaps with the utterance of speaker M.

3. Consequences for the theory of grammaticalization

There is a current discussion in the literature about whether movement towards discourse, as previously exemplified, can be considered or not an instance of grammaticalization. The answer is difficult because of the heterogeneity of the origin of discourse particles, which may lead to inconsistency (Travis 2005). I will try to answer this question empirically, and in a provisional and limited manner. I will take into consideration only the results for *claro*. Consequently, this answer is subject to a future empirical revision. I will first ascertain what grammaticalization is. Then, I will show the characteristics of the path followed by *claro* and list the similarities and differences with the process of grammaticalization. Finally, I will present my own hypothesis.

The classical definition of grammaticalization is the one of Kuriłovicz (1975):

(12)　"Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one". (Kuriłovicz 1975).

Consequently, classical grammaticalization, understood as movement towards grammar, takes the following path:

(13)　lexicon > syntax> morphology > zero

Since the process is seen as a movement towards grammar, then the crucial course of action to understand it is to ascertain what constitutes grammar. Trask (1993) gives the following definition:

(14)　"1.　The system by which the words and morphemes of a language are organized into larger units, particularly into sentences, perceived as existing independently of any attempt at describing it.
　　2.　A particular description of such a system, as embodied in a set of rules.
　　3.　The branch of linguistics dealing with the construction of such descriptions and with the investigation of their properties, conventionally divided into morphology and syntax." (Trask 1993:121-122).

There are two main concepts that underlie this definition. The first one concerns the area of study of grammar, which encompasses words, affixes, and the sentence, i.e. morphology and syntax. The second concept underlying this definition is the notion of *system* and with it the notion of *value* (Saussure 1973).

Furthermore, the notion of grammar has been considered a prototypical one. Prototypical grammatical elements tend to have the following characteristics:

(15)　Prototypical grammatical elements (adapted from Heine et al. 1991:28):
　　a)　They are more abstract than other concepts.
　　b)　They are synsematic: they acquire semantics by combination with other concepts. In contrast, non-grammatical concepts are autosemantic: they have meaning by themselves.
　　c)　They belong to closed categories.
　　d)　They are relational.
　　e)　They tend to form a system.
　　f)　They contribute to the structure, whereas non-grammatical elements contribute to the content.
　　g)　They tend to be encoded linguistically as nonlexical forms such as auxiliaries, prepositions, clitics, and affixes.

Grammaticalization may also be conceived as a prototypical notion. Lehmann (1985) lists the parameters in terms of which the state of the process may be determined. The more these parameters

are found, the more advanced the process is, and the more grammaticalized the form is. The parameters are shown in (16):

(16) Parameters of grammaticalization (Lehmann 1985:307-308):
   a) **Attrition**: the gradual loss of semantic and phonological substance
   b) **Paradigmaticization**: the increasing integration of a syntactic element into a morphological paradigm.
   c) **Obligatorification**: the choice of the linguistic item becomes rule-governed.
   d) **Condensation**: the shrinking of scope.
   e) **Coalescence**: once a syntactic unit has become morphological, it gains in bondedness and may even fuse with the constituent it governs.
   f) **Fixation**: the item loses its syntagmatic variability and becomes a slot filler.

I will now turn to the discourse particle *claro* and find out which features it shares with grammaticalization. The features in common with grammaticalization are listed in (17):

(17) **Similarities** between *claro* discursive particle and grammaticalization
   Claro discourse particle is:
   a) **more abstract**: object luminous > object perceptible by the senses >concept perceptible by the conscience > concept evident > concept true > agreement > acknowledge receipt > self-selection tool,
   b) **synsemantic**: non-adjective senses and functions listed in (a) are determined by the context,
   c) **relational**: may be utilized to relate an utterance to the previous context, like in (10) where it is employed to introduce a new conversational topic,
   d) may suffer **phonological attrition** in some contexts: [klá:h] for [kláro].

On the other hand, looking at conversational data, *claro* presents the following differences with grammaticalization:

(18) **Differences** between *claro* discourse particle, and grammaticalization
   a) Apparently *claro* does not belong to a system and therefore the notion of value is not present.
   b) There is no empirical evidence that it belongs to a closed class.
   c) Is not linguistically coded by the forms listed in (15g).
   d) Is outside morphology[8] and syntax. As a consequence, if it determines any structure, it is not syntactic structure but conversational structure (turn-taking, for example).
   e) If the accepted cline of classical grammaticalization is lexicon > syntax > morphology > zero, the development of *claro* takes a different direction, since its process is lexicon > discourse.
   f) There is no paradigmaticization: *claro* does not go inside morphology but outside syntax.
   g) There is no obligatorification. The choice of using *claro* rests solely on the goals of the speaker.
   h) There is no condensation. On the contrary, the scope of *claro* increases.
   i) There is no coalescence, since *claro* does not become a morpheme.

These observations are not totally new. Recent literature on this topic state that discourse particles share features with grammaticalization, but that there are also differences.

Currently there are four positions in the literature concerning the relationship between discourse particles and grammaticalization. Some authors include movement towards discourse within the process of grammaticalization without any change in this notion (Onodera 1995, Brinton 1996, Pinto

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[8] In the sense that *claro* is not an affix.

de Lima 2002). Another position is to expand the notions of grammar and grammaticalization so that they encompass movement towards discourse (Traugott 1995, Lenker 2000). The third position is to postulate two subtypes: *grammaticalization I* movement towards the morpheme, and *grammaticalization II*, movement towards discourse (Wischer 2000). A fourth position, which may be considered a variant of the previous one, is to postulate the notion of *pragmaticalization* (Aijmer 1997, Erman and Kotsinas 1993, Günthner and Mutz 2004).

4. Hypothesis

In my analysis I have tried to show that although *claro* shares characteristics with grammar and grammaticalization, there are also important differences, which make it difficult and even contradictory to assimilate this process to grammaticalization. This is evident if we consider that grammaticalization is a movement towards syntax and morphology, and that *claro* moves precisely to the opposite end: outside of syntax and towards discourse.

My hypothesis is that grammaticalization is part of a more complex process of change, schematized in Figure 2:
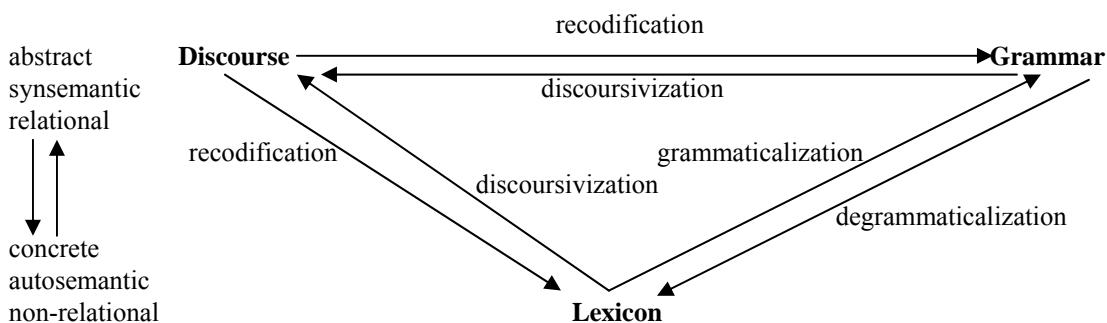

Figure 2 The process of change

In this figure, the lower vertex represents prototypical non-grammatical, and non-discursive items. I utilize the term *grammaticalization* to designate the diachronic process that goes from this point to affix and eventually to zero. *Degrammaticalization* designates the few cases of movement from more grammatical to less grammatical status. *Recodification* designates the movement that proceeds from discourse towards lexicon or grammar. An example of this process can be seen in the language Tiwi. Here, the discourse particle *apa*, which indicates that the speaker has not finished her utterance, may become, in some contexts, to be reinterpreted as a coordination marker 'and' (Mithun 1989:345). Finally, *discoursivization* is the diachronic process that ends in discourse and the one that *claro* follows from adjective to discourse particle.

This process of change may be considered as a movement between a lower vertex and two extremes. The lower vertex comprises concrete items, nearer human experience, autosemantic and non-relational. The two extremes comprise abstract items, removed from concrete human experience, synsemantic and relational. The movement towards the extremes utilizes a problem-solving strategy "according to which concepts that are more immediately accessible to human experience are employed for the expression of less accessible, more abstract concepts." (Heine et. al. 1991:51).[9]

This process, as conceived, has no obligatory cline. For example, a grammatical item that moves towards discourse does not necessarily need to pass through a lexical stage. Conversely, a discourse item may be recodified in the lexicon or in the grammar. I understand the process of change as fluid and not subject to restrictions.

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[9] In this view, it is possible to interpret that the process of subjectification (Traugott 1982, Heine et al. 1991, Silva-Corvalán 1999) –the process by which meanings refer less to objective situations and more to subjective/abstract ones– is a feature that both grammaticalization and discoursivization share.

To consider grammaticalization as part of a wider process solves some problems. The cancellation of syntax observed in discourse markers by Company Company (forthcoming), Martín Zorroaquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999) is consistent with the process of change shown in Figure 2. Moreover, the schema of Figure 2 complements the hypothesis presented by Givón (1979) about the diachronic change that motivates grammaticalization:

(19)   discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonology > zero. (Givón 1979:208).

Figure 2 indicates that what Givón presents as a single movement is composed by two processes: recodification and grammaticalization.

In addition, to consider discoursivization as a diachronic process that shares properties with grammaticalization but remains distinct solves the inconsistency pointed out before, and listed in (18e). Taking into consideration a wider context, similarities between grammaticalization and discoursivization are no longer problematic, since they can be interpreted as general features of the movement towards the extremes, which characterizes both discoursivization and grammaticalization

Finally, my hypothesis is in harmony with the observation by Hopper and Traugott (1993:86) that grammaticalization is part of a wider process of semantic change, which may be interpreted as a process of problem-solving. To conclude, this general process of change may constitute a path to explore in the search of universals of linguistic change, postulated by Haspelmath (2004:18).

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