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Polycategoriality, polyfunctionality and polysemy in the adverbial domain

*Polycatégorialité, polyfonctionnalité et polysémie dans le
domaine adverbial*

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Dossier

Introduction

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- 1 Les adverbes sont depuis longtemps l'objet de nombreux débats entre grammairiens et linguistes : cette notion recouvre un éventail très large et hétérogène de formes subsumées sous le même concept sur la base de l'intuition (Blumenthal, 1990 : 41). Dans une certaine mesure, la classe lexicale des adverbes est utilisée comme un expédient terminologique pour tous les lexèmes non liés et invariables des langues européennes moyennes standard (SAE). Même dans les langues SAE, l'étude diachronique de la dérivation adverbiale fourmille de phénomènes où des têtes nominales se transforment en affixes adverbiaux (en germanique et en roman), où des marqueurs de manière se transforment à leur tour en morphèmes formant des adverbes d'ordre supérieur (comme l'allemand *-(er)weise*), et où des marques flexionnelles se voient utilisées comme affixes permettant un changement de partie du discours (voir la discussion chez Duplâtre, 2024).
- 2 D'autres interfaces impliquent la distinction entre adverbes vs prépositions, adverbes vs marqueurs discursifs, adverbes vs particules, adverbes vs subordonnants, adverbes vs quantificateurs, et adverbs vs pronoms, déictiques et anaphoriques (voir König et Umbach, 2018) ainsi que par exemple la littérature considérable sur le statut de l'allemand *so*, dont Catasso [2023] fournit un aperçu récent).
- 3 La catégorie fonctionnelle des adverbiaux a été proposée pour pallier les insuffisances de l'adverbe (Nølke [1990a et b]) ou comme concept fonctionnel primaire permettant ensuite la définition des adverbes. Cependant, la notion d'adverbial se révèle aussi floue que celle d'« adverbe ». Pour certains auteurs comme Nølke, l'« adverbial » doit même être défini négativement. Il en résulte souvent que les adverbiaux de manière, les adverbiaux épistémiques, les adverbiaux évaluatifs et les adverbiaux circonstanciels sont regroupés sous une

même macro-catégorie : est-ce bien nécessaire ? Jusqu'où peut-on réellement combiner les caractéristiques syntaxiques et sémantiques dans la définition de ces classes fonctionnelles (Bonami *et al.*, 2004) ? Ces classes correspondent-elles réellement à des positions syntaxiques définies de manière fonctionnelle, ou s'agit-il d'airs de famille au niveau lexical ?

- 4 Ces questions sont encore plus frappantes si l'on considère le nombre d'éléments qui sont sémantiquement et fonctionnellement ambigus ou sous-spécifiés et qui peuvent être utilisés, par exemple, à la fois comme adverbe de manière et comme adverbe évaluatif orienté vers le locuteur (par exemple, en langues romanes, pour de nombreux lexèmes en *-ment* et *-mente* ; voir Guimier, 1996 ; Molinier et Levrier, 2000 ; Paillard, 2021, sur le français, entre autres). Faut-il parler de polysémie ou insister sur l'identité sémantique et renvoyer la variation à la syntaxe, en affirmant que la différence entre un adverbe de manière et un adverbe évaluatif, ou un adverbe circonstanciel et un adverbe de domaine (Charolles, 1997, De Cesare *et al.*, 2020), est en fin de compte une question de hiérarchie syntaxique qui détermine la portée de l'adverbe ?
- 5 Les implications de ces questions dépassent le domaine de la recherche sur les adverbes : La distinction entre adverbes et adjectifs, adverbes et prépositions, etc., est-elle tenable d'un point de vue interlinguistique ? Peut-on tracer une ligne de démarcation nette entre les catégories fonctionnelles dont relèvent les adverbes, comme le propose Cinque (1999) ? Comment distinguer la polysémie fonctionnelle, l'hétérosémie et la sous-détermination sémantique ? Existe-t-il des adverbes polysémiques ? Autant de questions qui méritent un examen attentif, que ce soit dans le cadre de l'étude d'une langue donnée ou dans un cadre contrastif ou typologique.

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English flat adverbs and adjectives

Adverbes « plats » et adjectifs en anglais

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Introduction

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Introduction

- 1 In addition to its notoriously heterogeneous membership (Quirk et al., 1985: 438; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 563), the English adverb class poses a further difficulty in that it traditionally includes words that have the same form as some adjectives. *Hard*, for instance, is analyzed either as an adjective, as in (1), or an adverb, as in (2), depending on the context in which it appears.

- (1) I was raised to believe that the American dream was built on rewarding **hard** work. (COCA, 1992, SPOK: CBS_Special)
- (2) They come in, and they work **hard** every day. And they get it done for their team. (COCA, 2018, NEWS: Omaha World-Herald)

- 2 These adverbs, sometimes called flat adverbs, have not been the subject of major reconsideration, whereas some authors have not hesitated to question the boundaries between certain English word

classes (see for instance the boundary between prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions, or between determinatives and pronouns, in Huddleston and Pullum, 2002). Words such as *hard*, *early* or *long* are far from isolated cases, as more and more adjectives can be used in contexts typically taken by adverbs, especially in informal English, as can be seen in (3).

- (3) “Not everybody can bust out of the gate and play great baseball every year,” Thompson said. “We haven’t played **great**, but we haven’t played **terrible**, either.” (COCA, 1994, NEWS: Denver Post)

3 In this example, the words *great* and *terrible* are used as manner adjuncts of the verb *played*, a function which is not possible for adjectives in traditional accounts of English grammar. As a consequence, these words are automatically classified as adverbs. Although informal – and sometimes even considered nonstandard –, the use of what looks like adjectives instead of their adverb counterparts is becoming more frequent. This raises the issue of the metalinguistic categorization of these words and of the relevance of the term *flat adverb*.

4 The article will begin by reviewing the complementarity between adjective and adverb in English and the difficulties involved in categorizing flat adverbs (Section 1). It will then outline a hierarchical classification method (Section 2) whose results will then be discussed (Section 3).

1. Adjectives and adverbs in English

1.1. Complementarity

5 In English, adjectives and adverbs are two established word classes that are systematically described together in major reference grammar books (Quirk et al., 1985: 399-474; Biber et al., 2002: 184-220; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 525-595; Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 236-249). This systematic pairing is not random, since most members of those two categories exhibit a formal and distributional link.

- 6 Among the 200 most frequent adjective lemmas in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), 83,5% can form a derived adjective in *-ly*. On the other hand, there is a non-negligible number of adverbs that are morphologically simple (e.g. *as, even, just, so, still, too, yet* among the most frequent), and these tend to be more frequent in every type of text except academic prose (Biber et al., 2002: 194-195). However, most English adverbial lexemes are complex and derived from existing adjectives through the suffix *-ly*.
- 7 These two word classes are also characterized by their complementary syntactic distribution. Indeed, adjectives and adverbs characteristically modify heads of different natures.
- (4) As a result of **rapid** / ***rapidly** growth, little more than half the population is of working age. (COCA, 2012, WEB: oecdoobserver.org)
- (5) According to Colonel Kim, the crowd grew **rapidly** / ***rapid** to about 1,500 people, mostly youths. (COCA, 1990, NEWS: CSMonitor)
- 8 As shown in (4) and (5), nouns (such as *growth*) cannot be modified by adverbs, and verbs (such as *grow*, here in the preterite form) cannot be modified by adjectives. Members of either class only modify words from specific classes and are barred from modifying each other's head types. The main distinction lies therefore "between adjectives, which modify only nouns, and adverbs, which modify all the other categories – verbs, adjectives, prepositions, determinatives, and other adverbs" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 526). It would therefore seem that the situation is simple: adverbs, even those which are not derived from adjectives, occur in syntactic functions in which adjectives cannot appear.

1.2. Properties of English adjectives and adverbs

- 9 Apart from the fact that they are syntactically complementary, the classes of adjectives and adverbs are also defined by their own distinctive properties.
- 10 According to Quirk et al. (1985: 472-473), there are four properties that are characteristic of adjectives:
- They can occur freely in attributive function (*a **hungry** child*).

- They can occur freely in predictive function (*the child is **hungry***).
- They can be modified by the degree adverb *very*.
- They can have comparative and superlative forms, either inflectional or through the use of modifiers *more* and *most* (*I am **hungrier** than ever*).

- 11 Quirk et al. (1985: 473) nevertheless recognize that there are adjectives that are more typical than others. While the adjective *hungry* has all the properties listed above, *utter* only has one (attributive function), which makes it a marginal member of this word class.
- 12 Adverbs are often harder to define because of their residual status. Some linguists (e.g. Quirk et al., 1985: 441; Biber et al., 2002: 193) only define adverbs through the fact that they can function as modifiers of diverse words or phrases (adjectives, adverbs, verbs, prepositions, noun phrases). Carter and McCarthy (2006: 242) add that among adverbs, many are gradable and many are derived from adjectives by adding the suffix *-ly*.
- 13 Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 563), who notoriously reduced the extension of the adverb class, also believe that the most important property to define adverbs is the fact that they can be used to modify all categories except nouns. The other characteristic that the authors put forward is that the class includes all the words that can have the same syntactic function as those that are derived from adjectives through the suffix *-ly* (e.g. *often* → *regularly*, *very* → *extremely*, *maybe* → *possibly*, *moreover* → *additionally*). Apart from that, adverbs are mostly distinguished from other word classes by their negative properties, i.e. by what they cannot do (for instance, they cannot function as a subject or a predicative complement).
- 14 There are other properties which are exhibited by adjectives, but which are not necessarily highlighted by linguists because they do not deem them to be defining or distinctive enough. For instance, many adjectives can be prefixed with *un-* (e.g. *unable*, *uneasy*, *unimportant*, *untrue*) to denote their scalar opposite, but this property does not seem to be salient enough to be used in grammatical descriptions. As a result, it will not be mentioned when considering typically adjectival properties in the rest of this article.

1.3. The issue of flat adverbs

15 Despite this division of labor between adjectives and adverbs, some linguists (Quirk et al., 1985: 405-406; Biber et al., 2002: 195-196; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 567-568) identify a subcategory of adverbs which have the same form as an existing adjective. These are sometimes called *flat adverbs* (Earle, 1871: 361; Gregori and García Pastor, 2008: 125; O'Conner and Kellerman, 2009: 30), as opposed to adverbs which are formed by derivation, especially through the suffix *-ly*. Flat adverbs are therefore adverbs which are homonymous with adjectives.

16 Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 567-568) make a distinction between three subcategories of flat adverbs. The first category comprises adverbs whose use is stylistically neutral: they are standard and can be used in any register. Among this category, the authors make a distinction between adjectives that do not have an adverb equivalent in *-ly* with the same meaning (e.g. *early*, *fast*, *hard*, *long*) and those that do but whose form in *-ly* cannot be used in the same contexts (e.g. *deep*, *loud*, *mighty*, *slow*).

(6) It's characterized by strong protections against firing workers and generous **early retirement** plans. (COCA, 2005, NEWS: CSMonitor)

(7) Me and my partner of 20 years have always planned on **retiring early** and do something we love. (COCA, 2012, WEB: <http://videocafe.crooksandliars.com/heather/you-want-raise-retirement-age-walk-mile-ou>)

17 Although the two instances of *early* in (6) and (7) are identical in form, the former is identified as an adjective based on its occurrence as a pre-head modifier of a noun, while the other is an adverb because it functions as the time adjunct of a verb.

18 The second category is constituted by flat adverbs which can be used in standard but informal contexts, and which could always be replaced by their version in *-ly*. The only example the authors give is the word *real*, which when used as an adverb – as illustrated in (8) – could always be replaced by the form *really*.

(8) Can I ask you a question **real quick**? (COCA, 2016, SPOK: NBC Today Show)

- 19 Finally, Huddleston and Pullum put forward a third category of flat adverbs which can only be used in nonstandard speech. In these contexts, the authors consider that the overlap between adjectives and flat adverbs is greater. Indeed, examples of flat adverbs from this category can be found in transcripts of spoken conversations, movie scripts, and blog posts – contexts in which informal nonstandard language can be often encountered. The word *quick* in (8) is an example, as is the word *serious* in (9) or the words *great* and *terrible* in (3) – in these examples taken from spoken sources, both are used as manner adjuncts, a function traditionally filled by adverbs.
- (9) This is about messaging. Which is really consistent with his approach here which is he is not unfortunately, he is really not taking **serious** the idea of running a country. (COCA, 2017, SPOK: CNN Tonight)
- 20 It seems that in those informal contexts, an increasing number of adjectives are used in syntactic functions in which adverbs are expected, especially the adjunct function. Since these are typically adverbial contexts, linguists assume that those words are indeed adverbs. But given that this is a growing phenomenon, and that in a nonstandard linguistic context we can expect any semantically compatible adjective to be used as an adverb, the boundary between the two categories is becoming increasingly porous.
- 21 While the traditional view is that flat adverbs have just been converted, i.e. zero-derived, from adjectives, an alternative point of view is that these words remain adjectives, but that their use was extended to certain typically adverbial contexts. Because in many languages some words can have functions typically occupied by adjectives and adverbs in English (which Hallonsten Halling, 2018, calls *general modifiers*¹), it is not unreasonable to consider that in English there is only one lexeme *serious*, *real* or *quick* which can be used to modify words from all categories. Cross-linguistics observations and the progressive systematicity of such a phenomenon in English could therefore make it unnecessary to posit the existence of two separate lexemes which would be specialized in modifying certain types of words to the exclusion of other words.

2. Method and results

2.1. Choice of the words analyzed

- 22 In order to see where flat adverbs lie on the gradient between adjectives and adverbs, only 37 flat adverbs recognized as such by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 568) were taken into account, including *real*. These adverbs are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: List of studied flat adverbs

<i>alike</i>	<i>early</i>	<i>high</i>	<i>low</i>	<i>scarce</i>
<i>alone</i>	<i>fast</i>	<i>last</i>	<i>mighty</i>	<i>sharp</i>
<i>clean</i>	<i>fine</i>	<i>late</i>	<i>next</i>	<i>slow</i>
<i>clear</i>	<i>first</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>outright</i>	<i>strong</i>
<i>daily</i>	<i>flat</i>	<i>likely</i>	<i>plain</i>	<i>sure</i>
<i>dear</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>real</i>	<i>tight</i>
<i>deep</i>	<i>fucking</i>	<i>loud</i>	<i>right</i>	<i>wrong</i>
<i>direct</i>	<i>hard</i>			

- 23 The view taken here is precategorical (Haspelmath, 2023) – the words listed are not considered to be inherently part of either category or to belong to two distinct categories depending on the context. Indeed, a word such as *slow* always has the same semantic content, whether it is used in typically adjectival or adverbial contexts. The only aspect that would play a role in positing two different lexemes for each form would not be morphology or potential modification, but syntactic distribution.
- 24 There are cases in English where syntactic distribution strongly correlates with morphology. Some forms can clearly belong to two or three different classes (noun, verb, adjective). The word *round*, for instance, will have different morphological possibilities depending on the syntactic context where it occurs:
- In verbal contexts, i.e. as the head of a clause, its possible forms are {*round*, *rounds*, *rounded*, *rounding*}.
 - In nominal contexts, i.e. as the head of a noun phrase functioning as subject, object, predicative complement or complement of a preposition, its possible forms are {*round*, *rounds*}.

- In adjectival contexts, i.e. in attributive or predictive function, its possible forms are {*round*, *rounder*, *roundest*}.

- 25 In other words, a single form can safely be assigned to several word classes if a difference in syntactic distribution also corresponds to potential differences in morphological marking. It is not unreasonable to posit at least three² distinct lexemes *ROUND*, which therefore exhibit heterosemy (Lichtenberk, 1991), based on the morphological possibilities triggered by the syntactic distribution of the form. On the other hand, whereas a form such as *early* can occur in very diverse functions which would be considered either typically adjectival (e.g. pre-head noun modifier, predicative complement) or adverbial (e.g. time adjunct, complement of *until*), it can inflect for grade in all those contexts.
- (10) I also want to ask about the title of your book; it's also the title of one of your **earlier** poems. (COCA, 2019, MAG: *Mother Jones*) [pre-head modifier of *poems*]
- (11) Vicente was **earlier** than usual that evening. (COCA 2000 FIC: *Feminist Studies*) [subject-oriented predicative complement of *was*]
- (12) "That's the same thing I saw **earlier**," he said. (COCA 2016 FIC: *Cabin, clearing, forest*) [time adjunct of *saw*]
- (13) I actually didn't even know that was the number until **earlier** in the year when somebody brought it up. (COCA, 2012, SPOK: *CNN Piers Morgan Tonight*) [complement of *until*]
- 26 As can be seen from examples (10)-(13), the typical context of use (adjectival or adverbial) has no effect on the possibility to use the comparative form or not. The morphology of the word cannot help decide whether these contexts require two different lexemes or not, and there is therefore no reason why *early* cannot be considered a single lexeme in all those contexts.
- 27 Rather, the analysis of the properties of the words listed in Table 1 will help establish whether each of them is closer to adjectives or adverbs in their current usage. As a baseline, words firmly established as adjectives and adverbs in a previous study of word classes (Delhem, forthcoming), and listed in Table 2, were added.

Table 2: List of words used for comparison

Established adjectives			Established adverbs		
<i>able</i>	<i>full</i>	<i>political</i>	<i>actually</i>	<i>finally</i>	<i>probably</i>
<i>available</i>	<i>global</i>	<i>possible</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>really</i>
<i>beautiful</i>	<i>great</i>	<i>recent</i>	<i>almost</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>recently</i>
<i>big</i>	<i>happy</i>	<i>serious</i>	<i>already</i>	<i>maybe</i>	<i>simply</i>
<i>different</i>	<i>huge</i>	<i>significant</i>	<i>also</i>	<i>nearly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>
<i>difficult</i>	<i>important</i>	<i>similar</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>never</i>	<i>soon</i>
<i>easy</i>	<i>large</i>	<i>simple</i>	<i>certainly</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>then</i>
<i>economic</i>	<i>new</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>especially</i>	<i>often</i>	<i>usually</i>
<i>financial</i>	<i>nice</i>	<i>true</i>	<i>exactly</i>	<i>perhaps</i>	<i>why</i>
<i>foreign</i>	<i>old</i>				

2.2. Properties analyzed

- 28 From a metalinguistic point of view, word classes emerge because some words are believed to have enough grammatical properties in common to be brought together under a single label that will facilitate linguistic description (Crystal, 1966: 25). It is therefore paramount to take into account as many grammatical properties as possible when deciding how words cluster together into a common word class.
- 29 Each of the words listed in Table 1 and Table 2 was therefore analyzed according to 100 distinctive phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties. The properties include those that are generally used to define and distinguish adjectives and adverbs (see Section 1.2), but also properties that can be used to make distinctions between other word classes of English. They can be grouped as follows:
- Number of syllables.
 - Stress pattern.
 - Internal morphological structure (e.g. has the form <X-ly>).
 - Possible inflectional suffixes (comparative and superlative forms).
 - Possible derivational prefixes (*dis-*, *in-*, *un-*) and suffixes (*-dom*, *-hood*, *-ish*, *-ity*, *-ize*, *-ly*).
 - Possible complements (preposition phrases, clauses).
 - Possible modifiers (comparative structure; noun phrase; adverbs *enough*, *right*, *very*; definite article; relative clause).
 - Syntactic distribution as a complement of a verb (subject of *be*, subject of a lexical verb; postverbal complement of *be*, *become*, *behave*, *give*, *go*, *last*, *need*) or a preposition (specified preposition such as *think* about; *until*).

- Syntactic distribution as a modifier (adjunct of a verb in front, central, end position; modifier of a plain adjective, a comparative adjective, an adverb, a preposition; pre-head and post-head modifier of a noun).
- Agreement with the verb if in subject function.
- Possible coreferentiality with a personal pronoun.
- Status as a positively-oriented polarity-sensitive item (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 829).
- Possibility to coordinate similar constituents.

30 Since word classification may be done by speakers over an unknown number of (mainly unconscious) criteria, none of these properties were weighted in order to make sure that no bias was applied to the study.

2.3. Hierarchical clustering

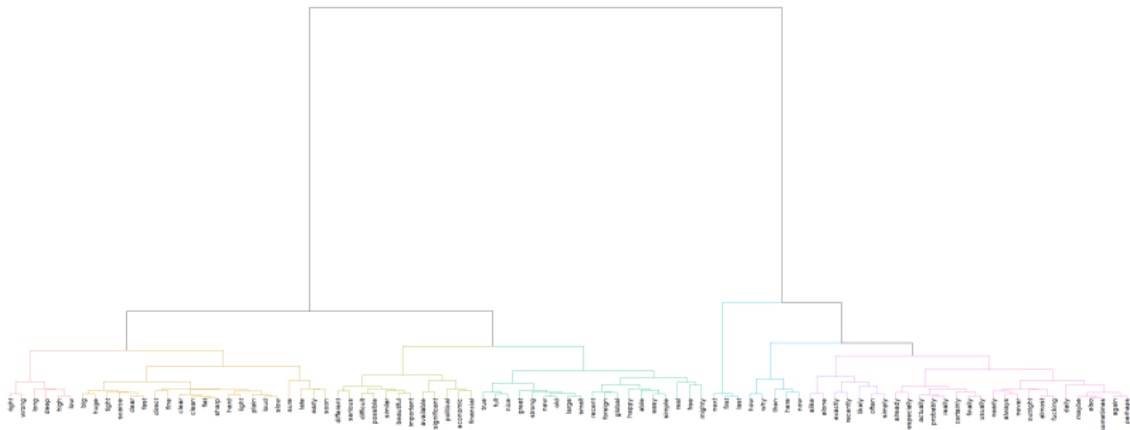
31 Once the properties of the selected words were transcribed in a spreadsheet, the *dist* function on R was used to determine the distance that each word had with the others. This distance should not be understood in the physical sense – it is rather a measurement of the degree of (dis)similarity between each of these units. Two words that behave in the exact same way will have a mutual distance of zero, and important differences in the morphosyntactic behavior of two words will translate to a higher distance between them.

32 Once the distance between each unit was determined, they were clustered in increasingly larger groups with the *hclust* function on R (Ward linkage). Agglomerative hierarchical clustering (forming increasingly larger groups) was chosen over divisive hierarchical clustering (breaking down big groups into increasingly smaller ones). This reflects the view that each word initially constitutes its own category, and words are then grouped with other words in larger classes if they share enough common properties. When clustering words together, the algorithm prioritizes words or existing clusters with the lowest mutual distance, until all words are part of a single cluster.

33 This kind of clustering method ensures that a word will belong to only one class in the end. It therefore yields clear results, with coherent resulting clusters comprising members that have at least some kind of family resemblance. The results of a clustering

algorithm are generally shown in the form of a dendrogram, as can be seen for our units in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Agglomerative hierarchical clustering of English adjectives and adverbs



3. Discussion

- 34 The dendrogram in Figure 1 shows two clearly distinct clusters. One of them (cluster A) includes all words that are indisputably adjectives (e.g. *available*, *difficult*, *financial*, *old*), while the other (cluster B) includes all words that are indisputably adverbs (e.g. *again*, *exactly*, *perhaps*, *sometimes*). This shows that it is indeed possible to make a clear distinction between those two classes in English. The cluster in which the flat adverbs under study lie will therefore indicate the members of which word class each of them are closer to in terms of grammatical properties.
- 35 A quick look at the dendrogram shows that most flat adverbs under study belong to cluster A. Only 9 of the 37 units analyzed are rather part of cluster B. This means that when one examines all the different grammatical properties of English units, words classified as flat adverbs have more properties in common with words belonging to the class of adjectives than with those belonging to the class of adverbs.
- 36 Table 3 below compares the properties that are exhibited by a majority of established adjectives and adverbs, which can therefore

be considered typical adjectival or adverbial properties, as well as the proportion of words belonging to cluster A which are traditionally classified as flat adverbs and which exhibit those properties.

Table 3: Proportion of words satisfying a given criterion according to its group

Property	Established adjectives	Established adverbs	“Flat adverbs” in cluster A
Complex morphological form	17%	63%	4%
Possible suffixation with <i>-ly</i>	90%	4%	93%
Occurrence in <i>as ~ as possible</i>	76%	19%	100%
Occurrence in <i>more ~ than</i>	76%	22%	68%
Modifiable by <i>very</i>	97%	26%	100%
Modifiable by <i>enough</i>	90%	15%	100%
Modifiable by <i>the</i>	72%	0%	36%
Subject of <i>be</i>	72%	22%	21%
Complement of <i>be</i>	100%	22%	100%
Complement of <i>become</i>	90%	0%	96%
Adjunct in front position	0%	74%	11%
Adjunct in central position	0%	81%	11%
Adjunct in end position	0%	70%	75%
Adjunct in detached end position	0%	74%	18%
Modifier of <i>good</i>	0%	74%	14%
Pre-head modifier of noun	100%	0%	100%
Post-head modifier of <i>something</i>	100%	0%	93%

37 When comparing most flat adverbs with typical adjectival and adverbial properties, their clustering with adjectives becomes less surprising. This classification is indeed mainly due to the fact that they have most adjectival properties:

- They can be suffixed with *-ly* to create an adverb.
- They are gradable, which means that they can occur in comparative constructions and be modified by degree adverbs.

- They can occur in attributive and predicative functions.
- 38 On the other hand, those words have only one adverbial property: three quarters of them can function as adjunct of a verb in final, non-detached position. This is somewhat in agreement with Huddleston and Pullum's (2002: 537) remark that nonstandard usage of flat adverbs is restricted to cases where they follow the head, i.e. the verb. Note, however, that this single property is logically not enough to move them over to the adverb class.
- 39 As mentioned above, only nine of those “flat adverbs” actually cluster with adverbs.
- 40 The three words *first*, *last* and *next* constitute a very coherent subcluster. They have a certain number of typically adjectival properties (attributive and predicative function, ability to function as head of a noun phrase) but lack other central properties that are characteristic of this class according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 528), namely gradability (**first enough*, **as last as possible*) and the ability to be in postpositive function (**someone next*). In addition, what could have led the algorithm to cluster them with adverbs³ is their positional flexibility: they can function as adjuncts in all positions (front, central and end).
- 41 The other six words belonging to cluster B are *alike*, *alone*, *daily*, *fucking*, *likely*, and *outright*. The typical adjectival and adverbial properties (or lack thereof) are indicated in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Properties of flat adverbs belonging to cluster B

Property	<i>alike</i>	<i>alone</i>	<i>daily</i>	<i>fucking</i>	<i>likely</i>	<i>outright</i>
Complex morphological form	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Possible suffixation with <i>-ly</i>	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Occurrence in <i>as ~ as</i>	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗
Occurrence in <i>more ~ than</i>	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗
Modifiable by <i>very</i>	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Modifiable by <i>enough</i>	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗
Modifiable by <i>the</i>	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗
Subject of <i>be</i>	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Complement of <i>be</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗

Complement of <i>become</i>	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X
Adjunct in front position	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X
Adjunct in central position	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Adjunct in end position	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓
Adjunct in detached end position	X	X	✓	X	✓	X
Modifier of <i>good</i>	X	X	X	✓	X	✓
Pre-head modifier of noun	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-head modifier of <i>something</i>	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓

42 What is important to note in this table is not the number of adjectival or adverbial properties. The word *alone*, for instance, exhibits more adjectival (5) than adverbial (4) properties. This is not necessarily surprising, since in this table there are more properties that are typical of adjectives (11) than there are that are typical of adverbs (6). While this may seem unbalanced, the situation calls for two remarks:

- In English, adjectives have more positive properties than do adverbs, which are often defined negatively, hence the frequent status of the adverb class as a residual category.
- The total number of typical properties considered and the total number of typical properties exhibited by a certain word has no incident on its classification, since *alone* was clustered with adverbs despite its higher number of adjectival properties.

43 In the end, this classification shows that what counts is not the number of properties, but rather what properties those words have that other words do not, and vice versa.

44 The reason why those six words cluster with adverbs is because they characteristically lack one or several of the typical adjectival properties that were listed above: gradability (*daily, fucking, outright*), attributive function (*alike, alone*), or predicative function (*fucking, outright*). Moreover, none of them can form a derived adverb in *-ly*. *Fucking* is unique among those words in that it does not have many positive properties, and only one of them is adjectival (attributive function). Another complementary explanation is that these words have typically adverbial properties that are not necessarily shared with other “flat adverbs”: all of them are morphologically complex, most can function as adjuncts in several positions (notably the central

position, which is uncharacteristic of other flat adverbs), and two of them can even be used as degree elements within adjective phrases.

Conclusion

- 45 If one considers that, for each of the words studied in this article, there is only one lexeme, the situation can be viewed in two different ways.
- 46 It is first possible to consider, as in this article, that the categorization of a given lexeme emerges from the set of morphosyntactic contexts in which it can enter into. In this case, each lexeme will belong to a single category (despite results that may appear counter-intuitive), although it can be considered an unprototypical, or even marginal, member of that category. For example, the adverb *alone* has a number of adverbial features, but not all of them, as well as a number of features that can be considered adjectival, which will not be the case for the other members of its class.
- 47 The other possibility is to consider that words have no inherent category – their categorization emerges in discourse depending on the morphosyntactic context in which they appear. In that case, the word *alone* will have adjectival or adverbial uses depending on its syntactic distribution in a given specific context. However, this solution implies determining a limited number of categories beforehand (which would include adjectival and adverbial uses, among others) and deciding arbitrarily that a given syntactic distribution corresponds to a predetermined category or use. This solution has not been preferred in this article, because it implies deciding arbitrarily on the reserved domain of a given class, usually using labels inherited from ancient grammatical traditions.
- 48 It is therefore safe to think, in light of the data presented and the emerging uses of some adjectives described earlier, that most words that resemble adjectives but function as adjuncts in final position are indeed adjectives and not adverbs. This way of categorizing “flat adverbs” allows for considering that there is an ongoing evolution among some adjectives of contemporary English. Under this view, a new possible syntactic function (adjunct of a verb in end position) is

being progressively opened to a larger number of adjectives without systematically and artificially positing a conversion from adjective to adverb. Besides, not systematically considering words in adjunct function as adverbs also makes it possible to preserve the relative orthogonality of the notions of word class and syntactic function (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 355).

- 49 The issue studied in this article also raises the more general question of polycategoriality in English. Some English word unambiguously belong to one class (e.g. *government* is a noun, *become* is a verb, *beautiful* is an adjective) while others are more flexible (e.g. *as*, *round*, *that*, *work*). Given the fact that words can easily undergo conversion in English and that word classes are not necessarily real outside their function in grammatical description, systematically positing heterosemy is not necessarily the most parsimonious explanation. It is hard to decide, however, if word classes are becoming increasingly fuzzy (e.g. the words *work* or *love* show that the boundary between verbs and nouns is porous in English) or if it is better to work with smaller classes of morphosyntactically flexible words (e.g. *work* and *love* are neither nouns nor verbs but part of a distinct class of words that can occur in more diverse morphosyntactic contexts). How the word-class system of English actually works is therefore a bit more unclear and there might not be a definitive answer to provide.

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1 An anonymous reviewer points out that the term *general modifier* is relevant for languages which do not make a difference between modifiers of nouns and verbs, which is not the case of English, and I fully agree with them, since typical adjectives and typical adverbs have clearly different properties. This should not, however, be a sufficient argument to posit two separate lexemes for (what is perceived as) adjectives and flat adverbs that share the same form.

2 Note that there is a fourth possible class, that of prepositions (which includes traditional adverbial uses), for which only the form {round} is possible, thereby excluding the other forms described.

3 Note, however, that a more general statistical analysis of English word classes including all ordinal adjectives (e.g. *second*, *third*) could conclude that they form their own coherent class (*ordinals*), distinct from both adjectives and adverbs. Some authors (Quirk et al., 1985: 74; Herbst and Hoffmann, 2024: 257) recognize the need to separate ordinals from adjectives, but prefer clustering them with (*cardinal*) numerals, rather than considering them an independent class.

English

The boundaries and the complementarity of the adjective and adverb word classes in English are blurred in standard English by the existence of a limited number of flat adverbs, i.e. adverbs that are homonymous with existing adjectives (e.g. *early*, *hard*, *long*, *plain*). Unlike what happened with other word classes, the status of these words as full-fledged adverbs has never been questioned despite their resemblance to adjectives and their limited syntactic distribution. This article analyzes 37 words traditionally recognized as flat adverbs in standard English through 100 grammatical properties, and compares them to clearly established adjectives and adverbs. A hierarchical clustering analysis shows that most of the words under study actually cluster with adjectives, since they have most, if not all, typical adjectival properties (-ly-suffixation, gradability, attributive and predicative functions), and only one or two adverbial properties (adjunct function in end position, and sometimes degree modifier of adjectives). It can therefore be assumed that most “flat adverbs” are not adverbs converted from adjectives, but rather adjectives that have one or two additional functions which are traditionally devoted to adverbs in English. This analysis preserves the orthogonality of word class and syntactic function, and accounts for the emerging use of an increasing number of adjectives in informal contemporary English.

Français

Les frontières et la complémentarité des classes adjectivale et adverbiale en anglais sont brouillées par l'existence en langue standard d'un nombre limité d'adverbes dits « plats » (terme traduit de l'anglais *flat adverb*), c'est-à-dire d'adverbes homonymes d'adjectifs existants (p. ex. *early*, *hard*, *long*, *plain*). Contrairement à ce qui s'est passé pour d'autres classes de mots, le statut de ces mots en tant qu'adverbes à part entière n'a jamais été remis en question malgré leur ressemblance avec des adjectifs et leur distribution syntaxique limitée. Cet article analyse 37 mots traditionnellement reconnus comme des adverbes plats en anglais standard au prisme de 100 propriétés grammaticales, et les compare à des adjectifs et des adverbes clairement établis. Une analyse de classification hiérarchique montre que la plupart des mots étudiés sont en fait regroupés avec des adjectifs, puisqu'ils possèdent la plupart, voire la totalité, des propriétés adjectivales typiques (suffixation en -ly, gradabilité, fonctions épithète et attribut), et seulement une ou deux propriétés adverbiales (fonction d'adjoint en position finale, et parfois modificateur de degré des adjectifs). On peut donc supposer que la plupart des « adverbes plats » ne sont pas des adverbes convertis à partir d'adjectifs, mais plutôt des adjectifs qui ont une ou deux fonctions supplémentaires traditionnellement dévolues aux adverbes en anglais. Cette analyse préserve l'orthogonalité entre classe de mots et fonction syntaxique, et rend compte

de l'utilisation émergente d'un nombre croissant d'adjectifs en anglais contemporain informel.

Mots-clés

adverbe plat, adjectif, classe de mots, partie du discours, catégorisation, classification hiérarchique

Keywords

flat adverb, adjective, word classe, parts of speech, categorization, hierarchical clustering

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Carrément en unité prédicative à prédicat averbal partiel : portée anaphorique résomptive

French adverb carrément as a predicative unit with partial verbless predicate: Resumptive anaphoric scope

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Introduction

- 1 Les adverbes se distinguent par leur invariabilité morphologique, leur facultativité et leur dépendance syntaxique (Riegel *et al.*, 2012). Cependant, leur capacité à modifier divers éléments de la phrase, tels que les verbes et les adjectifs, introduit une ambiguïté. Certains adverbes, comme *oui* et *non*, fonctionnent comme des « mots-

phrases », exprimant des actes illocutoires tels que l'acquiescement ou la dénégation (Riegel *et al.*, 2021). L'adverbe *carrément* est notable pour son usage en tant qu'« emploi absolu », concept abordé par des études antérieures (Rouanne, 2013 ; Álvarez-Prendes¹, 2021 ; Paillard, 2021). Cet emploi, relativement récent, est apparu au xx^e siècle (Álvarez-Prendes, 2021) et n'est pas mentionné dans les travaux de Schlyter (2000) ou Guimier (1996). Lorsqu'il répond de manière autonome, *carrément* s'apparente aux « modaux » (Molinier et Levrier, 2000), qui expriment des jugements de certitude.

- 2 Molinier et Levrier (2000) notent qu'un énoncé avec un adverbe modal peut être reformulé par un adjectif dérivé, sous les formes *Que P soit Adj.* ou *Il est Adj. que P.* mais *carrément* ne suit pas cette logique comme dans l'exemple (1).

(1)

ENQ: 0:02:36 et vous êtes contents du déménagement [pause] ou vous préféreriez
▶ le troisième^a

Spk1^b: 0:02:40 moi euh carrément je suis content du déménagement (CFPP2000_3e-2-
▶ partie 1-v2)

(1a) *Que je sois content du déménagement est carré

(1b) *Il est carré que je suis content du déménagement

a. Dans cet article, l'auteur fait le choix de conserver l'orthographe du texte d'origine pour tous les exemples cités.

b. L'auteur a modifié la désignation du locuteur interviewé en la remplaçant par la forme neutre « Spk », mais uniquement pour les exemples tirés du corpus CFPP2000. Dans la transcription d'origine, les noms des locuteurs sont déjà anonymisés, prenant la forme de noms vraisemblables, tels que « Michel Chevrier ». Afin d'éviter toute confusion concernant l'anonymisation dans CFPP2000, l'auteur a choisi d'attribuer une nouvelle désignation plus neutre pour les locuteurs. En ce qui concerne les tours de parole de l'enquêteur, l'auteur a simplement conservé la forme « ENQ », qui indique clairement son rôle.

- 3 *Carrément* renvoie à un énoncé précédent tout en servant de réponse autonome à une question. Borillo (1976 : 78) note que certains adverbes modaux peuvent prendre une complétive *que P* avec une rupture d'intonation et une modalité exclamative (ex. : *Évidemment, que P !*). Cela témoigne de sa dépendance d'un énoncé préalable dans un dialogue.
- 4 Sur le plan sémantico-pragmatique, les études précédentes classifient *carrément* comme un « marqueur d'attitude énonciative » (Rouanne, 2013) ou un « marqueur discursif “commitment” » (Paillard, 2021), soulignant un point de vue plus

radical dans le discours. Cependant, ces descriptions sont moins applicables à des usages assertifs observés dans des conversations orales comme dans l'exemple (2), ce qui limite leur pertinence.

(2)

ENQ : 0:06:38 ► ici ça peut être un quartier encore et il y a un mélange

Spk1: 0:06:43 ► carrément (CFPP2000_3e-2-partie 1-v2)

- 5 Notre étude repose sur des corpus oraux de conversations spontanées, analysant la construction syntaxique et référentielle de *carrément* en tenant compte de l'organisation structurale des conversations (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980). Nous examinerons le lien entre cette unité isolée et les autres énoncés, suivant le cadre théorique des unités phrastiques en discours (Lefevre, 2014). Après avoir présenté notre cadre théorique sur les unités prédicatives averbales et leur autonomie, nous détaillerons les corpus et la distribution de *carrément*, puis analyserons son usage au cas par cas.

1. Cadre théorique

1.1. Segmentation du discours et unités du discours

- 6 Notre étude s'inscrit dans le cadre théorique des unités du discours de Lefevre (2021 et à paraître), en s'appuyant sur les analyses de Le Goffic (1993), Lefevre (1999), et Tanguy (2009) concernant la phrase averbale. La phrase est définie comme un segment syntaxique autonome, comprenant un prédicat et une modalité d'énonciation (assertion, interrogation, injonction)², formant ainsi une unité de discours prédicative.
- 7 Le prédicat peut être verbal ou averbal. Contrairement au prédicat et à la modalité d'énonciation, le sujet n'est pas indispensable et peut être explicite ou implicite (Lefevre, 1999 : 28-29). Lefevre (2021 et à paraître) identifie également des unités de discours non prédicatives (périphériques) qui se greffent aux unités de discours prédicatives, telles que les « circonstants de phrase (extraprédicatifs) ». D'après

l'autrice, les marqueurs discursifs jouent un rôle dans la segmentation du discours en apparaissant aux frontières de l'unité prédicative.

1.2. Unité prédicative averbale partiellement autonome

- 8 Dans cette étude, nous considérons que l'énoncé avec *carrément* fait partie d'une « unité de discours prédicative averbale partiellement autonome » (Lefevre, 2016a et à paraître). Un segment sans verbe peut constituer une base prédicative et fonctionner de manière autonome (Tanguy, 2009 : 5), comme dans notre cas.

(3)

BD 343MER: (...) ^a bah elle sera contente c'est bien ^{0:23:14} ▶

BD 343FEM: ^{0:23:15} ▶ *carrément* (ESLO2_REPAS_1330)

a. Les points de suspension entre parenthèses – « (...) » – ne figurent pas dans la transcription originale : ils ont été ajoutés par des soins de l'auteur afin d'indiquer l'abrègement de certains passages trop longs, sans toutefois retrancher d'éléments essentiels à la compréhension de la séquence *carrément*.

- 9 Dans cet exemple, *carrément* est un prédicat averbal partiel, lié à une unité prédicative antérieure par anaphore, et complète le sens en renvoyant à (*elle sera contente*) *c'est bien*.

- 10 Lefevre (à paraître) donne un exemple similaire avec *heureusement* :

(4) Maintenant on n'est plus fâchées. *Heureusement*. Je la connais depuis si longtemps, on a fait les quatre cents coups ensemble et tant d'autres choses, on ne peut pas rester fâchées, mais ce n'est plus vraiment la même chose. (cit. Lefevre, à paraître : Frantext^a, Akerman, *Ma mère rit*, 2013)

a. Cet extrait a été recueilli depuis la base de données Frantext et cité dans Lefevre (à paraître). Frantext est une base de données du français écrit, rassemblant notamment des textes littéraires.

- 11 Elle propose une paraphrase de cette structure sous forme clivée avec une complétive :

(4a) Heureusement qu'on n'est plus fâchées.

- 12 Contrairement à *heureusement* dans l'exemple (4), *carrément* ne peut pas être suivi directement d'une complétive. Dans l'exemple (3),

carrément renvoie non seulement au prédicat de l'énoncé précédent, mais également à toute la proposition. Il s'inscrit ainsi dans une « anaphore résomptive » (Maillard, 1974 : 57), qui renvoie à un énoncé plus ou moins long, souvent résumé par *ça*. En reformulant l'énoncé averbal *carrément* dans l'exemple (3) sous une structure clivée, on pourrait obtenir :

(3a) (C'est) *carrément ça*, que c'est bien.

- 13 Par ailleurs, grâce à l'anaphore résomptive et au changement de locuteur, la modalisation du locuteur sur la proposition récupérée se trouve neutralisée. Cette structure pourrait également inclure une « anaphore médiate » (Le Goffic, 1993 : 141), qui concerne les anaphoriques ni vides, ni directement anaphoriques, comme dans *X c'est... = ce (que X est) est*. Ainsi, *carrément*, dans cette unité prédicative averbale, pourrait être complété par : (c'est) *carrément ça*, que *P est*.

2. Analyse du corpus : méthodologie et distribution de *carrément*

2.1. Corpus d'étude

- 14 Cette étude se concentre sur l'énoncé averbal formé par *carrément* à l'oral pour répondre ou réagir à un énoncé précédent. Nous décrivons sa construction syntaxique et référentielle, en tenant compte de l'ellipse partielle du prédicat et de son lien avec l'énoncé antérieur.
- 15 Notre analyse repose sur une annotation topologique effectuée via TXM-0.8.2³, appliquée à un corpus de 2 533 640 mots issus des données sélectionnées à partir de corpus oraux spontanés des années 2000⁴, comprenant ESLO2⁵ (1 823 220 mots analysés sur environ 6 000 000⁶, avec des enquêtes, entretiens, conversations commerciales, conversations à table, etc.), CFPP2000⁷ (521 170 mots analysés sur 535 000, composés d'entretiens) et CLAPI⁸ (98 811 mots analysés sur 2 500 000, constitués de conversations spontanées lors d'apéritifs, dans des commerces, en réunion et lors de visites guidées).

- 16 Nous avons retenu uniquement des enregistrements interactionnels et spontanés, en excluant les discours politiques et les lectures. Seuls les fichiers audios au format MP3 avec transcription via Transcriber⁹ ont été intégrés¹⁰, permettant de synchroniser texte et son pour analyser les contextes et la modalité d'énonciation, souvent absente de la transcription, mais confirmée par l'intonation et les éléments prosodiques.

2.2. Démarches méthodologiques

- 17 Après avoir importé les données dans TXM et constitué le corpus d'étude, nous avons effectué une recherche de concordance pour le mot *carrément*, identifiant 134 occurrences. Ensuite, selon des critères syntaxiques, nous avons réparti manuellement ces occurrences en trois catégories : *carrément* intraprédicatif, en unité périphérique et en unité prédicative, en isolant cette dernière, qui est celle qui nous intéresse dans cet article.

2.2.1. Carrément intraprédicatif

- 18 *Carrément* intraprédicatif, qualifié d'« adverbe de manière verbale » (Rouanne, 2013 ; Álvarez-Prendes, 2021), est intégré dans la phrase sans séparation intonative du verbe, formant ainsi un prédicat (Guimier, 1996). Selon Álvarez-Prendes (2021), l'usage de *carrément* pour signifier « de manière carrée » est presque obsolète, tandis que son sens de résolument reste possible, mais atypique. Dans notre corpus, nous n'avons trouvé que deux occurrences de *carrément* en position intraprédicative, avec les verbes *descendre* et *s'en foutre* (5) et (6), sans exemples correspondant à son sens initial.

(5)

HP 136: 0:02:48 ▶ ou alors vous descendez *carrément* 0:02:49 ▶ (...) (ESLO2_ITI_1089)

(6)

Spk1: 1:07:56 ▶ (...) puis après on a eu des profs qui s'en foutaient

Spk2: 1:08:50 ▶ oh non moi j'ai eu des profs

Spk1: 1:08:51 ▶ mais vraiment ils s'en foutaient *carrément* quoi (CFPP2000_SO-v2)

- 19 L'évolution du sens de *carrément* complique parfois la détermination de son rôle dans l'exécution du verbe. En niant d'autres séquences, on

peut clarifier sa fonction. Par exemple, dans (5a) et (6a), les expressions *pas à peine* et *pas un peu* éclairent le sens de *carrément*, tandis que dans (5b) et (6b), en niant *carrément*, on précise la phrase avec une séquence au sens opposé.

(5a) Vous descendez *carrément*, *pas à peine*.

(6a) Ils s'en foutaient *carrément*, *pas un peu*.

(5b) Vous *ne* descendez *pas carrément*, *mais juste un peu*.

(6b) Ils *ne* s'en foutaient *pas carrément*, *mais un peu*.

2.2.2. Carrément en unité périphérique

20 *Carrément* en tant qu'unité périphérique est souvent décrit comme un « marqueur d'attitude énonciative » (Rouanne, 2013) ou un « marqueur discursif de la série *commitment* » (Paillard, 2021 : 253). Il se positionne entre l'adverbe paradigmatissant, qui présuppose un paradigme d'éléments similaires (Nølke, 1983 : 19), et les marqueurs discursifs, jouant un rôle dans le renforcement de la relation entre P et P' (« connecteurs textuels » [Dostie, 2004] ou « connecteurs argumentatifs » [Ducrot, 1980 ; Paillard, 2021]). Dans ce contexte, *carrément* exerce une fonction de focalisation, mais n'est pas une unité autonome et apparaît rarement aux frontières des unités de discours, comme nous le définissons dans cet article (Lefevre, 2014, 2016a, 2021a, et à paraître).

21 En général, *carrément* se situe à la périphérie d'un segment intraphrastique, comme dans :

- Complément d'objet :

(7) Spk1: (...) on peut... visiter *carrément* quelque chose (...)

(CFPP2000, 7e-v2)

- Complément circonstanciel :

(8) PT 45: (...) on est parti *carrément* à Metz (...) (ESLO2_ENT_1045)

- Participe passé/verbe à l'infinitif :

(9) Spk1: (...) on m'a *carrément* arrachée le rétro (...) (CFPP2000_7e-v2)

- (10) Spk1: (...) elle l'a laissé *carrément* tomber (...) (CFPP2000_Ivry-v2)

- Attribut du sujet :

(11) Spk1: (...) Etienne¹¹ c'est *carrément* un capitaliste (...) (CFPP2000_3e-2-partie 2-v2)

- (12) YR399_DIA: (...) la porte du jardin était *carrément* cassée
 (...) (ESLO2_DIA_1226)

22 Bien que *carrément* segmente principalement les constituants internes de la phrase, nous qualifions cet emploi de « périphérique » en raison de l'occurrence où *carrément* apparaît en fin d'unité prédicative :

(13)

ch_PP 6: parce que moi je me rappelle de l - 1:23:22 ► les premières années euh c'était une
1:23:20 ► copine qui nous le photocopiait *carrément* (ESLO2_ENT_1012)

23 Le caractère périphérique de *carrément* est accentué par sa possibilité de suppression, restant syntaxiquement facultatif. Cependant, lorsqu'il est associé à une unité de discours autonome, cette unité ne peut être supprimée. À la différence de *carrément* en unité prédicative, cette unité périphérique reste prédicative et porte une modalité d'énonciation.

2.2.3. *Carrément* en unité prédicative

24 *Carrément* en tant qu'unité prédicative désigne les cas où il constitue une unité autonome avec une modalité d'énonciation assertive (14) ou interrogative/injonctive (15). Il peut se situer au début d'un tour de parole (14) et (15) ou à l'intérieur d'un tour (16).

(14)

BL 828: 0:01:24 et vous aimez bien en général le cinéma ?
►

RM 136: 0:01:26 *carrément* ouais (ESLO2_CINE_1176)
►

(15)

WZ 853: non sinon (...) soit je m'oriente vers un autre master 0:03:25 ► soit j -
0:03:21 ►

//WT 075: ah *carrément* ? (ESLO2_ENTJEUN_1234)
0:03:25 ►

(16)

KC 3: 0:59:50 ► (...) enfin j'ai vraiment l'impression quand même qu'ils ont 0:59:53 ► ils font de plus en plus de choses euh

ch_CD 2: pour la vie d'Orléans
0:59:55 ►

KC 3: 0:59:56 ► ► hm 0:59:57 ► hm hm hm 0:59:58 ► ouais 0:59:58 ► *carrément*
(...) (ESLO2_ENT_1003)

25 Il peut également être suivi d'une reprise de l'énoncé (ex. 17 et 18).

(17)

ch_CD 2: sur euh s- 0:33:30 ► notamment sur tout ça 0:33:31 ► sur euh
0:33:28 ►

BT 17: ouais notamment sur tout ça ouais 0:33:33 ► [silence 0:00:01]0:33:35 ► carrément 0:33:35
0:33:32 ► ► [silence 0:00:00]0:33:36 ► notamment sur tout ça m- parce que
(...) (ESLO2_ENT_1017)

(18)

ROM: waouh les bottes
0:34:18 ►

JUL: ben_[:] _[:] oui
0:34:19 ►

ROM: carrément les bottes (Clapi_Signal_aperitif__pois_Aperitif_pois_a52474e3b8)
0:34:19 ►

26 Lorsqu'il se trouve au début d'un tour de parole ou lors d'un changement de locuteur, *carrément* renforce son autonomie syntaxique (Lefeuve, à paraître) et évite un vide interactionnel. S'il est inséré dans un tour de parole, il est souvent entouré de pauses ou de marqueurs de modalisation comme *enfin* ou *je veux dire* (Lefeuve, à paraître). Même associé à un segment périphérique, *carrément* reste autonome, tandis que le segment associé est optionnel.

2.3. Synthèse distributionnelle de *carrément* dans le corpus d'étude

27 Le tableau 1 illustre la répartition des différentes utilisations de *carrément* dans notre corpus d'étude. L'usage de *carrément* comme adverbe intraprédicatif est rare, tandis que son emploi en unité périphérique est courant, et son utilisation en unité prédicative prédomine, justifiant une description approfondie.

Tableau 1 : Distribution de *carrément* dans le corpus d'étude

Type d'emplois	Nombre d'occurrences	Total
Adverbe intraprédicatif	2	2 (1,3 %)

Unité périphérique	Compl. d'objet	11	63 (41,4 %)
	Compl. circonstanciel	30	
	Participe passé/V. à <i>inf.</i>	6	
	Attribut	15	
	Unité prédicative	1	
Unité prédicative		87	87 (57,2 %)
TOTAL		152	152

3. Carrément en unité prédicative à prédicat averbal partiel

- 28 Nous avons identifié cinq configurations de *carrément* en tant qu'unité prédicative, en tenant compte des contextes discursifs et de l'énoncé précédent. Nous les analysons individuellement pour tester l'autonomie de *carrément* et appliquerons également la paraphrase en structure clivée proposée dans la section 1.2. : (C'est) *carrément* ça, que P.

3.1. Carrément assertif suivi d'une question totale

- 29 Lorsque *carrément* répond à une question totale, il est généralement accompagné d'une prophrase, comme dans l'exemple (19), ou d'une unité prédicative qui répond aussi à la question¹². Dans notre corpus, 90 % des occurrences de *carrément* sont suivies d'une prophrase.

(19)

FT 715: 0:00:07 ▶ bah merci beaucoup 0:00:09 ▶ euh vous venez de d'aller voir quoi ?

KL 672: 0:00:11 ▶ euh Intouchables

FT 715: 0:00:12 ▶ Intouchables 0:00:13 ▶ ça vous a plu ?

KL 672: 0:00:14 ▶ euh ouais moi *carrément* (ESLO2_CINE_1214)

- 30 Dans l'exemple (19), le pronom accentué *moi* démarre une nouvelle unité, segmentant *euh ouais* et *carrément*. Chacune de ces unités peut répondre à la question de manière autonome.

(19a) – ça vous a plu ? – euh ouais/*carrément*

- 31 Sur le plan syntaxique et référentiel, le prédicat averbal de *carrément* repose sur la proposition positive du locuteur, comme l'illustre (19b). Il ne peut pas reproduire l'unité prédicative précédente sous forme de complétive, comme montré dans (19c). C'est pourquoi *carrément* dans cette position est souvent précédé d'une prophrase, qui sert d'étape intermédiaire.

(19b) carrément, que ça m'a plu

(19c) *carrément, que ça vous a plu

3.2. Carrément assertif suivi d'une demande de confirmation

- 32 Nous examinons maintenant l'usage de *carrément* comme réponse à une question de type demande de confirmation. Dans ce contexte, l'énoncé précédent remet en question une information jugée connue ou probable, souvent marqué par une intonation non conclusive (voir Le Goffic, 1993 : 98), comme s'il y avait des éléments tels que *non ?*, *n'est-ce pas ?*, *c'est ça ?*, demandant confirmation (ex. 21). Parfois, il est également accompagné d'un marqueur demandant l'accord, comme *hein* (ex. 20). Contrairement aux cas précédents, *carrément* n'est pas systématiquement précédé d'une prophrase.

(20)

Spk1: moi je suis je suis je suis assez loin des marchés en fait finalement euh
0:41:02

▶

Spk2: tu es loin de tout hein [rire collectif]
0:41:05

▶

Spk1: nan mais c'est vrai nan c'est v- nan mais [suite de syllabes incompréhensibles] carrément moi je suis assez loin des commerçants (...) (CFPP2000_3e-2-partie 2-v2)
0:41:07

▶

- 33 Dans l'exemple (20), *carrément* peut se suffire à lui-même comme réponse (20b). Il est suivi d'une autre unité qui reformule ce que le locuteur a dit : *moi, je suis assez loin des commerçants...* Sa force prédictive est atténuée si *carrément* est omis (20a), car il agit alors comme un complément à l'énoncé : *c'est vrai* ou *carrément*.

- (20a) – tu es loin de tout hein ? – moi je suis assez loin des commerçants
 (20b) – tu es loin de tout hein ? – carrément
 (20c) carrément ça, que [je suis loin des commerçants] est = c'est carrément ça, que je suis loin des commerçants

34 Dans l'exemple (21), *carrément* est précédé de la phrase autonome *ah oui*, qui constitue également une réponse à la demande de confirmation.

(21)

ENQ: de ce point de vue votre lycée il est mieux
 0:50:32

▶

Spk1: ah oui *carrément* parce que nous c'est quand même un grand groupe où il y a des
 0:50:34
 petits groupes à l'intérieur mais dans l'ensemble tout le monde se parle et il y a pas
 ▶ d'histoires donc euh (CFPP2000_11e-v2)

(21a) – votre lycée il est mieux (non ?) – ah oui/carrément

(21b) carrément ça, qu'[il est mieux] est = c'est carrément ça, qu'il est mieux

35 Ici, *carrément* reprend une proposition déjà orientée par l'interlocuteur, utilisant une anaphore résomptive comme *ça* pour la résumer. Il établit ainsi un lien avec cette proposition d'une manière neutre, reflétant sa vérité avec une anaphore médiante, comme exprimé par *P est* (ex. 20c et 21b). La structure syntaxique référentielle créée par *carrément* peut être formulée comme : *carrément ça que c'(P) est = c'est carrément ça que P*.

3.3. Carrément assertif suivi d'une assertion

36 *Carrément*, en tant qu'unité prédicative, peut suivre une assertion faite soit par l'interlocuteur, comme dans l'exemple (22), soit par le locuteur, comme dans l'exemple (23). Dans ces cas, il sert à confirmer ce qui vient d'être dit.

37 Dans l'exemple (22), *carrément* apparaît au début du tour de parole, sans autre unité prédicative. Sa suppression serait difficile, car cela risquerait d'affaiblir l'interaction, laissant penser que le locuteur ignore l'affirmation de l'interlocuteur.

BD 343: mais tu sais euh les renards ils font des bruits chelou la nuit 0:47:47 ► on dirait un
0:47:44 ► mec qui gueule quoi

BD 343FEM: [rire du locuteur] carrément 0:47:50 ► [silence 0:00:05] 0:47:56 ► je vois encore la
0:47:48 ► famille d'écureuils moi le matin (ESLO2_REPAS_1330)

- 38 Dans l'exemple (23), *carrément* s'intègre dans les propos du locuteur, tout en étant clairement isolé des autres unités par des pauses et un changement de tour de parole. L'écoute de l'audio confirme que *carrément* se rattache à l'énoncé *c'est pas mal ça*, et non à *c'est super ouais* prononcé par JUL, puisque JEA dit *carrément* simultanément au *c'est super* de JUL.

(23)

JUL: (...) pis après on a fait des sorties ensemble très rapidement te es_[:] te es très complice en fait

JEA: 0:08:10 ► hm hm c'est pas mal ça

// JUL: c'est super ouais
0:08:11 ►

// JEA: *carrément*_[\] c'est
0:08:11 ► bien (Clapi_Signal_Aperitif__Chat_aperitif__chat_fafee7b5bb)

- 39 Examinons comment le segment adverbial *carrément* fonctionne comme une unité prédicative dans ces exemples.
- 40 *Carrément* reprend l'idée des énoncés précédents. Il joue à la fois un rôle d'anaphore résomptive, qui résume le propos, et d'anaphore médiante, reliant la proposition à une perspective neutre, centrée sur la vérité.

(22a) c'est carrément ça que les renards font du bruits la nuit est comme un mec qui gueule

(23a) c'est carrément ça, (que) c'est pas mal

- 41 Il bénéficie de l'anaphore résomptive, qui résume l'idée exprimée dans ces énoncés. En outre, il utilise une anaphore médiante qui relie la proposition reprise à une perspective neutre, axée sur la vérité. Comme dans le cas de *carrément* utilisé de manière assertive suivi d'une demande de confirmation (voir section 3.2), nous pouvons appliquer la paraphrase en structure : *c'est carrément ça, que P = carrément ça, que P est* (22a et 23a).

3.4. Carrément interrogatif/injonctif suivi d'une assertion

- 42 *Carrément* peut exprimer une modalité interrogative et/ou injonctive en réponse à une assertion précédente, soulignant ainsi la radicalité d'une proposition, souvent en compagnie du marqueur d'étonnement *ah ouais* (Vu, 2022). Ce type d'emploi, étudié sous l'angle de l'analyse polyphonique (Rouanne, 2013 et Paillard, 2021), se manifeste dans des exemples comme (24), où *carrément* met l'accent sur l'énoncé *je me mets sous mon coussin* en réaction à *je mets (quelque chose) sur ma tête quand je dors*.
- 43 Dans l'exemple (24), *carrément* constitue une unité autonome, capable de remplir seul un tour de parole, comme le montre (24a). Le segment *ah ouais* peut également fonctionner de manière autonome (24b), mais reste distinct de *carrément*, comme le prouve son ajout avec *enfin* dans (24c).

(24)

MQ 293: 1:03:04 ► moi je m'en fiche je mets sur ma tête aussi hein

BV 647: 1:03:05 ► ah mais moi je peux pas dormir avec quelque chose sur la tête

(...)

MQ 293: 1:03:14 ► des fois je me mets sous mon coussin

DR 381: 1:03:16 ► ah ouais *carrément* ? (ESLO2_REPAS_1260)

(24a) – des fois je me mets sous mon coussin – *carrément* ?

(24b) des fois je me mets sous mon coussin – ah ouais ?

(24c) – des fois je me mets sous mon coussin – ah ouais ? enfin *carrément* ?

- 44 Reprenons l'exemple (15). *Carrément* fait également office d'anaphore résomptive, renvoyant à une unité prédicative antérieure.

(15)

WZ 853: 0:03:21 ► non sinon je sais pas trop soit [souffle] 0:03:23 ► [silence 0:00:00] 0:03:24 ► soit je m'oriente vers un autre master 0:03:25 ► soit j-

WT 075: 0:03:25 ► ah *carrément* ? (ESLO2_ENTJEUN_1234)

- 45 Toutefois, il ne bénéficie pas de l'anaphore médiata, jouant ici un rôle de pointage vers un élément que le locuteur trouve radical.

(24d) carrément ça, que tu te mets sous ton coussin ?

(15a) carrément ça, que tu t'orientes vers un autre master ?

3.5. Carrément interrogatif/injonctif suivi d'un contexte situationnel

- 46 Carrément peut également exprimer une modalité interrogative/injonctive en référence à un contexte situationnel, comme l'absence d'une table dans l'exemple (27) ou le fait qu'un enregistreur soit dirigé vers le locuteur dans l'exemple (28). Dans ces deux cas, *carrément* conserve son autonomie en tant qu'unité prédicative, comme en témoigne l'impossibilité de le supprimer. Cependant, il est plus difficile de rétablir la structure complétive (*c'est carrément ça que P* dans ces contextes.

(25)

Spk1: [conversations de fond] 0:23:55 ► il reste pas de place 0:23:57 ► [conversations de fond]
0:23:55 ►

Spk2: ouais j'arrive 0:24:00 ► [conversations de fond] 0:24:06 ► ah il manque une table
0:24:00 ► carrément ? (ESLO2_ECOLE_1296)

(26)

HS 757: et c'est c'est anonyme 0:01:03 ► je vais juste par contre sortir 0:01:04 ► [silence 0:00:01]
0:01:01 ► 0:01:06 ► mon petit matériel 0:01:07 ► [bruit de bouche] 0:01:08 ► alors

XS 952: oh là [conversations de fond] 0:01:09 ► carrément enregistrée
0:01:08 ►

// attention hein je vais vous laisser le tenir (ESLO2_ITI_1172)
HS 757:
0:01:09 ►

- 47 Ici, *carrément* souligne la situation pour exprimer un étonnement, ce qui nous permet de paraphraser comme suit : *carrément ça* (déictique), [*description d'une situation*] » dans les exemples (25a) et (26a).

(25a) c'est carrément ça, manque une table

(26a) c'est carrément ça, vous voulez m'enregistrer ?

Conclusion

- 48 Cet article a examiné les unités averbales à prédicat partiel constituées de *carrément*, en relation avec le discours précédent. Sur le plan syntaxique, cette unité est autonome grâce à sa modalité d'énonciation et son prédicat averbal, mais elle dépend du contexte sémantique pour une interprétation complète. Nous avons décrit *carrément* comme une unité prédicative averbale partiellement autonome, se liant à une unité précédente par une anaphore résomptive.
- 49 Nous avons identifié une structure syntaxique récurrente pour *carrément* en tant qu'unité prédicative : (c'est) *carrément* ça, (que) P, où la complétive, bien qu'incorporée, ne constitue pas une unité autonome, mais donne une orientation ou une neutralité sémantique. Ainsi, *carrément* fonctionne de manière autonome tout en maintenant un lien avec une phrase antérieure.
- 50 Bien que cette étude se concentre sur *carrément*, d'autres adverbes en *-ment*, notamment les modaux, pourraient également jouer des rôles similaires dans des contextes analogues. Une analyse plus large de ces unités enrichirait notre compréhension des segments adverbiaux dans le discours oral, ouvrant de nouvelles perspectives pour l'étude des adverbes en interaction.

Conventions de transcription

//	Interruption et superposition avec le tour de parole précédent
?	Interrogations avec montée de la voix
un mi-	Amorces d'un mot
–[∨]	Chutes intonatives
–[/]	Montées intonatives
–[:]	Allongement
0:01:01 ▶	Début du segment sonore marqué via Transcriber.
[bruit de bouche]	Éléments extralinguistiques étiquetés via Transcriber

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- 1 Elle examine huit adverbes en *-ment*, dont *carrément*, fonctionnant comme opérateurs discursifs (*sérieusement, honnêtement, franchement, carrément, étonnamment, apparemment, décidément et seulement*) afin d'expliquer leur grammaticalisation. Il est à noter que seuls *carrément* et *décidément* peuvent constituer, à eux seuls, une réponse à une demande d'information ou une réplique.
- 2 D'après Le Goffic (1993), les trois facteurs nécessaires pour la modalité d'énonciation sont les suivants : le mode verbal (indicatif/autres modes), l'ordre sujet/verbe et l'intonation (ou la ponctuation) de fin de phrase.
- 3 TXM est un logiciel de textométrie *open source* qui nous permet d'établir des (sous-)corpus et de faire des requêtes linguistiques. Nous avons utilisé la version TXM 0.8.2, qui semble la plus stable parmi celles sorties jusqu'à maintenant.
- 4 Les données ont été recueillies depuis 2005-2006 pour CFPP2000 (voir Branca *et al.*, 2016), depuis 2008 pour ESLO2 (voir Abouda et Baude, 2006), et de 2000 à 2017 pour CLAPI (voir Baldauf-Quilliatre *et al.*, 2016). La base de données de ces corpus continue à s'enrichir au fur et à mesure du temps. Notre corpus a été sélectionné en 2022.
- 5 Enquêtes sociolinguistiques à Orléans.
- 6 Dans le document le plus récent, Abouda et Skrovec (2018), le nombre de mots enregistrés dans la totalité du corpus ESLO2 n'est pas indiqué. Selon Baude et Dugua (2016), le corpus ESLO2, en cours de réalisation, vise un objectif de plus de six millions de mots pour 450 heures d'enregistrements.
- 7 Corpus de français parlé parisien des années 2000.
- 8 Corpus de langues parlées en interaction.
- 9 Un logiciel *open source* de transcription qui nous permet de synchroniser les segments littéraires avec les segments sonores en indiquant

leurs locuteurs.

- 10 Certains enregistrements de ces trois corpus n'étant pas encore disponibles sous ce format.
- 11 L'absence d'accent reflète l'orthographe utilisée dans la transcription originale du corpus.
- 12 Dans notre corpus, nous avons constaté que l'exemple (2), déjà cité et examiné tout au long de cet article, contient *carrément* accompagné d'une autre unité prédicative, constituant ainsi la réponse à la question.

Français

Cet article examine le statut syntaxique du segment averbal *carrément*, souvent désigné comme « emploi absolu », mais peu décrit dans la littérature précédente (Rouanne, 2013 ; Álvarez-Prendes, 2021 ; Paillard, 2021). L'objectif est de fournir une analyse syntaxico-pragmatique de ce segment dans le cadre de la segmentation du discours (Lefeuvre, 2020). *Carrément* est présenté comme une unité prédicative partiellement autonome, dépendante du contexte pour une interprétation complète. S'appuyant sur un corpus de données orales spontanées (CFPP2000, ESLO2, CLAPI), l'étude met en lumière son statut syntaxique et sa structure référentielle en lien avec un noyau verbal ellipsé. Ce segment se manifeste sous différentes formes : adverbe intraprédicatif, unité périphérique ou unité prédicative. Selon son positionnement, il répond à des questions totales, confirme des demandes ou réagit à des assertions. L'analyse identifie une structure syntaxique récurrente : (c'est) *carrément* ça, (que) P, où la complétive qui suit reste en périphérie tout en enrichissant le sens de l'unité, permettant à *carrément* de fonctionner de manière autonome tout en le liant avec le prédicat.

English

This article examines the syntactic status of the verbless segment *carrément* (straightforwardly/completely), often referred to as “absolute use”, but which has been little described in the previous literature (Rouanne, 2013; Álvarez-Prendes, 2021; Paillard, 2021). The aim is to provide a syntactic-pragmatic analysis of this segment within the framework of discourse segmentation (Lefeuvre, 2020). *Carrément* is presented as a partially autonomous predicative unit, dependent on context for a complete interpretation. Drawing on a corpus of French spontaneous oral data (CFPP2000, ESLO2, CLAPI), the study highlights its syntactic status and referential structure related to an ellipsed verbal nucleus. This segment manifests in various forms: intrapredicative adverb, peripheral unit, or predicative unit. Depending on its positioning, it responds to yes/no questions, confirms requests, or reacts to assertions. The analysis identifies

a recurrent syntactic structure: (c'est) *carrément* ça, (que) P (That's straightforwardly/completely that P) where the following complement clause remains peripheral while enriching the meaning of the unit, allowing *carrément* to function autonomously while linking to the predicate.

Mots-clés

carrément, portée anaphorique résomptive, syntaxe de l'oral, unité prédicative averbale, prédicat partiellement autonome, segment adverbial, réanalyse

Keywords

French adverb *carrément*, resumptive anaphoric scope, syntax for spoken French, verbless predicative unit, partially autonomous predicate, adverbial segment, reanalysis

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From aspectual to degree quantifiers: Context expansion of *por completo* and *completamente* in Spanish and Portuguese

Des quantificateurs aspectuels aux quantificateurs de degré : expansion contextuelle de por completo et completamente en espagnol et en portuguais

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Introduction

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The data used in this paper is freely accessible in the indicated online corpora and

in the cited literature.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

The idea for this paper was born out of a discussion between KG and SK, with the initial impetus and original concept coming from KG. In the process of writing this paper, submitting it for review, and elaborating the final print version, the following contributions were made: KG wrote a first draft (version 1), which was then commented on and adapted as a second draft by SK (version 2). This second draft was discussed and emended by KG and SK together and submitted for review. After the review procedure, KG integrated the reviewers' comments and fine-tuned the theoretical basis, resulting in version 3 of the paper. Version 3 was read and commented on by SK, resulting in version 4. Version 4 was read and emended step by step by KG and SK together. SK read the resulting version (5) again, amended some minor errors, typos, and integrated some terminological fine-tuning. KG read this final version (6) once again. Both authors discussed it for a final time and concurred that version 6 was to be sent for publication.

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Introduction

- 1 In this paper, we analyze two intra and cross-linguistically cognate pairs of adverbials: Portuguese (Pt.) and Spanish (Sp.) *por completo* and *completamente*, both meaning ‘completely’ in both languages (for Spanish, see, e.g., NGL: § 30.8; GDLE: § 4.2.2.2, 37.6.5; for Portuguese, see, e.g. Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *completamente*). The Spanish and Portuguese adverbials are cross-linguistic cognates insofar as they are all based on the Latin deverbal adjective *complētus* ‘complete, in its entirety’. Furthermore, we consider that Sp. *por completo* is an intra-linguistic cognate of Sp. *completamente*, as well as Pt. *por completo* is an intra-linguistic cognate of Pt. *completamente*. I.e., the adverbial prepositional phrases formed by the pattern “preposition + adjective” (PA) are cognates of their derived adverbial counterparts formed with the suffix *-mente* (for this use of

the term “cognate”, see also Gerhalter and Koch submitted; Koch and Vecchia accepted; Mirto, 2018, 2022).

- 2 The adverbials *por completo* and *completamente* are synonymous, respectively, in Spanish and Portuguese. Moreover, they share the same functions in these languages, i.e., they are equally polyfunctional: they can be aspectual quantifiers and degree quantifiers. As aspectual quantifiers, they mainly modify verbs that denote telic, process-related events that imply an end (see GTG: s.v. *adverbio de aspecto*). For example, *por completo* and *completamente* indicate a resultative completion at a certain maximum stage or degree of the action/event expressed by verbs such as Sp. *cambiar* (examples 1 and 2) or Pt. *mudar* (examples 3 and 4), both meaning ‘to change’:

(1)	Es extraño, pero cierto. Entre 1914 y 1919 la vida cambió completamente [...]. Me desperté famosa en 1919.	(Spanish)
	“It is strange, but true. Between 1914 and 1919 life changed completely [...]. I woke up famous in 1919.” (CDH, 1997, Inmaculada Urrea: <i>Coco Chanel. La revolución de un estilo</i>)	

(2)	La brújula, dentro de su sencillez, es tan maravillosa que, cuando se inventó (o se descubrió su principio básico), llegó a cambiar por completo la estructura del mundo conocido, porque facilitó la seguridad en la navegación y activó los grandes descubrimientos geográficos.	(Spanish)
	“The compass, in all its simplicity, is so wonderful that when it was invented (or its basic principle was discovered), it completely changed the structure of the known world, because it facilitated safe navigation and made the great geographical discoveries possible” (CDH, 1999, Agustín Faus: <i>Andar por las montañas</i>)	

(3)	A revolução tecnológica recente mudou completamente a forma de trabalhar e permitiu novas formas de organização empresarial à escala global.	(Portuguese)
	“The recent technological revolution has completely changed the way we work and enabled new forms of business organization on a global scale.” (CdP, 1997, Thomas Malone, especialista do MIT)	

(4)	<i>Quando ele abriu a porta e fez entrar os hóspedes, a sua atitude mudou por completo: dirigiu-lhes um largo sorriso, deu-lhes as boas-vindas.</i>	(Portuguese)
	“When he opened the door and let the guests in, his mood changed completely: he gave them a broad smile and welcomed them.” (CdP, 1986, João Aguiar: <i>O homem sem nome</i>)	

3 Additionally, *por completo* and *completamente* are used as degree quantifiers, for example of adjectives, such as Sp. *solo* ‘alone’ (ex. 5 and 6) or Pt. *livre* ‘free’ (ex. 7 and 8). As such, they express a high or the maximum degree of a gradable property of the lexical unit in their scope (see Souza and Foltran, 2020):

(5)	<i>Mientras el tren permaneció allí tuve la sensación de que no estábamos solos por completo.</i>	(Spanish)
	“As long as the train remained there I had the feeling that we were not completely alone.” (CDH, 2002, Gabriel García Márquez: <i>Vivir para contarla</i>)	

(6)	<i>Me gustaba imaginarme sobre una duna en un desierto, completamente solo, como un indio o un cowboy</i>	(Spanish)
	“I liked to imagine myself on a dune in the desert, all alone, like a Native American or a cowboy.” (CDH, 1998, Patricia de Souza: <i>La mentira de un fauno</i>)	

(7)	<i>Meteu-se na grande orgia, para se convencer de que estava livre, livre por completo.</i>	(Portuguese)
	“He joined the great orgy to convince himself that he was free, completely free.” (CdP, 1910, Brazil, João do Rio: <i>Dentro da noite</i>)	

(8)	<i>É uma inclinação que me vem da infância e que acabou entrando em conflito com outra obsessão minha não menos intensa: a de ser completamente livre.</i>	(Portuguese)
	“It’s an inclination that comes from my childhood and ended up clashing with another obsession of mine that is no less intense: that of wanting to be completely free.” (CdP, 1961, Brasil, Eric Verissimo: <i>O tempo e o vento</i> , Parte 3, Tomo 2)	

4 In the present paper, we discuss the extent to which and the contexts in which *por completo* and *completamente* function as degree quantifiers, as well as how this secondary function develops

diachronically based on their original function as aspectual quantifiers. We also analyze if there is a change in syntactic scope (verb-modification vs. adjective-modification) and position (before vs. after the modified element). We will describe the diachronic evolution of *por completo* and *completamente* in terms of Himmelmann's (2004) *context expansion* on three levels: *host-class expansion*, *semantic-pragmatic context expansion*, and *syntactic context expansion*. We will also examine if there are *bridging* and *switch contexts* (according to Heine, 2002), or *critical* and *isolating contexts* (according to Diewald, 2002), respectively, in this evolution.

- 5 This endeavor raises further questions concerning (i) when this evolution occurred, (ii) if there are differences between Spanish and Portuguese, and (iii) if the diachronic developmental paths are similar for *por completo* and *completamente*. The latter, (iii), is of special interest, since diachronic studies on quantifiers so far have focused on *mente*-adverbs (e.g., on Spanish, García Pérez, 2022; Pérez García and Blanco, 2022; on Portuguese, Foltran and Souza, 2020). In contrast, the present study focuses mainly on PA, contrasting them with *mente*-adverbs. For example, the cognates can differ regarding the syntactic position: in examples (6) and (8), the degree quantifier Sp./Pt. *completamente* is placed before the modified adjectives (*completamente solo/completamente livre*), whereas Sp./Pt. *por completo* seems more natural after the adjectives (*solos por completo/livre por completo*), as in (5) and (7).
- 6 We draw on data from the Portuguese *Corpus do Português* (henceforth and in the bibliography CdP), as well as from the *Corpus del Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española* (henceforth and in the bibliography CDH) and the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI) for Spanish. Although we take into account both languages parallelly, the analysis of the Spanish data will sometimes be more detailed than the analysis of the Portuguese data, due to the fact that the two Spanish corpora, at this point, are more elaborate than the Portuguese corpus, e.g., when it comes to the exact dating of historical examples (CDH) and to fine-grained search queries of specific patterns (CORPES XXI). Also, CDH is based on a larger database (355 Mio words) than the historical section of CdP ("Genre/Historical": 45 Mio words).

- 7 This paper is structured as follows: We first present the theoretical framework of our study (Section 1) and then shortly discuss the etymology and the origins of the Sp./Pt. adjective *completo*, as well as the Sp./Pt. adverbials *completamente* and *por completo* (Section 2). In Section 3, we analyze the data provided by the corpora and look at the different diachronic steps in the evolution of the adverbials (e.g., regarding syntactic scope, syntactic position, and possible *bridging/critical* and *switch/isolating contexts*). In Section 4, we discuss the chronology of the assumed context expansion, the effect of whole paradigms of adverbs with similar meaning, function and syntactic position on an individual adverb's evolution, and semantic restrictions of the context in which the studied quantifiers can occur.

1. Theoretical framework

- 8 In (1.1) we discuss the distinction and the overlap between aspectual and degree quantifiers, and in (1.2) we present a framework for the role context plays in semantic change.

1.1. Aspectual and degree quantifiers

- 9 We follow the classification proposed by Kaul de Marlangeon (2002: 123-145), who considers aspectual adverbs a subcategory of quantifier adverbs. The *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (NGLLE), too, despite distinguishing between Sp. *adverbios de aspecto* 'aspectual adverbs' (§ 30.8) and *cuantificadores* 'quantifiers' (§ 30.4), observes that aspectual adverbs are, indirectly, also quantifiers (§ 30.4p-q). As for Sp. *completamente*, the *Gramática de la Lengua Española* (GDLE; therein § 37.6.5.1) sustains that, in some cases, it behaves like an aspectual adverb and in some cases like an *adverbio de grado* ('grade adverb', i.e., degree quantifier in our terminology).
- 10 The paradigm of aspectual quantifier adverbs in Spanish and Portuguese comprises mainly *completamente* 'completely', *totalmente* 'totally', *enteramente/inteiramente* 'entirely', *plenamente* 'fully' and *parcialmente* 'partially' (Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 158; NGLLE § 30.8; Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *completamente*). According to NGLLE (§ 30.8) and GDLE (§4.2.2.2; 37.6.5), these adverbs modify telic verbs with process-related semantics, i.e., verbs that typically denote a gradual

process with an inherent endpoint. More precisely, *completamente* and *por completo* modify such verbs in the sense that the action/event expressed by the verb is executed until completion, as in examples such as Sp./Pt.

cambiar/mudar completamente/por completo ‘to change completely’. Aspectual adverbs are therefore quantifiers insofar as they quantify the degree to which a telic process is completed, or designate that its inherent endpoint is reached (Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 141-142).

There is always a maximum or an endpoint in closed scales, e.g., if a work is completed, nothing else can be added, or if a glass of water is completely (100%) full as the result of filling it, no more water can be added without spilling it, i.e., the glass can never be ‘over-full’ (see the discussion in Fábregas, 2015: 249).

- 11 Furthermore, aspectual *completamente* modifies participles and ‘perfective’ adjectives (i.e., adjectives that are related to telic actions/events, see GDLE: § 37.6.5.2), and highlights the process-related ‘perfection’ or ‘completeness’ of the property denoted by such an ‘perfective’ adjective. This property itself is also supposedly the result of or caused by an underlying process still inherent in the adjective’s semantics. For example, *completamente limpio* ‘completely clean’ can be interpreted as the result of the telic, process-related event of cleaning (e.g., GDLE: § 37.6.5.1). This example, though, raises the question if, in such contexts, *completamente* basically simply remains aspectual, or if indeed a high degree reading (‘very clean’) is foregrounded instead.
- 12 In some instances, such as in *completamente loca* ‘completely crazy’, *completamente* does arguably not express aspectuality (GDLE: § 37.6.5.1), because the state *loca* ‘crazy’ is not gradually completed or reached, i.e., it is probably not the result of a telic process (though some might argue that, to be crazy, you need to become crazy). Instead, in these cases, *completamente* expresses mainly a very high degree, or the maximum degree, of a property or a state. It enters (the same is valid for *por completo* in such contexts) the paradigm of degree quantifiers that intensify (in the sense of high quantity or high degree) the semantic property/properties denoted by the modified element on a gradual scale (*intensificación del grado* ‘degree intensification’; see Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 132-134, 158). This paradigm of degree quantifiers is formed by adverbs such as Sp./Pt.

absolutamente ‘absolutely’, *increiblemente/incrivelmente* ‘incredibly’, *extremadamente/extremamente* ‘extremely’, *altamente* ‘highly’, *excesivamente/excesivamente* ‘excessively’, *fuertemente/fortemente* ‘strongly’, *enormemente* ‘enormously’, among others. These intensifiers are opposed to adverbs such as Sp./Pt. *escasamente/escassamente* ‘scarcely’ or *poco/pouco* ‘little’, which express attenuation/mitigation or diminution (Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 134, 158).

- 13 In principle, the semantics of the modified element (verb or adjective) determines the interpretation of *completamente* and *por completo* as either aspectual or as degree quantifiers. The aspectual reading with verbs is primarily foregrounded when the lexical aspect of the verb is telic. However, there are cases in which *completamente* and *por completo* are ambiguous between a reading as aspectual quantifier and a degree quantifier: depending on the broader context, Sp. *está completamente roja* ‘she is completely red’ may be interpreted either as the result of having blushed completely (aspectual) or as expressing a very high (momentary) degree of redness (GDLE: § 37.6.5.1). Other examples might be also interpreted as having both readings simultaneously. As the blushing/redness-example shows, the degree reading and the aspectual reading (completion of a telic process) are closely related.
- 14 In such ambiguous cases, the broader context of the sentence may help to disambiguate: e.g., Sp. *quedarse completamente solo* and Pt. *ficar completamente sozinho* ‘to be left completely alone’ are interpreted predominantly as aspectual (culmination of a process over time). Contrarily, in Sp. *sentirse completamente solo*/Pt. *sentir-se completamente sozinho* ‘to feel completely alone’, the foregrounded reading is probably, in most contexts, that of a high or maximum degree (‘extremely/very alone’). Similarly, Kaul de Marlangeon (2002: 142) states that, in sentences such as Sp. *La región está completamente seca*/Pt. *A região está completamente seca* ‘The region is completely dry’, the aspectual adverb indicates the final result of the gradual process of drying out over time. Contrarily, in Sp. *La región es completamente seca*/Pt. *A região é completamente seca* ‘The region is completely dry’ the state of being dry is not necessarily the result of a process, but the quantifier *completamente* expresses the maximum possible degree of the quality ‘dry’. This difference is

obviously related to the difference in the verbal semantics of the Sp./Pt. copula *ser* and *estar*, the former designating permanent states and the latter transitory ones.

- 15 To sum up, *por completo* and *completamente* are aspectual quantifiers if the element in their scope somehow expresses a telic process that develops over time and can be completed when a final maximum state or endpoint is reached. As degree quantifiers, in principle, they modify any element that has scalar semantic properties. However, as we will show, there are some restrictions for the use of *completamente* and *por completo* as degree quantifiers. These restrictions are based on the fact that the attribution of quantity is almost always implicit in the lexical semantics of adverbs that are used as degree quantifiers (according to Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 134). For example, Sp./Pt. *altamente* ‘highly’, apart from expressing the property of ‘high’ or ‘high above’, is also always, due to this lexical semantics, quantitative in nature. I.e., such adverbs potentially retain qualitative *and* quantitative properties in their lexical semantics (see also Hummel, 2012, on polyfunctional and polysemous adverbs).
- 16 Since, in the specific case of *completamente* and *por completo*, the aspectual and degree interpretations largely overlap, we sustain that they cannot be considered truly polysemous. Instead, the two interpretations (aspectual or degree quantifier) should better be considered contextual variants of the core meaning ‘complete’. Rather than speaking of polysemy, polyfunctionality¹ is a more appropriate term: *por completo* and *completamente* are polyfunctional regarding their adverbial functions (aspectual quantification vs. degree quantification) and regarding their syntactic scope (modification of a verb vs. modification of an adjective).
- 17 The interpretation as either aspectual or degree quantifier is not linked to a certain syntactic scope, i.e., both interpretations are possible with both verbs and adjectives in the scope of the quantifier. Therefore, an adjective, through its specific semantics, and depending on the context, can, for example, trigger either an aspectual-quantifier-reading (Sp. *dejar completamente limpio*/Pt. *ficar completamente limpo* ‘to leave/to become completely clean’) or a degree-quantifier-reading (Sp. *sentirse completamente solo*/Pt.

sentir-se completamente sozinho ‘to feel completely alone’) in the adverb that modifies such an adjective. Accordingly, a verb can also trigger either an aspectual reading, like in Sp.

cambiar completamente /Pt. *mudar completamente* ‘to change completely’, or a degree-quantifying reading, like in Sp./Pt. *ignorar por completo* ‘to ignore completely’, the latter not being a telic process, but a durative ‘state’.

- 18 Concerning syntactic positions, we adopt a scopal approach to adverb placement (Ernst, 2002), which allows for right and left adjunction, i.e., adverbs appear wherever they are ‘needed’, be it left or right of the modified element, and according to the syntactic rules in place for their specific type (adverb vs. adverbial prepositional phrase) in combination with the word class of the syntactic elements in their scope. We do not assume preliminarily fixed syntactic positions as advocated by Cinque’s (1999) cartographic approach.
- 19 In general, quantifiers in the Romance languages are usually placed directly before the modified element, except when modifying verbs, where they tend to be placed after the verb (Ilari, 2007: 161, 167-168 on Brazilian Portuguese). Similarly, Kaul de Marlangeon (2002: 126) states that quantifiers are pre-posed to adjectives, nouns, and adverbs, but generally post-posed to verbs in Spanish. As for participles, the quantifiers are pre-posed when the adjectival reading prevails, like in Sp. *totalmente aclarado* /Pt. *totalmente esclarecido* ‘totally clarified > totally clear’, and post-posed when the verbal reading is foregrounded, like in *aclarado/esclarecido totalmente* ‘totally clarified’ (see Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 126 on Spanish).

1.2. On the role of context and context expansion in language change

- 20 As largely discussed by many authors (e.g., Diwald, 2002, 2006; Heine, 2002; Smirnova, 2015; for a recent take on the matter, see Schneider, 2024), language change does not affect isolated lexemes, but lexemes in their context, i.e., as part of constructions (not necessarily in the narrow sense of Construction Grammar). To describe the evolution of the adverb(ial)s under scrutiny with regard to the context in which they appear, we follow the concept of

context expansion on three different levels, as proposed by Himmelmann (2004: 32-34):

- i. *Host-class expansion*: the class of elements a word co-occurs with (i.e., the host-class, e.g., proper names) may be expanded by new classes of elements this word can co-occur with (e.g., all nouns), leading to new collocational patterns (see also Coussé, 2018 on the *host-class expansion* of the ‘open slot’ of semi-schematic constructions).
- ii. *Syntactic context expansion*: the larger syntactic context and the position of a word may be expanded so that a word can occur in new syntactic contexts and new syntactic positions.
- iii. *Semantic-pragmatic context expansion*: likewise, the semantic and pragmatic usage contexts may be expanded.

21 In this paper, we consider as host-classes three different categories of words that are modified by the adverb(ial)s *por completo* and *completamente*: verbs, participles, and adjectives. The syntactic context under scrutiny is specifically the immediate syntactic context of the adverbials (e.g., *ser completamente seca* vs. *estar completamente seca*), as well as the position of the adverb(ial)s with regard to the modified element (pre-position and post-position). Finally, the ‘semantic-pragmatic context’, in this paper, refers to different semantic traits of the modified verbs, participles, or adjectives in a specific context, e.g., culmination of a telic process, perfective adjectives, or adjectives that denote a gradual property with or without a maximum limit, as we will discuss in detail. We aim to analyze whether *por completo* and *completamente* show *context expansion* over time on these three levels, and whether the three levels are interrelated.

22 Although developed specifically for grammaticalization, Himmelmann (2004: 33) states that *context expansion* is a general type of language change that is not restricted to grammaticalization. Similarly, Schneider (2024) adapts the model of different context types that have been postulated to play a role in grammaticalization (*untypical contexts* > *critical contexts* > *isolating contexts*) to other patterns of language change. In the same vein, we refer to these context types to analyze the evolution of *por completo* and *completamente*, without considering this evolution a case of grammaticalization. We do so, as the evolution from an

aspectual to a degree quantifier or the evolution from verb-modification to adjective-modification is not a change towards a more grammatical function. Moreover, several grammaticalization parameters postulated by Lehmann (2015: 129-188) do not apply in the case of the development of *por completo* and *completamente*: coalescence/bondedness, obligatorification, (positional) fixation, condensation of scope, and phonological attrition or erosion.

- 23 Concerning *untypical*, *critical*, and *isolating* contexts, as used by Diewald (2002, 2006) and Smirnova (2015), these concepts refer to the following successive stages:
- i. *Untypical contexts*: unspecific expansion of the distribution of the lexical unit in question to contexts in which it had not been used before; the new meaning may arise as a conversational implicature (Diewald, 2002: 103). This stage, called *extensional* by Schneider (2024), corresponds to the *host-class expansion* described above (Himmelmann, 2004: 32-34; Schneider, 2024: 316).
 - ii. *Critical contexts*: multiple structural and semantic ambiguities invite for several alternative interpretations, among them the new meaning (Diewald, 2002: 103).
 - iii. *Isolating contexts*: specific contexts that favor only one reading to the exclusion of the other(s) (Diewald, 2002: 103); when this change is completed, the new meaning is isolated as a separate meaning from the older one(s), and the paradigm that is the target category (to which an item via its new meaning belongs) is reorganized. The item has become truly polysemous (Diewald, 2002: 103).
- 24 This model partially overlaps with Heine's (2002) model of context-induced reinterpretation which focuses on semantic change. Starting with the initial stage (source meaning), he postulates the following stages: bridging context > switch context > conventionalization. One could apply Heine's (2002) terminology to classify the semantic evolution from aspectual to degree quantification as follows:
- i. *Bridging contexts* are ambiguous contexts (Diewald's *critical contexts*, 2002), where, in addition to the established source interpretation of a linguistic unit, a 'new', contextually inferred interpretation is possible, too (Heine, 2002: 84-85). Therefore, for our purposes, in addition to the aspectual reading, a degree reading can be inferred (e.g., Sp./Pt. *completamente limpio/limpo* 'completely clean', ambiguous between

‘clean as the result of cleaning’ or, depending on the context, ‘very clean’).

- ii. *Switch contexts* are very specific contexts that isolate (see Diewald’s *isolating contexts*, 2002) the target meaning from the source meaning, which is then ruled out in the end in this context (Heine, 2002: 85). In this case, degree quantification is foregrounded in specific constellations, e.g., Sp./Pt. *completamente loca/louca* ‘completely crazy’ in contexts meaning ‘very/extremely crazy’, as opposed to constellations in which the aspectual reading is present like in Sp./Pt. *volverse completamente loca/ficar completamente louca* ‘to become completely crazy’. In some instances of this stage (switch context), the degree reading is already the only possible interpretation.
- iii. The *conventionalization* stage is reached when the new interpretation becomes context-independent and can be used in contexts other than the ones characterizing bridging and switch contexts; the new interpretation turns into a ‘usual’ meaning (Heine, 2002: 85). If we assume this stage for *por completo* and *completamente*, then they should be able to modify any adjective with inherent scalar properties and could, syntactically and collocation-wise, freely alternate with other degree quantifiers such as Sp./Pt. *muy/muito*, *altamente* ‘highly’, *excesivamente* ‘excessively’, *fuertemente/fortemente* ‘strongly’, etc. (as we will see in Section 4.3., this is not the case).

2. General overview of the origins of *completo*, *por completo*, and *completamente*

- 25 Before analyzing the different steps in the semantic and syntactic evolution of *completamente* and *por completo*, we first need to look at the general diachronic panorama of the adverbs under scrutiny, based on historical linguistic dictionaries and corpus data.

2.1. The etymology of the adjective *completo*

- 26 The adjective *completo* in Spanish and Portuguese is a learned loan word from Latin (Sp. *cultismo*; see, e.g., Corominas and Pascual, 1996

[1980]: s.v. *cumplir*]), as it is in the other Romance languages and beyond, e.g., in English *complete*, or German *komplett* via the Romance languages, or via Middle/Renaissance Latin as a language of erudition. The etymology is Latin *complētus*, -a, -um, ‘full, filled (up)’, which is originally a past participle of the Latin verb *cōmplēre* ‘to fill (up), to complete’ (see Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *completo*; Corominas and Pascual 1996 [1980]: s.v. *cumplir*). Therefore, the original core semantics of *completo*, both in Spanish and Portuguese, refers to something that is totally and absolutely full and completed, and is therefore telic in nature, or linked to telicity. Hence, the etymological meaning of the adverbial cognates based on *completo* is the aspectual one. It, *completo*, means ‘completed’, in the first place, and only then, based on the first meaning, takes on the meaning ‘complete’.

- 27 The earliest use of *completo* in Ibero-Romance is the feminine plural form *completas* as lexicalized and substantivized ellipsis of *horas completas* ‘full hours’. *Completas* belongs exclusively to the religious discourse tradition and refers to the last prayer of the day according to the liturgy (Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *completa*). In Spanish and Portuguese, this specific use is documented from the (late) 13th century on in the corpora CDH and CdP. In this ecclesial, and especially monastic discourse tradition, Latin was always present, also when denominating the hourly structure of the day, which facilitated this (semi-)cultism.
- 28 According to Corominas and Pascual (1996 [1980]: s.v. *cumplir*), Sp. *completo* as an *adjective* is a later loan word. In CDH, *completo* is documented as an adjective, in other contexts than *horas completas*, only from the 15th century on (ca. 1464).² However, its hereditary, patrimonial cognate *cumplido* ‘fulfilled, perfected, accomplished’ (predominantly a participle, but also an adjective) is even attested already at the beginning of the 13th century: *conplido* (*Poema de Mio Cid*, 1140/1207), *complido* (*omne complido*, in the *Fazienda de Ultramar*, ca. 1200), and *cumplido* (*en [la] cumplida corte*, in the document *Cortes de Benavente*, 1202).
- 29 In Portuguese, the adjective *completo* appears later, for the first time in 1650, according to Houaiss et al. (2015: s.v. *completo*). This is consistent with the first documentations of *completo* in CdP in the 17th century. Again, the hereditary cognate *cumprido/comprido*

‘fulfilled/long’ is documented earlier (Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *comprido*): *comprjdo* (1279), *comprido* (13th century), *conplido* (13th century), and *cõprjdo* (14th century). Other variants documented in CdP are *cõplido* (15th century) and *complido* (16th century).

- 30 Unlike many other adjectives (see, e.g., Hummel, 2024: 404-412), *completo* is only marginally used as an adjective-adverb, i.e., with adverbial functions, but without any morphosyntactic markers of adverbiality like preceding prepositions or adverbial suffixes. In example (9), one of the few documentations in CDH, the aspectual quantifier Sp. *completo* modifies the verb Sp. *transmitir* ‘transmit’ and simultaneously conserves a predicative reading referring to the direct object, e.g., to the noun phrase *el empuje de los remos* (‘the thrust of the legs’):

(9)	<p><i>El ser ancha, recta y el estar bien unida á la grupa, son las bellezas absolutas de la region lombar, como que suponen condiciones mecánicas favorables á cualquier género de servicio. A ellas se debe el desarrollo, fuerza y resistencia de los lomos, como tambien la aptitud de trasmitir completo á las partes anteriores del tronco el empuje de los remos pelvianos ó posteriores.</i></p>	(Spanish)
<p>“Being broad, straight, and well attached to the rump, they are the absolute beauties of the loin region, as they imply favorable mechanical conditions for any type of service. They are the reason for the development, strength, and resistance of the loins, as well as for the ability to completely transmit the thrust of the pelvic or posterior legs to the front parts of the torso.” (CDH, 1881, Santiago de la Villa y Martín: <i>Exterior de los principales animales domésticos y particularmente del caballo</i>)</p>		

- 31 As a modifier of adjectives, the adjective-adverb *completo* is also very scarce, since such an adjective-adverb can always be misinterpreted as an adjective itself in most cases. Some exceptions can be found, though:

(10)	<p><i>D. Carlos.— Pues no hagas caso de mí. Yo soy completo francés, Alegre, vivo, ligero: ¡Vaya! Si no hablo, me muero.</i></p>	(Spanish)
<p>“D. Carlos: Well, don’t pay any attention to me. I am a complete Frenchman/I am completely French cheerful, lively, easy-going: Come on, if I don’t speak, I’ll die.” (CDH, 1845, Fernando Calderón: <i>A ninguna de las tres</i>)</p>		

- 32 But even in (10), the interpretation is ambiguous concerning the modified element *francés* ‘French’, since the latter can be either a noun (> ‘a complete Frenchman’), which can easily license *completo* as

an adjective in pre-position – and therefore *completo* wouldn't surprise in its adjectival form –, or an adjective (> 'completely French'), where indeed an adjective-adverb to the left of the modified adjective would be a rare attestation. One may suspect that this ambiguity is a factor for why such cases cannot be found too often in the first place.

- 33 Since the adverbial use of *completo*, as we have just seen, is marginal, we focus on the adverbials *por completo* and *completamente*.

2.2. The origins of the adverb *completamente*

- 34 The adverb *completamente* is formed by the feminine singular form of the adjective (*completa*) and the derivational suffix *-mente*. This suffix overtly marks the grammatical status of the word as an adverb. It is the most common way of deriving de-adjectival adverbs in the Romance standard languages except for Romanian (see Hummel, 2024: 413-418). This specific adverbial mark makes *-mente*-adverbs (*MENTE* in what follows), in general, highly flexible from a syntactic point of view: they can freely take almost any syntactic position in a sentence, and they can modify any syntactic constituent in Spanish and Portuguese (Martelotta, 2012; Raposo, 2013: 1600-1603; Company Company, 2014: 460-467; Company Company, 2018: 605).³
- 35 *MENTE* form a (semi-)open class, since almost any Sp. or Pt. adjective can be used as a derivational basis (e.g., for Portuguese, Basílio, 1998; Raposo, 2013: 1579-1580). From a diachronic point of view, *MENTE* are the result of a morphological univerbation of Lat. noun phrases of the type A + N, e.g., *SAN-Ā* (healthy-ABL.F.SG) + *MENT-E* (mind/sense.F-ABL. (F).SG) 'with a sound mind' > e.g., Sp./Pt. *sanamente* 'healthily' (e.g., Karlsson, 1981: 47, 142). Their functional and semantic evolution is widely analyzed in terms of grammaticalization (e.g., for Portuguese, see Pinto, 2008; Silva, Carvalho and Almeida 2008; for Spanish, see Company Company 2012a, 2012b, 2014).
- 36 According to the data in CDH, Sp. *completamente* is first documented in 1408, i.e., even earlier than the adjective *completo*. This means that *completamente* is created (supposing derivation) approximately at the

same time as the adjective *completo* (1464) itself is loaned into Spanish, as far as we can tell from the available data. This may suggest a prior parallel existence of both, obscured by the missing data from earlier centuries. The form based on the hereditary cognate *cumplido*, i.e., *cumplidamente*, is already attested in 1254.

- 37 In Portuguese, *completamente* appears three centuries later than in Spanish and is documented first in the 18th century in CdP. More precisely, according to Houaiss et al. (2015: s.v. *completamente*), the first attestation is from 1712. Once more, the patrimonial cognate, e.g., as *cõplidamente*, *conplidamente*, and *cumpridamente* (all 15th century), is attested earlier in CdP.

2.3. The origins of the adverbial *por completo*

- 38 The adverbial prepositional phrase *por completo* is an adverbial locution of the type “preposition + adjective” (PA), a productive pattern especially in earlier stages of the Romance languages (see, e.g., Hummel et al., 2019; Hummel, 2024: 418-422). In fact, as shown by Solari Jarque (2021, 2022), the PA pattern was already productive in Latin: for example, Lat. IN VANUM ‘in vain’ (cf. Pt. *em vão*; Sp. *en vano*), Lat. IN BREVI ‘in short’ (cf. Pt. *em breve*, Sp. *en breve*), and Lat. AD EXTREMUM ‘extremely’ (cf. Pt. *ao extremo*, Sp., today, *en extremo*). Individual PA-adverbials, as well as the productive PA-pattern itself, presumably were directly inherited by the early Romance languages (Hummel, 2019a: 147-148; see also García Sánchez, 2022: 7).
- 39 In the Romance languages, PA other than the inherited ones from Latin supposedly emerged as systematic and productive alternatives to adjective adverbs (even before *MENTE* appeared on a grand scale), enriching the inventory of Romance adverbials, from the Latin-Romance transition phase onwards, during the centuries of linguistic elaboration, at least until the 16th century (Hummel, 2019a: 156; 2019b: 308; see also Gerhalter, 2020a). However, beginning with the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, *MENTE* witnessed a steep rise in usage rates and productiveness (see Grübl, 2018; Bauer, 2003), and from the 17th century on, *MENTE* marginalized nearly all other types of adverb formation in the Romance standard languages such as Spanish

and Portuguese. While some PAs lost ground (mainly to *MENTE*), others continue in present-day language as lexicalized adverbials (see, overall, Hummel, 2019a, 2019b). Nowadays, PA are generally less frequent than their *MENTE*-cognates and other means of adverb formation/creation (see, e.g., Gerhalter and Koch, 2020, on Brazilian Portuguese).

- 40 The Spanish PA *por completo* fits in this general panorama, but, contrarily to *completo* and *completamente*, it is first documented in Spanish only in the 17th century (1645). It seems that this PA was productively created in 17th century Spanish, since no precursor in Latin (**PER COMPLĒTUM*, **PRO COMPLĒTŌ*, or any other combination with *COMPLĒTUS*) is documented in Solari Jarque (2021, 2022). If we took search results in CDH seriously, *por completo* would even be first attested already in 1485, or 1489, or 1507, but the years assigned to the corresponding tokens are erroneous. The attestation of *por completo* in CDH from 1485 is invalid, since it comes from a 1995 *regist* (i.e., a summary of the original document's content by the Modern Age editor), which precedes the edition of a document redacted between 1485-1488 (see Ser Quijano, 1995). The other two (supposedly 1489 and 1507) are also useless for diachronic research. The first is a translation of a 15th century text in Arabic (a letter from Boabdil to the sheikhs of Ugíjar), translated between 1898 and 1910 by Mariano Gaspar y Remiro and edited by Miguel Garrido Atienza (1910: 188-189). The second is extracted from a historical treatise from 1908 (Rodríguez Villa, 1908: XLVIII-XLIX), in which some few citations from texts of the 1500s are included, but the part that contains *por completo* is simply a text written by the 20th century historian. This leaves only two examples from 1645 as valid first attestations (see example 12 for the first one).⁴
- 41 It is very eye-striking that the first legit attestations of *por completo* come from America: 1645 Mexico (2 tokens), 1747 Peru (2 tokens), and other colonies: 1754 Philippines (5 tokens), 1770 Philippines (1 token). Only then, the first authentic attestation from Spain is documented (1774, 1 token), followed by attestations from 1835, 1837 and 1843 (one token each, which are also the next attestations after 1774 in all the Hispanic world). The next documentation, again, is from the Americas: Chile 1845 (12 tokens). This goes very well along with Hummel's (2019a) observation that quite a number of Spanish PAs are first documented in the Americas, leading to the assumption that PA,

supposedly of oral origin, particularly surfaced in written language in contexts where normalization was less present (writers who only became writers out of necessity; see Oesterreicher, 2012).

42 In Portuguese, *por completo* might be a calque from Spanish:

por completo [Houaiss is underlying], hoje inteiramente integrado à língua portuguesa viva, foi dado como um espanholismo por alguns puristas, que sugeriram em seu lugar *completamente*, *integralmente*, *de todo* etc. [*por completo*, now fully integrated into the living Portuguese language, was considered a Hispanism by some purists, who suggested instead *completamente*, *integralmente*, *de todo* etc.] (Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *completo*).

43 This suggests that the Pt. PA *por completo*, according to these purists, did not evolve in Portuguese based on or inspired by pre-existing *completo* or *completamente*. This might be backed up by its rather late first attestation in CdP, which comes only from the 19th century (when the PA pattern in general was not that productive anymore).

44 As to why the preposition *por* was the one to be chosen (specifically in Spanish if we consider Pt. *por completo* as a later calque from Spanish), we can only make an educated guess. First, another PA, Sp. *por entero* ‘entirely’, which is documented since the 14th century (see next section), could have been a ‘model’ for creating *por completo*. Second – if we assume that the prepositions used to form PA-adverbials add a specific semantic value –, Sp. *por* as a continuer form of two Latin prepositions PRO ‘for’ and PER ‘through’, which merges the semantics of its Latin predecessors/etymons, would then convey some additional semantic value or cue underlining the process related and telicity related character of *completo* (and *entero*), whereas prepositions like DE ‘from, by, of’ or CUM ‘with’ would make less sense for this specific semantics. Other prepositions such as AD ‘to, at’ > Sp./Pt. *a* ‘to, at’, a poly-use preposition in Ibero-Romance, semantically also have the potential to convey process-related and telic information. Indeed, some sporadic attestations of the variant Sp. *al completo* (preposition *a* + article *el* + *completo*), are documented:

(11)	<i>Pero importa más el ambiente, el clima, que el escenario en sí, que por mucho que trate de explicar un locutor, nunca estará narrado al completo.</i>	(Spanish)
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“But the atmosphere, the climate, is more important than the scenario itself, which, no matter how much a radio announcer tries to explain them, will never be fully narrated.” (CDH, 1986, José Javier Muñoz; César Gil: *La Radio: Teoría y práctica*)

45 According to the data in CDH, the adverbial *al completo* is quite recent, it appears only in the late 20th century. Data from CORPES XXI shows that *al completo* is used predominantly in Spain. For Portuguese, there are no occurrences of **ao completo* as a PA-adverbial in any section (historical or present-day) of CdP. In this paper, we leave this variant – which proves that the pattern is still punctually productive in Romance – aside and focus on the older form *por completo*.

2.4. Overall frequencies in diachrony

46 In this section, we present the overall picture of the adverbials under scrutiny in CDH and CdP.⁵ Table 1 shows the absolute number of tokens resulting from the search queries and the normalized/relative frequency (occurrences per 1 million words) of Sp. *por completo* and *completamente* in the five periods pre-established by CDH: Medieval Spanish, Spanish of the Golden Age, 18th, 19th, and 20th century Spanish.

Table 1: Spanish *por completo* and *completamente* (CDH), normalized frequency rounded to two decimals

Period		Sp. <i>por completo</i>		Sp. <i>completamente</i>	
		Abso- lute frequency	Normal- ized frequency	Abso- lute frequency	Normal- ized frequency
1064– 1500	Medi- eval Spanish	0	0	3	0,08
1501– 1700	Golden Age	2	0,02	5	0,05
1701– 1800	18th century	7	0,43	99	6,20
1801– 1900	19th century	1675	37,82	3367	76,02
1901– 2005	20th century	5455	30,87	9693	54,86

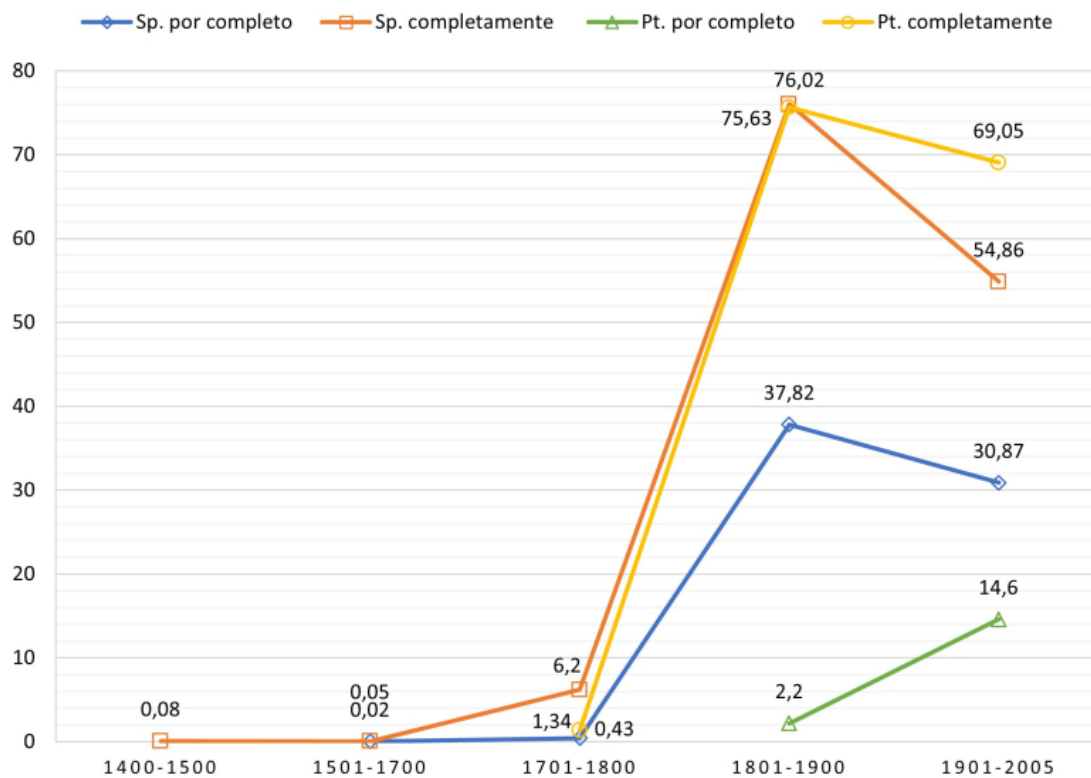
- 47 The first documentation of *completamente* is <completamente> in 1408. The first documentation of *por completo* is from 1645. During the first centuries, both cognates are scarcely attested and only a few examples can be found. From the 17th century on, both adverbials' frequency increases remarkably, especially that of *completamente*, which is clearly the more frequent cognate of both. This matches the general panorama of *MENTE* being preferred over PA from the 17th century onwards (see 2.3).
- 48 In Portuguese, both adverbials are documented later. Rather than reflecting an indeed later apparition of these adverbials, this could also be an effect of corpus size (remember that CDH is a much larger corpus than the historical part of CdP). Table 2 shows the absolute number of tokens and the normalized/relative frequency (cases per 1 million words, manually calculated) of Pt. *por completo* and *completamente* across the three centuries for which there are attestations in CdP.

Table 2: Portuguese *por completo* and *completamente* (CdP), normalized frequency rounded to two decimals

Period	Pt. <i>por completo</i>		Pt. <i>completamente</i>	
	Abso- lute frequency	Normal- ized frequency	Abso- lute frequency	Normal- ized frequency
18th century	0	0	3	1,34
19th century	22	2,20	757	75,63
20th century	292	14,60	1381	69,05

- 49 To compare both languages, Figure 1 combines the data (normalized frequency per 1 Mio words) from Tables 1 and 2, starting with the 15th century.

Figure 1: Normalized frequency (per 1 Mio words) of Spanish and Portuguese *por completo* and *completamente*



50 Despite of *Sp. completamente* being used since 1408, its relative frequency only starts to rise (very steeply) in the 19th century. This is an eye-striking parallel with *Pt. completamente*, which even only appears for the first time in the 18th century in CdP (see the yellow and the orange graph). *Sp. por completo* is also documented since the 17th century, but it is always less frequent than *completamente*. However, *Sp. por completo* equally shows a clear rise in frequency in the 19th century. The least frequent, and the latest adverbial of this group to enter the stage, is *Pt. por completo*, the supposed calque from Spanish, whose frequency increases from the 19th to the 20th century when the other adverbials show a slight decrease in frequency.

51 In Figures 2 and 3 we check if the rise in frequency of *Sp./Pt. completamente* in the 19th century is an exception or a common phenomenon within the paradigm of aspectual/degree adverbs. We compare the normalized frequencies of several adverbs – all

(near-)synonymous with *completamente* and also cognates in Spanish and Portuguese – across the five periods established in CDH (again, manually calculating the normalized frequency for Portuguese in these periods in CdP).

Figure 2: Normalized frequencies (per 1 Mio words) of the Spanish paradigm of aspectual/degree quantifiers in CDH

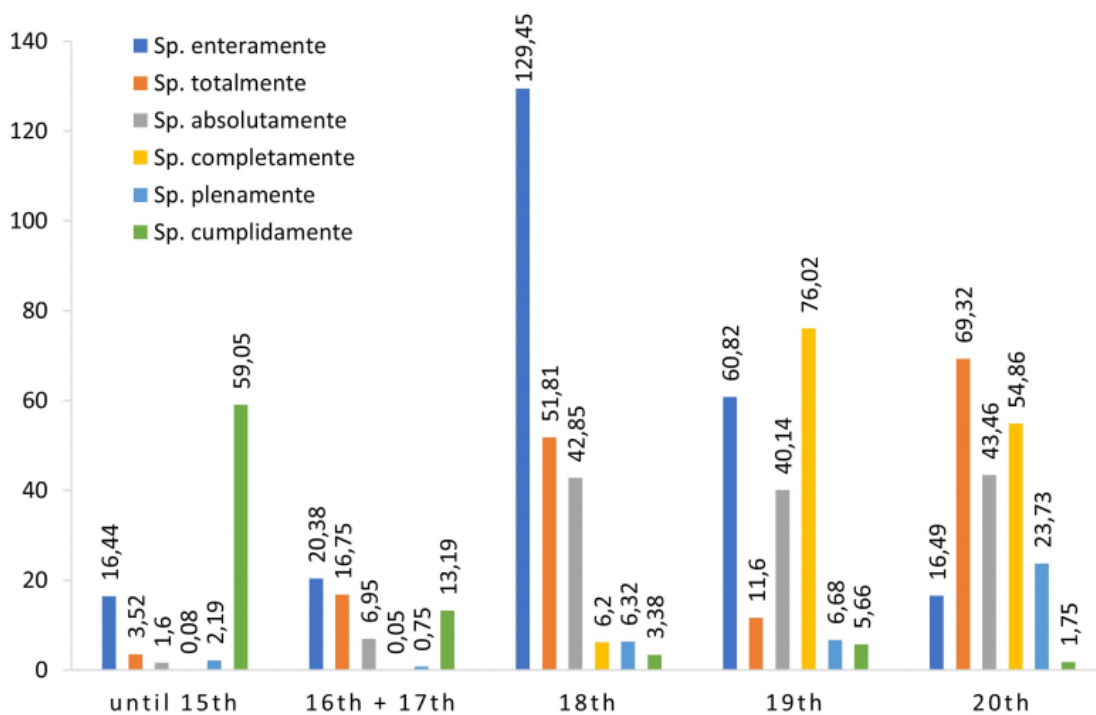
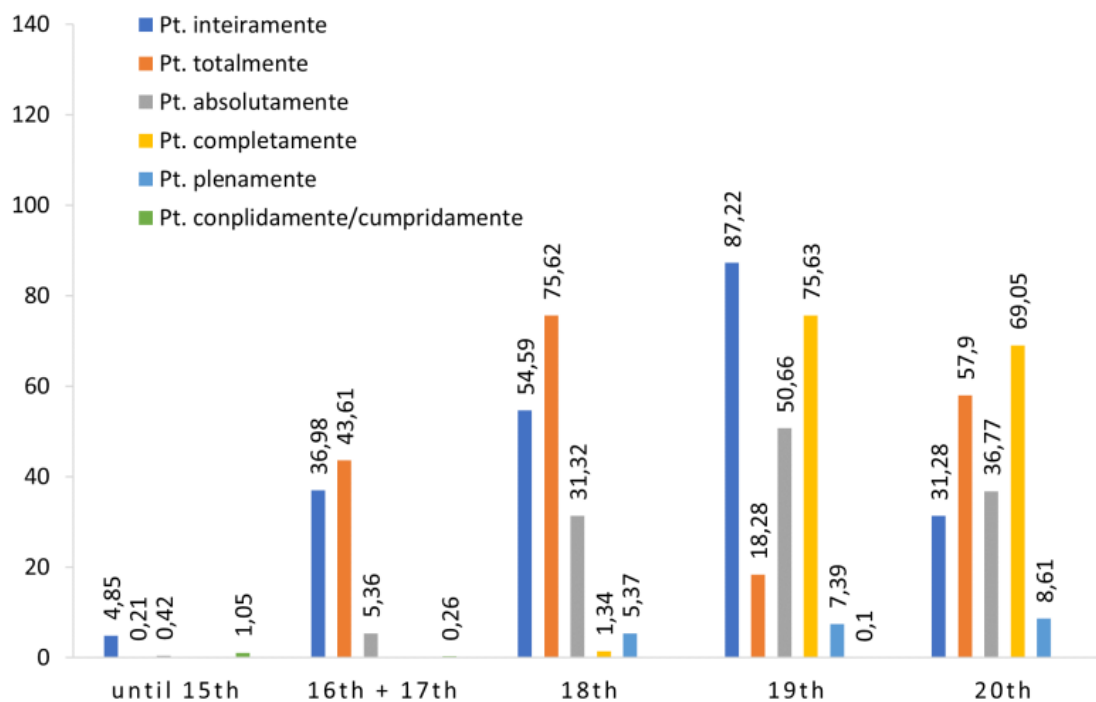


Figure 3: Normalized frequencies (per 1 Mio words) of the Portuguese paradigm of aspectual/degree quantifiers in CdP



- 52 The rise of Sp./Pt. *completamente* in the 19th century is a quite ‘late’ fashion, since *enteramente/inteiramente* ‘entirely’, *totalmente* ‘totally’ (with a striking ‘gap’ in the 19th century), and *absolutamente* ‘absolutely’ already increased in frequency from the 16th or 17th century onwards. In the 20th century, *completamente* has become the most frequent member of this paradigm in Portuguese and the second most frequent in Spanish. Therefore, *completamente* – to a certain degree – replaces the other adverbs.
- 53 The general rise of frequency of the adverbs in Figures 2 and 3 may also coincide with the documentation of more diverse text types in the corpora; the percentage of literary, poetic, and descriptive (scientific) texts increases enormously with progressing time. As a hypothesis, these are supposedly texts in which more adverbs are used, and in which also a certain ‘need’ of degree quantifiers might be felt (while in legal documents, the predominant text type of the surviving documents from the Ibero-Romance Middle Ages, adverbs are rather scarce: it suffices to check, e.g., the legal documents from

912 to 1300 published by Ruiz Asencio and Ruiz Albi, 2007, to get a first impression).

- 54 Contrarily to the *-mente*-paradigm, the corresponding PA-paradigm is more reduced, and its exponents are less frequent, but just as with *completamente*, *por completo* is not the first adverb(ial) of its kind in its paradigm. Sp. *por entero* ‘entirely’ is documented earlier (first attestation in 1300, Sp. *por completo* in 1645), and Pt. *por inteiro* ‘entirely’ is first documented in the 16th century (once, as *per inteiro*), while Pt. *por completo* only appears for the first time in the 19th century.
- 55 As shown in Table 3, Sp./Pt. *por entero/inteiro* is used more frequently than Sp./Pt. *por completo* in earlier centuries, but then is outpaced by the *it* – just as Sp./Pt. *enteramente/inteiramente* by Sp./Pt. *completamente*.

Table 3: Normalized frequency of Spanish and Portuguese *por completo* and *por entero/inteiro* (CDH/CdP)

	Sp. <i>por entero</i>	Sp. <i>por completo</i>	Pt. <i>por inteiro</i>	Pt. <i>por completo</i>
1064–1500	3,70	0	0	0
1501–1700	8,49	0,02	2,30	0
1701–1800	6,39	0,43	0	0
1801–1900	5,59	37,82	2,50	2,20
1901–2005	4,79	30,87	4,28	14,60

- 56 Other PAs of this paradigm, such as Sp. *en extremo* ‘extremely’ (1400), *en absoluto* ‘absolutely’ (1549; again, the supposed first attestation in CDH from 1489 stems also from Gaspar y Remiro’s translation realized between 1898 and 1910 of an 15th century Arabic text), Sp. *de pleno* ‘completely’ (1504) and Sp. *en total* ‘totally’ (1575) are all first attested earlier than Sp. *por completo* (1645). In Portuguese, two of the existing corresponding PAs are documented first in the 16th century: *em cheio* and *ao extremo/em extremo*. The adverbial *em absoluto* is attested first in the 19th century, just as *no total* (all dates according to CdP), which confirms that 19th century *por completo* is, indeed, together with the two latter examples, a ‘late’ member of this paradigm. A simple quantitative comparison of these forms is not possible,

though, because there are a lot of interfering examples in the corpora in which these sequences are not interpretable as adverbials (a manual filtering is not feasible within the limits of this article).

3. Steps in the semantic and syntactic evolution of *completamente* and *por completo*

57 In this section, we will first focus on *por completo* in Spanish (3.1) and Portuguese (3.2), and then contrast its evolution with *completamente* in Spanish (3.3) and Portuguese (3.4).

3.1. Semantic-functional evolution of Sp. *por completo*

58 The first authentic attestation of *por completo* from 1645 is a post-posed aspectual quantifier modifying a verb:

(12)	Se van enriqueciendo los religiosos de esta América con las limosnas, fundaciones, rentas, comercio y opulentísimos negocios, y entretanto los diezmos concedidos por la Santa Sede a nuestros católicos príncipes y por ellos con su esclarecida y regia piedad aplicados a las catedrales para su mantenimiento se consumen con tales lucros y desaparecen por completo.	(Spanish)
“The clerics of this very America are getting richer with alms, foundations, rents, commerce and opulent business, and in the meantime the tithes granted by the Holy See to our Catholic princes and by them with their enlightened and royal piety applied to the cathedrals for their maintenance are consumed with such wastefulness and disappear completely.” (CDH, 1645, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza: «Carta a Inocencio X» (Cartas), <i>Testimonios varios</i> [México])		

59 In this example, the verb *desaparecer* ‘to disappear’ itself is clearly telic and process-related, allowing to interpret *por completo* basically only as an aspectual quantifier (original source meaning): the process of disappearing is fully completed when no money at all is left.

60 The next stage in the evolution of *por completo*, documented a century later, consists of the foregrounding of the degree-quantification-reading, both when *por completo* modifies a verb (*desconocer por completo*) or an adjective (*inútil por completo*). In both instances, *por completo* is still in post-position (see example 13).

(13)	<p>No dudo que tendrá algunas cualidades, como ordinariamente las tienen los árboles y plantas que se crían en semejantes lugares; he de confesar que las desconozco por completo, ni he oído entre los naturales cosa particular que sea digna de apuntarse. [...]</p> <p>La yerba llamada lunga-lunga es muy parecida á la del ajonjolí con la diferencia de ser ésta buena y utilísima, y la otra inútil por completo: no hemos de poner los ojos solamente en lo exterior, para conocer lo bueno ó lo malo, sino en los frutos que cada uno lleva [...]</p>	(Spanish)
<p>“I do not doubt that it will have some qualities, as the trees and plants that grow in such places usually have; I must confess that I am completely unaware of them, nor have I heard anything particular among the natives that is worth noting. [...] The herb called lunga-lunga is very similar to sesame, with the difference that latter is good and very useful, and the former is completely useless: we must not look only at the exterior, to know the good or the bad, but at the fruits that each one bears [...]” (CDH, c1754, Juan José Delgado: <i>Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas</i>)</p>		

- 61 In example (13), *por completo* is a degree quantifier of the verb *desconocer* ‘to not know’ and the adjective *inútil* ‘useless’. The verb *desconocer* is atelic and durative. Therefore, *desconocer por completo* can only be read as a context of degree modification. *Por completo* does therefore not designate the maximum limit or endpoint of a telic process, but rather the maximum (or at least a very high) degree of the properties or the states expressed by the semantics of the corresponding verb.
- 62 The adjective *inútil* ‘useless’ could, in principle, also refer to the result of a telic process (of getting useless), and an aspectual reading of *por completo* would indicate that the culmination of this telic process is reached (see also *completamente rojo* and the discussion in 1.1). However, in this specific context referring to a plant that did not undergo such a process, the foregrounded interpretation is that of degree quantification, indicating the highest possible degree of uselessness (obviously, subject to definition): the absolute maximum, a 100% of uselessness (or, 0% of usefulness). Since the aspectual interpretation is ruled out in both instances in (13), the example illustrates two switch or isolating contexts.
- 63 The first attestation of *por completo* modifying a participle is from 1856 (coinciding with the steep rise in frequency of *por completo* in the 19th century; see 2.4). In this example, the PA is still post-posed and is ambiguous (aspectual and degree quantifier), caused by the static semantics of *estar*. This is a classic bridging or critical context.

(14)	Deberíamos á continuacion de la descripcion y discusion teórica de los aparatos que se han puestos en práctica para la aplicacion del aire caliente; pero teniendo este elemento únicamente aplicacion en la reduccion de los minerales de hierro, y estando por otra parte abandonada esta práctica casi por completo, nos ocuparemos del estudio de esta modificacion del aire al tratar del hierro.	(Spanish)
<p>“We should continue with the description and theoretical discussion of the apparatuses that have been put into practice for the application of hot air; but this element having only application in the reduction of iron ores, and this practice being moreover almost completely abandoned, we will deal with the study of this modification of air when dealing with iron.” (CDH, 1856, Constantino Sáez de Montoya: <i>Tratado teórico práctico de metalurgia. Dispuesto para uso de las escuelas y establecimientos en donde se enseñe esta asignatura, para los metalurgistas, mineros, etc.</i>)</p>		

64 Since *abandonada* ‘abandoned’ is a participle, it has both verbal and adjectival properties: it retains a verbal reading (*abandonar por completo* ‘to abandon completely’ > *abandonada por completo* ‘completely abandoned’), while being a nominal. Furthermore, the past participle form adds a perfective factor to the mix, i.e. the action of abandoning is concluded (i.e., the condition of a 100% of abandonment is met, since no one uses the described technique anymore). *Por completo* is, thus, also ambiguous between verb-modification and adjective-modification, but maintains the prototypical position of verb-modifiers in Ibero-Romance (post-position).

65 Still in the mid-19th century, a new syntactic position is documented: *por completo* as a degree quantifier is also pre-posed to participles and adjectives, that is, it takes the prototypical position of other types of degree quantifiers (such as *MENTE*) when modifying adjectives. The first attestation of such pre-posed *por completo* modifying a participle (*cubierto* ‘covered’) comes from 1865 and is the first documentation of pre-position of *por completo* at all (example 15):

(15)	Así, valuada esta última en 5.100,000 miriámetros cuadrados, 3.700,000, algo ménos de sus 3/4 están ocupados por las aguas, y comparadas las superficies de ambos hemisferios, el boreal contiene él solo 4/5 de tierra, mientras que el austral, casi por completo cubierto de agua, 1/5.	(Spanish)
<p>“Thus, the latter being valued at 5,100,000 square myriameters, 3,700,000, slightly less than 3/4 are occupied by water, and comparing the surfaces of the two hemispheres, the boreal alone contains 4/5 of land, while the austral, almost entirely covered with water, 1/5.” (CDH, 1865, Manuel Merelo: <i>Nociones de geografía descriptiva</i>)</p>		

66 Example (15) is again functionally ambiguous: *casi por completo cubierto* ‘almost completely covered’ can still be interpreted

as the result of successively covering the landscape with water (aspectual reading), but it can also be interpreted as an example of high degree quantification (i.e., this is also a bridging/critical context). Again, the use of the resultative passive with the verb *estar* may even foreground the aspectual reading.

- 67 So, it is not a degree-quantifier-reading alone that can trigger pre-position. Moreover, examples (13) to (15) show that the semantic interpretation of *por completo* depends on the semantics of the modified element and on the context, but not so much on its syntactic position. Nevertheless, examples of pre-posed aspectual or ambiguous *por completo* possibly paved the way for pre-position of degree quantifying *por completo*. Indeed, *por completo* in pre-position modifying ‘regular’ adjectives is documented at just about the same time in the 19th century, as it is with verbal adjectives (participles):

(16)	<i>Estas son por completo distintas al pié de fábrica, de las que despues se fijan para el servicio; pues sabido es que los proyectiles, como todos los objetos elaborados por la mano del hombre, sufren más ó ménos con el uso y con los demás accidentes á que están expuestos, [...] Al abandonar el proyectil la pieza, el anillo de papier maché se deforma y desaparece de una manera por completo inofensiva.</i>	(Spanish)
“These [established tolerances] are completely different when [the projectiles are] fresh from the factory than those that are later fixed for service; for it is known that the projectiles, like all objects made by the hand of man, suffer more or less with use and with the other incidents to which they are exposed, [...] When the projectile leaves the cartridge, the ring made of <i>papier mâché</i> is deformed and disappears in a completely harmless manner.” (CDH, 1870, Cándido Barrios: <i>Nociones de Artillería</i> , I)		

(17)	<i>Siendo, pues, nuestro dogma el desarrollo de la personalidad humana, es necesario que coloquemos al hombre fuera de todo daño, como el cristianismo coloca sus dogmas fuera de la discusion. Si alguna vez la humanidad llega á arrancarse de su corazon el pecado, á penetrar con su mirada en lo más profundo del seno del sér, entonces nuestra religion habrá caducado y el precepto humano será por completo positivo.</i>	(Spanish)
“Since our dogma is the development of the human personality, it is necessary that we place man out of harm’s way, as Christianity places its dogmas out of discussion. If humanity ever manages to tear sin from its heart, to penetrate with its gaze into the profoundest depths of the bosom of existence, then our religion will have expired and the human precept will be entirely positive.” (CDH, 1873, Serafín Álvarez: <i>El Credo de una Religión Nueva</i>)		

- 68 In (16-17), the original reading (aspectual quantification) is ruled out, i.e., these examples represent switch or isolating contexts. The only likely interpretation of *por completo distinta*, *por completo inofensiva* (16) and *por completo positivo* (17) is that of a degree quantifier, since the semantics of these adjectives is not linked to telicity, and they do not denote process-induced properties. But all three adjectives, *distinto*, *inofensivo*, and *positivo*, denote scalar properties that can be somewhat objectively limited by *por completo*, i.e., there is a 100% maximum degree of distinction, inoffensiveness, and positivity that cannot be surpassed. We will call this semantic trait ‘maximum limit’ or MAX.LIM.
- 69 This MAX.LIM can be a trait of telic verbs (Sp. *cambiar* ‘change’, Pt. *mudar* ‘change’), adjectives (and particularly past participles) linked with telicity (denoting the result of a telic process, like Sp./Pt. *cambiado/mudado* or the Sp./Pt. adjective *completo* itself) and ‘atelic’ adjectives (like Sp./Pt. *distinto*, *inofensivo*, *positivo*) alike.
- 70 The semantic property of *por completo* and *completamente* of denoting or foregrounding such a maximum limit will be called ‘designate maximum limit’, or DES.MAX.LIM.
- 71 Such a maximum limit is, probably, not inherent in the core semantics of *distinto*, *inofensivo*, and *positivo*, as it is a question of definition. It is only established and attributed by *por completo*, subjectively, according to the speaker’s definition or idea of maximum distinctness, inoffensiveness, or positiveness. Since in telic, process-related contexts, a maximum of execution of an action or an event is reached in the end (the potential for this represented by the semantic trait MAX.LIM), and *por completo* exactly foregrounds this maximum completion of such a telic action or event (e.g., *llenar por completo* ‘to completely fill up to a 100%’), one can argue that *por completo* is destined to carry over this semantic component or trait of designating this maximum (DES.MAX.LIM) to its degree quantifying function. It is this trait which makes the transition to being a degree quantifier of certain scalar adjectives much easier. Contrarily, the semantic trait that gets lost in the evolution from aspectual to degree quantification is that of reaching the maximum as the result of a telic, process-related event. Therefore, *por completo*

expands the semantic-pragmatic contexts it can appear in as the result of a semantic generalization.

3.2. Semantic-functional evolution of Pt. *por completo*

- 72 Pt. *por completo* appears for the first time in the 19th century in CdP.⁶ It is documented as an aspectual quantifier placed after the verb *destruir* ‘to destroy’ (i.e., the process of destroying is completed until absolutely everything is 100% destroyed):

(18)	[...] <i>apesar de ter a polícia corrido para evitar qualquer assalto a esses jornais, não chegou a tempo de evitá-lo, pois a multidão aos gritos de viva a República e à memória de Floriano Peixoto invadiu aqueles estabelecimentos e destruiu-os por completo, queimando tudo.</i>	(Portuguese)
“[...] although the police rushed to prevent any assault on these newspapers, they were not in time to prevent it, because the crowd shouting “long live the Republic” and “to the memory of Floriano Peixoto” invaded these establishments and completely destroyed them, burning everything to the ground.” (CdP, 19th century, Euclides da Cunha: <i>Os Sertões</i>)		

- 73 In the same century (and by the same author) *por completo* is also used as a post-posed modifier of the participle *refeitas* (‘redone’), with a clear aspectual-quantifier-reading, too:

(19)	<i>Duvido mesmo já que os aficionados do Campo Pequeno, pela maioria exigentes e sabedores da técnica taurina, se achem dispostos a tolerar espetáculos só com portugueses, e viverá pouco quem não chegar a ver daquele redondel não só expungidos os maus artistas, como também ampliadas e refeitas por completo as corridas de touros, que entre nós são ainda um espectáculo branco e sem catástrofes.</i>	(Portuguese)
“I really doubt that the aficionados of Campo Pequeno, the majority of whom are demanding and knowledgeable about bullfighting techniques, will be willing to tolerate shows with only Portuguese performers, and it will be a short life for anyone who doesn’t get to see not only how the bad artists are expelled from that ring, but also how the bullfights, which here are still a clean spectacle without catastrophes, are expanded and completely redone.” (CdP, 19th century, Fialho de Almeida: <i>Gatos</i> 6)		

- 74 One century later, in the 20th century, *por completo* is also documented post-posed to adjectives. In example (20), it modifies the adjective *alheia* ‘alien’:

(20)	Com uma resignação de freira, alheia por completo ao mundo, vivendo na perpétua lembrança do marido, na exclusiva preocupação dos filhos, passou anos Eugênia sem sair de casa, levando uma vida toda crepuscular, na inteira abdicação do seu querer, colada ao dever como a lapa ao rochedo, alumada e forte sempre a alma do alimento ázimo do Passado, o seu fino rosto austero idealizado por uma transcendente, uma inabalável expressão de confiança e de doçura.	(Portuguese)
“With the resignation of a nun, completely oblivious to the world, living in perpetual remembrance of her husband and in exclusive concern for her children, Eugenia spent years without leaving the house, living an entirely crepuscular life, in complete abdication of her needs, glued to her duty like a limpet to a rock, her soul always illuminated and strong from her unleavened feeding on the past, her thin austere face idealized by a transcendent, unshakeable expression of trust and gentleness.” (CdP, 20th century, Abel Botelho: <i>A Consoada</i>)		

75 The context of this example could be classified as a bridging/critical context: in principle, *alheia por completo* ‘completely oblivious/alien’ is ambiguous between aspectual or degree quantification. However, although this characteristic could be the result of a gradual process of becoming oblivious, it seems that the degree quantifying reading is foregrounded in (20).

76 In the same century, *por completo* appears as well in a new syntactic position; it is pre-posed to a participle for the first time:

(21)	Ora a Conceição morava ali bem perto, quâse à raiz da rua da Atalaia, em casa da conhecida Consuelo, a Consuelo rebolona, antiga dançarina de S. Carlos, agora quâse por completo passada à inactividade, apenas tendo, por pausas, alguma escritura ocasional em teatros de #3.a ordem.	(Portuguese)
“Now, Conceição lived very close by, almost at the beginning of Rua da Atalaia, in the house of the well-known Consuelo, Consuelo the show-off, former dancer at S. Carlos, now almost completely inactive, with only occasional assignments in 3rd order theaters.” (CdP, 1957, Fernanda Botelho: <i>O Angulo Raso</i>)		

77 Example (21) is clearly aspectual: the process of ceasing professional activities extends over time and has almost completely culminated (the maximum limit will be reached with a 100% inactiveness).

78 Finally, pre-posed modification of adjectives is only attested in the 21st century, like in the following example of modification of *alheia* ‘alien’ (22):

(22)	Esta noção de uma igreja universal invisível é por completo alheia do Novo Testamento.	(Portuguese)
“This notion of an invisible universal church is completely alien to the New Testament.” (CdP Web/Dialects, Brasil, internet)		

- 79 In this specific context, the copula verb *é* ‘is’ presents a state and excludes a telic, process-related reading of *é por completo alheia*. Therefore, in contrast to example (20) above, an aspectual reading is completely ruled out in (22), and the reading of *por completo* as a maximum degree quantifier is the only possible interpretation. It is, therefore, clearly a switch/isolating context. In this context, again, the modified adjective has the semantic trait MAX.LIM: *por completo* (via its DES.MAX.LIM trait) establishes that the maximum possible degree of alienness is intended (100%). Moreover, examples (20) and (22) show that not only the specific semantics (MAX.LIM or not, telicity related or not) of the modified element (in 20 and 22, the adjective *alheia*) determines the interpretation of the quantifier *por completo*, but it is also the specific broader context of the sentence which does.
- 80 To sum up, Pt. *por completo* roughly goes through the same stages as already documented for Sp. *por completo*, from verb modification via participle modification to adjective modification (in Spanish, though, participle and adjective modification both first appear nearly at the same time, within five years), and from pre-position to post-position, but remarkably later.

3.3. Semantic-functional evolution of Sp. *completamente*

- 81 The first attestation of Sp. *completamente* shows that this adverb is used first as a verb quantifier in the early 15th century:

(23)	<p>Porque vos mando á todos é á cada uno de vos en [vuestros] logares é jurisdicciones, que veades estas mis Leyes, ó el [dicho] su traslado signado, como [dicho] es, é publicadlas é facedlas guardar é complir las cosas en ellas contenidas en todo é por todo, bien é completamente, segun que en ellas se contiene, é no vaiades, ni pasedes, ni consintades ir ni pasar contra ellas, ni contra parte dellas, agora ni de aqui adelante, en ningun tiempo, por alguna razon que sea [...]</p>	(Spanish)
<p>“For I command you all and each one of you in [your] homesteads and jurisdictions, that you see these my Laws, or the [said] signed copy of them, as it is [said], and publish them and make them respected and make that the things that are contained in them are well and completely fulfilled from top to bottom, according to what is contained in them, and do not go against them, nor trespass them, nor consent anyone to go them or trespass them, nor any part of them, now or hereafter, at any time, for any reason whatsoever [...]” (CDH, 1408, Anónimo: «Ordenamiento hecho por la reina gobernadora doña Catalina, a nombre de su hijo el señor don Juan II, sobre la divisa y traje de los moros»)</p>		

- 82 In example (23), *completamente* modifies the verb *cumplir* ‘comply with, lit. fulfill’ and refers, in this context, to obey the content of laws in the maximum degree possible, i.e., in every single detail. While English *to comply with* is arguably not telic, Spanish *cumplir*, in other contexts than in (23), could still have a rest of a telic, process-related semantics (remember that the verb *cumplir* and the adjective *completo* go back to the same Latin etymon, see 2.1; hence, *cumplir completamente* is almost a tautology). But the semantics ‘fulfill’ still is rather punctual than telic, so also Spanish *cumplir* must be interpreted primarily as non-telic. Therefore, the more probable interpretation of *completamente* in example (23) is that of a degree quantifier (i.e., already a switch/isolating context). This would mean, assuming a development according to the Heine’s (2002) and Diewald’s (2002) stages, that the supposedly pre-dating bridging/critical context had occurred probably very early, and, in any case, it is not documented in CDH.
- 83 As a next step, *completamente* appears as a pre-posed degree modifier, first attested in the mid-15th century, modifying the verb *consentir* ‘to consent’ (example 24).

(24)	En lo qual ella llagada de un muy estranno dolor, la fama de sus virtudes en esto seer manzellada, la qual ella tenia speçial entre todas las duennas romanas, que esto escogiesse non sabia, a la fin, aunque non completamente, consintio con Sexto Tarquino solçitador de adulterio.	(Spanish)
“In it [i.e., the adultery], she, struck by a very strange pain, as the fame of her virtues, [a fame] which she had in a particular way among the Roman women, was tainted, didn’t know that she chose this [i.e., the adultery], [and] in the end, even if not completely, consented with Sextus Tarquinius, the requester of the adultery” (CDH, 1440–1455, El Tostado [Alonso Fernández de Madrigal], <i>Libro de amor e amicitia</i>)		

- 84 While *consentir* certainly can be considered as having the MAX.LIM trait (again, as almost always in such cases, subject to subjective definition by the speaker), it would be difficult to attest it a telic character, which results in the near impossibility to read (24) as an instance of aspectual quantification and makes an interpretation as degree quantification the only reasonable choice (switch/isolating context).
- 85 Sp. *completamente* as a pre-posed modifier of adjectives appears as early as the first half of the 17th century, more than two centuries earlier than Sp. *por completo*:

(25)	y así es que todo suceso importante ocurrido dentro ó fuera de España, era al punto narrado y glosado por mil plumas desconocidas, mas ó menos autorizadas, que se disputaban á porfía el derecho de anunciar al público leyente noticias las mas veces poco exactas, siempre exageradas, cuando no completamente falsas.	(Spanish)
<p>“And so it is that every important event which occurred inside or outside Spain, was at once told and commented on by a thousand unknown pens, more or less authorized, who were eagerly vying for the right to announce to the reading public most often inaccurate, always exaggerated, if not completely false news.” (CDH, 1634, Sebastián González: «Carta», <i>Cartas de algunos padres de la Compañía de Jesús</i>, I)</p>		

(26)	Los que niegan la posibilidad de la transmutación de los metales ponen mucho ahínco en probar que son de especies completamente distintas y que, así, es imposible el tránsito de unos a otros;	(Spanish)
<p>“Those who deny the possibility of the transmutation of metals put much effort into proving that they are of completely different kinds and that, therefore, the transition of one into the other is impossible;” (CDH, 1640, Álvaro Alonso Barba: <i>Arte de los metales</i>)</p>		

- 86 In principle, both *completamente falsa* and *completamente distinta* could be the results of telic processes, but in the specific contexts of examples (25) and (26), the aspectual reading is excluded: both *falsas* ‘false’ and *distintas* ‘different’ describe stable characteristics of certain news (25) and certain metals (26). The adverb *completamente* expresses the maximum degree (100%) of these characteristics (i.e., there is nothing correct or similar at all). Therefore, both examples are also illustrative of the switch/isolating context in which the atelic maximum degree interpretation is the only possible one.
- 87 It is noteworthy that in its first documentation in which it is not modifying a verb, *completamente* immediately appears as a pre-posed modifier of adjectives. Only a few cases of modification of participles are documented in the early phase, the first attestation (ex. 27; 1680) dates from some decades later than the first attestations of modification of adjectives (ex. 25; 1634, and ex. 26; 1640). In (27), the interpretation of *completamente* as a maximum degree quantifier is foregrounded, since *desordenado* ‘in disorder’, in this specific context, is not presented as the result of a process. This may be underpinned by the combination with the Sp. copula *ser*, although at this rather early stage, *ser* still could be used in resultative *and* ‘static’ contexts, for permanent and temporary states, as the distinction *ser* vs. *estar* hadn’t yet been fully cemented (exemplified, e.g., by Penny, 2002: 160).

(27)	No solamente nos es permitido cambiar lo antiguo, sino rechazarlo totalmente cuando es completamente desordenado	(Spanish)
	“We are not only allowed to change the old, but to totally reject it when it is completely in disorder.” (CDH, 1680, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: <i>Teatro de virtudes políticas que constituyen a un príncipe</i>)	

88 The pattern “participle + post-posed *completamente*” occurs even later, in the first half of the 18th century:

(28)	Calificado, ya a mi parecer, con esta ejecutoria, el esplendor de mis ascendientes, y refutada la malignidad de mis contrarios, lo primero con la ejecutoria que expongo, y lo segundo, con la relación que llevo hecha de mis procederes, no me queda duda en que Vd. y sus amigos en quien reina una razón desapasionada y un juicio prudente y cristiano, nieguen sus oídos a las perversas calumnias de mis opuestos, desvanecidas y deshechas completamente en virtud de las poderosas razones que manifiesto.	(Spanish)
	“Having proven, in my opinion, with this patent of nobility, the splendor of my ancestors, and having refuted the malignity of my opponents, the first with the patent of nobility which I hereby show, and the second with the account I have given of my actions, I have no doubt that you and your friends in whom dispassionate reason and prudent and Christian judgment reign, will refuse to listen to the perverse calumnies of my opponents, which are completely vanished and undone by virtue of the powerful reasoning I am presenting.” (CDH, 1737, Juan Francisco Melcón: <i>Carta satisfactoria</i>)	

89 In (28), *completamente* modifies, arguably, either one (*deshechas* ‘undone’) or two participles (*desvanecidas* y *deshechas* ‘vanished and undone’), which stem from telic, process-related verbs. In this context, *completamente* is interpretable as an aspectual quantifier: the culmination of the process of vanishing and undoing the denounced calumnies is reached by presenting several arguments. Even if we interpret this, undoing and vanishing, as rather quick, punctual events in other contexts, telicity is still inherent, the duration of the inherent process does not necessarily play a role in acknowledging the principal existence of this telic process.

90 On the one hand, the equally (compared with *por completo*) late attestation of *completamente* as a post-posed aspectual quantifier of participles can maybe be attributed to the arbitrariness of the historical data (lack of documentation). On the other hand, the existing data suggests that *completamente* and *por completo* start to modify participles only comparably late (which is difficult to believe, though, considering the verbal character of participles, and the fact that all four Sp./Pt. adverbial cognates studied in this paper first

appear with verbs). We will come back to this discussion in Section 4.1.

3.4. Semantic-functional evolution of Pt. *completamente*

- 91 In Portuguese, *completamente* first enters the scene in the 18th century, as an aspectual quantifier placed after the verb it modifies (*restabelecer* ‘restore’, a verb that is clearly process-related and telic):

(29)	<i>Declarando-se Hipócrates a Fila e persuadindo-a a lisonjear o amor e esperanças do príncipe, conseguiu restabelecer-lhe completamente a saúde.</i>	(Portuguese)
	“By declaring himself to Fila and persuading her to flatter the prince’s love and hopes, Hippocrates managed to restore her health completely.” (CdP 1756, Cavaleiro de Oliveira: <i>Cartas</i>)	

- 92 The modification of adjectives, with *completamente* both post-posed and pre-posed, follows in the 19th century:

(30)	<i>Ela disse à sua aia: - “Phebe, eu estou só com Carlos; e quero estar só. Em casa para ninguém.” - “Sim, minha senhora.” Resposta obrigada do criado inglês a tudo. E ficámos sós completamente.</i>	(Portuguese)
	“She said to her maid: ‘Phebe, I’m alone with Carlos, and I want to be alone. I am at home for no one.’ - ‘Yes, madam.’ The English servant’s obliging reply to everything. And we remained completely alone.” (CdP, 19th century, Almeida Garrett: <i>Viagens</i>)	

(31)	<i>Homem de quarenta e sete anos de idade, baixo e aparentemente robusto, feições regulares, tez moreno-escuro, olhos negros e vivos, tinha larga testa e belo crânio, completamente calvo, que dos paraguaios lhe valeu injuriosa alcunha.</i>	(Portuguese)
	“He was a man of forty-seven years, short and apparently robust, with regular features, a dark brown complexion, lively black eyes, a broad forehead and a beautiful skull, completely bald, which earned him an insulting nickname from the Paraguayans.” (CdP, 19th century, Afonso de E. Taunay: <i>A Retirada da Laguna</i>)	

- 93 In (30) and (31), *completamente* is ambiguous between aspectual and degree quantification, i.e., both examples illustrate a bridging/critical context. In (30), *ficar sós completamente* ‘to be/remain completely

alone' the state of the maximum degree of aloneness (100%; possible degree quantification reading) is reached as the result of other persons leaving the house (aspectual reading). In (31), *completamente calvo* 'completely bald' is, naturally, the result of a process over time (aspectual), which has reached its absolute maximum (100% of baldness), the adverb emphasizes that not a single hair is left. However, in this example of *completamente calvo*, the interpretation as a maximum degree quantifier seems to be foregrounded, since a characteristic of the person in a particular moment is described.

- 94 As for modification of participles, the first attestations of post- and pre-position to participles also date back to the 19th century:

(32)	O rapaz acordou muito bem disposto no outro dia, estava, ou pelo menos parecia, restabelecido completamente.	(Portuguese)
	"The boy woke up in a very good mood the next day, he was, or at least seemed to be, completely recovered." (CdP, 19th century, Aluísio Azevedo: <i>Casa de Pensão</i>)	

(33)	Vendo partir carregada de tantas gulosinas a bandeja que voltava completamente destroçada, eu que tinha os convidados na conta de cidadãos respeitáveis, preocupados dos mais graves assuntos, indignava-me ante aquela devastação	(Portuguese)
	"Seeing the tray leave laden with so many sweet treats and returning completely destroyed, I, who considered the guests to be respectable citizens, concerned about the most serious issues, was indignant at the devastation" (CdP, 19th century, José de Alencar: <i>Como e Por Que sou Romancista</i>)	

- 95 In both cases, the verbal character of the participles *restabelecido* 'recovered' and *destroçada* 'destroyed' prevails and, in both examples, *completamente* is an aspectual quantifier.
- 96 To sum up, the Portuguese cognate *completamente*, just as Spanish *completamente*, is first attested as a post-posed verb-modifier (aspectual quantifier) and second – in a relative quick succession (at least quicker than in Spanish) – as pre-posed and post-posed adjective (primarily degree quantifier, but still in a bridging/critical context) and participle modifier (in our random examples from the 19th century, aspectual).

3.5. Frequency of different syntactic patterns in present-day Spanish

- 97 To complement our diachronic study, we will briefly look at the frequency of different syntactic patterns of *por completo* and *completamente* in present-day language. Unfortunately, this can only be done in detail for Spanish (with CORPES XXI), because CdP doesn't allow the needed specific and fine-grained search queries (see all the footnotes in Table 4). Additionally, in CORPES XXI, the part-of-speech tagging is more advanced than in CDH, too: it is unambiguous since every token is tagged as exactly one category (adjective, verb, etc., and additional subcategorizations, e.g., participles of verbs). Therefore, also participles are tagged as such within the category verb. This means that each form of concern (i.e., forms in the scope of *por completo* or *completamente*) is classified either as a (finite) verb, a participle or as an adjective. Mind that, this way, e.g., *dedicado* can be classified as participle/verb in one instance and as adjective in another⁷. In what follows, we strictly adhere to the tagging in CORPES XXI.
- 98 Table 4 and Figure 4 show the total number of occurrences for several syntactic patterns. We could not retrieve semi-automatically the cases of “ADV + verb”, because there are too many interfering patterns that would need manual filtering of each example (e.g., in Sp. [...] *que impedían por completo adivinar qué* ‘which completely impeded guessing what’ the PA *por completo* modifies the preceding verb *impedían* and not the following infinitive). This pattern (ADV + verb) is therefore ignored here.

Table 4: Frequency of *por completo* and *completamente* in different syntactic patterns in present-day Spanish (CORPES XXI), total number of examples

Position of ADV	Scope of ADV	pattern	<i>por completo</i>	<i>completamente</i>
post-position	verb	verb + ADV ^a	8348	4544
	participle	participle + ADV ^b	591	419
	adjective	adjective + ADV ^c	574	188

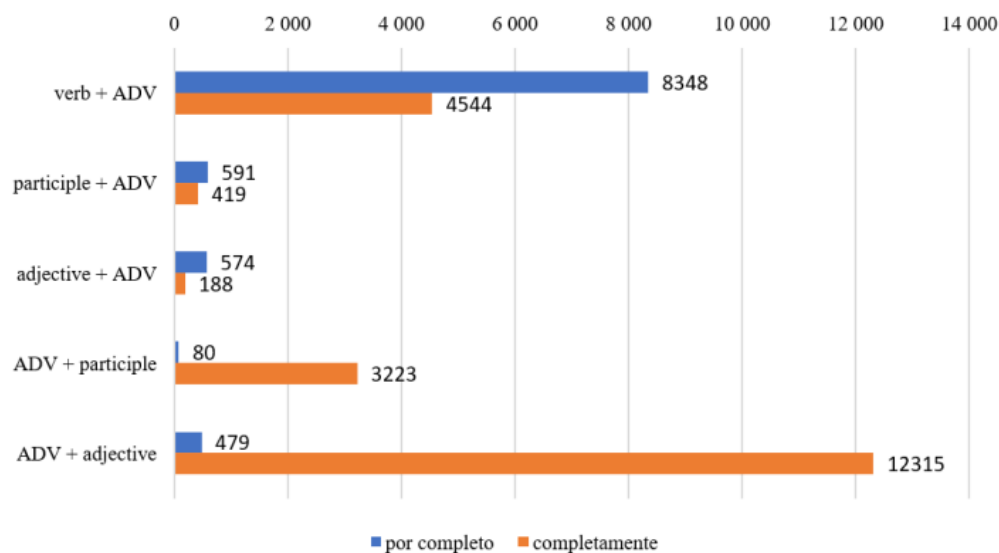
pre-position	participle	ADV + participle	80	3223
	adjective	ADV + adjective	479	12315

a. In this pattern, we had to exclude the verbs *ser*, *estar*, *sentir*, and *quedar*, as well as eliminate the cases in which an adjective or a participle follows the adverb (e.g., *estaba completamente borracho*; *se encontraba completamente despoblado*), since these are included in the pattern ADV + participle. We also excluded verbs as participles. The numbers here are limited to direct adjacent adverbs.

b. We excluded the option of adjectives, participles and adverbs following the adverb (e.g., *acostada completamente desnuda*).

c. We excluded adjectives, participles and adverbs following *completamente* (e.g., in *una situación estratégica completamente renovada*, the adverb *completamente* modifies the following adjective *renovada* and not the preceding adjective *estratégica*; cases like these are counted in the pattern “ADV + adjective”)

Figure 4: Frequency (absolute numbers) of different patterns in present-day Spanish *por completo* and *completamente* (CORPES XXI)



99 Overall, Sp. *por completo* is more frequent than Sp. *completamente* in post-position, whereas *completamente* is clearly much more frequent in pre-position, i.e., in the prototypical position of quantifiers of adjectives. A functional split between *por completo* and *completamente* can be assumed: post-position and verb modification for *por completo* and pre-position and adjective modification for *completamente* (on the functional differentiation of adverbial cognates in Brazilian Portuguese, see also Gerhalter and Koch, submitted; on functional differences between PA and MENTE in general, see also Hummel, 2024). As for participles, an interesting split can be observed, too: *por completo* adheres more to the

prototypical position of verb modification (post-position, 88,08 %, vs. 11,92 % pre-position), whereas *completamente* to the prototypical position (pre-position) of adjective modification (11,50 % post-position vs. 88,50 % pre-position).

100 As already discussed, none of these patterns can be exclusively linked to one specific semantic-functional interpretation or another (aspectual or degree quantification), since in all syntactic patterns, bridging/critical and switch/isolating contexts can be observed. As there are too many examples in CORPES XXI (see table 4) to classify all of them, we analyze the most frequent types⁸ of each pattern to observe some tendencies:

101 For example, when modifying verbs such as *cambiar* ‘change’, *desaparecer* ‘disappear’, *perder* ‘lose’, and *cubrir* ‘cover’ (which are all documented with both *por completo* and *completamente*), the main reading, e.g., of *desaparecer por completo* or *perder completamente* in most contexts is certainly aspectual (the verbs refer to a telic process that is completed). However, among the most frequent verbal lexemes with which *por completo* and *completamente* are combined in this pattern (“verb + ADV”), there are also verbs such as *ignorar* ‘ignore’, *dedicar* ‘devote/dedicate’, *desconocer* ‘disregard’ and *carecer* ‘lack’ (also documented with both adverbs). In these cases, the foregrounded function is necessarily the degree quantifying one, since these verbs do not refer to telic processes that can be concluded (they are atelic, durative). E.g., *dedicarse por completo* in example (34) does not refer to a telic process that can be completed. Instead, the degree quantifier highlights the possible maximum degree (100% of the time), it is therefore an example of a switch/isolating context:

(34)	Una vez retirado, Di Grimaldi se dedicó por completo a la enseñanza, aunque no siempre se encontraba en condiciones de atender a sus alumnos.	(Spanish)
“Once retired, Di Grimaldi devoted himself entirely to teaching, although he was not always in a position to attend to his students.” (CORPES XXI, 2003, Andrés Neuman: <i>Una vez Argentina</i>)		

102 Similarly, when modifying adjectives, both readings, depending on the semantics of the modified adjective, are possible, too. Among the most frequent adjectives modified by *por completo* and *completamente* in CORPES XXI are *ajeno/a* ‘alien’, *carente* ‘lacking’,

desnudo/a ‘bare, naked’, *alejado/a* ‘distant’ (always tagged as adjective in CORPES XXI), *vacío/a* ‘empty’, and *libre* ‘free’, which all allow an aspectual, telicity related reading in certain contexts (to differing degrees, e.g., *alejado* may be considered more aspectual, i.e., telicity related, than *carente* o *ajeno*). For an example with *completamente*, consider *completamente libre* ‘completely free’: in certain contexts, the aspectual reading of *completamente* may be foregrounded (i.e., to be completely free as the result of a telic ‘liberation-process’). In other contexts, though, the very same adjectival phrase can foreground the maximum degree reading (e.g., in the sense of a completely free person).

- 103 Contrarily, other adjectives such as *nuevo* ‘new’ or *innecesario* ‘unnecessary’ (also documented among the most frequent types) can hardly be interpreted as the culmination or result of a telic process. E.g., *completamente nuevo* ‘completely new’ refers to the maximum limit of newness (100% new), but this MAX.LIM property of *nuevo* is not the result of a process (but rather an initial state with which the decline commences). The same, not result of a telic process, holds for example (35):

(35)	Un libro correcto y funcional y pertinente para el lector en inglés, pero por completo <i>innecesario</i> para nosotros.	(Spanish)
“A correct and functional and relevant book for the English reader, but completely unnecessary for us.” (CORPES XXI, 2005, Rodrigo Fresán: «A Life, de Edwin Williamson»)		

- 104 In *por completo innecesario* ‘completely unnecessary’, as in *completamente nuevo* ‘completely new’, the only possible interpretation is the maximum degree reading. Therefore, both are examples for switch/isolating contexts, in which only degree quantification is possible.
- 105 Only a manual classification of all examples from the corpora, considering their specific contexts, could confirm if *completamente* is used more often than *por completo* in contexts in which the high or maximum degree reading is foregrounded over the aspectual reading. However, if we take into account the data presented here and assume that adjective modification and pre-position tendentially foreground the maximum degree reading to a higher extent than verb modification and post-position, then we can probably assume that

completamente is more often used as a degree quantifier than *por completo* (which, in turn, probably is more often an aspectual quantifier).

4. Discussion

106 In this section, we will discuss the results of the preceding section concerning the chronology of the different steps of context expansion (4.1), the effect of the paradigm (4.2), and the lack of conventionalization (4.3).

4.1. Chronology and context expansion

107 In Table 5, we present the chronology of Sp. and Pt. *por completo* according to the three host-classes (verb, participle, and adjective) and according to the position of the PA with respect to the modified element:

Table 5: Chronology of the syntactic position and scope of *por completo* in Spanish (exact year of first documentation in CDH) and Portuguese (century in CdP)

Modification of verbs ^a	Modification of participles	Modification of adjectives	Sp.	Pt.
verb + <i>por completo</i>			1645	19th
	part. + <i>por completo</i>		1856	19th
		adj. + <i>por completo</i>	1754	20th
	<i>por completo</i> + part.		1865	20th
		<i>por completo</i> + adj.	1870	21st

a. The sporadically attested pre-position of *por completo* to verbs was not analyzed systematically. The first attestation of “*por completo* + verb” in Spanish is only from 1869 (CDH), coinciding timewise with the same pattern in Portuguese (19th century) in CdP. Both aspectual and degree quantifiers of verbs are generally post-posed. Pre-position is a marginal, stylistic-pragmatic option for both functions.

108 The data shows a *host-class expansion* (from verbs to adjectives and participles) followed by a *syntactic context expansion* (from post- to pre-position, although, in the case of participles, pre-position is first documented almost simultaneously with the first documentation of post-position in Spanish). The original, first function of *por completo*

is that of a post-posed quantifier of verbs, documented since the 17th century in Spanish and the 19th century in Portuguese. The next step, in Spanish, is the *host-class expansion* to the modification of adjectives (post-posed to them) in the 18th-century and, finally, modification of participles (again, first post-posed) in the 19th century. As for Portuguese, the *host-class expansion* to participles is already documented in the 19th century, while the *host-class expansion* to adjectives occurs only in the 20th century.⁹ Finally, there is a *syntactic context expansion*: in 19th-century Spanish and 20th-century Portuguese, *por completo* also appears in pre-position. This step is first observable with participles in both languages (though, in Spanish, the first attestation of pre-position to a participle precedes the first documentation of pre-position to an adjective by only five years).

109 Finally, *semantic-pragmatic context expansion* means the increasing possibility of *por completo* (as well as *completamente*) to appear in new contexts in which the quantified characteristic is not necessarily the result of a telic process anymore. What differentiates the aspectual from the degree reading is the presence or absence of an underlying telic process that leads to a maximum limit: this semantic trait of telicity or telicity relatedness is backgrounded or even ruled out in certain examples, which results in a semantic-pragmatic context expansion, i.e., in the end, semantic generalization or broadening. Mostly, this process is instigated by the semantics of the modified element: whenever an item doesn't possess both semantic traits of (i) telicity or telicity relatedness and (ii) *MAX.LIM* anymore, but only (or predominantly) *MAX.LIM* remains, then an aspectual reading for *por completo* is ruled out, and degree quantification is the only option.

110 However, a clear chronology for the semantic evolution (or generalization) from aspectual to degree quantification via bridging/critical and switch/isolating context cannot be postulated based on the data (which is rather scarce for the earlier centuries) provided by CDH and CdP. For Spanish *por completo*, the switch/isolating context is even documented earlier (18th century) than the bridging/critical context (19th century). As observed by Schneider (2024: 312), historical empirical data might not always show up in the theoretically pre-established order. This is reminiscent of

Menéndez Pidal's famous *estado latente* 'latent state (of language)': certain phenomena do not surface in historical texts until a certain point in time, but supposedly do exist earlier in oral language to then pop up in written language (Menéndez Pidal 1986 [1926]: §112.3). Additionally, there might be corpus effects, i.e.: which texts are included in the corpus, and which are not or are those missing, be it for historical reasons (i.e., not existing or not having been discovered yet), a transmission gap, or for deliberate or undeliberate textual choices made by the creators of a corpus?

- 111 Nevertheless, what can be observed in the data is that the semantic context expansion and the host-class expansion precede the syntactic context expansion. The new degree quantifying reading is documented first with *por completo* post-posed to participles and adjectives. Only once the new reading (high or maximum degree quantification) has been foregrounded in certain contexts of adjective modification, e.g. in Sp. *inútil por completo* and Pt. *alheia por completo*, as a next step, *por completo* appears also in preposition, i.e., the prototypical position of degree quantifiers with adjectives in Romance, such as Sp. *muy* or Pt. *muito*. In the case of Sp. and Pt. *por completo*, the three levels of expansion presumably occurred, thus, in the following order:
1. first step: *host-class expansion + semantic-pragmatic context expansion* (17th to 18th century in Spanish; 19th to 20th century in Portuguese)
 2. second step: *syntactic context expansion* (18th to 19th century in Spanish; 20th to 21st century in Portuguese)
- 112 In Spanish, the evolution of *por completo* expands over two centuries (17th to 19th century; see Table 4). Portuguese, which supposedly calqued *por completo* (Houaiss et al., 2015: s.v. *completo*) from Spanish in the 19th century, could have calqued all stages simultaneously. Nevertheless, Pt. *por completo* shows an overall similar evolution as Spanish (spanning two centuries as well, at least according to the available data), but time shifted (19th to 21st century).
- 113 The evolution of Sp./Pt. *completamente* differs from the one of Sp./Pt. *por completo* in several aspects, but also parallels it in others, in the sense that the MENTE-cognate simply precedes the PA in certain stages. Chronologically, in Spanish and

Portuguese, respectively, *completamente* is documented earlier than *por completo*: in the early 15th century in Spanish and in the 18th century in Portuguese. In both languages, *completamente*, in its first attestations, is an aspectual quantifier modifying verbs (and in post-position), just as *por completo*. The first attestation of *completamente* as a degree quantifier of adjectives (17th century in Spanish, 19th century in Portuguese) is also earlier than the first documentations of *por completo* as adjective modifier (18th century in Spanish, 21st century in Portuguese).

- 114 The most crucial difference between the evolution of Sp./Pt. *por completo* and Sp./Pt. *completamente* is that Sp. and Pt. *completamente* as adjective modifiers already appear in pre-position even in their first attestations (1634 in Spanish and 20th century in Portuguese) and post-position is always secondary over the centuries. Contrarily, the PAs as adjective modifiers are attested first in post-position and only one century later in pre-position (1754 vs. 1870 in Spanish and 20th vs. 21st century in Portuguese), which can be interpreted as the reflection of some kind of syntactic development (post-position > possibility of pre-position).
- 115 This developmental difference is still reflected in present-day Spanish (as explicated in 3.5, no such data could be retrieved for Portuguese): when modifying adjectives, *completamente* occurs almost exclusively in pre-position (98,5% of 12503 attestations in CORPES XXI), while *por completo* (as adjective modifier) still shows a more or less balanced picture (out of 1053 attestations, 54,51% post-position vs. 45,49% pre-position; see overall Figure 4).
- 116 Finally, we observe differences between *completamente* and *por completo* with regard to the three levels of context expansion. For Spanish *completamente*, the *semantic-functional expansion* happens already in the 15th century (first attestation of the adverb in CDH in 1408, as aspectual quantifier, first attestation as degree quantifier in 1440; in both cases, as verb modifier). The next step is the *host-class expansion* (verb > adjective modification) which happens between the 15th and the 17th century, as the first attestations of *completamente* as adjective modifier occur in the 17th century. At this point in time (17th century), we simultaneously observe a syntactic position (pre-position) that could be interpreted

(presupposing original general post-position) as the result of a parallel syntactic expansion (post-position to pre-position).¹⁰ In Portuguese, all three expansions must have occurred from the 18th to the 19th century, but CdP doesn't allow for a fine-grained chronological analysis.

- 117 Instead, Sp. and Pt. *por completo* first go through a *host-class expansion* (in 18th century Spanish and 20th century Portuguese), only followed by a later *syntactic context expansion* (from post- to pre-position, 19th century in Spanish, 20th century in Portuguese).

4.2. The attraction effect of the paradigm

- 118 Pérez García and Blanco (2022) observe that the Sp. manner adverbs *terriblemente* 'terribly' and *horriblemente* 'horribly' developed a degree quantifier meaning via the modification of past participles as a first step. Also, other adverbs such as *enteramente* 'entirely, completely', *plenamente* 'completely', and *totalmente* 'totally' were used as modifiers of verbs in medieval Spanish, and occasionally also modified participles, so that the pattern "adverb + participle" was the first step in the development of these adverbs into quantifiers (García Pérez, 2022: 287-291). Therefore, it would be fair to assume that the modification of participles is an intermediate step in the evolution towards degree quantification of adjectives.
- 119 However, the modification of participles by *completamente* and *por completo*, from a diachronic point of view, doesn't necessarily seem to be an intermediate step in the *host-class expansion* of these two adverb(ial)s from verb-modification to adjective-modification (at least in Spanish, since, in Portuguese, at least the diachronic findings for Pt. *por completo* could in theory bolster such hypothesis, while the data for Pt. *completamente* is inconclusive). The question is whether this step (verb > participle > adjective) ever had to be made in Romance, as in Latin morphologically marked adverbs were already modifying adjectives (and adverbs) while being pre-posed to the modified elements (see Pinkster, 2015: 48, example (k), 66). These adverbs were then simply substituted (after first being adjective-adverbs in Proto-Romance following syncretism effects in the

evolution from Latin to Romance) by the most prominent follow-up forms, the new morphologically marked Romance adverbs in *-mente* (especially once *MENTE* became the predominant adverbial type). The available data maybe only obscures this possibility, as the first attestations of each functional-syntactic pattern are spread over centuries maybe simply due to corpus effects.

- 120 Another reason why *completamente* develops the new degree quantifier function of adjectives right from the start in pre-position might be precisely analogy with other adverbs that already had this function before. Sp./Pt. *enteramente/inteiramente* ‘entirely, completely’, Sp./Pt. *plenamente* ‘completely’, and Sp./Pt. *totalmente* ‘totally’ were more frequent than *completamente* in earlier centuries (see Section 2.4). So, if these adverbs are attested with a degree quantifier function and as adjective modifiers in pre-position already, *completamente* could easily ‘jump in’ this pattern in the 17th century. Analogy as a driving force for the semantic-functional evolution within a paradigm of semantically close adverbs has been observed for other paradigms of adverbials (e.g., Gerhalter, 2020b).
- 121 Evidence from several Spanish *mente*-adverbs which are degree quantifiers (in their first attestation(s) as adjective or participle modifiers; 36-42), indeed shows that pre-position is already common right from the start:

(36)	<i>fuertementre sellada; fuertementre adobados</i>	(Spanish)
	“heavily sealed; heavily ornated” (CDH, ca. 1140/1207, <i>Poema del Mio Cid</i>)	

(37)	<i>enteramente todo; enteramente bienaventurado; enteramente formado</i>	(Spanish)
	“entirely all” (CDH,1250, <i>Fuero de Viguera y Val de Funes</i>); “entirely blessed; entirely well-formed” (CDH, 1437, <i>Libro de las paradojas</i>)	

(38)	<i>pleneramente informado</i>	(Spanish)
	“fully informed” (CDH, 1336, Anónimo, <i>Alianza de Pedro IV y Don Juan Manuel</i>)	

(39)	<i>perfectament conjuncta</i>	(Spanish)
	“perfectly linked” (CDH, 1379-1384, <i>Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco</i> , I)	

(40)	<i>muy estremadamente gentiles</i>	(Spanish)
	“very extremely gentle” (CDH, 1469-1476, <i>Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos</i>)	

(41)	<i>totalmente perfectas</i>	(Spanish)
	“totally perfect” (CDH, 1494, <i>Traducción del Compendio de la humana salud de Johannes de Ketham</i> . Madrid, BN I51)	

(42)	<i>absolutamente tomados</i>	(Spanish)
	“absolutely taken” (CDH, 1543, <i>Tratado en que a la clara se ponen y determinan las materias de los préstamos</i>)	

122 In Portuguese, pre-position of *mente*-adverbs functioning as degree quantifiers of adjectives or participles is attested from ca. 1500 on:

(43)	<i>inteiramente mostrado e ensynada</i>	(Portuguese)
	“entirely shown and demonstrated” (CdP, 1499-1500, <i>Os primeiros 14 documentos relativos à Armada de Pedro Álvares Cabral</i>)	

(44)	<i>absolutamente injusto</i>	(Portuguese)
	“totally unfair” (CdP, 1551, Antonio Pinheiro: <i>Summario da pregaçam funebre</i>)	

(45)	<i>totalmente alheio</i>	(Portuguese)
	“totally alien” (CdP, 1560-1580, Frois: <i>Historia do Japam 2</i>)	

- 123 As already pointed out, Sp. *completamente* is documented for the first time as an adjective modifier in 1634, and Pt. *completamente* only in the 19th century, i.e., much later than the other *mente*-adverbs illustrated in the examples above. Taking into account this broader panorama, the data on *completamente* shows that the association with a new functional pattern is favored by near synonymous adverbs occurring in similar contexts. If a specific functional pattern (such as *mente*-adverbs used as degree quantifiers pre-posed to gradable adjectives) already exists, it is easier to accommodate or ‘recruit’ new lexical items in/for this function (Schneider, 2024: 322-323). The functional pattern itself is not new, but the addition of a new lexical item such as *completamente* to that pattern is indeed new (see Schneider, 2024: 327). Moreover, high type frequency (a pattern or construction already filled by various lexemes) is more prone to attract novel members (Schneider, 2024: 327). Indeed, the category of degree quantifiers is the most extensive sub-category of Sp. quantifiers established by Kaul de Marlangeon (2002: 158-160), e.g., with Sp. *absolutamente* ‘absolutely’, *increiblemente* ‘incredibly’, *extremadamente* ‘extremely’, *exageradamente* ‘exaggeratedly’, *excesivamente* ‘excessively’, *intensamente* ‘intensely’, *fuertemente* ‘strongly’, *sumamente* ‘highly’, *enormemente* ‘enormously’, *inmensamente* ‘immensely’, etc.
- 124 The ‘slower’ evolution of Sp./Pt. *por completo* compared to Sp./Pt. *completamente* when it comes to adjective-modification and pre-position can possibly be explained by the fact that the *-mente*-cognate was immediately attracted to that function and position by analogy with the paradigm of the aforementioned *mente*-adverbs, whereas the PA-cognate *por completo* had to ‘conquer’ this syntactic position (pre-position to adjectives) over centuries. The only precursor of *por completo* we found so far is Sp. *por entero*, which – after its first attestation as a post-posed modifier in a predication phrase (either modifying the combination “copula + adjective”, or the adjective alone; example 46) in 1300 – is documented also as a pre-posed degree quantifier of adjectives towards the end of the 15th century:

(46)	<i>mas conuiene para que la dueña sea honesta: & para que pueda ser por entero limpia & casta: primeramente refrenar sus ojos</i>	(Spanish)
“but [the following] is necessary so that the mistress is honest: & so that she can be entirely clean & chaste: first of all to restrain her eyes” (CDH, 1494, Anónimo: <i>De las mujeres ilustres en romance</i>)		

- 125 For Portuguese *por inteiro*, although attested since the 16th century, there are no attestations of pre-position in CdP (Genre/historical), neither with verbs nor with adjectives.
- 126 To sum up, the ‘attraction force’ of a paradigm, seemingly, is stronger between similar items (-*mente*-adverbs attract other -*mente*-adverbs) than between formally different items (e.g., *mente*-adverbs and PA-patterns). Also, frequency plays a role: the more types (see the different lexemes in the -*mente*-paradigm of degree quantifiers) and the more tokens (see the relative frequencies in Section 2.4) a paradigm has, the easier it is for it to attract new members such as *completamente*. The corresponding PA-paradigm of degree quantifiers, with eventually *por completo* in it, is much smaller (lower type and lower token frequency, see Section 2.4), and, therefore, probably evolves slower.

4.3. Semantic context restrictions and no conventionalization

- 127 Both Sp./Pt. *por completo* and Sp./Pt. *completamente* are limited to bridging/critical contexts (i.e., ambiguous contexts between aspectual quantification and possible additional degree quantification as a contextual inference) and switch/isolating contexts (i.e., foregrounding of degree quantification). This means that their interpretation is highly bound to specific contexts. Since these adverb(ial)s cannot modify any scalar adjective, they do not reach the conventionalization stage. As we have seen throughout the corpus analysis, *completamente* and *por completo* always mark the maximum limit of a property of a modified element, be it verb or adjective, be it telic and scalar, or only scalar, via their semantic trait DES.MAX.LIM, a semantic trait that is already inherent in the core semantics of aspectual ‘completeness’ of *completamente* and *por completo*, derived from the adjective *completo*.

- 128 Especially in adjective modification, this semantic trait of DES.MAX.LIM can be very different depending on the specific adjective in the scope of *por completo* or *completamente*. For example, in the case of Sp./Pt. *completamente calvo* ‘bold’, there is a natural, inherent maximum limit (MAX.LIM): no single hair is left. Similarly, Sp./Pt. *por completo cubierto/coberto (de agua/água)* ‘completely covered (by water)’ refers to a natural limit, from which on something is covered 100% (e.g., by water). Contrarily, in the case of other adjectives, such a MAX.LIM property may only be created contextually. For example, *completamente libre/libre* may be interpreted – when subdividing the property of ‘freedom’ into several aspects or domains – in very different ways: ranging from, e.g., ‘100% free in one single aspect’ (e.g., complete liberty of movement; free from all sins; free from all possible attachments, etc.) to a more general ‘100% free in all possible aspects’. In any case, there is a MAX.LIM, albeit being subject to subjective or objective definition. Similarly, Sp./Pt. *por completo inútil* can, e.g., mean ‘100% useless for one specific use’ or ‘useless in every possible aspect’, but in any case, the adjective has the potential for the semantic property MAX.LIM. Again, the exact definition of this limit is negotiable, but MAX.LIM is strong enough to facilitate the modification of such adverbs by *por completo* and *completamente*.
- 129 Contrarily, adjectives that denote scalar properties that have no clearly definable maximum (no MAX.LIM) cannot or can only marginally be modified by *completamente* and *por completo*. For example, *#por completo feo/feio*, *#por completo grande*, *#por completo fácil* or *#por completo joven/jovem* are not documented in CORPES XXI and CdP. It would be very difficult to exactly determine what a 100% limit of ugliness, greatness, easiness, or youth would be. Furthermore, one or something can always be (in a rather clearly definable way) uglier, greater/older, easier, younger, etc. Therefore, *por completo* does not reach the conventionalization stage as a degree quantifier, i.e., it remains restricted to MAX.LIM adjectives (those for which a semantic maximum limit can be somehow established within comprehensible reasoning). The fact that *por completo* cannot combine with adjectives whose semantics cannot be interpreted as having a clearly definable maximum (MAX.LIM) shows that *por completo*, as a degree quantifier, retains an essential semantic trait from its core meaning

as an aspectual quantifier (the completion of a telic process culminates when reaching a maximum limit).

- 130 The same combinatorial restriction holds, basically, for *completamente*, too. For example, there are no attestations of Sp. *#completamente grande*, *#completamente jóven* or *#completamente fácil* in CORPES XXI and no attestations of Pt. *#completamente jovem* in CdP (Web/Dialects). However, *completamente* shows more combinatorial possibilities than *por completo* in both languages. There are some few attestations of Sp. *completamente feio* and Pt. *completamente feio/grande/fácil/simples* (the Pt. examples come from CdP [Web/Dialects] and are taken from websites or/and blogs). In some of these examples, it is not clear if a maximum limit, e.g., of easiness (e.g., easy in all possible aspects? See the comments in the preceding paragraph), can be established:

(47)	<i>Falar é completamente fácil, quando se têm palavras em mente que expressem sua opinião. Difícil é expressar por gestos e atitudes o que realmente queremos dizer, o quanto queremos dizer, antes que a pessoa se vá.</i>	(Portuguese)
“Talking is completely easy when you have words in mind to express your opinion. It’s difficult to express through gestures and attitudes what you really want to say, how much you want to say before the person leaves.” (CdP Web/Dialects, Brasil, 21st century, Web)		

- 131 Examples like (47) could indicate, possibly and potentially, a further *semantic-pragmatic context expansion* and generalization of *completamente* as a degree quantifier of any scalar adjective even the ones without *MAX.LIM*. One could argue that this function evolves stepwise, from adjectives with easily definable *MAX.LIM* to adjectives that are more and more vague concerning the construction of a (then deeply subjective) *MAX.LIM*, until adjectives are modified for whom in no way a possible *MAX.LIM* property can be construed. I.e., the semantic trait *DES.MAX.LIM* of *completamente* would be lost, leaving only ‘denoting high degree’ as the remaining semantic trait. Such examples are, however, very marginal and therefore do not allow us to postulate that Pt. *completamente* is fully conventionalized as a degree quantifier. At this point, we simply cannot determine whether Pt. *completamente* is more ‘advanced’ than Sp. *completamente*, because the respective corpora (CdP [Web/dialects] and CORPES XXI) are not comparable in size and composition (e.g.,

sources from the Internet, or not, etc.) and, therefore, do not allow for a comparison of collocational patterns between the two corpora/languages. However, remember that, in our 20th-century data from CdP and CDH, Pt. *completamente* (69,05 per one million words) is more frequent than Sp. *completamente* (54,86 per million; see Section 2.4).

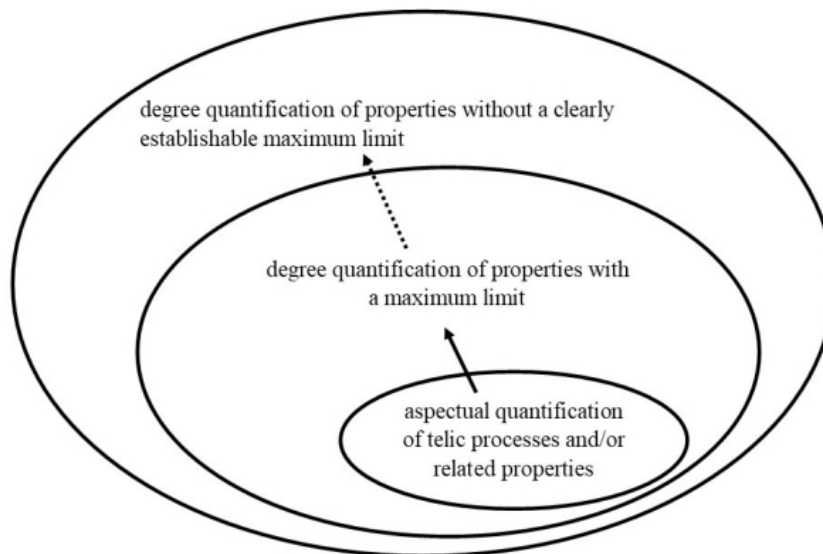
- 132 A closer look at the sub-paradigm of aspectual quantifiers that are also used as degree quantifiers reveals the following: just like Sp./Pt. *completamente* and *por completo*, the adverbs Sp./Pt. *enteramente/inteiramente*, *plenamente*, and *totalmente* are also not possible or very uncommon in combinations like the ones mentioned above (Sp./Pt. *#enteramente feo/inteiramente feio*; *#plenamente jóven/jovem*; *#totalmente fácil/simples*, etc.). The semantic trait of DES.MAX.LIM is a defining feature of this sub-paradigm of quantifiers, conditioned by the core semantics of the adverbs it contains. Therefore, the combinatorial possibilities of these adverbs are up front restricted to certain semantic contexts.
- 133 But, on the other hand, other *mente*-adverbs of the degree quantifier paradigm can be more easily combined with non-MAX.LIM adjectives, e.g., *tremendamente feo/feio* ‘tremendously ugly’, *terriblemente grande* ‘terribly big’, *absolutamente fácil* ‘absolutely easy’, and *extremadamente jóven/extremamente jovem* ‘extremely young’ (see Kaul de Marlangeon, 2002: 141; GDLE: § 37.6.5.1). In the case of *tremendamente* and *terriblemente*, the possibility of being degree quantifiers of non-MAX.LIM adjectives results from their semantic source meanings, which do not denote perfection or completion of telic processes, nor the maximum degree of a semantic property, and which, therefore, do not have DES.MAX.LIM as a semantic trait. Sp./Pt. *absolutamente* and *extrem(ad)amente/extremamente* are more interesting in this regard: since they, indeed, dispose of the semantic trait DES.MAX.LIM (Sp./Pt. *extrem(ad)amente/extremamente* at least etymologically), one would expect that they only can be combined with MAX.LIM adjectives, but instead they also appear with non-MAX.LIM adjectives. The semantic-functional evolution suspected to be underway for Sp./Pt. *completamente/por completo* has arguably already taken hold in Sp./Pt. *extrem(ad)amente/extremamente* and *absolutamente*.

134 Since *completamente* and, even more, *por completo* are restricted to certain contexts and cannot freely alternate with other degree quantifiers (e.g., *muy/muito*, *extremadamente/extremamente*), the high degree reading is not a conventionalized independent meaning of these adverb(ial)s. Such a fact is not uncommon: according to Heine (2002: 85), many semantic changes do not surpass the switch-context-stage, i.e., the new interpretation remains limited to contextual inferences in very specific contexts. This seems to be precisely the case here, except for some punctual attestations, e.g., of Pt. *completamente fácil*, which can indicate, as mentioned, the next possible step in the semantic-contextual expansion of such adverb(ial)s.

Conclusion

- 135 Diachronically, the Spanish adverb(ial)s are attested earlier than their Portuguese cognates: 15th century Sp. *completamente*, 17th century Sp. *por completo*, 18th century Pt. *completamente*, 19th century Pt. *por completo*, the latter supposedly a calque of the Sp. PA.
- 136 The evolution of Sp./Pt. *por completo* and *completamente* shows *context expansion* on three levels: *host-class expansion* (modification of verbs > modification of participles and adjectives), *semantic-pragmatic context expansion* (see Figure 5), and *syntactic context expansion* (post-position > pre-position, depending on the approach, see Section 4.1). This evolution is documented earlier for Sp./Pt. *completamente* than for Sp./Pt. *por completo*.
- 137 Based on the development of *por completo* and *completamente*, we suggest the following schema for the semantic expansion from aspectual quantifiers to degree quantifiers:

Figure 5: Semantic context expansion from aspectual quantifiers to degree quantifiers



138 The arrows in Figure 5 show (possible) paths of semantic-functional evolution, for which we documented several bridging/critical and switch/isolating contexts. The interpretation of *por completo* and *completamente* as aspectual quantifiers or degree quantifiers depends mainly on the semantics of the modified element, be it a verb, a participle, or an adjective, and the specific broader context of the sentence. The syntactic position is secondary for the adverbials' semantic interpretation.

139 The black arrow in Figure 5 indicates that both *por completo* and *completamente*, as degree quantifiers, until now, have only, at most, reached what we identified as switch/isolating contexts (represented by the medium ellipse). The ambiguous bridging/critical contexts are, so to speak, the literal 'bridge' between the inner ellipse and the medium ellipse. *Por completo* and *completamente* are restricted to certain contexts in which the modified element can be interpreted as having a maximum limit (MAX.LIM). The dotted arrow indicates a potential next step towards full-fledged degree quantifiers without

restrictions. However, *por completo* and *completamente* do not reach such a final stage of conventionalization, because they lack the capability to modify non-MAX.LIM adjectives (i.e., scalar adjectives that denote a quality that has no clearly definable maximum). However, some scarce examples of this last stage are attested in present-day language (e.g., Pt. *completamente fácil*). Such an evolution seems to have occurred in other Sp./Pt. quantifiers such as *extrem(ad)amente* and *absolutamente* (a hypothesis for further research), which etymologically also had the DES.MAX.LIM trait in Latin (i.e., the corresponding Latin adjectives EXTREMU(M) and ABSOLUTU(M) from which the two MENTE-adverbs were derived from later in Romance).

- 140 The syntactic evolution of Sp./Pt. *completamente* and Sp./Pt. *por completo* differs. As for *por completo*, the analysis of the diachronic data shows that its function as a degree quantifier of adjectives developed step by step, first in post-position and one century later, also in pre-position. On the contrary, the data on *completamente* doesn't show such a step-by-step evolution: the pattern "*completamente* + adjective" (pre-position) is documented right away, without post-position ("adjective + *completamente*") as an intermediate step (which supposedly is even only a later syntactic possibility). We explain this by analogy effects: *completamente* simply followed the pattern of other, earlier attested, pre-posed MENTE-degree quantifiers, such as Sp./Pt. *enteramente/inteiramente*, i.e., it was attracted by an already existing paradigm. Such paradigm effects seem to be weaker for Sp./Pt. *por completo*, which conserves its original aspectual meaning as well as post-position to a higher degree, while for Sp./Pt. *completamente* we can't even establish if ever in the early Romance stages post-position was a substantial option in adjective-modification. This difference is still reflected in synchronic data. In present-day Spanish (for Portuguese, no conclusive data is available), we observe a clear syntactic tendency: adjective-modifying *completamente* almost exclusively occurs in pre-position, while adjective-modifying *por completo* is pre- or post-posed in an almost equal distribution (slightly higher percentage of post-position).
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- 1 We use the term of *polyfunctionality* in the sense of Hummel (2012, 2013): polyfunctional adverbs have more than one adverbial function (e.g., manner adverb and discourse adverb, or manner adverb and quantifier) as a result of semantic-functional changes. Furthermore, the different functions of polyfunctional adverbs are linked by a common underlying function (attribution) and a common basic meaning, which motivates/facilitates the semantic-functional change.
 - 2 The examples in CDH outdate the information given by Coromines (2008 [1973]: s.v. *cumplir*), who dates the productive use of *completo* as an adjective to only 1720.
 - 3 To give an example, consider the following Spanish sentences where the adverb *precisamente* ‘precisely’ can take all the positions numbered (i) – (vii), with varying syntactic scope (commas designate pauses): (i) *Precisamente, Juan comió albóndigas a las tres.* ‘To be precise, John ate meatballs at three o’clock’; (ii) *Precisamente Juan comió albóndigas a las tres.* ‘It was John of all people who ate meatballs at three o’clock’; (iii) *Juan, precisamente, comió albóndigas a las tres.* ‘John, to be precise, ate meatballs at three o’clock’; (iv) *Juan precisamente comió albóndigas a las tres.* ‘John precisely ate meatballs at three o’clock’; (v) *Juan comió precisamente albóndigas a las tres.* ‘John ate precisely meatballs at three o’clock’; (vi) *Juan comió albóndigas precisamente a las tres.* ‘John ate meatballs at exactly three o’clock’; (vii) *Juan comió albóndigas a las tres, precisamente.* ‘John ate meatballs at three o’clock, to be precise’; (...) and so on. Many of the above examples can also have various interpretations.
 - 4 The philological imprecision of CDH in this regard (and CORDE, on which CDH is based) was only discovered by us during the re-elaboration of this article when we rechecked all examples.
 - 5 We searched for *por completo* and *completamente* without any filters. We also checked the combination of any preposition + *completo* in case there were variants (this was not the case, except for the recent PA *al completo*, see 1.3). We checked all possible spellings for *MENTE*, *completamente*, *completamiente*, *completamentre*, *completamiente*, as well separated spellings (*completa mente*, etc.). We also took into account other spellings in the base adjective, like *completo*, combined with all the mentioned variants.

6 For most examples in CdP, only centuries are given, not specific years. Therefore, we cannot search for the earliest documentation of *por completo* in the 19th century. So, contrarily to the sections on Spanish (3.1 and 3.3), we cannot cite the first documentation of each pattern for Portuguese, nor can we always give a precise date for the selected examples.

7 Contrarily, in CDH, many tokens – be they verbs, participles, adjectives, or even nouns – are tagged as more than one part of speech. Therefore, it is not possible to quantify the total number of examples for each pattern in CDH – as in CdP –, because search strings like “verb + *por completo*” produce too much noise. Contrarily, such a search string renders precise results in CORPES XXI.

8 Via the option “inventario”, CORPES XXI gives a list of the most frequent lemmata documented in a specific search pattern.

9 The Portuguese development fits more the expectation that participles as deverbal entities with verbal properties are destined to be the first elements targeted in a host-class expansion of *por completo*. I.e., participles as an ambiguous category between verb and adjective are expected to lay the ground for a later adjective modification. The data on Spanish in CDH, however, does not confirm this. Further studies are needed.

10 Concerning syntactic expansion, one could assume that it is visible with the new syntactic position of the adverb before the modified element. However, since this element is an adjective and the first documentation of adjective quantification by Sp. *completamente* already has *completamente* appear before the modified adjective, the question arises if, when modifying adjectives, adverbs/quantifiers (but not adverbial/quantifying PPs) haven't been in pre-position all along since Latin, but such a syntactic position simply doesn't show in the available Romance data (i.e., no earlier attestation of pre-position, and of *completamente* in general; see also Menéndez Pidal's (1986 [1926]) latent state in 4.1). Since the new (new, according to the available data) host-class (adjective), right from the start, is documented with pre-posed *completamente*, a syntactic expansion of the type “post-position > pre-position” within the domain of adjective modification cannot be assumed on a theoretical level. Rather, it is the other way round according to the data in CDH and CORPES XXI: pre-position to adjectives (documented earlier) precedes post-position to adjectives, which is documented later and still marginally these days (again, always speaking of morphologically marked adverbs, not of adverbial PPs).

English

This paper examines four adverbial cognates in Spanish and Portuguese, Sp. *por completo*, Pt. *por completo*, Sp. *completamente*, and Pt. *completamente*, from a historical and functional point of view. Our analysis is based on three major corpora of Spanish and Portuguese (CDH, CdP, and CORPES XXI). The four adverb(ial)s share the same base adjective or etymon, Lat. *COMPLETUS*, from which Pt. *por completo* only stems indirectly, as it is probably a calque from Sp. *por completo*. These four cognates are polyfunctional: they are aspectual quantifiers and degree quantifiers. We find that the interpretation of these adverbials primarily depends on the semantics of the modified element as well as on the broader context of the sentence. The syntactic position of the adverbials plays a minor role in this interpretation. We argue that the degree quantifier function develops from the aspectual function and that this is the result of a diachronic evolution via ambiguous bridging/critical contexts and switch/isolate contexts. This evolution started in the 15th century with Sp. *completamente*, and we consider this a case of context expansion (encompassing *host-class expansion*, *semantic-pragmatic context expansion*, and *syntactic expansion*). Sp./Pt. *por completo* and *completamente*, as degree quantifiers, retain semantic traits from their original aspectual meaning and remain restricted to certain contexts: they only modify linguistic elements whose semantics has the property of a maximum limit. Therefore, they are not conventionalized as degree quantifiers. Regarding syntax, we observe a difference between Sp./Pt. *por completo* and Sp./Pt. *completamente*: the latter is attested right away as a pre-posed adjective-modifier, whereas the former develops this pattern step-by-step (first, post-position, and only later on pre-position).

Français

Cet article examine quatre cognats adverbiaux en espagnol et en portugais, esp. *por completo*, pt. *por completo*, esp. *completamente*, et pt. *completamente*, d'un point de vue historique et fonctionnel. Notre analyse est basée sur trois corpus majeurs d'espagnol et de portugais (CDH, CdP, et CORPES XXI). Les quatre adverbes partagent le même adjectif de base ou étymon, lat. *COMPLETUS*, dont pt. *por completo* ne découle qu'indirectement, puisqu'il s'agit probablement d'un calque de l'espagnol *por completo*. Ces quatre cognats sont polyfonctionnels : ce sont soit des quantificateurs aspectuels, soit des quantificateurs de degré. Nous constatons que l'interprétation des adverbes étudiés dépend principalement de la sémantique de l'élément modifié ainsi que du contexte plus large de la phrase ; la position syntaxique de l'adverbe joue un rôle mineur dans cette interprétation. Nous soutenons que la fonction de quantificateur de degré résulte de la fonction aspectuelle et que ceci est le résultat d'une évolution diachronique via des contextes ambigus (*bridging/critical contexts*) et des contextes de transition (*switch/isolating contexts*). Cette évolution

commence au xv^e siècle avec esp. *completamente*, par un phénomène d'expansion de contexte (englobant l'expansion de la *host-class*, l'expansion du contexte sémantico-pragmatique et l'expansion syntaxique).

Por completo et *completamente*, en tant que quantificateurs de degré, conservent des traits sémantiques de leur sens aspectuel d'origine et restent limités à certains contextes : ils ne modifient que des éléments linguistiques dont la sémantique a la propriété d'une limite maximale. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils ne sont pas conventionnalisés en tant que quantificateurs de degré. En ce qui concerne la syntaxe, nous observons une différence entre esp./pt. *por completo* et esp./pt. *completamente* : ce dernier est attesté d'emblée comme modificateur des adjectifs prépositionnés, alors que le premier développe ce schéma par étapes (d'abord, postposition, et seulement plus tard, préposition).

Mots-clés

adverbe, quantificateur aspectuel, quantificateur de degré, polyfonctionnalité, contexte de transition, contexte de changement, expansion

Keywords

adverbial aspectual quantifier, degree quantifier, polyfunctionality, bridging context, switch context, context expansion

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Going “out” to Vienna: Sociogeographic perspectivization in Central European languages

Aller « dehors » à Vienne : perspectivisation sociogéographique dans des langues d'Europe centrale

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Introduction

1. SAPs as indicators of cognitive maps
2. SAPs as pragmatic device
3. The life cycle of a SAP
4. SAPs as an areal feature

Conclusion

Introduction

- 1 In this paper we investigate the function of spatial adverbs or preverbs (hence SAPs) as used in combination with toponyms in nonstandard varieties of Alpine Gallo-Romance, Upper German, Slovenian, Hungarian, Burgenland Croatian and Romani. These SAPs symbolize the route between reference point and destination in form of a trajectory, and are illustrated in the following examples:

(1)	<i>i</i>	<i>fahr</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>Graz</i>	auf-i^a	(Austro-Bavarian German)
	1SG	go.1SG.PRS	to	Graz.TOP	up-thither	
	“I go to Graz.” (questionnaire)					
	a. Note that the thither-morpheme <i>-i</i> is contrasted with a hither-morpheme <i>-a</i> in Austro-Bavarian German. The former indicates movement towards a location distinct from the deictic center, whereas the latter encodes movement towards the deictic centre. For example, <i>ein-i</i> translates as ‘into a location distinct from the deictic center’ and <i>ein-a</i> as ‘into the location of the deictic center’ (see Gruber, 2014, for a detailed discussion).					

(2)	<i>i</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jormana</i>	fora	<i>(i)n</i>	<i>Puster</i>	(Badiot Ladin)
	1SG	have	INDEF.ART	cousin	outside	in	Pusteria valley.TOP	
"I have a cousin in Pusteria valley." (Prandi, 2015: 119)								

(3)	<i>smo</i>	<i>Kethej</i>	[...]	<i>ovo</i>	nutri	(Burgenland Croatian)
	be.1PL.PRS	Neumarkt.TOP	[...]	there	inside	
"We went there, to Neumarkt." (Tornow, 2011: 107)						

(4)	<i>jek</i>	<i>hi</i>	avral	<i>Betsch-is-te</i>	<i>sohar-d-i</i>	(Burgenland Romani)
	One.INDEF	be.3SG.PRS	outside	Vienna.TOP-OBL-LOC	married-PP.F	
"One is married in Vienna." (Wogg and Halwachs, 1998: 33)						

(5)	dol-ta^a	<i>Maribor</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>pelj-em</i>	(Dialectal Slovenian from north-eastern Slovenia)
	down-thither	Maribor.TOP	REFL	go-1SG.PRS	
"I'm going to Maribor." (elicitation)					
a. This dialectal adverb combines the directional <i>dol</i> 'down' with a thither-morpheme <i>ta</i> and thus resembles the Austro-Bavarian German combined directionals.					

(6)	ki-megy-ek	<i>Angliá-ba</i>	ki-megy-ek	<i>Franciország-ba</i>	(Hungarian)
	outwards-go-1SG.PRS	England.TOP-into	outwards-go-1SG.PRS	France.TOP-into	
"I'm going to England, I'm going to France." (questionnaire)					

(7)	<i>wi-ëm</i>	<i>ëmol</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Béjmi</i>	wri	(Sinti Romani from Austria)
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come-1SG.PF	once	to	DEF.ART	Bohemia.TOP	outwards
"Once I went to Bohemia." (Knobloch, 1950: 240)					

- 2 These SAPs are used when the remote place is explicitly named or when it can be deduced from the context. They are not used literally and there are regional differences in their application. They are neither analysable as synonyms for cardinal directions such as *up* for *north* nor as fixed expressions such as "Down Under" for Australia. A relation that is denoted with *up* may coincide with a northward direction or higher altitude but does not have to. Additionally, the hearer typically does not interpret one such SAP as offering directional or topographic content. Considering these conditions, the SAPs seem to convey redundant information. We suppose, however, that they are not redundant and thus we aim at answering the following research questions:

What exactly is the function of these SAPs and why are they used in this particular way in a range of typologically differing adjacent languages?

- 3 This paper relies on research data from questionnaires exploring how and why to use SAPs in combination with toponyms, spontaneous utterances and qualitative interviews, online sources such as internet forums, consultations with linguists¹, and secondary literature. First, we compiled a preliminary questionnaire that we tested and subsequently refined under consideration of the difficulties presented in the test run (e.g. lack of clarity of a question, or ambiguous reading by the consultants). The questionnaire was distributed for German (21 participants aged 17-78), Hungarian (53 participants aged 18-75), Slovenian (34 participants aged 18-63), and Prekmurje Romani (9 participants aged 9-42). The questionnaire inquired about age as well as current and previous places of residence, and comprised 8 ensuing questions. At the outset, the participants were presented with uncontextualized SAPs and asked whether they were familiar with them. Subsequently, they were asked to produce sentences with "going to" and toponyms in the way they use them. The final part comprised contrastive examples, one with and one without a SAP. The participants were asked to choose the more appropriate sample, with the option to write down the reason for their choice following each example. At the closing, the

questionnaire offered the option to write down additional thoughts on the matter as well as contact information in case they were interested in a personal interview.

- 4 This paper is structured as follows: In Section 1, we will discuss the function of SAPs in the spatial domain, and in Section 2, we will demonstrate that their functional range goes beyond spatial orientation. In Section 3, we will examine how such combinations of toponyms and SAPs emerge. Section 4 investigates this phenomenon from an areal linguistic perspective and shows that it is by far more widespread than assumed heretofore.

1. SAPs as indicators of cognitive maps

- 5 There are several works on the use of SAPs in combination with toponyms. For German, the most comprehensive description can be found in Stadelmann's (1978) monograph on the phenomenon in western Upper German varieties. Other notable works for German are Huber (1968), Rowley (1980) and Reichel (2003). Fazakas (2007, 2015) has examined the usage of preverbs in Hungarian from the 15th century onward and offers insights into how and why certain spatial preverbs have been used in combination with toponyms. Further research investigating the phenomenon in Hungarian has been carried out, inter alia, by Mátai (1992) and Szilágyi (1996). To the best of our knowledge, for Slovenian, there are only a small number of works that briefly discuss SAPs in the context of this usage (Isačenko, 1939; Reindl, 2008; Šekli, 2008). More recently, Prandi (2015) has examined the phenomenon in Alpine Romance dialects in Italy and Switzerland, defining it as a *ground-oriented deictic system* representing cognitive maps shared by a local community. Prandi's paper also provides an overview of earlier works related to Romance varieties. However, Stadelmann (1978) has already noted that the reference point is not an egocentric origo (Bühler, 1982 [1934]) but is shared by a local community, such as the population of a valley or a town.
- 6 The social dimension of these SAPs has only been addressed marginally, for instance in Huber (1968: 33-35) who mentions the

negative connotation of *hinterhin* “thither back” in south-western Upper German varieties (cf. English “backward”). An exception to this is Fazakas’ (2007) work in which she analyses the urban/rural connotation of the Hungarian adverb pair *fel/le* “up/down”. Another remarkable work on the social dimension is Grill (2012) who examines the use of the corresponding adverb pair *opre/tele* “up/down” with regard to better living conditions for Roma in Great Britain in Eastern Slovak Romani varieties² where *opre* is used when going to England while *tele* is used for the opposite direction.

- 7 Stadelmann (1978: 124-126) makes the interesting observation that the SAPs used with toponyms refer to an additional “third place” that remains obscure and is thus often unclear or even disputed among speakers. Thus, the local adverb *avral* “outside” in (4) not only refers back to the home village of the speaker in Burgenland through shared knowledge but also to a third place “outside” of which Vienna is located. This third place may coincide with the reference point such as in (4) where the village is imagined as located within a container, and Vienna as being situated outside of said container (see Figure 2). In (1), on the other hand, the SAP *up* seems to refer to the flow direction of the Raab river (see Figure 1 and Section 3), i.e., that “third place” is located *between* the reference point and the destination.

Figure 1



Figure 2



- 8 Considering Levinson's (2003) typology of spatial referential strategies, the SAPs in combination with toponyms are particular since they, by themselves, do not provide angular information – a prerequisite for Frames of Reference (hence FoR). FoRs encode where a goal (or entity) is located relative to a source reference by employing one of three perspectives: relative, intrinsic, or absolute. As toponyms are anchored in absolute space, one might assume that the speaker employs an absolute FoR in the present case, but typically, these SAPs encode a *relative* FoR between communities since their referential specificities differ from region to region and encode a speaker's (or community's) perspective. Comprehending what the SAPs as used in a respective community refer to is only possible for someone who has access to knowledge shared by that community. In this sense, within the community – or within certain groups of the community – speakers may interpret SAPs as having an absolute reading, since specific SAPs are used for fixed directions/regions. However, more often than not, the interpretation of the SAP's reading is a matter of vigorous debate within communities (especially intergenerationally) as well as between communities (but see Section 3 for a general shift to an absolute FoR reading).

- 9 Whether or not speakers are aware of or have an opinion on what a certain SAP refers to (a certain valley form, movement towards the main town, etc.), they merely represent abstractions of the actual route. These abstractions reduce the path through terrain to trajectories that can be described with image schemas (see Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Vertical orientation metaphors (*up/down*), for instance, may refer to the Alps; hence, in south-western Germany, *up* in many cases denotes a southward direction (see Stadelmann, 1978: 318). The containment metaphor of Vienna being *outside* in (4) is used similarly to the Hungarian *ki* “out”, often referring to places outside one’s own village, which is imagined as a closed entity (Fazakas, 2015: 52-53).
- 10 As said before, the SAPs only provide angular information if the hearer is aware of how they are used in the speaker’s community. For instance, going *up* to Graz in (1) cannot be understood by somebody who does not know that Graz is imagined as *up* in eastern Styria. In such a case, the hearer cannot deduce the source and triangulation point within the FoR, as this depends on knowledge of SAP choices in that region. The same is true if no toponym is named or if it cannot be deduced from the context. Just telling somebody to go “down” has a myriad of meanings since it remains unclear what is meant by “down”. The SAPs, thus, cannot be used as pro-forms unless the toponyms they refer to have been mentioned earlier or are deducible from the context.
- 11 The SAPs also encode spatial deictic information. Applying a threefold distinction, the choice of an SAP determines whether the speaker considers the toponym as proximal, medial or distal to the origo. As with the trajectories discussed above, the deictic interpretation of an SAP is region and community specific, with a prominent example being *umhin* “(horizontally) across.” It can denote both proximal, medial and distal meanings, as seen in its usage in dialectal German in Oberviechtach, Bavaria. It is used for both close locations on roughly the same altitude, places separated from the reference point by an obstacle, and faraway locations such as the USA (see Wohlgemuth and Nachtmann, 1980: 221-222). *Out*, on the other hand, has been described as conveying distality by one person from Western Styria (the foothills of the Alps west of Graz):

(8)	Wien sagt ma “aufsi” weil es weit is; weil ma halt aus dem Zentralgebiet wo ma normal is weg fahrt.	(Austro-Bavarian German)
“One says ‘out’ to Vienna because it’s far away; because one goes away from the central area where one usually is.” (questionnaire)		

- 12 This observation resembles the way *out* is used in the Burgenland Romani (4) and Hungarian (6) samples. However, in south-western German varieties *out* is also used for locations perceived as proximal or medial, namely for routes towards the flatland from the perspective of mountain villages (see Stadelmann, 1978: 342–343).
- 13 Typically, the assignment of specific SAPs to particular toponyms is agreed upon within a community. Despite this general tendency, exceptions exist: even within families, different choices of SAPs with the same toponym and distinct FoR codings may coexist side by side. One of our interviewees, whose family resides at the foot of a mountain pass in the Austrian Alps (Pyhrn pass), has noted variations in her family’s selection of SAPs in conjunction with Vienna. She uses *up* (“Wien aufi”), while other family members either use *across* (“Wien ummi”) or *down* (“Wien owi”). Vienna lies roughly 700 meters lower than the reference point, which could explain the use of the SAP *down*. In contrast, the SAP *across*, among other things, may refer to terrain with obstacles. The family member employing *across* is reported to frequently travel to Vienna and to feel a familiarity with the city. Considering this, the choice of *across* can be understood as conveying perceived proximity. However, the interviewee herself noted that she interprets the SAPs as referring to cardinal directions (see also Section 3) rather than the surrounding topography or the topographical differences between the Alps and the position of Vienna in a basin to the east of the Alps. Thus, when she uses *up*, she refers to a position to the *north* of her family’s home. Nonetheless, Vienna lies significantly more to the east than to the north of the family’s home. Interestingly, she seems to be aware of this and gives an explanation for the family member’s choice of *across*:

(9)	weil er genau weiß dass [Wien] auf der Landkarten mehr ummi als aufi is.	(Austro-Bavarian German)
“because he knows exactly that on a map, [Vienna] is more across than up.” (interview)		

2. SAPs as pragmatic device

- 14 Different from the early debate in cognitive linguistics on linguistic vs. environmental primacy in spatial encoding, more recent approaches (e.g. Bohnemeyer et al., 2014; Dasen and Mishra, 2010) propose an intermediate stance: Even if spatial thought is not utterly determined (and determinable) by the respective surrounding environment, the environment does play a partial role (see Palmer et al., 2017: 458). The fact that the SAPs make both geographic and social references supports the intermediate stance. They are not rooted in geography alone, but refer to the sociogeographic situation of a community. This rootedness in both the social and geographic spheres is well illustrated in the explanation of why the term *owi* “down” is used, as uttered by the same person as in (8):

(10)	<i>Von St. Stefan fahren die Leut nach Stainz “owi”, da wo’s zu die Tschuschn geht; und es geht bergab.</i>	(Austro-Bavarian German)
	“From St. Stefan the people go ‘down’ to Stainz, there where the way leads to the Tschuschn [derogatory term for the inhabitants of former Yugoslavia]; and it goes downhill.” (questionnaire)	

- 15 The use of the derogatory term “Tschuschn” for the neighbouring Slovenes implies a distinctly negative social reference conveyed by the SAP *down*, even extending to locations in that direction within Austria. The use of *down* is then further explained by a geographic argument, namely, the observation that the route between the two places literally leads downwards. An interesting point in comparison with (10) is the observation of the use of *up*, conveying a positive social reference in Hungarian:

(11)	<i>Nyugati országokra másképp tekintünk, pedig nem feltétlenül északra, “felfelé” van, hanem “balra”, mégis felmegyünk, valahogy felnézünk, nem földrajzilag viszonyítunk. Annyiszor hallottam Bécsre, Párizsra. Aztán akadnak számomra kicsit szándékosnak tűnő kifejezések, amelyek kicsit alárendeltséget mutatnak, mondjuk Romániával kapcsolatban. Míg sokan Sopronból felmennek Bécsbe, Budapestre, Velencébe, Bukarestbe nem.</i>	(Hungarian)
	“We look at Western countries in a different way, although they are not really in the north, ‘upwards’, but ‘to the left’, we still go up, somehow we look up, we do not orient ourselves geographically. I’ve so often heard that for Vienna, Paris. Then there are expressions that in my opinion sound a bit deliberate, that show a bit subordination, for instance in combination with Romania. From Sopron many people go up to Vienna, Budapest, Venice, but not to Bucharest.” (questionnaire)	

- 16 This demonstrates that the geographic and social references are not exclusive but complementary. The SAPs can serve as abstractions encompassing a multitude of references within space. In other words, these SAPs represent *linguistic manifestations* of the *perceived environment*. Their accomplishment is not so much the cognitive mapping of remote places but *perspectivization* (see e.g. Geeraerts, 2006) based on one's home region. This means that they act as pragmatic devices allowing a speaker to signal the hearer to interpret an utterance from a certain sociogeographic perspective. Based on that, the SAPs enable speakers to *locate* themselves in space by their relation to remote places, as is illustrated through the following sample:

(12)	Auf Graz owi. Auf Liazen owi, auf Schladming aufi, auf Aussee eini. Und auf Salzburg außi. Hiatz wissts, wo i dahoam bin.	(Austro-Bavarian German)
	"Downwards to Graz. Downwards to Liezen, upwards to Schladming, inwards to Aussee. And outwards to Salzburg. Now you know where I'm at home." (internet post) ^a	
	a. From an internet survey on SAPs carried out by a private radio station, https://www.facebook.com/antennestmk/photos/a.10150742113181779/10158879833451779/?type=3 (22 November, 2023.)	

- 17 Furthermore, data from our questionnaires indicate that – at least in Austro-Bavarian German – the SAPs also denote *aspectual telicity* (see Moser, 2014: 115-116) and *return path* (Wilkins, 2006: 41). As a speaker of Austro-Bavarian German from Graz pointed out, the directional in a phrase like *noch Wian außifoahrn* "to go out to Vienna" also implies returning to the home region at some point in the future, i.e. the motion event is timely limited and ends at the reference point. The notion of return is well illustrated in (13). The question was whether or not to use the SAP *ausßi* "outwards" when going to Germany and returning the same day:

(13)	<i>ausßi</i> -> dann muß [sic] wieder "eini" kommen	(Austro-Bavarian German)
	"outwards-> then one must come 'inwards' again" (questionnaire)	

- 18 This finding resembles the semantics of the SAPs in Hungarian where they are used to denote perfective aspect (see Forgács, 2004; Knittel, 2015). While a sentence like *Mentem Budapestre* is understood as "I was on the way to Budapest", the same sentence with the preverb *fel*

“up”, *Felmentem Budapestre*, means “I went to Budapest [and I am there now, or I was there and I am back home again].”

3. The life cycle of a SAP

19 Each relation expressed by a SAP, for instance Maribor being “down” from the perspective of the village in north-eastern Slovenia in (5), has a certain origin. Somebody must have perceived it that way and this perspective must have spread among the community. Thus, the emergence of a new relation expressed by a certain SAP is based on personal experience or, as one of our interviewees put it, on *gefühlte Richtungen* “felt directions”. An illustrative example for the emergence of a new relation expressed by a SAP based on perception is the utterance of a three-year-old boy about the route to his childminder.³ The boy’s home is located on a hill range between a village and Graz where his childminder lives. While walking through the village with his parents, he remarked that his childminder lived *up there* (pointing to his home) and that from home there is another road leading to the childminder. Coming from the direction of his home, the childminder lives down the hill, prompting him to explicitly state that there is an additional road since *up* only refers to one part of the way. At this first stage of *experience*, using a certain SAP is individual and may become part of community knowledge if accepted, at least partly. As Stadelmann (1978) shows, in most cases, there is general agreement in a community which SAP to use with certain toponyms, while in others, several SAPs are used side by side. Once in frequent use, the use of a certain SAP enters the second stage, *tradition*. As mentioned above, the reasons for the assignment of a specific SAP to a specific direction can become obscure for a community over time. Our elicitations and questionnaire data on why a certain SAP is used yielded answers like “that’s just how we say it”. At this stage, the SAPs might have already been handed down over generations and may point to old routes not used any longer (e.g., due to new roads, see Reichel, 2003: 24). They evolve into shared knowledge that is independent from personal experience. The third stage is the transfer of established SAPs onto new locations, which we term *analogy*. Obviously, not every place in the world is assigned an SAP in the perceived environment of a certain community. But as soon as a place gains significance in

discourse, it may enter the system by being assigned the same SAP as that of a place close to it, or more precisely of a place experienced as close to it. Thus, analogy leads to the emergence of regions that are referred to by a single SAP (see also Stadelmann, 1978: 317; Tyroller, 1980: 70).

- 20 Huber (1968) equates the use of SAPs with a down-to-earth attitude and their absence with rootlessness. Later works are less essentialist and explain the decline with greater mobility and the growing influence of the respective standard languages. Cognitive linguistic research shows that there are differences in the use of spatial language within language communities. These depend on culturally and socially induced factors interacting with environmental features. For instance, Danziger (1999) shows that Mopan (Mayan) fieldworkers employ cardinal directions more often than those working in the house or village. Along these lines, Shapero (2017) shows that in a Peruvian community, those who had worked as herders in the surrounding Andes exhibit more geocentric referential strategies than those who had not. Palmer et al. (2017) illustrate that spatial expressions in Dhivehi and Marshallese seem to have a stronger tendency to be connected to the topography of the land if speakers commonly move through and interact with the environment; urban centered speakers show a weaker tendency to use spatial expressions in that way. Our data show a similar situation: People living in urban centers repeatedly reported to be aware of the usage of SAPs by other speakers, but that they themselves were not using them. The reason not to use them can, however, be based on deliberate choice too. One interviewee described using them as “rural” and “dialectal”, something she has striven to distance herself from ever since moving to an urban area. She pointed out repeatedly not to use them, not to be able to “relate” to them and also not to know which SAP might be used with which location as she had never “learned” them. Ultimately, however, she recalled quite vividly which SAPs inhabitants of her birthplace used.
- 21 There also seems to be an ongoing change of what SAPs refer to, or how they are decoded, respectively. While some keep using and understand them as encoding a relative FoR based on within-community knowledge, others interpret them as references to cardinal directions. This may lead to a shift towards an *absolute* or

geocentric FoR reading (see also Bohnemeyer et al., 2022) that is no longer dependent on community knowledge. In other words, younger generations tend to interpret *up/down* as cross-community proxies for *north/west* and *across* for *east* and *west* (cf. the discussion of one interviewee's interpretation in Section 1). A discussion between two German speakers from south-eastern Styria in their thirties triggered by the question about which SAP to use when going to Hungary illustratively shows this ongoing transformation: One person said to use *Ungarn ummi* "across to Hungary" since it lies to the east. He then stated that he identified north with *aufi* "up" and south with *owi* "down" while using *ummi* "across" for east and west. This has been opposed by another person insisting that one goes *owi* "down" to Hungary, based on the Raab river rising from the eastern fringes of the Alps and flowing eastwards to Hungary. Another example shows, however, that SAPs may only be reinterpreted partially: A woman from western Hungary, around 80 years old, reported to orient herself according to cardinal directions when using SAPs in combination with toponyms. Consequently, for her Croatia was *down* and Slovakia was *up*. Upon the question about the position of Austria (west) and Romania (east) she stated, however, that they were *outside*, employing the relative FoR containment metaphor.

4. SAPs as an areal feature

- 22 SAPs used in the particular way described here are found in southern Central Europe in varieties from all major European language families (Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Romance, and Slavic) and an Indo-Aryan language (the Romani varieties spoken in the area). We did not, however, find traces of them in surrounding Czech, Slovak, Romanian as well as other Romance varieties in northern Italy. This includes Friulian, a Romance language spoken in a region adjacent to Austria and Slovenia. On the Slovenian side of the border, however, the existence of SAPs with toponyms in the local Slovenian variety is confirmed by Šekli's (2008) research. Our data show, in line with the existing literature, that in German, Romance and Slovenian varieties the use of SAPs is gradually decreasing the further away a variety is from the Alps.

- 23 Studies in which SAPs are characterized as an areal phenomenon are available for Romance-German (Huber, 1968; Stadelmann, 1978; Rowley, 1980, Gaeta and Seiler, 2021; Bernini, 2021) and Slovenian-German (Isačenko, 1939; Reindl, 2008). These works focus on small bilingual regions in the Alps and describe using SAPs with toponyms as language convergence caused by the Alpine topography. To the best of our knowledge, there is no source on using SAPs with toponyms as areal phenomenon that includes Burgenland Croatian, Hungarian and Romani.
- 24 SAPs are not the only linguistic feature that has been discussed as areal phenomenon in Central Europe. Newerkla (2004) gives a comprehensive overview of theorizing a Central European or Danube sprachbund. Kiefer (2010) proposes a linguistic area that is characterized by the use of prefixes and/or preverbs providing verbs with aktionsarten. That area comprises the Slavic languages, Hungarian, German, Yiddish and Romani varieties spoken in the respective regions. Recently, Gaeta and Seiler (2021) have suggested an Alpine sprachbund based on structural similarities, including SAPs used with toponyms.
- 25 Local multilingual communities in the Alps indeed share the same ecology and, as we have noted before, the Alps appear to be the core region of using SAPs with toponyms, at least for German, Romance and Slovenian varieties. Stadelmann's (1978) comprehensive analysis shows that in the flatland the references to topography apply to larger areas than in the mountains. Fazakas (2007, 2015) shows, in line with Stadelmann's observation, that in Hungarian references to settlements and rivers are more common with regard to SAPs than those to altitude. However, Berthele (2006: 215) reminds us that an equation of a mountainous home region and the use of SAPs with toponyms does not take into account the existence of this phenomenon in southern German varieties outside the Alps and the fact that the frequent use of SAPs in German is not bound to topics involving the own topographic environment. As we have elaborated in Section 2, a purely topographic analysis fails to capture the functional range of SAPs. Similarly, assuming one type of salient topography to be the source for their emergence fails to explain why SAPs used with toponyms are found in topographically highly diverse regions of southern Central Europe, especially when considering Hungarian

which is primarily spoken in the Carpathian basin, a region that forms a stark contrast to the Alps.

- 26 Another approach is to consider directional language contact, i.e., to presuppose that using SAPs with toponyms emerged among a certain, perhaps bilingual, community and later spread to adjacent languages. Since no SAP is borrowed directly in any of the languages, the spread of using SAPs in this particular way would in such a scenario be a form of pattern replication (Matras, 2020), a creative process in which speakers rebuild a linguistic structure from a source language with its closest match in the target language. Another possibility is that one or more languages of the region have caused the others to undergo metatypic restructuring of the semantics of SAPs as it has happened on North Maluku Island where local Malay speakers use Malay directionals to express the ground-based orientation system used by the local indigenous population (Bowden, 2005).
- 27 Regarding time, Huber (1968) was able to trace SAPs used with toponyms back to the Old High German period and Fazakas (2007, 2015) found them in Hungarian sources from the 15th century onward. Prandi (2015) even hypothesizes that they are the source for particle verbs in Romance varieties in northern Italy. This is, in turn, opposed by Bernini (2021: 64) who submits that the SAPs have a higher prevalence in German–Romance bilingual areas. If we assumed the Alps to be the origin of this phenomenon, it would imply that remote Alpine German varieties spoken by relatively few people have substantially impacted the surrounding densely populated regions. However, Bernini (2021: 42) shows that the opposite is the case. It rather seems to us, that using SAPs with toponyms has been best preserved in the Alps.
- 28 Due to the lack of sufficient historical data from the languages discussed, the theories on the emergence and spread of this way of using SAPs in southern Central Europe must remain speculative. The phenomenon clearly shows areal distribution affecting some varieties of the languages involved while being absent in others (see Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2001), with Hungarian being the language in which they are most prevalent.

- 29 Finally, one intriguing feature of this phenomenon is that it occurs independently from the typological composition of the languages involved. This is also true for German and Hungarian where the spatial adverbs syntactically behave as preverbs. But since they can be used without a verb as well, they are, in fact, independent adverbs. In all of the varieties examined, a toponym is accompanied by a SAP. The toponym can only be omitted when both speaker and hearer know the place referenced and when they can deduce it from the context during a conversation. This similarity among languages with substantial typological differences (Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Indo-Aryan, Romance, and Slavic) leads us to the conclusion that the functional dimension of these SAPs has a higher impact than the topography surrounding the speakers. Stadelmann (1978) has shown that topography helps to understand why a certain SAP is used for a specific relation. Topography, however, does not shed light on the question why such constructions are used at all, i.e. why people in mountainous regions such as in the Swiss Alps use them in the same way as people living in plains such as in the Carpathian basin.

Conclusion

- 30 Using SAPs with toponyms might seem outmoded nowadays given that most of us are equipped with a portable navigation system. But using them goes beyond spatial orientation, as they, first of all, facilitate a form of sociogeographic perspectivization that is accessible to those who share knowledge of a certain region and/or the social situation of a certain community. People use them to share with others their perspective from a common reference point. The SAPs always say more about oneself than about the remote destination that a certain SAP has been assigned to. This allows people to position themselves and their utterances within sociogeographic space based on the spatial and social reality they find themselves in. When used with motion verbs, the SAPs are a means to denote timely closed actions that begin in one's home region and also end there.
- 31 We have discussed in Section 4 that purely geography-based explanations for the spread of this phenomenon are problematic. Auer (2021: 150) suggests that in connection with the study of deixis

and discursive structuring in language contact situations the question to ask is “which pragmatic needs of the speaker are so pressing that the relevant structures of one language are copied into the language that undergoes contact-induced change?” The SAPs are capable of structuring discourse in a way that allows speaker and hearer to share their personal spatial experience by drawing on SAPs. Their reference to a shared sociogeographic reality renders them difficult to translate, as translating rather than replicating them would substantially increase the cognitive load (Matras, 2007) for a multilingual individual. We therefore conclude that it is not the landscape but their functional range that drives speakers to use SAPs in this way cross-linguistically. Their concrete morphosyntactic integration as either independent adverbs or preverbs does not interfere with their extralinguistic reference and thus offer a practical means of anchoring oneself and that what is said within a world view shared by one’s community. Using a seafaring metaphor, the SAPs are anchors in sociogeographic space and thus a way to experience the world together from a certain place in the world, regardless of how far away one is from that place.

Abbreviations

1PL: 1st person plural

1SG: 1st person singular

3SG: 3rd person singular

ART: article

DAT: dative

DEF: definite

F: feminine

FoR: frame of reference

INDEF: indefinite

LOC: locative case

OBL: oblique case

PF: perfect

PP: past participle

PRS: present

REFL: reflexive

SAP: spatial adverb or preverb
TOP: toponym

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2 Slovak does not exhibit this phenomenon. Romani in Slovakia, however, shows strong Hungarian influence due to the fact that Slovakia was part of the kingdom of Hungary until 1918 (see Bodnárová and Wiedner, 2020).

3 Spontaneously uttered in presence of Jakob Wiedner.

English

This paper examines the use of spatial adverbs and preverbs, such as up, down, in or out, in combination with toponyms in directional and local

expressions in a number of nonstandard varieties of Alpine Gallo-Romance, Burgenland Croatian, Hungarian, Romani, Upper German and Slovenian. This feature has been described as a form of geocentric orientation system that refers to salient landmarks characteristic for the route between a reference point and a remote place, such as a river or a mountain. However, the adverbs and preverbs do not serve as an orientation system per se but rather enable a speaker to perspectivize his/her utterance. The choice of an adverb or preverb depends on the speaker's sociogeographic point of view which is, in turn, shaped by the community a speaker belongs to. Our paper aims at offering a different approach towards this feature by analyzing the social references, the pragmatic function as well as the use of these adverbs and preverbs with regard to aspect and aktionsart. Based on this, we propose a function-based approach to explain the fact that this feature is found in a variety of languages since we consider topography-based models not to be sufficient to explain the spread of this feature over the topographically diverse regions and typologically diverse languages of southern Central Europe.

Français

Cet article examine l'usage des adverbes et préverbes spatiaux, tels que « en haut », « en bas », « à l'intérieur » ou « dehors », avec des toponymes dans des expressions directionnelles et locales de certaines variétés non standard de gallo-roman, croate burgenlandais, hongrois, romani, allemand supérieur et slovène. Cette particularité a été décrite comme une forme de système d'orientation géocentrique qui se réfère à des points de repère saillants caractéristiques de l'itinéraire entre un point de référence et un lieu reculé, par exemple une rivière ou une montagne. Pourtant, les adverbes et préverbes ne remplissent pas la fonction de l'orientation en soi, mais ils permettent au locuteur/à la locutrice de perspectiver son propos. Le choix d'un adverb ou d'un préverbe dépend du point de vue sociogéographique du locuteur/de la locutrice, lequel/laquelle, pour sa part, est influencé/influencée par la communauté à laquelle il/elle appartient. Notre article vise à offrir une autre approche de cette particularité par l'analyse des références sociales, de la fonction pragmatique ainsi que de l'usage de ces adverbes et préverbes concernant l'aspect grammatical et lexical. Sur cette base, nous proposons une approche fonctionnelle pour expliquer le fait que l'on trouve cette particularité dans plusieurs langues, car nous considérons les modèles basés seulement sur la topographie comme insuffisants pour expliquer l'extension de cette particularité dans les régions topographiquement diversifiées et les langues typologiquement diversifiées du sud de l'Europe centrale.

Mots-clés

spatialité, adverbe, préverbe, perspectivisation sociogéographique, zone linguistique, contact linguistique

Keywords

spatiality, adverb, preverb, sociogeographic perspectivization, linguistic area, language contact

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On some aspectual adverbs – in Brazilian Portuguese and in Chilean Spanish – that seem ambiguous

Adverbes aspectuels possiblement ambigus en portugais brésilien et espagnol chilien

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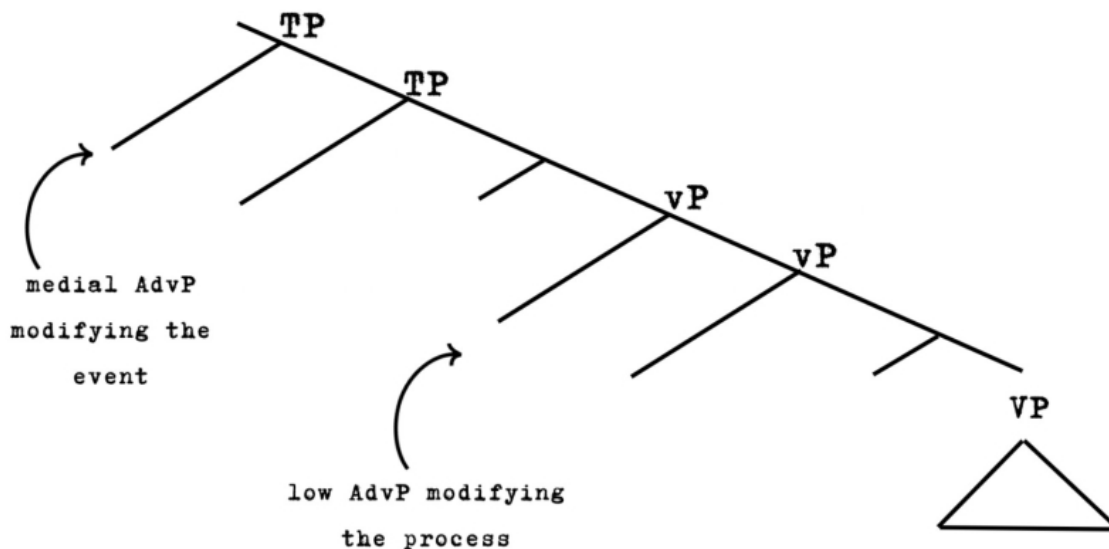
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Introduction

- 1 In this paper, we turn to Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) and Chilean Spanish (henceforth CS) in the study of some *aspectual* adverbs from different classes which, according to Cinque (1999, 2004), have a dual source both concerning their position in the universal hierarchy of adverbs and functional categories (also called “functional spine”) and their scope. We will be descriptively calling these adverbs “duplicating adverbs” throughout this paper.
- 2 Duplicating adverbs can occupy two distinct positions within clausal structure. As noted by Cinque (1999, 2004), pre-minimalist studies had already observed their association with these positions, each linked to a different scope. A duplicating, “ambiguous” adverb quantifies either over the event – which corresponds, in terms of clausal composition in pre-minimalist work, to the IP domain – or over the process – which corresponds to the VP or thematic domain.¹ These two different scopal configurations have been interpreted as the result of adjoining the (same) adverb to two distinct *loci* in the clausal spine. Thus, adjuncts modifying the event would be adjoined to TP (or to IP) while adjuncts modifying the process would be adjoined to vP/VP, as shown in Figure 1.²

Figure 1: The two scope positions in traditional adjunction approaches to adverbial modification



3 Languages may vary regarding the specialisation of adverbs for either scope zone. For instance, in the case of habitual adverbs, Italian distinguishes between the two scope positions for this category: *di solito* ('usually') occupies the higher position (labelled "Asp_(I)") as detailed below), while *abituamente* ('usually') is the sole candidate for the lower position ("Asp_(II)"), as shown in (1). English, by contrast, does not exhibit such specialisation (see (2)). The examples in (1)-(2) are taken from Cinque (1999: 204, n. 36).

(1)	a.	<i>Gianni (di solito) non prende più (*di solito) la metropolitana.</i>	(Italian)
		"G. (usually) no longer (usually) takes the subway."	
	b.	<i>G. (??abituamente) non prende più (abituamente) la metropolitana.</i>	(Italian)

(2)	a.	?They usually no longer win.
	b.	They no longer usually drink much beer.

4 In English, the same lexical item (*usually*) occupies both positions – one to the left and one to the right of *no longer* (see (2)). In contrast, Italian differentiates between the two: the PP *di solito* ('usually')

exclusively fills the higher event-related position (see (1a)), while the AdvP *abitualmente* ('habitually') is specialised for the lower process-related one (see (1b)).

5 As already mentioned, in this paper we will turn to “duplicating” adverbs in BP and CS, limiting ourselves to those with specific aspectual import – see their description in Section 1. Following Cinque (1999, 2004), we will use the (I) index for the higher source, *i.e.*, for adverbs modifying the event, and the (II) index for those modifying the process (and placed closer to the vP/VP projections) (see Section 1). As we will see throughout Section 2, an interesting cross-linguistic pattern is found in these two languages:

- (i) Asp_(I) adverbs can only appear to the left of the main V in BP and CS, with the exception of the Asp_{Sg}Completeive adverb, due to the obligatory raising of the main V in both languages, to which we will return in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 (see (3));
- (ii) Asp_(II) adverbs can both be lexicalised by an adverb ending in *-mente* or, preferentially, by the corresponding PP form (P + NP) in BP; in CS, the lowest position can only be realised by the PP (see (4), (4')).

6 The sentences in (3), (4) and (4') illustrate the pattern just mentioned in (i) and (ii).

(3) Asp _{Frequentative(I)} :					
a.	João	<i>frequentemente</i> /* <i>com frequência</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>com as mesmas pessoas.</i>	(BP)
	J.	often/with frequency	goes-out	with the same people	
b.	Juan	<i>frecuentemente</i> /* <i>con frecuencia</i>	<i>sale</i>	<i>con las mismas personas.</i>	(CS)
	J.	often/with frequency	goes-out	with the same people	
“J. often goes out with the same people.”					

(4) Asp _{Frequentative(II)} :					
a.	João	<i>sai</i>	<i>frequentemente/com frequência</i>	<i>com as mesmas pessoas.</i>	(BP)
	J.	goes-out	often/with frequency	with the same people	
b.	Juan	<i>sale</i>	<i>??frecuentemente/✓con frecuencia</i>	<i>con las mismas personas.</i>	(CS)
	J.	goes-out	often/with frequency	with the same people	
“J. goes out with the same people often.”					

(4')	ASP _{Frequentative(II)} :			
a.	João	sai	com as mesmas pessoas	frequentemente/com frequência. (BP)
	J.	goes-out	with the same people	often/with frequency
b.	Juan	sale	con las mismas personas	*frequentemente/con frecuencia. (CS)
	J.	goes-out	with the same people	often/with frequency
	"J. goes out with the same people often."			

- 7 While only an adverb ending in *-mente* (e.g. *frequentemente/frecuentemente* 'often') can fill the higher, Asp_(I) projections in both languages (see (3a,b)), there is variation regarding the candidate(s) which can fill the lowest, Asp_(II) projections, namely, those positions from which the adverb has scope over the process. An adverbial PP (e.g., *com frequência/con frecuencia* 'often') is a good representative in both languages, while only BP also allows for an adverb ending in *-mente* (*frequentemente*) to fill that position (see the data in (4) and (4')). As we will see from now on, this pattern is consistent with all classes of duplicating adverbs (see Section 1).
- 8 This being said, the main goal of this paper is to review some cases of *apparent ambiguity*³ as featured by "duplicating" adverbs from distinct aspectual classes (those detailed in the next section) in BP and CS. We aim to argue, on Syntactic Cartography grounds (see, a.o., Cinque, 1999, 2004; Rizzi, 1997, 2004; Cinque and Rizzi, 2010; Laenzlinger, 2011; Rizzi and Cinque, 2016), that this ambiguity is much more apparent than real. With this main goal in mind, we take/develop a set of syntactic tests which can help one: (i) determine the position of "ambiguous" adverbs – those indicated by the indexes I and II in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy (completive, frequentative, repetitive, inceptive, celerative) – in sentence structure; and (ii) distinguish their different semantic contents.
- 9 To achieve these goals, the paper is organised as follows. First, we make a brief review of the theoretical framework, paying particular attention to the classes of duplicating aspectual adverbs studied here. Next, in the subsections of Section 2, we go through seven syntactic configurations – some of them illustrating particular syntactic phenomena (V raising, VP ellipsis, etc.) – which can be taken as diagnostic tools to discriminate between the two sources for duplicating aspectual adverbs. In Section 3 we interpret, from the

syntactic perspective penned by Syntactic Cartography, the results of the preceding section. Finally, in the subsequent section we bring the main conclusions and wrap up the paper. There is also an “Appendix” featuring eight tables with the complete set of data used in this work for consultancy.

1. Theoretical background

- 10 Within the Cartographic framework, based on Cinque’s (1999) seminal work, adverbs are considered to be specifiers of rigidly ordered IP-internal functional projections, and not simple adjuncts. In Cinque’s representation of the IP domain, this field is formed by over 30 functional categories. Each category – which corresponds to an autonomous functional projection – making up this inflectional domain or IP has its specifier position potentially filled by an adverb matching the (same) semantic content of the corresponding head. By hypothesis, this configuration is part of the initial state of the Language Faculty – meaning that it should apply to all natural languages. Given that adverbs occupy rigidly fixed positions, they can be used as diagnostic tools to determine the raising of other constituents, such as the raising of the Verb and its arguments. This proposal is motivated by the fact that the co-occurrence of two adverbs in a given sentence is only possible if they do not belong to the same category/class and if they are linearised in one of the two possible relative orders, as shown in (5).

(5)	a.	John doesn’t any longer always win his games.
	b.	John doesn’t always any longer win his games. (Cinque, 1999: 33)

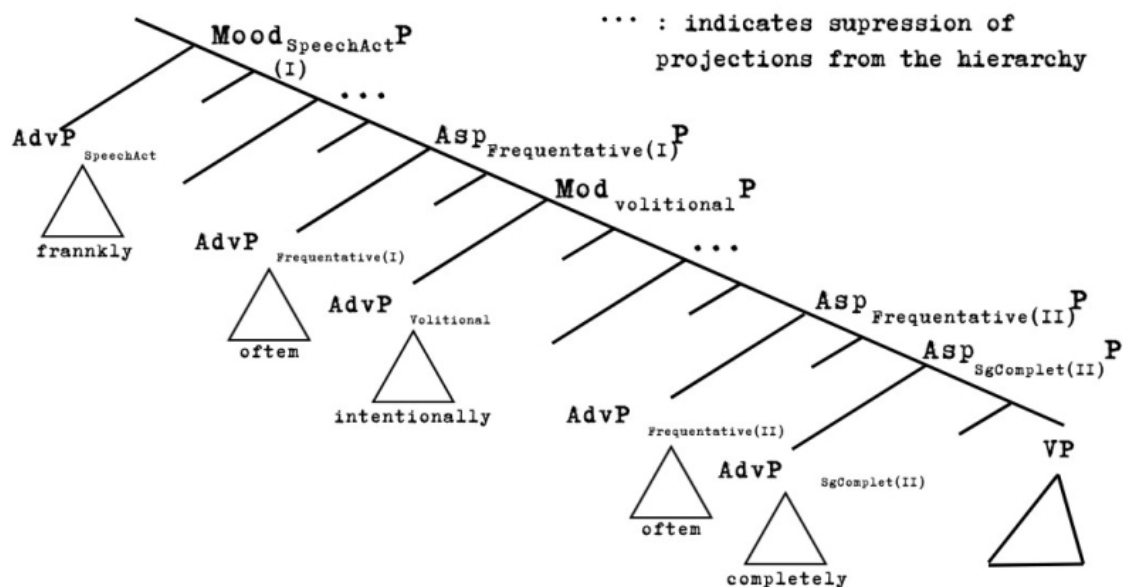
- 11 Category is taken here in Jackendoff’s (1972) sense: two items belong to the same category if their co-occurrence is banned.⁴ They belong, on the other hand, to different categories if their co-occurrence is allowed. Once Cinque identified the categories displayed in (6) – essentially on the basis of previous work from Linguistic Typology and from (distinct) theories of Grammar, including but not limited to Generative Grammar –, he turned to precedence-and-transitivity tests⁵ in order to determine the relative order of such categories.

(6) The Universal Hierarchy of Adverbs and Functional Projections (Cinque, 1999: 106)

[*frankly* Mood_{SpeechAct} > [*luckily* Mood_{Evaluative} > [*allegedly* Mood_{Evidential} > [*probably* Mod_{Epistemic} > [*once* T_{Past} > [*then* T_{Future} > [*perhaps* Mood_{Irrealis} > [*necessarily* Mod_{Necessity} > [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} > [*usually* Asp_{Habitual} > [*finally* Asp_{Delayed} > [*tendentially* Asp_{Predispositional} > [*again* Asp_{Repetitive(I)} > [*often* Asp_{Frequentative(I)} > [*willingly* Mod_{Volition} > [*quickly* Asp_{Celerative(I)} > [*already* T_{Anterior} > [*no longer* Asp_{Terminative} > [*still* Asp_{Continuative} > [*always* Asp_{Continuous} > [*just* Asp_{Retrospective} > [*soon* Asp_{Proximative} > [*briefly* Asp_{Durative} > [(?) Asp_{Generic/Progressive} > [*almost* Asp_{Prospective} > [*suddenly* Asp_{Inceptive} > [*obligatorily* Mod_{Obligation} > [*in vain* Asp_{Frustrative} > [(?) Asp_{Conative} > [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} > [*tutto* Asp_{PlCompletive} > [*well* Voice > [*early* Asp_{Celerative(II)} > [*out of nowhere* Asp_{Inceptive(II)} > [*again* Asp_{Repetitive(II)} > [*often* Asp_{Frequentative(II)} > [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(II)} V

- 12 Our starting point is the acknowledgment of the validity of this hierarchy across languages. Work by Tosqui and Longo (2003), Sant'Ana (2005, 2007), and Tescari Neto (2013, 2019) have already tested the validity of the hierarchy in (6) for BP. Wechsler (2023) also tested its validity on CS. Hence, there is motivation for replacing the representation provided in Figure 1 with an alternative assuming a more fine-grained structure, like the one in (6). In this revised representation, each distinct semantic class of adverb – here identified as a separate category – would correspond to a distinct syntactic class of adverbs. This amounts to saying that adverbs modifying the event – those identified with the (I) index (i.e., the adverbs from distinct Asp_(I) classes) – are not taken to simply adjoin to the TP, as in Figure 1. Rather, they come in distinct specifier positions which are rigidly ordered in terms of a hierarchy of categories. By their turn, adverbs modifying the process – namely, those identified with the (II) index (i.e., the adverbs from distinct Asp_(II) classes) – are not taken to simply adjoin to the vP, as in Figure 1; they also come in distinct specifier positions.
- 13 Figure 2 below shows the two positions associated with the frequentative aspect, a category represented in English by the adverbs *often* and *frequently*. Given the hierarchy in (6), there is not merely one position for adjuncts modifying the event and one for adjuncts modifying the process (as suggested by the traditional approach described by Figure 1); adverbs are rigidly ordered and what is shown as one position in Figure 1 – e.g., the position whose adjunct modifies the event – has to be seen as a set of positions, rigidly ordered as in (6).

Figure 2: Extract from Cinque’s hierarchy with two Asp_{Frequentative} positions



14 Besides the Asp_{Frequentative} category, there is a set of other categories from the hierarchy in (6) which come into two semantically related positions, a point we have already touched upon in the Introduction. This amounts to saying that there are two different positions, each one associated with a distinct category or “class” in the hierarchy, overlapping for some semantic feature. Each “duplicating” category has a different scope in sentence structure, much in the spirit of the representation in Figure 1, from the previous section. Evidence for that comes from sentences like (7), featuring two instances of the Asp_{Repetitive} adverb *twice*. The sentence in (7) is to be interpreted in the following way: “John gave two knocks on the door and that whole event [of twice knocking on the door] took place twice”. If the two instances of *twice* belonged to the same category, they should not be able to co-occur, given Jackendoff’s (1972) criterion. Furthermore, these two instances of *twice* are interpreted differently: the one to the left must necessarily take scope over the event while the second, to the right of the V, has to take scope over the process/action of knocking.

(7) John twice knocked on the door twice. (Cinque, 1999: 27)

15 The duplicating aspectual categories in Cinque's hierarchy – object of this paper – are $Asp_{Repetitive(I)}$ and $Asp_{Repetitive(II)}$, $Asp_{Frequentative(I)}$ and $Asp_{Frequentative(II)}$, $Asp_{Celerative(I)}$ and $Asp_{Celerative(II)}$, $Asp_{Inceptive(I)}$ and $Asp_{Inceptive(II)}$, and, finally, $Asp_{SgCompletive(I)}$ and $Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}$. Let us now briefly describe one by one.

16 It is important to recognise – with the tradition in typology (see Comrie, 1976) and with Cinque (1999) – that the main difference between the repetitive and the frequentative aspects consists in the amount of times an event or action is repeated. Hence, while the (two instances of the) repetitive aspect indicate(s) that something took place only twice, or once again, the (two instances of the) frequentative category necessarily imply(ies) that the event or process took place more than twice. Thus, in the latter case, we have an iteration of events or processes. The sentence in (7) just presented illustrates the co-occurrence of two $Asp_{Repetitive}$ categories, namely, $Asp_{Repetitive(I)}$ and $Asp_{Repetitive(II)}$. Below, sentence (8) illustrates the co-occurrence of two instances of the (also) duplicating frequentative adverb.

(8) John, wisely, often dates the same person often (Cinque, 1999: 92)

17 As in the case of *twice*, from the example just seen in (7), the two instances of *often* in (8) have different scopes: the one to the left of the V takes the event under its scope, while the one to the right of the V takes the process under its scope. There is a tradition in Generative Grammar to associate the scope over the event position with adjunction of the adverb to the TP and the scope over the process with adjunction to vP/VP, as sketched in Figure 1 (also see the related text). Once Cinque (1999) realises that each different adverb class from his hierarchy (as seen in (6)) come in a different (specifier) position, the idea behind Figure 1 has to be revisited. Thus, one has to associate scope over the event/the TP – in the spirit of Figure 1 – with $Asp_{xxx(I)}$ and scope over the process/the vP with $Asp_{xxx(II)}$, where the subscripted “xxx” stands for the pairs of duplicating Asp categories.

18 The categories of $Asp_{Celerative}$ refer to the speed in which an event or action takes place. Once again, the (I) and (II) positions differ regarding their scope, with the higher, $Asp_{(I)}$ modifying the event –

as in (9) – and the lower, Asp_(II) modifying the process – see, for instance, (10).

(9) John quickly lifted his arm. (Cinque, 1999: 93)

(10) John lifted his arm quickly. (Cinque, 1999: 93)

19 The inceptive aspect marks the beginning of an event/action. It can be filled by adverbials like *suddenly* and *out of the blue*. Interestingly enough, these two categories are not filled by the same lexical items in English. As we will see, in BP and in CS, there are specialised items for these two “faces of the same coin” of the inceptive category. (11) and (12) respectively illustrate a sentence featuring the Asp_{Inceptive(I)} adverb *suddenly* and a sentence featuring the lower representative of the inceptive category, namely, the Asp_{Inceptive(II)} adverbial *out of the blue*.

(11) John has suddenly disappeared. (adapted from Cinque, 1999: 208)

(12) Joan Jett plays her guitar out of the blue. (Sant’Anna, 2023: 18)

20 Finally, the completive aspect carries the notion of a telic event/process fully achieving its ending point, i.e., an event or process having reached its telos. The hierarchy in (6) makes a distinction between singular and plural completive (aspects): while the first refers either to one object or to each object of a set taken individually, the second refers to a set of objects taken as a whole. Only the singular completive categories are duplicated, thus being of interest in the present study. (13) features the Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} category, while (14) illustrates Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}.

(13) John completely forgot her instructions. (Cinque, 1999: 178)

(14) John forgot her instructions completely. (Cinque, 1999: 178)

21 As is the case for the other duplicating categories, Asp_{Inceptive(I)} and Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} take scope over the event, while Asp_{Inceptive(II)} and Asp_{SgCompletive(II)} take scope over the action or process.

22 With this in mind, let us now have a look at seven different tools which can be used to discriminate between each representative of “ambiguous” duplicating adverbs.

2. Diagnostic tools: Data and discussion

- 23 In this section, we show seven different diagnostic tools which can be used to discriminate between the two sources or scope positions for each one of the “duplicating” aspectual classes of adverbs – frequentative, repetitive, celerative, inceptive, and completive, as described in the previous section – in clausal structure. Each diagnostic tool can be of help to differentiate the higher source (namely, the position identified by the index (I) from where the adverb has scope over the event) and the lower source (namely, the position identified by the index (II), whose scope is identified as the process). As already said at the very beginning of the paper, we are here drawing our analysis on Cinque’s (1999) cartographic approach. As also said in the previous section, Cinque assumes that adverbs are located in specifiers of distinct maximal projections whose heads match the semantic content of their corresponding specifiers. So, each test has to be interpreted – under Cinque’s cartographic proposal – as indicating whether an adverb is merged in a higher, index (I) position, or in a lower, index (II) one. Of course, approaches turning to more “minimalist” representations in spirit, as the one given in Figure 1, will also benefit from the set of tests presented below as they are indeed also intended to discriminate between the two adverbial sources under scrutiny here.
- 24 Before going through the tests, it is important to spell out some preliminary assumptions regarding the methodological *démarche* to deal with the data. Following the tradition in Generative Grammar, our data has been gathered by introspection. So, the two of us have judged the grammaticality of the sentences – a common practice in Generative Grammar –, the first author being responsible for the data on BP and the second for the data on CS.
- 25 From a purely methodological point of view, it is important to note that each sentence composing our *corpus* must be judged in an out-of-the-blue context – namely, as an answer to questions like the one given in (15) –, so as to guarantee trustworthy minimal pairs.

(15)	a.	A:	O que aconteceu?				(BP)
			"What happened?"				
		B:	João	rapidamente	bebeu	a cachaça.	
		J.	quickly	drunk	the sugar-cane-brandy		
			"J. quickly drank sugar cane brandy."				
	b.	A:	¿Qué pasó?				(CS)
			"What happened?"				
		B:	Juan	rápidamente	se tomó	el pisco.	
		J.	quickly	drunk	grappa		
			"J. quickly drank grappa."				

26 This being said, let us now go through each one of the seven tests.

2.1. The relative position of “ambiguous” adverbs with respect to the main Verb

27 This test is built on the tradition initiated by Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989). In post-pollockian studies, adverbs are taken to occupy fixed positions in clausal structure. Other constituents, including the main V(erb) and auxiliaries, are taken to raise over these modifiers (see Figure 3 later in the text). Hence, they are considered pivotal-like elements able to identify the position of other constituents in the sentence. This idea, initially developed within Pollock’s approach, has successfully been incorporated into cartographic-like studies that turn to layered representations of the clausal domain. Given that adverbs are rigidly ordered within the clause structure, they serve as precise diagnostics for identifying the various heights which the main verb – as well as other verb forms (e.g., auxiliaries, modals) – can reach within the hierarchy of adverbs outlined in (6) (see Cinque, 1999, Appendix 1; Laenzlinger, 2011; Tescari Neto, 2013, 2025a; Schifano, 2018; Wechsler, 2024).

28 Since the two languages under investigation exhibit V raising (on BP, see Galves, 1994; Cyrino, 2013; Tescari Neto, 2013, 2020, a.o.; on CS, see Wechsler, 2023), the motivation behind this test is: the maximal height where the V can go may help one discriminate between the two scopal positions. The “template” to be used to diagnose the position of the V relative to adverbs is given in (16).

(16)	a.	O João	ADV	bebeu	ADV	cachaça	ADV.	(BP)
		The J.	ADV	drank	ADV	sugar-cane-brandy	ADV	
	b.	Juan	ADV	se tomó	ADV	pisco	ADV.	(CS)
		J.	ADV	CL took	ADV	grappa	ADV	
		"J. drank sugar cane brandy/grappa."						

29 As shown by (16), three *surface positions* for adverbs are worth testing: the position to the right of the direct object (*cachaça* (a)/*pisco* (b)), the position between the main V and its object, and the pre-verbal position. As stated in the Introduction, PPs can only be merged in the lower position in BP and in CS. See also Section 2.2, as well as the paragraphs preceding the data in (3) in the Introduction, for a discussion on the specialisation of PPs and adverbs ending in *-mente* for specific positions ($Asp_{(I)}$ and $Asp_{(II)}$) in these two languages.

30 Now, the expected scenarios for BP and CS are those described in the sequence. In BP, given that the main V performs optional V raising among medial adverbs – see the data in Table 2 of the Appendix –, one expects that “duplicating” adverbs ending in *-mente* can fill both the high, $Asp_{(I)}$, and the low, $Asp_{(II)}$, positions, while PPs can only fill the two positions to the right of the V in the template in (16). When it comes to CS, things are even clearer as the only position which can be filled by adverbs ending in *-mente* is the one to the left of the V, the positions to the right of the V only accepting PPs. This prediction is actually borne out by the data. Below, we illustrate this test: example (17) features a low adverb as a representative of the $Asp_{(II)}$ class; example (18) features a medial adverb as a representative of the $Asp_{(I)}$ class.

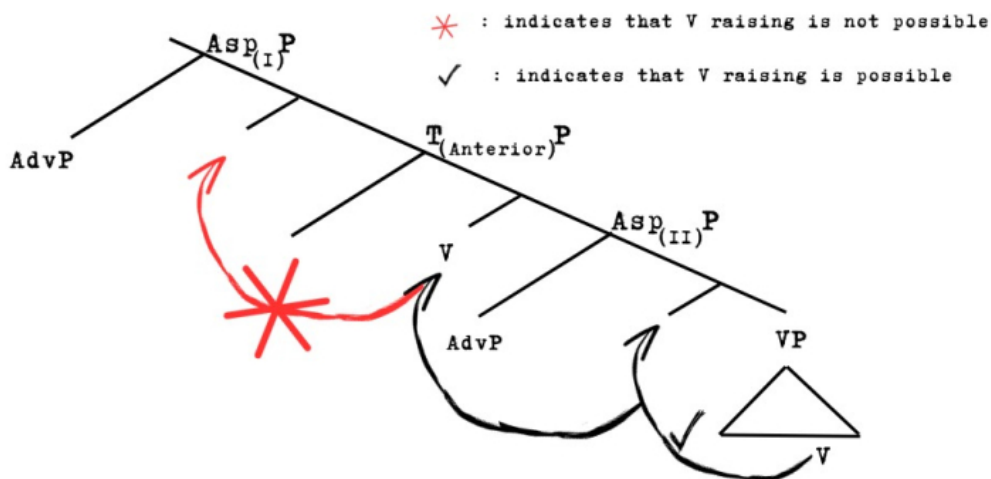
(17)	a.	O João	(*de novo)	bebeu	(de novo)	cachaça	(de novo).	(BP)
		The J.	again	drank	again	sugar-cane-brandy	again	
	b.	Juan	(*de nuevo)	se tomó	(de nuevo)	pisco	(de nuevo).	(CS)
		J.	again	CL took	ADV	grappa	ADV	
		"J. drank sugar cane brandy/grappa."						

(18)	a.	O João	(novamente)	bebeu	^{CM} (novamente)	cachaça	^{CM} (novamente).	(BP)
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	The J.	again	drank	again	sugar-cane-brandy	again	
b.	Juan	(nuevamente)	se tomó	^{CM} (nuevamente)	pisco	(*nuevamente).	(CS)
	J.	again	CL took	ADV	grappa	ADV	
	"J. drank sugar cane brandy/grappa."						

- 31 While only adverbs ending in *-mente* can fill higher, $Asp_{(I)}$ positions – see the ungrammaticality of the order PP (*de novo/de nuevo* ‘again’)-V in (17) and the grammaticality of the order adverb in *-mente*-V in (18a) –, PPs can fill post-verbal positions in both languages – see (17), where *de novo/de nuevo* (‘again’) can appear in the two positions to the right of the V. Adverbs ending in *-mente* are totally fine in the two post-verbal positions in BP (see (18a)), but with a change in their meaning (which is indicated by the superscripted ^{CM} in the examples): when linearised post-verbally, the ending in *-mente* adverb modifies the process, being a representative of the $Asp_{(II)}$ category; in this case, adverbs ending in *-mente* do not have access to the higher position of merger – only $Asp_{(I)}$ adverbs can be merged there. Thus, in post-verbal positions, it is the $Asp_{(II)}$ projection that is activated and, therefore, the adverb merged there is the one to be linearised. Evidence from this conclusion comes from CS: only PPs are allowed in post-verbal positions. This indicates that one must assume distinct scopal positions, one lower and one medial in the structure. Regarding the other six classes of “duplicating” adverbs, we refer the reader to Tables 1 and 2 from our Appendix. The pattern presented is the same for the other classes.

Figure 3: Verb Raising as a diagnostic for the Asp_(I)/Asp_(II) distinction



32 Taking the relative position of the Asp_(I)/Asp_(II) adverb with respect to the V is convincingly a reliable test in BP and in CS to discriminate between the two adverbial sources. While the main, finite V must raise over all Asp_(II) adverbs – and optionally over some medial adverbs –, it cannot raise over medial Asp_(I) adverbs (see Figure 3 and Tables 1 and 2), reason why adverbs ending in *-mente* in post-verbal positions change their meaning in BP. This “changing in meaning” is only epiphenomenal: it is no longer the higher, Asp_(I) position which is linearised, but the lower, Asp_(II) one. Therefore, one can take this test as a bona fide diagnostic at least in BP and CS, given the obligatory raising of the main V across the lower portion of the clause in both languages.

2.2. The morphological nature of ambiguous adverbs

33 As already mentioned in the Introduction, natural languages may vary regarding the realisation of duplicating aspectual categories either by the same lexical item or by different, specialised items. Examples (1) and (2) (from the Introduction) show that, while Italian has different lexical items for the higher and lower Asp_{Repetitive} positions, English

only counts on one same lexical item for both positions. For a more thorough discussion on this important cross-linguistic variation matter, see Cinque (1999, 2004).

- 34 In BP and CS, “duplicating” adverbial categories may be realised by an AdvP ending in *-mente* (like *novamente/nuevamente* ‘again’, for example) and/or by a PP (like *de novo/de nuevo* ‘again’).⁶ Considering some languages’ lexical distinction for duplicating categories, our aim with this test is to determine which morphological form(s) – AdvP in *-mente* and/or PP (P + NP) – can occupy each aspectual category and whether the morphophonological realisation of an adverbial can help us distinguish the higher from the lower duplicating categories.
- 35 For this diagnosis, we turn to sentences like (19)-(20) featuring the two possible morphological realisations (namely, AdvP in *-mente* and/or PP) appearing before – therefore, in the higher (I) position (see (19)) – and after the Verb– in the lower (II) position (see (20)).

(19)	ASP_{Repetitive(I)}:				
a.	João	novamente/*de novo	serviu	todos os pratos.	(BP)
	J.	again	filled	all the plates	
b.	Juan	nuevamente/*de nuevo	servió	todos los platos.	(CS)
	J.	again	filled	all the plates	
	“J. once again filled everybody’s plates.”				

(20)	ASP_{Repetitive(II)}:				
a.	João	serviu	novamente/de novo	todos os pratos.	(BP)
	J.	filled	again	all the plates	
b.	Juan	servió	??nuevamente/de nuevo	todos los platos.	(CS)
	J.	filled	again	all the plates	
	“J. filled again everybody’s plates”				

(20')	ASP_{Repetitive(II)}:				
a.	João	serviu	todos os pratos	novamente/de novo.	(BP)

	J.	filled	all the plates	again	
b.	Juan	servió	todos los platos	*nuevamente/de nuevo.	(CS)
	J.	filled	all the plates	again	
	"J. filled again everybody's plates"				

- 36 This test demonstrates that the higher (I) category can only be lexicalised by an ending in *-mente* AdvP, while the lower (II) category can only be realised by a PP in CS and preferentially by a PP in BP, though either form for the (II) category is possible in this latter language – as already stated in previous sections. The results for other aspectual categories can be found in Table 3 from our Appendix.
- 37 Given that different categories occupy different positions, this seems to be a matter of structure, i.e., of how Narrow Syntax (NS) maps out different structures to the interface systems – here, the conceptual-intentional system – to be interpreted. The morphological nature of the adverbial can therefore be useful in discriminating duplicating positions and proves to be a trustworthy diagnostic to disambiguate same-aspect adverbs (specially for CS and for adverbial PPs in BP).

2.3. The recovery of an adverb by the elliptical VP

- 38 Another diagnostic tool to discriminate between the two scope positions is VP ellipsis. This test is only useful for BP, since this language exhibits this phenomenon while Spanish does not (see Matos and Cyrino, 2001; Cyrino and Matos, 2002). Given that the finite main V can go up to T_{Anterior} in BP (Tescari Neto, 2013), the recovery of adverbs below T_{Anterior} by the gap in coordinated structures giving rise to VP ellipsis is possible. Thus, the main motivation for this test is that, since VP ellipsis is dependent on V raising, which is limited in BP – the main V cannot raise over $\text{Asp}_{(I)}$ adverbs (which are, with the exception of the $\text{Asp}_{\text{SgCompletive}(I)}$ *completamente* ‘completely’, above T_{Anterior}) –, it can be used to discriminate between the two scopal positions: the only possible recovery of adverbs –by the gap in coordinated structures giving rise to VP ellipsis – is the recovery of $\text{Asp}_{(II)}$ adverbs. This prediction is borne out by the data.

(21)	The recovery of Asp_(II) adverbs by the gap (see the interpretation in (i)) in coordinated structures giving rise to VP ellipsis constructions is possible:				
	João	bebe	caçaça	com frequência	(BP)
	J.	drinks	sugar-cane-brandy	with frequency	
	e a Maria	também	bebe	[-].	
	and the M.	also	drinks	[-].	
	"J. frequently drinks sugar cane brandy and so does Maria."				
(i)	[-]: ^{OK} drinks sugar cane brandy frequently.				
(ii)	[-]: ^{OK} sugar cane brandy.				

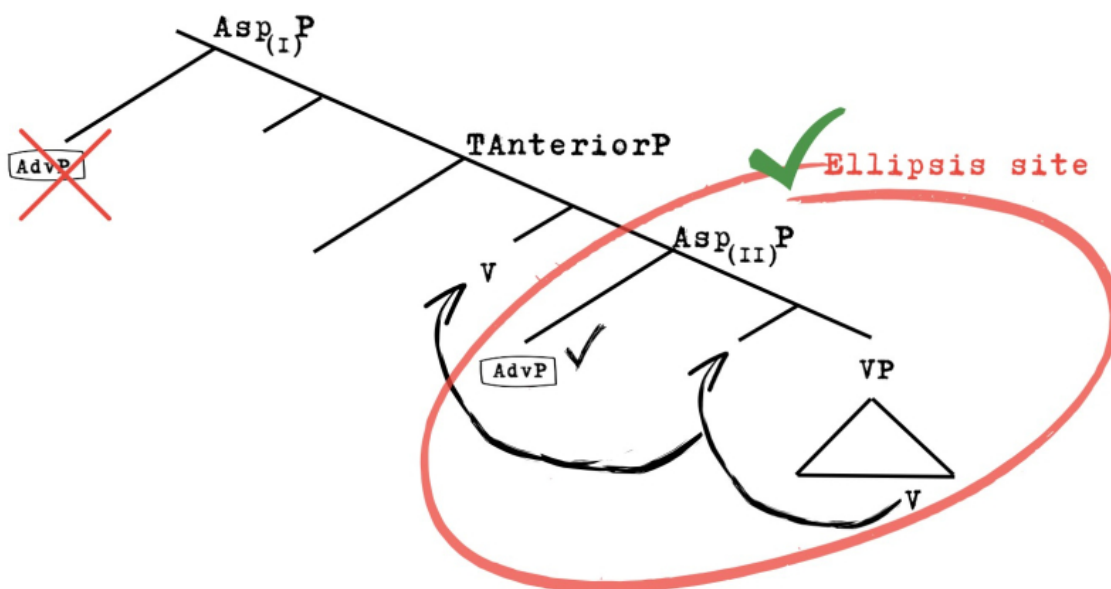
(22)	The recovery of Asp_(I) adverbs by the gap in coordinated structures giving rise to VP ellipsis constructions is not possible (see the interpretation in (i)):				
	João	frequentemente	bebe	caçaça	(BP)
	J.	frequently	drinks	sugar-cane-brandy	
	e a Maria	também	bebe	[-].	
	and the M.	also	drinks	[-]	
	"J. frequently drinks sugar cane brandy and so does Maria."				
(i)	[-]: *drinks sugar cane brandy frequently.				
(ii)	[-]: ^{OK} sugar cane brandy.				

39 While the recovery of an Asp_(II) adverb by the gap in VP ellipsis constructions is possible – see the interpretation suggested by (21i) for the gap ([-]) in (21) –, such a recovery is not possible for Asp_(I) adverbs (see (22i)), at least in BP. This is so because the maximum height of movement for the V in BP is T_{Anterior}, a position below the Asp_(I) positions in the hierarchy in (6). The only exception is the Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} *completamente* ('completely'), which is lower than T_{Anterior}. As such, the recovery of this adverb by the gap is possible.

40 Data featuring the other adverbs is shown in Table 4 in the Appendix. Recovery by the gap in coordination structures like (21-22) giving rise to VP ellipsis is possible to each adverb below T_{Anterior}. This is illustrated by Figure 4, which shows that below T_{Anterior}, say, below the elliptical site, there are only Asp_(II) adverbs. Recovery of these

adverbs by the gap in coordination structures giving rise to VP ellipsis is possible. Therefore, VP ellipsis is a useful diagnostic, at least in BP.

Figure 4: VP ellipsis as a diagnostic for the Asp_(I)/Asp_(II) distinction in BP



2.4. The placement of an adverb(ial) in the structure “Infinitival Subject Clause” + Small Clause

- 41 For this test, we take small clauses (SC from now on)—like *Correr é bom/Correr es bueno* ‘To-run is good’—formed by a copular verb (*é/es* ‘to be’ in this example) and having an Infinitival Subject Clause (*Correr/correr* ‘to run’) as its subject. In these biclausal structures, adverbs can modify either the finite copular verb or the infinitival verb (InfV, henceforth). The aspectual adverb(ial) is placed to the left of the InfV or to its right. With these sentences, it is possible to play with two distinct syntactic domains, or CPs, each one potentially having different heights for the raising of the infinitival V, on the one hand, and for the raising of the finite copular V, on the other. This also allows one to more clearly test differences in scope regarding the duplicating categories, since, as we will see, different lexicalisations – PP adverbials and AdvPs in *-mente* – can result in different readings, even when the adverbials occupy the same linear

position (though not the same structural position, thus resulting in the different readings).

- 42 The sentences in ((23)-(26)) below, featuring the $ASP_{\text{Frequentative}}$ categories in both languages, illustrate this expedient. Now, for each sentence, there are two possible readings: (i) the adverbial modifies the infinitival verb, meaning that “It’s good [to run often]”; (ii) the adverbial modifies the copular verb, meaning that “[It’s often good] to run”. The grammaticality of the sentences is provided separately for each of these readings.

(23) $ASP_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}$:					
a.	<i>Correr</i>	com frequência	é bom.	(i) ✓It’s good [to run often]. (ii) *[It’s often good] to run.	(BP)
	To-run	often	is good		
b.	<i>Correr</i>	con frecuencia	es bueno.	(i) ✓It’s good [to run often]. (ii) *[It’s often good] to run.	(CS)
	To-run	often	is good		

(24) $ASP_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}$:					
a.	Com frequência *(,)	<i>correr</i>	é bom.	(i) *It’s good [to run often]. (ii) ✓[It’s often good] to run (only if the adverb is left-dislocated).	(BP)
	Often	to- run	is good		
b.	Con frecuencia *(,)	<i>correr</i>	es bueno.	(i) *It’s good [to run often]. (ii) ✓[It’s often good] to run (only if the adverb is left-dislocated).	(CS)
	Often	to- run	is good		

(25) $ASP_{\text{Frequentative(I)}}$:					
a.	<i>Correr</i>	frequentemente	é bom.	(i) ✓It’s good [to run often]. (ii) ✓[It’s often good] to run (preferential reading).	(BP)
	To- run	often	is good		

b.	Correr	frecuentemente	es bueno.	(i) ?It's good [to run often]. (ii) ✓[It's often good] to run.	(CS)
	To-run	often	is good		

(26)	Asp_{Frequentative(I)}:				
a.	Frecuentemente	correr	é bom.	(i) *It's good [to run often]. (ii) ✓[It's often good] to run.	(BP)
	Often	to-run	is good		
b.	Frecuentemente	correr	es bueno.	(i) *It's good [to run often]. (ii) ✓[It's often good] to run.	(CS)
	Often	to-run	is good		

- 43 In (23), the low Asp_(II) adverbials *com frequência/con frecuencia* can only modify the InfV *correr*, which occupies a higher position. They cannot take under their scope the copular V *é/es*, since the finite V must obligatorily raise to a position higher than Asp_{Frequentative(II)}. This shows that *com frequência/con frecuencia* is indeed merged in a low position in the hierarchy and must be within the domain of the InfV in order to generate the sentences in (23).
- 44 The low Asp_(II) adverbials can appear in the beginning of the sentence, as in (24), when they are left-dislocated – as indicated by the comma, which suggests that the left-dislocated adverbials are also prosodically set-off from the rest of the sentence. In this case, the only possible reading is (ii): the adverbial only modifies the copular sentence as a whole. The adverbial PP must then be externally merged in the Asp_(II) position below the main V and subsequently raised to a left-peripheral-like position in the CP domain. It cannot modify the InfV, which also raises obligatorily above the Asp_{Frequentative(II)} position.
- 45 The AdvPs *frecuentemente* and *frecuentemente* ('often') are tested in the sentences in (25), in which the adverb appears above the main copular V and can thus modify it (as already predicted – see Section 2.1). Here, there is some cross-linguistic variation considering the two languages under study, which was already expected taking into account the fact that in *-mente* adverbs are underspecified in BP – thus occupying either the (I) or the (II) position – but not in CS. That

explains why (25a) can have both of the intended readings (even though the second one is preferred), while the reading in (i) is marginal for (25b).

- 46 Finally, the AdvP can be externally merged above the InfV – without the need for left-dislocation, unlike (24) –, as shown in (26). In these sentences, the only possible reading is (ii), whereby the adverb modifies the finite copular V – thus being merged within the Infinitival Subject Clause. This test was also applied to the other aspectual duplicating categories, and the results can be found in Table 5 in the Appendix.
- 47 The structure discussed in this section – *i.e.*, “Infinitive Subject Clause” + SC – can help one discriminate between Asp_(I) and Asp_(II) adverbials, either by their position relative to the V(s) or by their scope. Based on the BP and CS data, it is plausible to ascertain that only Asp_(I) adverbs in *-mente* can appear before the InfV, necessarily taking the SC under their scope (reading (ii)). Both Asp_(I) adverbs and Asp_(II) adverbials can occur between the InfV and the copular V. However, in this position, the Asp_(I) adverb can only take the SC under its scope in CS; this is also the preferential setting in BP. The Asp_(II) adverbial, on the other hand, can only modify the InfV in both languages when linearised before the finite copular verb.

2.5. The appearance of an adverb(ial) in interrogatives

- 48 Studies on the syntactic-semantic properties of high, “sentential” adverbs (mainly influenced by Bellert, 1977) have shown that some classes of adverbs cannot appear in interrogative sentences. This is particularly the case of modal adverbs, as shown by (27).

(27) *Has/Will John probably/certainly/evidently come? (Bellert, 1977: 344)

- 49 Cross-linguistically, this property seems to be language-dependent, insofar as the “watershed” in the hierarchy (in (6)) dividing it in two portions – a higher portion and a lower one – seems to be open to parametric variation (see Tescari Neto, 2025b). While in English high, sentence adverbs (mainly modal adverbs) cannot appear in

interrogatives (27), $Asp_{\text{Frequentative(I)}}$ adverbs can (which is the case of *often* in (28)). The same class of $Asp_{\text{Frequentative(I)}}$ adverbs, on the other hand, seem to behave like high, sentence adverbs in CS with respect to this property (see (30b) below). Since this test is useful in the identification of higher adverbs, and, in BP, AdvPs ending in *-mente* are underspecified and can occupy both the high and low duplicating positions (see Section 2.2), the data and results from this section only apply to CS.

(28) Does John often come here? (Bellert, 1977: 341)

- 50 CS patterns like English with respect to the ill-formedness of an interrogative sentence featuring a modal adverb (see (29), the CS correspondent of (27)).

(29)	*Juan	probablemente/seguramente/evidentemente	va a venir?	(CS)
	J.	probably/certainly/evidently	will come	
	"Will J. probably/certainly/evidently come?"			

- 51 Nonetheless, CS behaves differently with respect to the appearance of an $Asp_{\text{Frequentative(I)}}$ adverb in an interrogative sentence, insofar as this structure is also reported as ungrammatical (see (30b)). $Asp_{\text{Repetitive(I)}}$ adverbs cannot appear in interrogative sentences in CS either (see (31b)), suggesting that the height where the hierarchy must be cut off – thus separating high/sentence adverbs from low adverbs – varies cross-linguistically.

- 52 With that in mind, one can take advantage of these facts in CS to see whether they can discriminate between the two sources for duplicating adverbs: it is expected that only $Asp_{\text{(II)}}$ adverbs can appear in interrogative sentences, while their $Asp_{\text{(I)}}$ mates simply cannot. This is actually borne out by the data in (30) and (31): only $Asp_{\text{(II)}}$ adverbs (see (30a) and (31a)) are allowed in interrogative sentences; $Asp_{\text{(I)}}$ are forbidden in this sentential type (see (30b) and (31b)).⁷

(30)	$Asp_{\text{Frequentative}}$:			
a.	Juan	corre	con frecuencia?	(CS)

	John	runs	often	
	“Does John run often?”			
b.	*Juan	corre	frecuentemente?	(CS)
	John	runs	often	
	“Does John run often?”			

(31)	Asp_{Repetitive}:			
a.	María	se vacunó	de nuevo?	(CS)
	Mary	got vaccinated	again?	
	“Did Mary get vaccinated again?”			
b.	*María	se vacunó	nuevamente?	(CS)
	Mary	got vaccinated	again?	
	“Did Mary get vaccinated again?”			

- 53 From the sentences above – and others, displayed on Table 6 in the Appendix – it can be concluded, for CS only – since this language makes a clear distinction between adverbs filling the two scopal positions –, that this test helps one distinguish which scopal position is activated: the higher or the lower.

2.6. Adverb(ial) under the scope of a focusing-like adverb

- 54 Some of the tests applied by Haegeman (2012) and Souza de Paula (2022) to discriminate Central Adverbial Clauses (CACs) – modifying the VP – from Peripheral Adverbial Clauses (PACs) – modifying higher portions of the structure – can be extended to adverb(ial)s, in the spirit of Duplâtre and Modicom (2022). Similarly to Adverbial Clauses, adverbs and adverbials can either be VP-related (like CACs) or occupy higher positions.
- 55 In this section we turn to Haegeman’s (2012) and Souza de Paula’s (2022) test featuring adverbs which may associate with the sentence focus (the so-called “focusing adverbs” – see, a.o., Quirk et al., 1976; Ilari, 1992; Ricca, 1999; Andorno, 2000; De Cesare, 2010; Ferrari et al., 2011; Tescari Neto, 2025b). The motivation for this is that focusing

adverbs occupy IP-internal positions which are above all $Asp_{(II)}$ adverbs—and the $Asp_{SgCompetive(I)}$ *completamente* “completely”—but below the positions occupied by $Asp_{(I)}$ adverbs (see Tescari Neto, 2017, 2025b). Only adverb(ial)s from categories lower than the focusing ones – thereby c-commanded by them – can fall under the scope of a focusing-like adverb. This test can therefore be adapted in order to discriminate lower, process modifying adverbial categories from higher, event modifying ones. See Figure 5 for the positions occupied by the classes of focusing adverbs directly associated with this test.

- 56 Since this test only helps one identify modifiers occupying lower positions, which are lexically underspecified in BP – adverbs in *-mente* being compatible with both $Asp_{(I)}$ and $Asp_{(II)}$ positions in this language (see Section 2.2) –, it is most useful for CS data, even though we have found that the PP form is preferred to AdvPs in *-mente* in BP.
- 57 The elaborated sentences consist of a structure containing a focusing-like adverb and an aspectual adverb or adverbial under its scope. Only categories lower than the focusing adverbs can be focalized, thus forming a constituent with them. Sentences (32) and (33) illustrate some of the tests featuring different categories of aspectual and focusing-like adverbs.

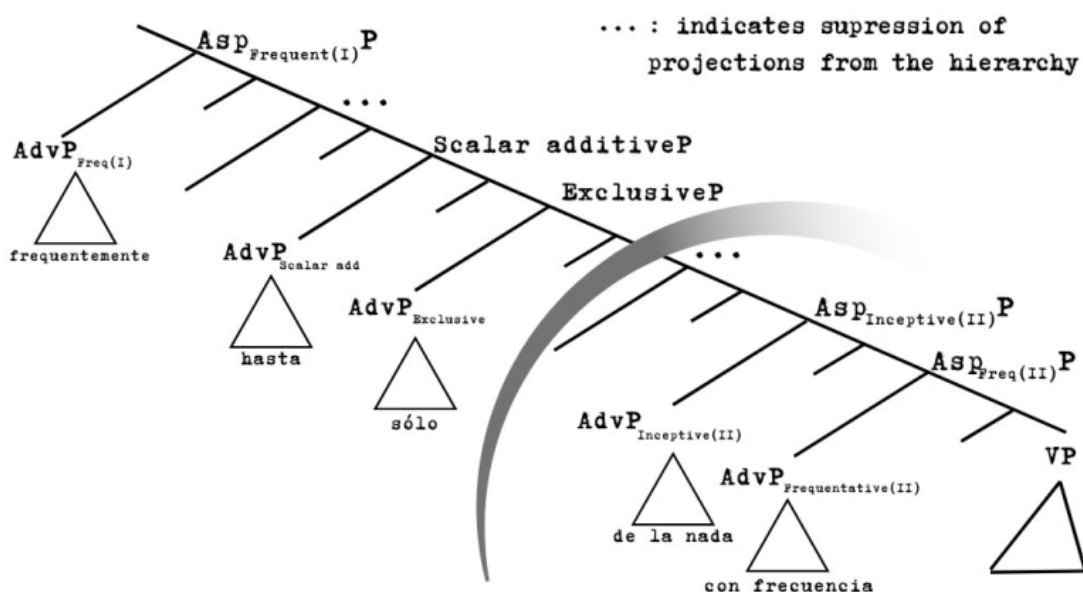
(32) $ASP_{Frequentative}$:				
a.	<i>Juan corre</i>	solo	con frecuencia.	(CS)
	John runs	only	often.	
	“John only runs often.”			
b.	* <i>Juan corre</i>	solo	frecuentemente.	(CS)
	John runs	only	often.	
	“John only runs often.”			

(33) $ASP_{Inceptive}$:				
a.	<i>Juan corre</i>	hasta	de la nada.	(CS)
	John runs	even	out of nowhere.	
	“John even runs out of nowhere.”			

b.	*Juan corre	hasta	repentinamente.	(CS)
	John runs	even	out of nowhere.	
	"John even runs out of nowhere."			

58 The tests have indicated that only adverb(ial)s c-commanded by “focusing” adverbs – i.e., those placed below the positions occupied by focusing adverbs – can be under the scope of these focalisers. All classes of $Asp_{(II)}$ adverbs are below focusing adverbs (see Figure 5), and can therefore be under their scope. Since $Asp_{(I)}$ adverbs are above focusing adverbs, they cannot fall under the scope of these focalisers. This is represented in Figure 5, in which the half moon is intended to show the categories which can fall under the scope of focusing adverbs, say, only the categories c-commanded by them. $Asp_{(I)}$ adverbs, being above focusing adverbs, cannot fall under their scope, the reason why (32b, 33b) are ungrammatical. For the data featuring the other $Asp_{(I)}$ and $Asp_{(II)}$ adverbs, see Table 7 in the Appendix. For details on the categories of focusing adverbs used here as diagnostics and their position relative to other classes of Cinque’s (1999) adverbs, see Tescari Neto (2025b).

Figure 5: The position of $Asp_{(I)}$ and $Asp_{(II)}$ adverbs relative to focusing adverbs



2.7. Precedence-and-transitivity tests

59 Syntactic Cartography counts on precedence-and-transitivity tests as one of its most important methodological tools in order to arrive at the hierarchies or f-seqs for clause structure and other distinct domains – e.g., the extended projection of the nominal phrase, that of adjectives, PPs, etc. Therefore, this type of test can also be used to discriminate between the two “ambiguous” positions, namely, the one associated with $Asp_{(I)}$ and the one associated with $Asp_{(II)}$. In this scenario, we can play with at least three distinct “contexts” to see if an adverb in a given sentence originates from the $Asp_{(I)}$ or the $Asp_{(I)}$ source:

- (i) a high adverb co-occurring with an adverb- $Asp_{(I)}$ (in the two possible orders);
- (ii) an adverb- $Asp_{(I)}$ co-occurring with an adverb- $Asp_{(II)}$ (in the two possible orders);
- (iii) an adverb- $Asp_{(II)}$ co-occurring with an even lower adverb (in the two possible orders).

60 Here, we will be focusing on the context indicated in (ii). Context (i) does not effectively help discriminate between the two scopal positions, as a high adverb precedes both an adverb- $Asp_{(I)}$ and an adverb- $Asp_{(II)}$. Moreover, context (ii) is enough to discriminate between the two scopal sources or positions, thus rendering context (iii) unnecessary.

61 The main motivation for this test is that, according to many works in Syntactic Cartography, functional categories are rigidly ordered in the sentence.⁸

62 Let us thus apply the precedence expedient, considering the context in (ii) above. We are verifying the relative position of an adverb- $Asp_{(I)}$ with respect to an adverb- $Asp_{(II)}$ (in the two possible orders). Here, we will use the $Asp_{Celerative(I)}$ *rapidamente/rápidamente* ‘quickly’ to co-occur with the $Asp_{Celerative(II)}$ *cedo/temprano* ‘early’ in the two possible orders.^{9,10}

(34)	$Asp_{(I)}$ adverb ($Asp_{Celerative(I)}$) > $Asp_{(II)}$ adverb ($Asp_{Celerative(II)}$):				
a.	João	rapidamente	sai	cedo	com as mesmas pessoas. (BP)
	J.	quickly	goes-out	early	with the same people

b.	Juan	rápidamente	sale	temprano	con las mismas personas.	(CS)
	J.	quickly	goes-out	early	with the same people	
"J. quickly goes out with the same people early."						

(34')	Asp_(II) adverb (Asp_{Celerative(II)}) > Asp_(I) adverb(Asp_{Celerative(I)}):					
a.	*João	cedo	sai	rapidamente	com as mesmas pessoas.	(BP)
	J.	early	goes-out	quickly	with the same people	
b.	*Juan	temprano	sale	rápidamente	con las mismas personas.	(CS)
	J.	early	goes-out	quickly	with the same people	
"Early J. goes out with the same people quickly."						

- 63 Only the data in (34) gives rise to well-formed results, inasmuch as they represent the hierarchical order, *i.e.*, the one licensed by the hierarchy in (6). We can take the precedence expedient as a way to discriminate between the two sources for the placement of duplicating adverbs, therefore concluding that their ambiguity is much more apparent than real, as they have access to two areas in the structure of the clause. For the data exploring the same test on the other Asp_(I) and Asp_(II) classes, see Table 8 in the Appendix.
- 64 In a nutshell, precedence-and-transitivity tests help one discriminate between the two sources for allegedly ambiguous adverbs. The high “duplicating” (Asp_(I)) categories must precede the low duplicating ones (Asp_(II)). No change in meaning is possible to “save” the grammaticality of the sentence if we take into account the PP as representative of the Asp_(II) class.

3. A syntactic way to interpret the results

- 65 Throughout Section 2 we have seen that (i) the highest position can only be filled by adverbs ending in *-mente* in BP and in CS; (ii) the lowest adverbial position can be filled either by adverbs ending in *-mente* or (preferentially) by PPs in BP; only PPs are allowed in the lowest position in CS; (iii) when it comes to lower adverbs we do find an interesting cross-linguistic variation between the two languages;

(iv) the tests presented are trustworthy tools to discriminate between the two scopal positions.

The main results are summarised in the following table.

Summary Table: Diagnostic tools: Summing up the main findings

Test	BP	CS	Conclusion
1. The relative position of the so-called “ambiguous” adverbs <i>w.r.t.</i> the main V	✓	✓	In both languages, Asp _(II) adverbs are below the minimum height occupied by the finite V.
2. The morphological nature of the ambiguous adverb	✓	✓	Asp _(I) adverbs: <i>-mente</i> (BP, CS); Asp _(II) adverbs: <i>-mente</i> (BP); PPs (BP, CS).
3. The recovery of an adverb by the elliptical VP	✓	Doesn't apply	Recovery by the gap in VP ellipsis is possible only for Asp _(II) adverbs and the Asp _{SgCompletive(I)} <i>completamente</i> ‘completely’ but not for Asp _(I) adverbs.
4. The placement of an adverbial in the structure “Infinitival Subject Clause + Small Clause”	✓	✓	Asp _(I) adverbs take the SC under their scope; Asp _(II) adverbs take the InfV under their scope.
5. The appearance of an adverb(ial) in interrogative sentences	Doesn't apply	✓	Only PPs (belonging to the lower categories) can appear in interrogatives.
6. Adverb(ial) under the scope of a focusing-like adverb	Doesn't apply	✓	Only PPs (from the lower categories) can fall under the scope of a focusing adverb
7. Precedence-and-transitivity tests	✓	✓	In both languages, high adverbs precede Asp _(I) adverbs; Asp _(I) adverbs precede Asp _(II) adverbs.

66 Tests 1, 2, 4, and 7 can be applied both to BP and CS and are reliable tools to discriminate between the two sources, namely, the set of Asp_(I) positions, on the one hand, and the set of Asp_(II) positions, on the other. Considering the two languages under scrutiny here, we have observed some cross-linguistic variation regarding the behaviour exhibited with respect to the construction or phenomenon behind each test. Hence, when it comes to the morphological nature of the candidates filling the Asp_(I) and the Asp_(II) positions, while Asp_(I)

adverbs are realised by an ending in *-mente* AdvP both in BP and in CS, there is variation regarding the realisation of Asp_(II) adverbs: an ending in *-mente* form can only appear in BP, while PPs are possible in both languages, being the only alternative in CS – see the second line of the table.

- 67 Still regarding cross-linguistic variation, the fifth and the sixth tests only apply to CS, inasmuch as this language morphologically discriminates the two scopal positions, as just mentioned. Since these two tests – though syntactic in nature – depend on morphological distinctions to be valid, they are only useful for CS. Consequently, languages morphologically discriminating between these two scopal positions – thus, with specialised lexical items for each position – may also benefit from the tests with interrogative sentences and focusing-like adverbs. On the other hand, the third test is only useful for BP, since this language allows VP ellipsis. Recovery by the gap in coordinated structures giving rise to VP ellipsis is only possible for Asp_(II) adverbs and Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} *completamente* ‘completely’, inasmuch as they are below the highest position the finite V can occupy in BP. Thus, the test helps one discriminate between the two scopal positions for “ambiguous” adverbs in BP – and other languages that feature VP ellipsis.
- 68 Finally, we have seen that the suggested tests are trustworthy tools to discriminate between Asp_(I) and Asp_(II) adverbial categories. Besides that – and now sticking our guns to the theoretical framework adopted –, since there is a direct map from Narrow Syntax to the conceptual-intentional interface, the position where allegedly ambiguous adverbs enter the structure is highly structurally constrained. This amounts to saying that ambiguous duplicating aspectual adverbs are only apparently ambiguous. Therefore, there is no such ambiguity on structural grounds.

In guise of conclusions

- 69 We saw in Section 2 seven distinct configurations which may be taken as diagnostic criteria to discriminate between Asp_(I) and Asp_(II) adverbs. The idea behind those seven criteria is: the Asp_(I) – Asp_(II) distinction is a reflection of the hierarchical structure where different classes of adverbs are rigidly ordered. Therefore, every

syntactic process sensitive to this hierarchy may be taken into account as a potential means to distinguish these two sets of syntactic positions.

- 70 The seven tests seen proved to be useful diagnostic tools. Although languages may opt for using the same lexical items in the two $Asp_{(I)}/Asp_{(II)}$ scopal positions – and this is the case of ending in *-mente* adverbs in BP, which can have access to both of these sources (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2) –, languages may also specialise for the two scopal positions. This is the case for CS: adverbs ending in *-mente* can only occupy the higher $Asp_{(I)}$ positions, while the equivalent PPs only have access to the lower, $Asp_{(II)}$ positions. This interesting cross-linguistic variation is reflected in the set of tests explored here.
- 71 Interestingly enough, though in BP PPs can only enter the lower, $Asp_{(II)}$ positions, it is possible to take advantage of the tests just seen to identify in which of the two sources a given ending in *-mente* adverb is merged/enters the derivation. Thus, besides helping us argue that the ambiguity of these alleged ambiguous, duplicating adverbs is only epiphenomenal – as there is indeed no ambiguity on syntactic grounds –, these seven tests are reliable tools to help one identify which syntactic position (the one associated with the event, hence the $Asp_{(I)}$ position, or the one associated with the process, hence, the $Asp_{(II)}$ one) is the one being occupied by the (allegedly) “ambiguous” adverb in a given sentence.
- 72 Furthermore, since each of these tests have specific syntactic motivations – most of them sensitive to language-internal properties –, as shown throughout dedicated subsections in Section 2, they are good tools to approach microparametric properties of the languages under study, an important issue within the agenda of the Principles and Parameters Theory.
- 73 Finally, given that, under each “ $Asp_{(I)}$ ” and “ $Asp_{(II)}$ ” set there is a series of different semantic aspectual categories, rigidly ordered within a f(unctional)-sequence (the hierarchy shown in (6)), the conclusions reached in this paper favour layered representations of the clause as is the norm in approaches turning to fine-grained configurations, such as Syntactic Cartography. Though the paper was drawn on this approach, the tests presented in Section 2 can be used by different

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Table 1

Adverbs Class				ADV		ADV		ADV
ModObligation	obrigatoriamente/ obrigatoriamente	BP	João J. Juan J.	✓	bebeu drank se tomó CL took	✓	a cachaça the sugar-cane-brandy el pisco the grappa	✓
		CS		✓		*		
AspFrustrative	em vão/ en vano	BP		✓		✓		
		CS		✓		✓		
AspSgCompletive(I)	completamente/ completamente	BP		*		✓		
		CS		*		✓		
AspPlCompletive	tudo/ todo	BP		*		✓		
		CS		*		✓		
Voice	cuidadosamente	BP		*		✓		
	cuidadosamente	CS		*		✓		
AspCelerative(II)	cedo/ temprano	BP		*		✓		
		CS		*		✓		
AspInceptive(II)	do nada/ de la nada	BP		*		✓		
		CS		*		✓		
AspRepetitive(II)	de novo/ de nuevo	BP		*		✓		
		CS		*		✓		
AspFrequentative(II)	com frequência	BP	*	✓				
	con frecuencia	CS	*	✓				
AspSgCompletive(II)	por completo	BP	*	✓				
	por completo	CS	*	✓				

Table 1: Relative position of low adverbs with respect to the main V

Table 2

Adverbs Class				ADV		ADV		ADV
AspRepetitive(I)	novamente/ nuevamente	BP	João J. Juan J.	✓	bebeu drank se tomó CL took	ch.m.	cachaça the sugar-cane-brandy el pisco the grappa	ch.m.
		CS		✓		*		
AspFrequentative(I)	frequentemente/ frecuentemente	BP		✓		ch.m.		
		CS		✓		*		
MoodVolition	deliberadamente/ deliberadamente	BP		✓		ch.m.		
		CS		✓		✓		
AspCelerative(I)	rapidamente/ rápidamente	BP		✓		ch.m.		
		CS		✓		ch.m.		
TAnterior	já/ ya	BP		✓		*		
		CS		✓		*		
AspTerminative	não mais/ ya no	BP		✓		*		
		CS		✓		*		
AspProximative	brevemente/ brevemente	BP		?		✓		
		CS		✓		✓		
AspProspective	quase/ casi	BP		✓		*		
		CS		✓		*		
AspInceptive	de repente/ de repente	BP	✓	*				
		CS	✓	*				

Table 2: Relative position of medial adverbs with respect to the main V

Key:

✓ order created by raising of the Adv to the left periphery

ch.m.: changed meaning

□ obligatory raising of the Adv to the left periphery

Table 3

Adverbs Class		AdvP		PP			AdvP		PP			AdvP		PP	
AspRepetitive(I)	BP	✓ novamente	*de novo	*novamente (✓ch.m.)	*de novo		*novamente (✓ch.m.)	*de novo	*novamente (✓ch.m.)	*de novo		*novamente (✓ch.m.)	*de novo		
	CS	✓nuevamente	*de nuevo	✓nuevamente	*de nuevo (ch.m.)		*nuevamente (ch.m.)	*de nuevo (ch.m.)	*nuevamente (ch.m.)	*de nuevo (ch.m.)		*nuevamente (ch.m.)	*de nuevo (ch.m.)		
AspFrequentative(I)	BP	✓frequentemente	*com frequência	✓frequentemente (✓ch.m.)	com frequência		✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	com frequência	✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	com frequência (ch.m.)		✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	*com frequência (ch.m.)		
	CS	✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia	✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia (ch. m.)		✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia (ch. m.)	✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia (✓ch.m.)		✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia (✓ch.m.)		
AspCelerative(I)	BP	✓rapidamente (incoat. read.)	*rápido	✓rapidamente (✓ch.m.)	*rápido		✓rapidamente	*rápido	✓rapidamente	*rápido		✓rapidamente	*rápido (✓ch.m.)		
	CS	✓rápidamente	*rápido	✓rápidamente (✓ch.m.)	*rápido		✓rápidamente	*rápido	✓rápidamente	*rápido (✓ch.m.)		✓rápidamente	*rápido (✓ch.m.)		
AspInceptive(I)	BP	✓repentinamente	?de repente	✓repentinamente	✓de repente		✓repentinamente	✓de repente	✓repentinamente	✓de repente		✓repentinamente	✓de repente		
	CS	✓repentinamente	*de repente	✓repentinamente	✓de repente		✓repentinamente	✓de repente	✓repentinamente	✓de repente		✓repentinamente	✓de repente		
AspCelerative(II)	BP	*cedo	-	✓cedo	-		✓cedo	-	✓cedo	-		✓cedo	-		
	CS	*temprano	-	✓temprano	-		✓temprano	-	✓temprano	-		✓temprano	-		
AspInceptive(II)	BP	-	*do nada	-	✓do nada		-	*de la nada	-	✓do nada		-	✓de la nada		
	CS	-	*de la nada	-	*de la nada		-	*de la nada	-	*de la nada		-	✓de la nada		
AspRepetitive(II)	BP	*novamente (✓ch.m.)	*de novo	✓novamente	✓de novo		✓novamente	✓de novo	✓novamente	✓de novo		✓novamente	✓de novo		
	CS	*nuevamente (ch.m.)	*de nuevo	*nuevamente (ch.m.)	✓de nuevo		✓nuevamente (ch.m.)	✓de nuevo	✓nuevamente (ch.m.)	✓de nuevo		✓nuevamente (ch.m.)	✓de nuevo		
AspFrequentative(II)	BP	*frequentemente (✓ch.m.)	*com frequência	✓frequentemente	✓com frequência		✓frequentemente	✓com frequência	✓frequentemente	✓com frequência		✓frequentemente	✓com frequência		
	CS	*frequentemente (ch.m.)	*con frecuencia	✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	✓con frecuencia		✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	✓con frecuencia	✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	✓con frecuencia		✓frequentemente (ch.m.)	✓con frecuencia		
AspSgCompletive	BP	*completamente	*por completo	✓completamente	✓por completo		✓completamente	✓por completo	✓completamente	✓por completo		✓completamente	✓por completo		
	CS	*completamente	*por completo	limpiou limpió cleaned	✓completamente		✓completamente	✓por completo	✓completamente	✓por completo		✓completamente	✓por completo		

Table 3: The distribution of adverbial PPs and in -mente adverbs in BP and CS

Table 4

Adverbs Class		João lê o livro e a Maria também lê [-]		João lê o livro ADV e a Maria também lê [-]	
		VP ellipsis	Null object	VP-ellipsis	Null object
AspRepetitive(I)	novamente	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓
AspFrequentative(I)	frequentemente	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓
AspCelerative(I)	rapidamente	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓
AspInceptive(I)	de repente/repentinamente	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓	*✓/ but with an Asp-II interpretation	✓
AspCompletive(I)	completamente	✓	✓	✓	✓
AspCelerative(II)	cedo	✓	✓	✓	✓
AspInceptive(II)	do nada	✓	✓	✓	✓
AspRepetitive(II)	de novo/novamente	✓	✓	✓	✓
AspFrequentative(II)	com frequência/frequentemente	✓	✓	✓	✓
AspSgCompletive(II)	por completo/completamente	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 4: VP-ellipsis recovery in BP

Table 5

Adverbs Class		InfV-scope		SC-scope			InfV-scope		SC-scope		
		AdvP	PP	AdvP	PP		AdvP	PP	AdvP	PP	
AspRepetitive(I)	BP	novamente	de novo	✓novamente	de novo	VInf (Subjective clause)	novamente	de novo	✓novamente	de novo	Copular verb + adjective
	CS	*nuevamente	*de nuevo	✓nuevamente	*de nuevo		*nuevamente	*de nuevo	✓nuevamente	*de nuevo	
AspFrequentative(I)	BP	frequentemente	com frequência	✓frequentemente	com frequência		frequentemente	com frequência	✓frequentemente	com frequência	
	CS	*frequentemente	*con frecuencia	✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia		*frequentemente	*con frecuencia	✓frequentemente	*con frecuencia	
AspCelerative(I)	BP	rapidamente	rápido	*rapidamente	rápido		rapidamente	rápido	✓rapidamente	rápido	
	CS	*rápidamente	*rápido	*rápidamente	*rápido		*rápidamente	*rápido	✓rápidamente	*rápido	
AspCelerative(II)	BP	cedo	-	*cedo	-		✓cedo	-	*cedo	-	
	CS	*temprano	-	*temprano	-		✓temprano	-	*temprano	-	
AspInceptive(II)	BP	-	do nada	-	do nada		-	do nada	-	do nada	
	CS	-	*de la nada	-	*de la nada		-	✓de la nada	-	*de la nada	
AspRepetitive(II)	BP	novamente	de novo	*novamente	de novo		novamente	de novo	novamente	de novo	
	CS	*nuevamente	*de nuevo	*nuevamente	*de nuevo		*nuevamente	✓de nuevo	*nuevamente	*de nuevo	
AspFrequentative(II)	BP	frequentemente	com frequência	*frequentemente	com frequência		frequentemente	com frequência	✓frequentemente	com frequência	
	CS	*frequentemente	*con frecuencia	*frequentemente	*con frecuencia		*frequentemente	✓con frecuencia	*frequentemente	*con frecuencia	
AspSgCompletive(II)	BP	completamente	por completo	completamente	por completo		completamente	por completo	completamente	por completo	
	CS	*completamente	*por completo	*completamente	*por completo		✓completamente	✓por completo	*completamente	*por completo	

Table 5: Infinitival Subjective Clause + SC structures

Table 6

Adverbs Class		AdvP	PP	
AspRepetitive(I)	Juan corre J. runs	*nuevamente	*de nuevo	?
AspFrequentative(I)		*frecuentemente	*con frecuencia	
AspCelerative(I)		*rápidamente	✓rápido	
AspInceptive(I)		*repentinamente	✓de repente	
AspSgCompletive(I)		*completamente	✓por completo	
AspCelerative(II)		✓temprano	-	
AspInceptive(II)		-	✓de la nada	
AspRepetitive(II)		*nuevamente	✓de nuevo	
AspFrequentative(II)		*frecuentemente	✓con frecuencia	
AspSgCompletive(II)		*completamente	✓por completo	

Table 6: Adverbs in interrogative sentences in CS

Table 7

Adverbs Class		AdvP	PP
AspRepetitive(I)	Juan corre solo/aún/hasta	*nuevamente	*de nuevo
AspFrequentative(I)		*frecuentemente	*con frecuencia
AspCelerative(I)		*rápidamente	✓rápido
AspCelerative(II)		✓temprano	-
AspInceptive(II)		*repentinamente	✓de la nada
AspRepetitive(II)		*nuevamente	✓de nuevo
AspFrequentative(II)		*frecuentemente	✓con frecuencia
AspSgCompletive(II)		*completamente	✓por completo

Table 7: Focusing-like adverb scope in CS

Table 8

AdvI	AdvII	Cartography-compliant order			Non Cartography-compliant order		
		João AdvI sai AdvII	com as mesmas pessoas	João AdvII sai AdvI	com as mesmas pessoas		
AspCelerative(I)	AspCelerative(II)	cedo	BP	✓	*		
		temprano	CS	✓	*		
AspInceptive(I)	AspInceptive(II)	do nada	BP	✓	*		
		de la nada	CS	✓	*		
AspRepetitive(I)	AspRepetitive(II)	de novo	BP	✓	*		
		de nuevo	CS	✓	??		
AspFrequentative(I)	AspFrequentative(II)	com frequência	BP	✓	*		
		con frecuencia	CS	✓	*		

Table 8: Precedence and transitivity tests with AdvI and AdvII

1 Cinque (1999: 92; 169, n. 12; 205, n. 39) states that there are two scopal positions in clausal structure associated with adverbs of quantification – referred to here as duplicating adverbs. Accordingly, the higher position is

where the adverb quantifies over events, while the lower position is where it quantifies over processes. A single lexical item can be merged (“generated”) in these two distinct positions, as demonstrated in the Italian example below (Cinque, 1999: 92). In this sentence, the first instance of *spesso* (‘often’) quantifies over the event of “dating the same person often”, while the second *spesso* quantifies over the process conveyed by the verb phrase, i.e., the process of “dating the person”. These two distinct scopal readings are illustrated by the paraphrase in (i’):

- (i) *Gianni, saggiamente, spesso esce con la stessa persona spesso.*
 “G., wisely, often dates the same person often.”

(i’) [Event The event of [Process John going out often with the same person] is frequent.]

Similarly, adverbs that convey repetition (e.g., Italian *di nuovo/nuovamente* “again”) are also associated with two scopal positions. This is illustrated by example (ii), where the PP *di nuovo* (“again”) can appear in both positions:

- (ii) *Gianni ha di nuovo battuto alla porta di nuovo.*
 “G. again knocked on the door again.”

According to Cinque (1999: 92), in this example, “[t]he leftmost *di nuovo* quantifies over the event (of knocking on the door, perhaps many times), while the rightmost quantifies over the act itself of knocking.”

As noted in the text (also see Figure 1), the highest scopal position – where the adverb quantifies over the event – can be associated with adjunction to IP (in the spirit of pre-minimalist analyses), while the lowest scopal position – where the adverb quantifies over processes – can be associated with adjunction to VP.

2 All figures in this paper have been created by the authors, exclusively for the purposes of the present paper.

3 By ambiguity, we refer here primarily to “lexical” ambiguity: a single lexical item may be compatible with two distinct scopal positions (see footnote 1 and related text). However, this ambiguity is more apparent than real, as even when a given language allows for the same lexical item to be merged in two different scopal positions, the scope of the adverb changes. Languages that differentiate these two scopal positions through distinct lexical items – such as Chilean Spanish (see Section 2.2) – make it clear that the perceived ambiguity is illusory. Naturally, this apparent ambiguity

depends on the structure, specifically on the two distinct adjunction sites discussed in footnote 1 and the related text.

4 Nonetheless, as noted by Tescari Neto, Bergamini-Perez, and Lima (2023), there may be independent reasons – beyond membership to a given category – that preclude the co-occurrence of two adverbs from distinct classes or categories.

5 If a given AdvA precedes an AdvB, and AdvB precedes AdvC, therefore, by transitivity, we conclude that AdvA precedes AdvC. Precedence-and-transitivity tests are further elucidated in Section 2.7.

6 A reviewer has kindly noted the need to clearly distinguish the PP adverbials discussed in this paper from circumstantial PP adverbials in the sense of Cinque (1999: 28-30; 2006). Circumstantial adverbials, which are generated above the arguments in dedicated specifiers (Cinque, 2006), convey information about place, time, manner, reason, and similar notions. In contrast, the adverbial PPs considered here are clear correlates of the AdvPs ending in *-mente*, expressing related but distinct aspectual notions (such as frequency and repetition). As such, they differ from circumstantial PPs.

7 A reviewer has brought to our attention that the ill-formedness of (30b) and (31b) could possibly be caused by adverbs ending in *-mente* (in the examples, *frecuentemente* ‘often’ and *nuevamente* ‘again’) not being able to appear in a prosodically prominent position like the end of an interrogative sentence. They suggested that the judgement of similar sentences with another constituent added in a final position could help clarify this matter. Even though we do not discard the possibility of prosodic factors also being at play here, it seems like these higher AdvPs cannot occur in interrogatives regardless of their being in the final position, as shown in the examples (i) and (ii) below.

(i) *Juan corre frecuentemente con sus amigos
John runs often with his friends
“Does John run often with his friends?”

(ii) *María se vacunó nuevamente contra la COVID?
Mary got vaccinated again against COVID
“Did Mary get vaccinated again against COVID?”

- 8 Even outside Syntactic Cartography and Generative Grammar, different approaches to clausal structure turning to layered representations are sympathetic to the assumption of underlying hierarchies for the functional structure (see, e.g., Dik, 1997; Hengeveld and Mackenzie, 2008; a.o.).
- 9 The symbol “>” (from (34, 34’)) indicates precedence in the hierarchy.
- 10 According to the hierarchy in (6), quickly represents the AspCelerative(II) category, while early corresponds to AspCelerative(I). Their counterparts in BP and CS are, respectively, *rapidamente/rápidamente* and *cedo/temprano*. As noted in Section 1, the hierarchy has been tested in both BP and CS. Therefore, we can utilise context (ii) from this test as a tool to discriminate between the two scopal positions.

English

We turn to Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and Chilean Spanish (CS) in our study of some *aspectual* adverbs which, according to Cinque (1999, 2004), have a dual source both concerning their position in the universal hierarchy of adverbs and their scope. The main goal of this paper is to review some cases of *apparent ambiguity* as featured by the following classes of “duplicating” adverbs in BP and CS: Asp_{Repetitive(I)} and Asp_{Repetitive(II)}, Asp_{Frequentative(I)} and Asp_{Frequentative(II)}, Asp_{Celerative(I)} and Asp_{Celerative(II)}, Asp_{Inceptive(I)} and Asp_{Inceptive(II)}, and Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} and Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}. We intend to argue that, on Syntactic Cartography grounds, this ambiguity is much more apparent than real. We turn to a set of seven syntactic tests which can help one: (i) determine the position of “ambiguous” adverbs – those indicated by the indexes I and II in Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy – and (ii) distinguish their different semantic contents. These seven diagnostic tools are: 1) the morphological nature of the adverb; 2) the position of the adverb/adverbial relative to the main finite V(erb); 3) recovery of an adverb in a VP ellipsis construction; 4) the position and scope of the adverb(ial) in a structure with an Infinitival Subject Clause + a Small Clause; 5) the appearance of an adverb within an interrogative clause; 6) the scope of a “focusing” adverb; and 7) precedence-and-transitivity tests featuring an Asp_(I) and an Asp_(II) adverb. The tests applied help one (i) discriminate between the two scopal positions for adverbs in clausal structure and (ii) argue against the alleged ambiguity featured by the five classes of duplicating aspectual adverbs just mentioned.

Français

Dans ce travail, nous nous intéressons au portugais brésilien (BP) et à l’espagnol du Chili (CS) pour étudier des adverbes aspectuels qui ont, selon Cinque (1999, 2004), une double source, tant en ce qui concerne leur position dans la hiérarchie universelle des adverbes que leur portée.

L'objectif principal de cet article est d'examiner certains cas d'ambiguïté apparente, tels que les classes d'adverbes « dédoublants » en BP et CS: $Asp_{Repetitive(I)}$ et $Asp_{Repetitive(II)}$, $Asp_{Frequentative(I)}$ et $Asp_{Frequentative(II)}$, $Asp_{Celerative(I)}$ et $Asp_{Celerative(II)}$, $Asp_{Inceptive(I)}$ et $Asp_{Inceptive(II)}$, et $Asp_{SgCompletive(I)}$ et $Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}$. Nous avons l'intention de soutenir que, du point de vue de la cartographie syntaxique, cette ambiguïté est plus apparente que réelle. Nous nous tournons vers une série de sept tests syntaxiques qui peuvent permettre de : (i) déterminer la position des adverbes « ambigus » – ceux indiqués par les indices I et II dans la hiérarchie de Cinque (1999) – et (ii) distinguer leurs différents contenus sémantiques. Ces sept outils de diagnostic sont les suivants : 1) la nature morphologique de l'adverbe ; 2) la position de l'adverbe/de l'adverbe relatif par rapport au V(erbe) fini principal ; 3) la récupération de l'adverbe dans une construction VP-ellipsis ; 4) la position et la portée de l'adverbe(ial) dans une structure avec une proposition infinitive subjective (*Infinitival Subject Clause*) + une petite proposition (*Small Clause*) ; 5) le placement d'un adverbe dans une phrase interrogative ; 6) la portée d'un adverbe de « focalisation » ; et 7) des tests de précedence et de transitivité mettant en scène (i) un adverbe haut et un adverbe $Asp_{(I)}/Asp_{(II)}$, et (ii) un adverbe $Asp_{(I)}$ et un adverbe $Asp_{(II)}$. Ces tests appliqués permettent d'établir une distinction entre les deux positions/portées des adverbes dans la structure clausale et s'opposent à la prétendue ambiguïté des cinq classes d'adverbes aspectuels dédoublants précédemment mentionnées.

Mots-clés

adverbe aspectuel, adverbe dédoublant, cartographie syntaxique, ambiguïté, portée, hiérarchie universelle des adverbes

Keywords

aspectual adverb, duplicating adverb, Syntactic Cartography, ambiguity, scope, universal hierarchy of adverbs

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Varia

The concept FURY in Ukrainian media: Semiotic and cognitive potential

Le concept FURY dans les médias ukrainiens : potentiel sémiotique et cognitif

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Introduction

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Introduction

- 1 This study was inspired by the plenary lecture by Zoltan Kövecses at the AFLiCo 9 conference in Lyon 3 in May 2024, where he presented the project of cross-cultural analysis of the metaphors of ANGER. He provided evidence for the existence of a conspicuous universal core value that can be traced across all corpora. On the other hand, the thesaurus of ANGER suggests that its shades, which are realized in synonyms and adjacent categories, offer a wide range of nationally specific variations. One of the specifically Ukrainian concepts is FURY (Ukr. ЛЮТЬ).

- 2 As part of a hybrid war (Bond, 2005; Hoffman, 2007), emotional response is one of the expected outcomes of ideological influence through propaganda (Hovland et al., 1953; Gustafsson and Hall, 2021; Wolak and Sokhey, 2022; Jamieson, 2023; Lakoff, 2016, 2024; Shah, 2024). In addition, the ongoing war in Ukraine, with its incessant stresses and challenges, has a strong impact on the psyche. Ukrainian society has to cope with an avalanche of first-hand and media information about the aggressor's atrocities, deaths, deprivation, and massive destruction. This triggers emotional reactions such as stress, anxiety and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Lushchak et al., 2024), which include anger alongside the other five stages of grief (Kübler-Ross, 1969). Anger is capable of redirecting the outcome of a political event and is at the center of modern political science and linguistics research (Howard and Kollanyi, 2016; Benkler Faris and Roberts, 2018). The central role of anger as a key player in politics served as an impetus for the design of the outrage model in the media. It draws on recent social case studies that assert the growth of social media-fueled outrage and its manipulative potential as a result (Brader, 2005; Berry and Sobieraj, 2014; Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen, 2000).
- 3 On the other hand, in modern war-torn Ukraine, observers tend to argue that instead of destructive dynamics in the collective psyche, anger transforms into a nation-building factor, albeit in a lightly biased form, as fury (*лють*). It seems to be no coincidence that this word has become a hashtag on social media. The Ukrainian war story already knows a Telegram chat ЛЮТЬ (t.me/angryangrier), a documentary book *Fury* (Стеблівський, 2023), a song *Ukrainian Fury* (*Українська лють*) as a cover version of an Italian song *Bella Ciao* (Соловій, 2022), The Police Big Band of Ukraine with their music reel *Untamed Fury* (*Нескорена лють*, 2023), a documentary film *Mariupol. The Fury Lets Me Breathe* (*Маріуполь. Лють дозволяє мені дихати* 2023), a series of photos and painting exhibitions, e.g. a photo exhibition in Dnipro in 2023 (*Любов/Лють 2023*), the United Ukrainian Police Assault Brigade *Fury* (ОШБ НПУ «Лють») and the group Kozak System with their song *Fury* (Kozak System, 2023) as the anthem of this military division; and finally, various weapons, including a land drone *Furious* («Лютий») or an armoured robot of two generations *Fury 1.0* and *2.0* (*Дистанційно керований... 2024*), all

these names going back to the concept of the (UKRAINIAN) FURY. This is proof of the central role of this concept in the national construal of the world and the Ukrainian worldview as its foundation. An example of this is the following passage, which refers to the strategic success of the Ukrainian army in liberating its territories in autumn 2022:

Українське диво 2022-го року створено не руками генералів та політиків – це сотні тисяч кращих людей на світі в одному пориві прощались з життям і йшли на війну, щоб продати своє життя подорожчє, і саме ця відчайдушна народна лють [Hereinafter the translation is mine. I underline.] розгромила кадрову російську армію (Хвиля Десни, 7 лютого, 2024).

The Ukrainian miracle of 2022 wasn't crafted by generals or politicians, but by hundreds of thousands of the world's finest people. These brave individuals, all at once, bid farewell to their lives and took up arms, determined to make their sacrifices count. It was this fury, this collective resolve that overcame the ranks of the Russian army [hereinafter the translation is mine and I underline].

- 4 Moreover, FURY is widely used in poetic contexts, which further enhances its metaphorical potential. It is repeatedly compared to LOVE, for example in the poetry collection by Maryna Ponomarenko (Пономаренко, 2023). In Ukrainian, love and fury have the same first syllable. As stated in the fragment of the commentary on the exhibition “LOVE/FURY” by Ukrainian photo artist Olga Fedorova:

Тоді як лють допомагає тобі боротися – любов допомагає тобі жити й насолоджуватись життям. Проходити крізь усі битви і не втрачати себе, не занурюватись в свою лють занадто глибоко та не ставати бездушними, нездатними бачити красу довкола. Лють – то є меч, а любов – то броня. Але любов також може стати мечем – проти тих, хто не має любові, або ж просто боїться любити. В такому разі лють стає бронєю. І мені здається, аби виграти всі свої війни – нам потрібні вони обидві. Меч та броня. Любов та лють. (Артсвіт 2024).

While fury gives you the strength to fight, love gives you the reason to live and savor life. To face all the battles without losing yourself, without being consumed by fury and turning soulless, blind to the

beauty around you—that's the true challenge. Fury is the sword, and love is the armor. But love can also become a sword against those who lack it, or fear it. In such cases, fury becomes the armor. It seems to me that to win all our wars, we need both: the sword and the armor. Love and fury.

- 5 Since FURY occurs in both visual and verbal forms, the study of this concept aims to investigate the semiotic and cognitive mechanisms of its implementation as a nation-building concept actualized in (1) multimodal (memetic) images and (2) a lexical unit *лють* in the corpus of Ukrainian language media during the period of the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 to the present. The two main aims of the study are therefore the following: (1) to reveal the semiotic and cognitive nature of the multimodal concept FURY in the Ukrainian media sphere, with the task of showing the concept FURY as a semiotic and cognitive nation-building entity in its visual and verbal realization, and (2) to model the lexical concept FURY as a semiotic and cognitive structure implemented in the Ukrainian lexical unit *лють*, with the research task of reconstructing its scope through a semiotic and conceptual analysis.

1. Corpora and methods

1.1. Corpora

- 6 As a multimodal concept, FURY is presented in the corpus of about 30 images named *ЛЮТЬ*. They were randomly selected from the set generated by the Google Image search engine. These images include paintings named *ЛЮТЬ* by their authors, various mobilization posters of the United Ukrainian Police Brigade *Fury*, merchandising items with the same logo, and random images as cover pages for Ukrainian songs with the name *Fury* on Deezer, YouTube, etc. Significantly, the same image can be reproduced under a different name and in different contexts. On the other hand, each of the images represents a unique associative cognitive complex linking the concept of FURY with other national concepts within the Ukrainian information sphere. This corpus of images is the subject of the first research task, which is to analyze the semiotic potential of the multimodal concept FURY in the Ukrainian media context.

7 In addition, the lexical means of the Ukrainian language, i.e. the actual name of the concept FURY (*лють*), is the focus of the second objective of the study. It is a dataset created by me using the AI application Sketch Engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/>). This dataset was selected on the basis of the Ukrainian Trends, a daily updated monitor corpus of Ukrainian media, which grows by about 1 million words per day. It contains news articles, Wikipedia and other sources updated via RSS feeds (news) and parsed regularly to avoid repetition of texts within a month. The Ukrainian Trends corpus spans from the beginning of Russia's invasion in February 2022 to the present day. The dataset used in this study originally amounted to 5,560 units *лють* and its lemmas as basically nouns. In further analysis, I included the adjectives symbolizing Ukrainian resistance in the war, e.g. *Angry Birds* (“*Люми Пташкы*”), a name for Ukrainian drones. At the same time, I had to analyze the concordances to avoid topics that appear in the Ukrainian media but are not directly related to the war in Ukraine (e.g. international events, *beau monde* scandals, weather reports, and sports). The result is 4,680 units used in connection with the current war in Ukraine, both in the country and abroad.

1.2. Methods

8 The study draws on a number of state-of-the-art and classical theories.

9 First, the context of the study itself entails that its main unit, the concept FURY, is considered part of CDA within the framework of political discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2003, 2006; van Dijk, 1993, 1998, 2008, 2009; Wodak, 1989). In shaping the cumulative effect of political discourse, the role of emotions can hardly be overestimated (Wodak, 2015). As mentioned in the introduction, emotions such as anger have always been at the heart of CDA. Emotions as game changers in political discourse are considered ideologems (Jameson, 1982; Lylo, 2017; Pinich, 2019). Among the numerous definitions, I will depart from Fredric Jameson's “amphibious formation, whose essential structural feature can be described as its ability to manifest [...] as a pseudoidea – a conceptual or belief system, an abstract value...” (1982: 170). This definition is

consistent with the nature of the concept of *FURY*, which is (i) considered as a nation-building concept that (ii) has a multimodal (amphibious) realization. In this study, therefore, the concept is considered in various realizations as a multimodal and lexical concept.

- 10 One of the hypotheses of the study is the assumption that the concept *FURY* is currently one of the nation-building concepts in the Ukrainian construal of the world. Arguably, the status of a nation-building concept has at least three prerequisites: 1) the concept should recur multimodally; 2) it should cognitively underpin a socially significant word or phrase in the media (hashtag), and 3) it should be related to other nation-building concepts of the construal.
- 11 With regard to the first requirement for a nation-building concept, the semiotic and cognitive theories are used in combination, as claimed by cognitive semiotics in relation to meaning-making (Forceville, 2006, 2013, 2016; Zlatev, 2012). In this study, the cognitive semiotic potential of the concept *FURY* is realized both multimodally and lexically.
- 12 The second prerequisite for a nation-building concept is its semiotic and cognitive analysis as a lexical unit.
- 13 The multimodal representation of the concept *FURY* is analyzed through the lens of semiotic theory informed by cognitive science, particularly its framework of mental operations, or construal (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 46). This study employs classical Peircean semiotics, which classifies signs based on the interpreter's perception of the relationship between a sign and its referent. Recognizing that the sign is only partially identical with the reality it presents, Peirce introduced the concept of modality. "Modality refers to the reality status accorded to or claimed by a sign, message, text, or genre" (Chandler, 2017: 80). Simply put, the greater the resemblance between a sign and its referent, the higher its modality. Accordingly, Peirce identified three primary types of signs, arranged in increasing order of modality: symbols, indices, and icons.
- 14 An icon is defined as a sign that "stands for something merely because it resembles an icon" (Peirce, 1935: 362). Although this definition may appear vague, this feature of an icon accounts for a

very high modality of this type of sign. In essence, an icon closely mirrors the object it represents. However, when dealing with abstract concept such as *FURY*, creating a visual iconic representation presents significant challenges. This is because a direct ‘portrait’ of fury is nearly inconceivable, necessitating a clear distinction between a vehicle of fury (its representation) and fury itself.

- 15 In this study, the iconic signs of *FURY* are analyzed in two modes. The first mode involves the representation of *FURY* through culturally significant personalities who serve as carriers of fury. Their fury may be depicted either symbolically or metaphorically, resulting in semiotic hybrids termed **symbolic iconicity**. This hybrid combines the qualities of an icon (the carrier of fury) with those of a symbol (fury itself). Based on modality of the carrier, these representations are categorized as either:
- i. **symbolic icons**, where specific, culturally significant personality is directly portrayed or
 - ii. **iconic symbols**, where the carriers function as abstract symbols within a cultural context.

These distinctions will be elaborated upon in the analysis.

- 16 The second mode of iconic representation involves lexigraphic images, where the name of the concept is directly rendered as the word *лють*. In the verbal concordances, such icons appear as the explicit linguistic labels for the emotion of fury.
- 17 Following Peirce, an index is “a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of being really affected by that object” (1936: 248). Indices, unlike icons, do not closely cite but instead maintain a physical and/or incidental connection to it, resulting in medium modality. This connection closely aligns with metonymy, where a phenomenon is described by emphasizing specific facets or domains within a domain matrix (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 47). This mental operation has a psychological basis. Similar to anger (Kövecses, 2000: 168), fury is associated with various physical indicators – such as facial expressions or skin tone – that can function as indices. Numerous verbal concordances also contain such metonymic indices of fury.

- 18 Symbols, in contrast, exhibit the lowest modality, as their meaning is determined conventionally and heavily reliant on cultural traditions and contexts. Unlike icons, which resemble their referents, or indices, which maintain a direct connection to them, symbols depend on interpretive habits or societal conventions. Cognitively, symbols share significant similarities with metaphors and other comparative mental operations that involve mappings between at least two domains: the source and the target (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 55).
- 19 The cognitive analysis of the concept *FURY* draws on several cognitive theories. The first concerns the lexical concept in the sense of Vyvyan Evans' Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models (LCCM). It states that a concept serves as the basis for its realization in lexical units, which in turn serve as triggers for the conceptual domains (a). The second cognitive theory is based on Zoltán Kövecses' research on the concept *ANGER* (1986, 1995b, 2000, 2024). In this study, his cognitive modeling is first conducted as metaphorical mapping to determine the scope of the metaphor (Kövecses, 1995a, 2003). This mapping follows the classical procedure of modeling the interrelation of the elements between the target and source domains. In addition, operations of conceptual integration are also included, which are widely used in mapping visual metaphors in terms of the Theory of Extended Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy (Kövecses, 2020, 2022). In this case, instead of two domains, the model comprises four mental spaces (see e.g. Fauconnier and Turner, 2003: 59), with the blended space serving the cognitive underpinning of the lexical unit. Second, the unit *лють* verbalizes a metonymy that implements fury as a physiological phenomenon within the same domain (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 216). The investigation of the lexical concept *FURY* is thus a corpus-based analysis of the dataset. The annotation procedure is conditioned by the fact that the lexical unit can be used in the war-related context as a sign (an icon or a symbol) or as a cognitive construal of a metaphor or metonymy. Significantly, an index and a metonymy have similar characteristics. This explains the lack of semiotic annotation of the units as indices.
- 20 The explanation of the nature of the concept *FURY* as a nation-building concept refers the study to the third classical cognitive theory. It states that there is a system of interconnected nationally significant concepts underpinned by values (Sharifian, 2017) as a national

construal of the world (Taylor and MacLaury, 1995), a dynamic conceptual structure based on national values (Musolff, 2021). The third premise of a nation-building concept will allow reconstructing its references to other Ukrainian national concepts of the construal of the world. This will clarify its place in the conceptual hierarchy and its potential to maintain the sustainable cognitive basis for the secure information space of the country facing the challenges of war.

2. Semiotic and cognitive potential of the multimodal concept

FURY

- 21 Having emerged from the earliest days of the war, the notion of fury is ubiquitous in the Ukrainian informational space. It can clearly be traced back to the beginning of the military conflict in Donbas when tragic events elicited appropriate traumatic responses. However, the real boom in the use of FURY occurred with Russia's the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

2.1. Multimodal concept FURY as an iconic sign

- 22 From a semiotic perspective, given its abstract nature, fury might not seem easily depicted as a form. However, some Ukrainian artists claim to have portrayed the essence of fury in their artworks. These include paintings titled *Fury* or works that feature elements which allegedly represent fury in iconic terms. Symbolic iconicity, described in 1.2, the first type of signs, **symbolic icons**, will be analyzed here. It means that the carriers of fury are culturally significant personalities, who demonstrate fury as their inherent feature.
- 23 One prominent example of such an iconic portrayal is Mavka in *Fury* (Figure 1), an animated character from *Mavka. The Forest Song* (Мавка. Лісова пісня, 2022), based on one of the most famous works of Lesia Ukrainka, a classic of Ukrainian literature. The film is considered significant not only for its adaptation of a Ukrainian literary gem, but also for its strong, nationally specific Ukrainian focus. Mavka, a spirit and guardian goddess of the Forest

that embodies NATURAL BEAUTY, LOVE and COURAGE. She frequently expresses strong emotions, one of which is her fury, a state depicted in Figure 1. It is not by accident that, in addition to its iconic form, the portrayal also uses metaphoric connections, linking Mavka's fury to a forest fire. Her hair resembles sparkles and flames, while her eyes and aura radiate the white and red heat of fury. Another series of iconic images is found in the Ukrainian calendar *Лютъ* for 2024 (Figure 2), which features photo portraits of 12 Ukrainian military servicemen. According to its creators, the patriotic *Fund 1991*, the calendar is a continuation of a photo project aimed at reminding the world that the war has now lasted for 10 years. These symbolic icons represent the 12 months of invincibility and courage of 2024 (Календар ЛЮТЬ, 2023). Thus, the semiotic functions of these symbolic icons merge their iconic and symbolic qualities, and combined with metaphoric representation of fury, embody the concepts of INVINCIBILITY and COURAGE.

Figure 1 (left) and Figure 2 (right)



Figure 1: Iconic image (symbolic icon) of FURY implemented as Mavka's emotion (Film.UA Group).

Figure 2: Iconic image (symbolic icon) of FURY as a *Fund 1991* calendar of 2024 (created by Vitaly Yurasov).

- 24 Another type of iconic images of fury appears in nationally-themed merchandise aimed at youth, such as T-shirts and baseball caps (Figure 3). These feature lexigraphic elements that not only iconically depict the word *лють* but also evoke metaphoric associations through indexical references: bloody scratches resembling animal claws, the rough, slipshod font, and the use of red coloring.

Figure 3



Iconic image of FURY as a lexigraphic element in the Ukrainian national merchandise (designed by Maxim Moshkovsky).

- 25 In summary, iconically, FURY serves to represent key nation-building concepts such as NATURAL BEAUTY, LOVE, COURAGE, and INVINCIBILITY. These concepts are expressed through of nationally significant figures, both real and fictional, as well as through lexigraphic images with indexical elements.

2.2. Multimodal concept FURY as an indexical sign

- 26 The indexical nature of the fury is exemplified in the following memetic images titled *Лють*:

Figure 4 (left) and Figure 5 (right)

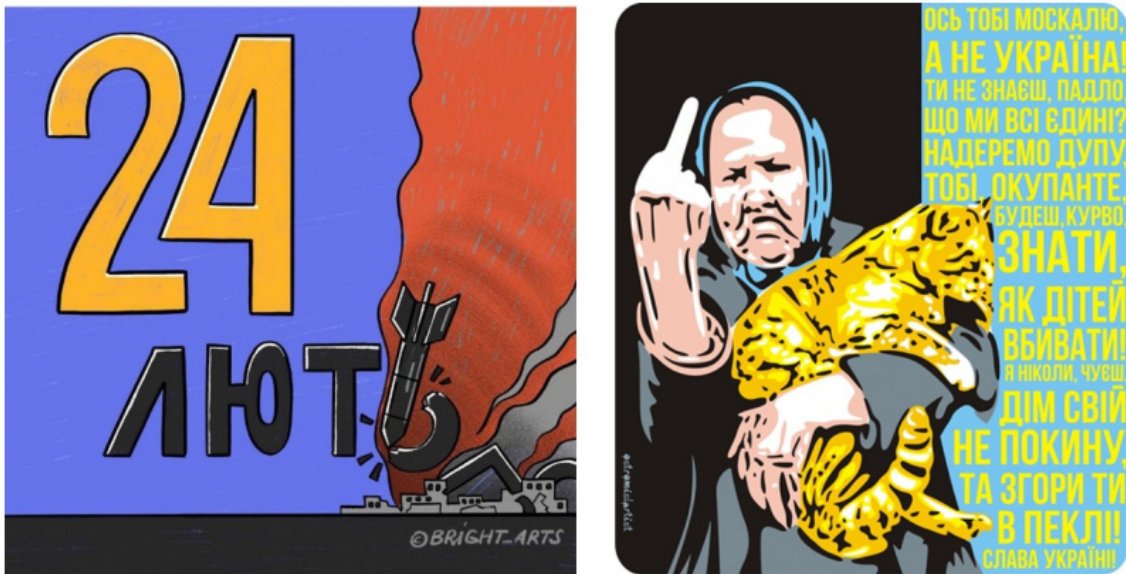


Figure 4: Indexical image of FURY as a date of the full-scale invasion (drawing by Yaroslava Yatsuba, known as @bright_arts on Instagram).

Figure 5: Indexical image of FURY as a recapped meme 'The Granny and her Cat' ('Baba i Kit'), from a drawing by Serhii Bryliov (ostromislartist).

27 In Figure 4, the similarity in the orthography of the Ukrainian name for February, *лютий* (lit. *furious*) and the word *лють* serves as the derivative stem. The image splits reality, presenting a once-peaceful scene in Ukrainian yellow and blue on the left and red and black of war on the right. A bomb strikes the letter O in the name of the month, shattering the remaining letters and transforming it into *лють*. This visual metaphor represents the emotional response of Ukrainians, which will forever be linked to the onset of the full-scale invasion on 24 February 2022. In Figure 5, a popular Ukrainian memetic character – a granny and her cat – indicates to the Ukrainian people confronting aggression. Her indexical gesture conveys both *DEFIANCE* and *HATRED TOWARDS THE ENEMY*. The accompanying rhyme directly addresses the aggressor:

Here what you'll get, moskal [derogative slang for a Russian], but Ukraine. Don't you know, mother f@cker, that we are all united? [This line underscores the theme of unity]. We will burn your ass, you occupant. You will know, kurwa, how to kill children. Never will I abandon my home, do you hear? [*RESILIENCE* and *INVINCIBILITY*]. Burn in hell. Glory to Ukraine!

- 28 This meme not only communicates *FURY* through the grandmother's indexical gesture, but also through the symbolic use of yellow and blue coloring in the text.
- 29 Thus, indexically, *FURY* represents Ukrainians' emotional response to aggression, intertwined with concepts such as *DEFIANCE*, *HATRED TOWARDS THE ENEMY*, *UNITY*, *RESILIENCE* and *INVINCIBILITY*.

2.3. Multimodal concept *FURY* as a symbolic sign

- 30 Symbolically, *FURY* is most commonly represented in military insignia and in the mobilization poster of the United Ukrainian Police Assault Brigade *Fury* (Figures 6 and 7). The symbolism here combines with iconicity, as the representation of the human emotion *fury* is reinforced by the lexigraphic element, the word *лють*.

Figure 6 (left) and Figure 7 (right)



Figure 6: Symbolic image of *FURY* as a military uniform chevron of the United Ukrainian Police Assault Brigade *Fury*.

Figure 7 (right): Symbolic image of *FURY* as a mobilization poster of the United Ukrainian Police Assault Brigade *Fury*.

- 31 The poster in Figure 7 also features the logo *Demonstrate your fury*, anchoring the images as iconic elements that depict the brigade's officers. These servicemen exemplify *COURAGE* and *INVINCIBILITY*, supporting core national values.

- 32 The second category of iconic hybrids associated with FURY, termed iconic symbols, encompasses representations of Ukraine as a woman-warrior (Figures 8 and 9). Unlike symbolic icons, this category emphasizes the abstract, nationally significant nature of the FURY carrier, depicted here as a woman. The low modality of such representations fosters a stable cultural association among insiders, linking Ukraine with a feminine identity. This association is further reinforced by the linguistic personification of Ukraine as female, derived from the grammatical feminine gender of the country's name in the Ukrainian language. Additionally, one of Ukraine's symbols of INVINCIBILITY and GUARDING is Berehynia, the Guardian Goddess of home and family (<http://ukrlit.org/slovnuk/>).

Figure 8 (left) and Figure 9 (right)



Figure 8: Symbolic image (iconic symbol) of FURY as a Ukrainian woman-warrior.
 Figure 9: Symbolic image (iconic symbol) of FURY as a Ukrainian woman-warrior (street art work of Kostantin Kachanovsky).

- 33 Both images highlight uniquely Ukrainian symbols, such as the national costume: a wreath symbolizing VICTORY, BEAUTY and HONESTY (Український вінок), an embroidered shirt (вишиванка), whose patterns and colors hold encrypted meanings, and a special necklace (зердан) resembling guelder rose berries (калина), a

national symbol of Ukraine (Kotsur, Potapenko, Kuybida, 2002: 12). The guelder rose is also referenced in the song *The Red Guelder Rose*, the anthem of Ukrainian resistance. Additionally, the woman-warrior is depicted with modern military gear, standing for invincibility. These symbolic images, therefore, convey nation-building concepts like VICTORY, BEAUTY, HONESTY, RESISTANCE, GUARDING, CULTURAL UNIQUENESS, and INVINCIBILITY.

- 34 Another set of symbolic images of FURY is found in memetic representations specific to Ukrainian culture or universal symbols. In Figure 10, a hunter wields a pitchfork – historically a weapon of Ukrainian peasants during uprisings against Russian tyranny – against a bear, the totem of Russia. Ukrainian national symbols reinforce the message. Oseledets' (*оселедець*), Kozak's distinctive haircut, suggests UKRAINIAN KOZAK SPIRIT associated with their love of liberty (LIBERTY), and the pitchfork's shape mirroring the Trident (*Тризуб*), a symbol of Ukraine, suggests the concept of SOVEREIGNTY. The yellow-and-blue background highlights the liberation struggle for the motherland. Thus, these symbols convey concepts such as UKRAINIAN KOZAK SPIRIT (LIBERTY), MOTHERLAND and SOVEREIGNTY. In Figure 11, a military uniform chevron combines a symbol of death with Ukrainian heraldic colors and the Trident. This chevron is also associated with the informal Ukrainian slogan *Glory to the nation, Death to the enemies!* (*Слава нації, смерть ворогам!*). Therefore, these symbols represent concepts such as the UKRAINIAN KOZAK SPIRIT (LIBERTY), MOTHERLAND, SOVEREIGNTY and DEATH TO THE ENEMY.

Figure 10 (left) and Figure 11 (right)



Figure 10: Symbolic image of FURY as a meme.

Figure 11: Symbolic image of FURY as a Ukrainian military uniform chevron.

35 Finally, FURY is symbolically represented in Ukrainian merchandise. For example, a warm scarf (Утеплена хустка...) features a symbolic pattern (Figure 12).

Figure 12



Опис

Хустка «Лют» – шовковий оберіг, на темно зеленому тлі якого розростаються жовті квіти жовтцю і ключове слово колекції – лют. РОЗРОСТАЄТЬСЯ НАША ЛЮТЬ. Її не зупинити. Зупинити лише може вона. Зупинити супротивника назавжди.

Жовтець обраний не випадково: ця яскрава квітка має безліч корисних лікувальних властивостей з одного боку і є отрутою для тварин – з іншого. Квітка, яка вміє відвоювати себе, хоча, на перший погляд, здається беззахисною.

Symbolic image of FURY as a specifically patterned warm scarf (from Ukrainian brand Nesamovíto).

36 Its pattern is expounded in the comment on the designer's site the following way:

The “Fury” scarf is a silk talisman, featuring yellow buttercup flowers blooming against a deep green background. At the heart of the design lies the key word of the collection: *Fury*. Our Fury Grows. It cannot be stopped—but only it can halt, halt the enemy forever.

The buttercup has been chosen deliberately. This vibrant flower, though seemingly delicate, possesses a dual nature: on one hand, it offers remarkable healing properties, while on the other, it is toxic to animals. A flower that knows how to defend itself, despite its fragile appearance.

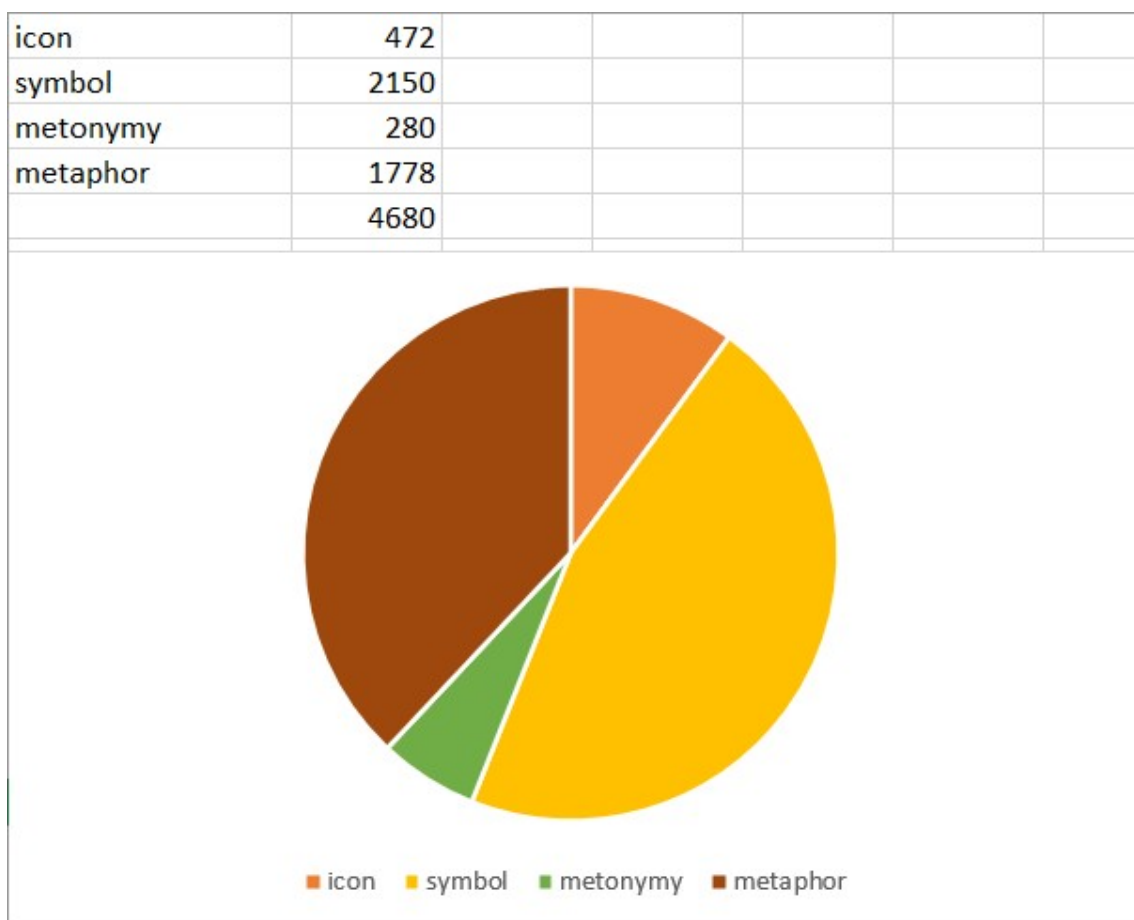
- 37 As the text demonstrates, its pattern is conditioned by a symbolism of the phytonym *жовтець* (Ukr. for buttercup). Significantly, in Russian, its name, *лютик*, shares the root with the Ukrainian *лють*, connecting it to the *FURY* collection of merchandise. This design reflects the dual nature of the buttercup, symbolizing both *FRAGILITY* and *INVINCIBILITY*, qualities attributed to the Ukrainian people.
- 38 As an interim conclusion, semiotically, the multimodal concept *FURY* is expressed through all three basic types of signs: icon, index, and symbol also featuring their hybrids in terms of iconic symbolism. As an icon, *FURY* is featured in portraits of nationally significant figures, both real and fictional as symbolic icons or iconic symbols, as well as in lexigraphic images. Indexically, *FURY* is referenced visually or lexigraphically through historical events or prototypical figures, using specific gestures. Symbolically, *FURY* is closely linked to Ukrainian heraldic signs. Conceptually, *FURY* is associated with nation-building concepts such as *NATURAL BEAUTY*, *LOVE*, *FRAGILE*, *VICTORY*, *HONESTY*, *COURAGE*, *INVINCIBILITY*, *DEFIANCE*, *HATRED/DEATH TO THE ENEMY*, *UNITY*, *RESILIENCE*, *UKRAINIAN KOZAK SPIRIT (LIBERTY)*, *MOTHERLAND*, and *SOVEREIGNTY*.

3. Semiotic and cognitive potential of the lexical concept *FURY*

- 39 The dataset of the lexical unit *лють* was manually annotated to determine the semiotic significance of the concept *FURY* and to identify instances where the concept is construed as metaphor or metonymy. The annotation process aimed to classify the type of sign the unit represents (icon or symbol) and the mental operation it

verbalizes (metaphor or metonymy). As previously mentioned, the cognitive similarity between index and metonymy explains why index was not included as an annotation tag. The concordance results revealed the following proportion of semantically vs. cognitively significant implementations of the Ukrainian concept *лють* (Figure 13):

Figure 13: The proportion of semiotically and cognitively significant implementations of the Ukrainian lexical concept FURY



3.1. Lexical concept FURY as an iconic sign

40 The concept *FURY* is presented iconically when the lexical unit directly names the emotion, i.e., when it is explicitly referred to as *лють*. A typical example of this occurs in the following context:

<p>24tv.ua номерами в братській могилі в Мангуші. </s><s> Якщо є в 21 сторіччі більший військовий злочин проти людства, то я не знаю, який. </s><s></p>	<p>icon Лють . </s><s> Просто лють", – наголошував Петро Андрющенко. </s><s> Відповідальним за облогу та руйнування Маріуполя вважають</p>
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<p>24tv.ua the numbers in the collective tomb are the numbers in the mass grave in Mangush. </s><s> If there is a greater war crime against humanity in the 21st century, I don't know what it is. </s><s></p>	<p>icon Fury . </s><s> Just fury,' Petro Andriushchenko emphasised. </s><s> The following are considered responsible for the siege and destruction of Mariupol</p>
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41 This example shows that fury is explicitly mentioned as the emotional response of Ukrainians to the events in Mariupol during its siege by the Russian Army in the spring of 2022. Notably, the concept is expressed as an independent phrase, shaped as an elliptical sentence.

42 It is worth noting, however, that even in cases of direct reference to an emotional response, the lexical unit, when functioning as an iconic sign, may exhibit a tendency toward contextual metaphorization or symbolization. Consider the following example:

<p>gk-press.if.ua пам'ять в крові кожного з нас, а окрім неї незламна Віра, Воля до життя, яке ми самі собі обираємо, та Свобода. </s><s> А ще</p>	<p>icon Лють за кожне загублене безневинне життя, зламані долі, жадливі звірства. </s><s> Ми показали усьому світу, ким насправді є</p>
---	---

<p>gk-press.if.ua memory in the blood of each of us, and besides it, unbreakable Faith, the Will to live the life we choose for ourselves, and Freedom. </s><s> And also</p>	<p>icon Fury for every innocent life lost, fate broken, horrific atrocities. </s><s> We showed the whole world who they really are</p>
---	--

43 In this case, the direct use of the lexical unit is accompanied by the antonomasia of other concepts, such as FAITH, WILL and FREEDOM, which imbues the term with symbolic significance. Referring to fury as something that exists “in the blood”, alongside historical memory, further demonstrates its metaphorical use.

- 44 These examples underscore that semiotic units have a strong cognitive foundation, as the construal of meaning often reflects the overlap between symbols and metaphors (Forceville, 2013).

3.2. Lexical concept FURY as a symbolic sign

- 45 The symbolic value of the lexical concept FURY is evident when the unit is used to name specific physical entities, such as a military division, drone, or robot.
- 46 The name of The United Ukrainian Police Assault Brigade *Fury* accounts for the largest proportion of symbolic uses in the concordance, as the actions and personnel of this brigade frequently receive media attention, as seen in the following example:

loga.gov.ua	до лав «Гвардії наступу». </s><s> Як організовано рекрутинг бійців окремої штурмової бригади Національної поліції «	symbol	Лють	» з числа жителів Луганщини побачили журналісти луганських медіа. </s><s> Вони відвідали Правобережний та Лівобережний
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loga.gov.ua	to the ranks of the 'Offensive Guard'. </s><s> Journalists from the Luhansk region saw how the recruitment of fighters of the separate assault brigade of the National Police '	symbol	Fury	' from among the residents of Luhansk region is organized. </s> <s> They visited the Right Bank and Left Bank
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- 47 In this instance, the unit *Лють* is used as the name of a military division, demonstrating its symbolic significance. Orthographically, it appears as a proper name in quotation marks.
- 48 The same orthographic treatment is observed in the naming of the patriotic hit song:

tvoemisto.tv	», «Хто як не ти» й хіти воєнного часу «Українська лють», «Я твоя зброя» та інші. 24 листопада зустрічайте «Українську	symbol	лють	» Христини Соловій у Львові. </s> <s>
--------------	--	--------	------	--

tvoemisto.tv 'Who else but you' and wartime hits 'Ukrainian Fury', 'I am your weapon' and others. On 24 November, meet 'Ukrainian Fury' by Khrystyna Soloviy in Lviv. </s><s

49 This example refers to the wartime song *Ukrainian Fury*, a remastering of the Italian resistance song *Bella Ciao*.

50 The same concerns the names of arms, drones and robots, as in the following:

rbc.ua </s><s> Є броня та танковий кулемет. </s><s> В Україні розпочалися тести бойового робота " symbol Лють " </s><s> Він може застосовуватися для штурму чи оборони позицій. </s>

rbc.ua </s><s> It has armour and a tank machine gun. </s><s> In Ukraine, tests of the combat robot ' symbol Fury ' </s><s> have begun </s><s> It can be used for assault or defense of positions. </s>

51 Here again, the unit retains the same orthographic treatment as other symbolic uses of the concept FURY.

52 Thus, semiotically, the Ukrainian lexical concept FURY exhibits strong potential both as a symbol and an icon. As an icon, it is used in its direct meaning to name an appropriate emotion. As a symbol, it serves as the name of military divisions, weapons, and other significant entities. The indexical potential of this concept is revealed in its metonymic implementation.

3.3. Ukrainian lexical concept FURY as a metonymic construal

53 The Ukrainian lexical concept FURY is implemented metonymically through various collocations, as revealed by the Word Sketch application in Sketch Engine. This tool allowed for the identification of typical collocations, which were then automatically categorized based on grammatical structure. A fragment of the resulting chart is shown in Figure 14:

Figure 14: A fragment of the Word Sketch Chart of the most frequent collocations of the Ukrainian lexical concept FURY verbalized in the unit *лють*

лють	verbs with X as object		483	16.1	483	565
		конвертувати	13	8.68	13	15
		переповнювати	14	8.6	14	16
		вгамувати	4	6.44	4	5
		палати	8	6.22	8	9
		плекати	4	6.14	4	5
		відчувати	45	5.23	45	53
		викликати	113	5.15	113	132
		звучати	8	5.15	8	9
		наповнювати	4	5.01	4	5
		відчути	16	4.67	16	19
		охоплювати	7	4.66	7	8
		перетворити	4	3.65	4	5
		слухати	4	3.57	4	5
		додавати	7	2.29	7	8
		дозволяти	4	1.81	4	5
		булий	14	1.35	14	16
		бачити	4	0.84	4	5
лють	verbs with X as subject		53	1.77	53	62
		Бог	28	13.5	28	33
		мати	5	0.53	5	6
лють	genitive modifiers of X		197	6.57	197	230
		бог	40	9.67	40	47
		агресор	4	3.21	4	5
		українець	13	2.06	13	15
		народ	7	1.89	7	8
		виробництво	8	1.88	8	9
		бізнес	6	1.83	6	7
		жінка	4	1.54	4	5
		ворог	8	1.48	8	9
лють	prepositional phrases		744	0	744	870
		... в. "%w"	116	3.87	116	136
		"%w" до ...	99	3.3	99	116
		"%w" на	27	2.0	27	102

- 54 Metonymically, the concept FURY refers to observable signs of its presence in people.
- 55 First, FURY is frequently mentioned as a BOOSTER or TOOL that enables certain actions or drives specific behavioral patterns. Verbally, this is often expressed in collocations using the preposition *with* (i3/3). These collocations occur with relatively high frequency. For example:

10ukraine.com.ua , почав відходити в оборону та намагатися вразити в контратаках. </s><s> Почалася вже рівна битва. </s><s> з енергією, швидкістю та metonymy люття , але без небезпечних моментів. </s><s> <s>

10ukraine.com.ua , began to retreat to the defense and try to strike in counterattacks. An equal battle has already begun. </s><s> metonymy fury , but without dangerous moments. </s><s> </With energy, speed and </s></s></s>.

56 In this instance, fury is described as an accompanying emotion that amplifies the enemy's actions.

57 It is important to note that while the multimodal concept FURY typically characterizes the emotional state of Ukrainians, which is the focus of this research, the lexical concept can apply to both sides of the conflict.

58 It is evident in the following prominent group of collocations that involves descriptions of how fury manifests physiologically.

59 The most frequent representation of *лють* is its association with an extreme mental state, such as INSANITY ascribed to the enemy:

unian.ua </s><s> "Не тямив себе від metonymy люті ": розкрито деталі останньої відомої зустрічі Пригожина з Путіним </s><s> Перед аудієнцією ватажок "Вагнера" перебував у

unian.ua </s><s> 'I was beside myself with metonymy fury ': details of Prigozhin's last known meeting with Putin revealed </s><s> Before the audience, the Wagner leader was in

60 In this example, the head of the Wagner Russian Division, Yevgeny Prigozhin, is portrayed as being in a state of insanity induced by fury.

glavcom.ua розтоптали міф про «другу армію світу» і принизили «непереможну росію»...</s><s> Ворог це бачить, казиться від безсилої metonymy люті , кидає сотні тисяч свого «гарматного м'яса» на українські bastions... і добряче отримує по своїх, кривих і дірявих,

glavcom.ua trampled on the myth of the 'second army of the world' and humiliated the 'invincible Russia'...</s><s> The enemy sees this, goes crazy with impotent metonymy fury , throws hundreds of thousands of its 'cannon fodder' at Ukrainian bastions... and gets a good hit on its own, crooked and leaky,

61 Other psychological signs of fury include TREMBLING and BODY SHAKING, as seen in the following example:

espreso.tv реагуватиме по-своєму. </s><s> Викидатиме кортизол, метониму люті .
адреналін і все, що воно там викидає, щоби нас </s>
починало трусити від

espreso.tv will react in its own way. </s><s> It will release cortisol, metonymy fury .
adrenaline, and whatever else it releases to make us </s>
shake with

62 Another physiological response, TEETH GRINDING, is exemplified as follows:

tverezo.info передача допомоги та ще й не на метониму люті ! </s><s> Не цікава
фронті – це от “не цікава історія історія?! </s><s>
та не його масштаб”. </s><s> Допомога курсантам
Знаєте, в мене аж зуби зарипіли його формат?! </s><s>
від Ці юнаки та дівчата у
2024 році прийшли

tverezo.info The transfer of aid, and not even at the metonymy fury ! <s><s> Not an
frontline, is ‘not an interesting story and interesting
not his format’. </‘You know, my teeth story?! </s><s>
were grinding from the Helping cadets of
a military
university is not
his format?!

63 A further physical reaction, FISTS CLENCHING, is shown in this example:

volynpost.com <s> «Загинули люди, палають мирні metonymy люті та ненависті
багатоповерхівки. </s><s> Знову кулаки. </s>
стискаються від

volynpost.com <s> ‘People died, peaceful high-rise buildings metonymy fury and
are burning. </s><s> Fists are clenching hatred. </s>
again from

64 Additionally, CRYING OUT LOUD, as a social response to fury, is demonstrated in this context:

gazeta- misto.te.ua	та істота, для якої є тільки одне визначення – нелюдь! </s><s> Мабуть більшість українців, здригаючись від жаху та <u>волаючи</u> від	metonymy люті	від того, що творять нелюді з росії, жалкують про те, що з молоком матері ввібрали в себе людяність. </s><s> Що, навіть воюючи з
------------------------	---	---------------	--

gazeta- misto.te.ua	The creature for which there is only one definition - non-human!"</s><s> Perhaps most Ukrainians, shuddering in horror and <u>screaming</u> with	metaphor fury	at what the non-humans from Russia are doing, regret that they absorbed humanity with their mother's milk. </s><s> That, even when fighting against
------------------------	--	---------------	---

65 Finally, LACKING WORDS to fully express emotions stirred by fury is conveyed in this example:

gazeta.ua	України. </s><s> Телефоную їм, щоб ішли з нами. </s><s> Погодився один. </s><s> Решта сказала, що нацизм треба подолати. </s><s> <u>Не мав слів</u> від	metonymy люті .</s>
-----------	---	---------------------

gazeta.ua	Ukraine. </s><s> I call them to come with us. </One of them agreed. </The others said that Nazism must be overcome. </s><s> I was <u>at a loss for words</u> from	metonymy fury .</s>
-----------	---	---------------------

66 In summary, the metonymic expressions of the Ukrainian lexical concept FURY in war-related media are rooted in a single conceptual domain. When verbalized through the lexical unit *лють*, it represents a BOOSTER OR TOOL, an extreme mental state like INSANITY, and various physiological responses, physiological ways of its evidencing, such as BODY SHAKING, TEETH GRINDING, and FISTS CLENCHING. It also manifests in social reactions like CRYING OUT LOUD and LACKING WORDS.

3.4. Ukrainian lexical concept FURY as a metaphoric construal

67 The metaphorical construal of the concept FURY in the Ukrainian context reveals a wide range of source domains, many of which are commonly associated with figurative expressions of anger (Kövecses, 1986, 1995b, 2000). However, the specific proportion and contextual

usage of the Ukrainian lexical unit *лють* in war-related discourse requires distinct consideration.

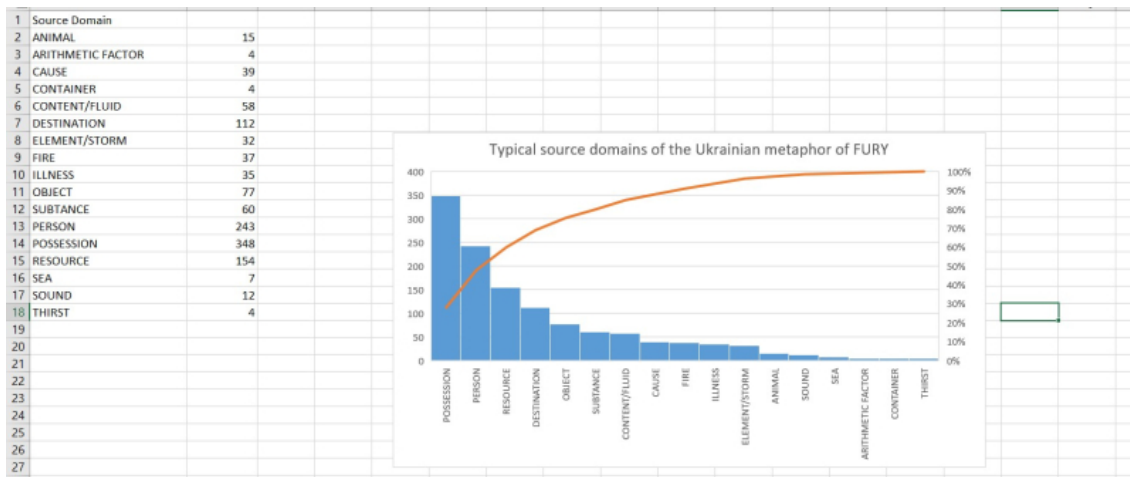
68 Through manual annotation of collocations that metaphorically verbalize FURY, a typology of source domains was identified. The collocations were sorted according to the source domain they verbalize, resulting in the following chart (a fragment is shown in Figure 15):

Figure 15: A fragment of the Word Sketch Chart annotated according to the source domain of the metaphor of FURY verbalized by the Ukrainian unit *лють*

academic use only					Source domain
method name: wsketch					
corpus: preloaded/trends_uk					
subcorpus: -					
Keyword	Gramrel	Collocate	Freq	Score	
лють	modifiers of X		1212	40.3	
		свій	164	1.33	Possession
		наш	83	2.11	Possession
		Український	72	4.22	Possession
		весь	62	1.04	Resource
		безсилий	44	10	Person
		такий	41	0.03	
		себе	18	1.65	
		праведний	16	7.99	Person
		справжній	16	2.39	Substance
		більший	16	2.2	Resource
		особливий	15	2.35	Substance
		той	15	0.17	
		неконтрольовани й	14	6.73	Element
		сповнений	14	5.34	Fluid/content
		стероїдний	12	8.16	
		вони	12	0.08	
		неймовірний	10	3.43	
		шалений	9	4.29	Person
		холодний	9	3.01	Substance
		людський	9	2.69	
		Рафінований	8	7.74	Substance
		справедливий	8	4	Person
		повний	8	0.65	Resource
		скажений	7	6.7	Person
		дика	7	6.49	Animal
		сліпий	7	6.77	Person

69 A quantitative comparison of these source domains is displayed in Figure 16:

Figure 16: Most frequently verbalized source domains of the Ukrainian metaphor of FURY



70 The most frequent source domain for FURY is POSSESSION, which is realized in the following collocations (see Figure 17):

Figure 17: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain POSSESSION of the metaphor of FURY

			Source domain
свій	164	1.33	Possession
наш	83	2.11	Possession
Український	72	4.22	Possession
мій	7	0.22	Possession
Наш	4	2.6	Possession
мати	5	0.52	Possession
українець	13	2.05	Possession
	348		

71 As an example from the dataset, the source domain POSSESSION is implemented as follows:

espresso.tv додає: "Приїжджаючи на фронт, я щоразу metaphor люті , яка дає нам сил нагадую собі, для чого це все, заради битися і чого наша боротьба і де коріння нашої перемогати". </s>


espreso.tv adds: 'Coming to the front, I remind myself every time what it's all about, what our struggle is for, and where the roots of our metaphor fury are, which gives us the strength to fight and win.' </s>

72 This example illustrates how the metaphor with POSSESSION as the source domain is combined with another metaphor derived from the PLANT domain. Such combinations are not uncommon.

73 The second most frequent source domain is PERSON, implemented in Ukrainian collocations like these (see Figure 18):

Figure 18: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain

PERSON of the metaphor of FURY

			Source domain 
безсилий	44	10	Person
праведний	16	7.99	Person
шалений	9	4.29	Person
справедливий	8	4	Person
скажений	7	6.7	Person
сліпий	7	6.27	Person
безпорадний	5	6.38	Person
сильний	5	0.94	Person
німий	4	6.22	Person
тихий	4	4.58	Person
званий	4	1.4	Person
сльоза	6	5.7	Person
викликати	115	5.18	Person
дозволяти	4	1.81	Person
допомога	5	5.45	person

74 For instance, it is lexically realized as follows:

volynnews.com <s> «кремль і російська банда! </s><s> Своїми обстрілами ви викликаєте в нас тільки metaphor лють і презирство! </s><s> Не страх, не бажання про щось домовлятися. </s><s> Ви пробуджуєте в нас бажання нищити вас, терористів, де б ви не

volynnews.com <s> ‘The Kremlin and the Russian gang! </s><s> With your shelling, you evoke in us only metaphor fury and contempt! </s><s> Not fear, not a desire to negotiate. </You awaken in us the desire to destroy you, terrorists, wherever you are

- 75 In this example, FURY is metaphorically depicted as an animate creature that can be summoned or invoked.
- 76 The third most common source domain is RESOURCE, implemented in collocations such as these (see Figure 19):

Figure 19 : The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain RESOURCE of the metaphor of FURY

			Source domain
весь	62	1.04	Resource
більший	16	2.2	Resource
повний	8	0.65	Resource
безмежний	5	4.94	Resource
тотальний	5	3.83	Resource
найбільший	5	0.17	Resource
конвертувати	13	8.68	Resource/money
додавати	7	2.28	Resource
зброя	25	7.64	resource/object
перетворити	4	3.65	Object/resource
перетворюватися	4	4.25	object/ resource

- 77 A corpus example of this metaphor is:

lviv-online.com бомбосховищем у підвалі свого будинку в Харкові, художниця почала писати ці поезії. </s><s> В них Оля Федорова вклала усю свою metaphor лють , увесь свій гнів до росіян, які кожного дня нищили рідне місто, країну – і продовжують це робити й зараз. </s><s> «На той час у


lviv-online.com In a bomb shelter in the basement of her house in Kharkiv, the artist began to write these poems. </s><s> In them, Olya Fedorova put all her metaphor fury , all her anger towards the Russians who were destroying her hometown and country every day - and continue to do so today. </s><s> 'At that time, in

78 Here, FURY is framed as a resource that can be contributed, invested, or applied, akin to an asset or fund. One notable usage of this metaphor in the Ukrainian media is the slogan for a crowdfunding campaign supporting the Ukrainian army: *Convert your fury into donations!* The same metaphor is embedded in the hymn of the United Ukrainian Police Assault Brigade *Fury* (Kozak System... 2023), reinforcing FURY as a nation-building concept.

79 Another frequent source domain is DESTINATION, verbalized in collocations like these (see Figure 20):

Figure 20: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain

DESTINATION of the metaphor of FURY

				Source domain 
прийти в...	99	6.33		Destination

80 In the corpus, it is verbalized the following way:

057.ua співчуття у зв'язку з атакою ХАМАС. </s><s> Показова реакція на заяви путіна німецького лідера Олафа Шольца: "Я приходжу в metaphor лють , коли чую, як російський президент направо і наліво роздає попередження про те, що жертвами військової конфронтації

057.ua condolences in connection with the Hamas attack. </s><s> German leader Olaf Scholz's reaction to Putin's statements is illustrative: 'I get into metaphor fury , when I hear the Russian president issuing warnings right and left that the victims of the military confrontation

81 In this example, FURY is metaphorically presented as a final emotional state or endpoint that someone reaches.

82 The next frequent source domain is **ОБЪЕКТ**, implemented in collocations like these (see Figure 21):

Figure 21: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain

ОБЪЕКТ of the metaphor of FURY

			Source domain
відчувати	45	5.23	Object
відчутти	16	4.66	Object
приховувати	4	4.19	Object
бачити	4	0.83	Object
виробництво	8	1.87	Object

83 In this context, **FURY** is conceptualized as a physical object that can be touched, felt, hidden, seen, or produced, as shown in the following example:

<p>vsim.ua засоби та озброєння, там я здобув такий колосальний військовий та життєвий досвід, <u>відчув</u> таку силу <u>в собі</u> й таку</p>	<p>metaphor лютя проти ворога, що їх вистачить на все моє подальше життя, доки жодного з тих негідників не залишиться на землі, -</p>
--	---

<p>vsim.ua and weapons, there I gained such colossal military and life experience, <u>felt</u> such strength <u>in myself</u> and such</p>	<p>metaphor fury against the enemy that will last me for the rest of my life, until not a single one of those inhumans is left on earth, -</p>
--	--

84 The **SUBSTANCE** source domain follows in frequency, represented in collocations such as these (see Figure 22):

**Figure 22: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain
SUBSTANCE of the metaphor of FURY**

			Source domain
справжній	16	2.39	Substance
особливий	15	2.35	Substance
холодний	9	3.01	Substance
рафінований	8	7.74	Substance
священний	7	5.59	Substance
концентрований	5	6.17	Substance

85 This metaphor depicts FURY as possessing various qualities, such as being authentic, special, cold, refined, sacred, and concentrated.

86 As an example:


<p>7dniv.rv.ua бійці із позивними «Воха», «Радіан» та «Ліон» захищають кордони нашої держави та демонструють <u>справжню українську</u>.</p>	<p>metaphor лють у боротьбі з ворогом. </s><s> Крім того, один із них – «Ліон», евакуюючи загиблого бійця під час бойового виходу, отримав</p>
--	--

<p>7dniv.rv.ua The soldiers with the call signs 'Vokha', 'Radian' and 'Lyon' are defending the borders of our country and demonstrating <u>true Ukrainian</u></p>	<p>metaphor fury in the fight against the enemy. </s><s> In addition, one of them, 'Lyon', while evacuating a fallen soldier during a combat mission, suffered</p>
---	--

87 Notably, FURY is associated with an authentic emotional response inherent to Ukrainians, underscoring its significance in the national construal of the world.

88 The next source domain is CONTENTS or FLUID, represented in collocations such as these (see Figure 23):

**Figure 23: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain
CONTENT/FLUID of the metaphor of FURY**

			Source domain 
чистий	4	1.89	Fluid
кипіти	5	10.3	fluid
русло	8	8.55	fluid
сповнений	19	5.34	Fluid/content
переповнювати	14	8.59	Fluid/content
наповнювати	4	5	Content
наповнений	4	3.85	Object/Fluid

89 Here, FURY is depicted as a fluid that can fill, flood, overwhelm, or boil over. It can also be described as pure, having an estuary, or being capable of overflowing.

90 An example from the concordance is as follows:

iz.com.ua життя, сповнений мрій і планів. </s><s> Але ворог metaphor лють .</s>
забирає кращих синів України. </s><s> Стискається
серце, болить душа, переповнює

iz.com.ua a life full of dreams and plans. </s><s> But the enemy metaphor fury .</s>
takes away the best sons of Ukraine. </s><s> My heart is
tight, my soul hurts, I am overwhelmed with

91 The CAUSE domain is another source, implemented in collocations shown in the screenshot (see Figure 24):

**Figure 24: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain
CAUSE of the metaphor of FURY**

			Source domain 
"%w" через ...	39	1.3	Cause

92 In the concordance, it is featured in the following manner:


dw.com . І їм не вдалося. Вони на цьому інформаційному полі програли, і саме тому Путін фактично впав у цю істерію і просто від метaphor люті , від бажання помститися і розпочав фактично цю війну. </s>

dw.com . And they failed. They lost in this information field, and that's why Putin actually fell into this hysteria and simply out of metaphor rage/ fury , out of a desire for revenge, he actually started this war. </s>

- 93 This phrase is often translated as the collocation “out of rage”, though Ukrainian sources frequently translate *лють* as *fury* (for instance, as the name of a weapon) (Ukraine deploys...2024).
- 94 The next source domain, FIRE, is represented in collocations such as these (see Figure 25):

Figure 25: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain

FIRE of the metaphor of FURY

			Source domain 
спалах	17	4.97	Fire
Пальний	8	9.61	Fire
іскра	4	6.9	Fire
палати	8	6.22	Fire
	37		

- 95 In this domain, FURY is depicted as something that flashes, sparks, fuels, or burns.
- 96 In the concordance, this is verbalized as:


korrespondent.net цілеспрямовано били критично важливою для нормального життя інфраструктури. </s><s> Йдеться про одиничний спалах metaphor люті через провали на фронті, чи нову тактику ворога? </s> <s> Удари від безсилля </s>

korrespondent.net targeted infrastructure critical to metaphor fury over the failures at normal life. </s><s> Is this a single outbreak of the front, or a new tactic of the enemy? </s><s>

97 In contrast to the English translation, where fury is described as an “outbreak”, in Ukrainian, it is portrayed as a “flash”.

98 Another source domain, ILLNESS, is expressed in collocations like these (see Figure 26):

Figure 26: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain ILLNESS of the metaphor of FURY

			Source domain 
напад	26	4.3	Illness
припадок	5	8.61	Illness
приступ	4	7.62	illness

99 These collocations liken FURY to an ailment, with symptoms like fits or bouts of emotional intensity.


100 The concordance provides the following example:

wz.lviv.ua немислиме з погляду колишніх metaphor люті розв’язали уявлень про ядерне стримування повномасштабну війну на – правлячі кола групи країн кордонах ядерної наддержави. </s><s> у нападі розпачливої Страх ядерної ескалації слід відновлювати. </s>

wz.lviv.ua unimaginable from the point of view of metaphor fury , unleashed a full-scale previous conceptions of nuclear war on the borders of a deterrence - the ruling circles of a nuclear superpower. </s><s> group of countries, in a fit of desperate The fear of nuclear escalation needs to be restored. </s>

101 Finally, the source domain ELEMENT/STORM is represented in collocations such as these (see Figure 27):

Figure 27: The list of Ukrainian collocations that verbalize the source domain ELEMENT/STORM of the metaphor of FURY

				Source domain 
неконтрольовани й	14	6.73		Element
нестримний	6	6.35		Element
руйнівний	4	3.91		Element
порив	8	4.52		Element

102 Here, FURY is described as an uncontrollable force, manifested in blasts, and portrayed as something uncontrollable and destructive.

103 In the concordance, this is illustrated as:

korrespondent.net місце". </s><s> "Раніше він metaphor люті ", – наводить
дотримувався стриманості з видання
підлеглими, тоді як зараз його зміст переданого
вирізняють напади
неконтрольованої

korrespondent.net place'. </s><s> 'He used to be restrained metaphor fury ' the
with his subordinates, while now he is publication
distinguished by bouts of uncontrollable quotes the
content of
the referred

104 In this example, the STORM source domain is combined with the previously discussed ILLNESS source domain.

105 Other less frequent source domains include ANIMAL (verbalized with words like *дикий, плекати*); SOUND (*звучати, слухати*), SEA (*хвиля*), ARITHMETIC FACTOR (*помножений на...*); CONTAINER (*наповнювати*); and THIRST (*вгамувати*).

106 Occasionally, FURY is mapped metaphorically as a WEAPON, as seen in this example:

- 24tv.ua " та вирішили налагодити їхнє виробництво на території нашої держави. </s><s> Ось вони, 152 мм нашої, української
- metaphor люті . </s><s> Вже незабаром по всій лінії фронту. </s><s> Ловіть привіти, окупанти! </s><s> Привітів буде багато, – написали в пресслужбі
- 24tv.ua ' and decided to establish their production in our country. </s> <s> Here they are, 152 mm of our Ukrainian
- metaphor fury . </s><s> Soon they will be all over the front line. </s><s> Catch greetings, occupiers! </s><s> There will be many greetings,' the press service wrote

- 107 This metaphor can be modeled as a blend involving the generic space of WAR, with two input spaces – FURY and ARTILLERY SHELLS (CALIBER) – blending into the expression 152 MM OF UKRAINIAN FURY.
- 108 Thus, in Ukrainian media, FURY is metaphorically construed as POSSESSION, PERSON, RESOURCE, DESTINATION, OBJECT, SUBSTANCE, CONTENT/FLUID, CAUSE, FIRE, ILLNESS, ELEMENT/STORM, ANIMAL, SOUND, SEA, ARITHMETIC FACTOR, CONTAINER, and THIRST. Occasionally, it is also conceptualized as a weapon through conceptual integration or blending. It is important to note that the collocational data only partially reveal the full metaphoric potential of the concept fury. More precise results may be obtained through manual annotation, which is a direction for future research.

Conclusions

- 109 The article focused on the semiotic and cognitive potential of the concept FURY realized in the Ukrainian language media in visual and verbal modes.
- 110 The implementation of the concept FURY as a visual image revealed its references with such nation-building concepts as NATURAL BEAUTY, LOVE, FRAGILITY, VICTORY, HONESTY COURAGE, INVINCIBILITY, GUARDING, DEFIANCE, HATRED/DEATH TO THE ENEMY, UNITY, RESILIENCE, UKRAINIAN KOZAK SPIRIT (LIBERTY), MOTHERLAND, and SOVEREIGNTY. This confirms its status as another nation-building concept in Ukrainian national construal of the world.
- 111 The multimodal concept FURY from a semiotic prospective, is represented through all three fundamental types of signs: icon, index,

and symbol. Since *FURY* is an abstract concept, the distinction between the carrier of fury and fury itself allowed considering hybrid types of signs in terms of symbolic iconicity. As an icon, *FURY* appears in portraits of both fictional and real figures of national importance, as well as in lexigraphic depictions. In its indexical form, *FURY* is visually or lexigraphically linked to the historical land-marks of full-scale aggression or to notable figures, often through their characteristic gestures. Symbolically, *FURY* is strongly associated with Ukrainian folklore and heraldic symbols.

- 112 In the capacity of a lexical concept verbalized in the Ukrainian unit *лють*, *FURY* shows significant semiotic potential as both a symbol and an icon. As an icon, it is employed in its literal sense to denote a specific emotion. As a symbol, it is used to name military units and weapons. The concept's indexical potential reveals itself through its metonymic use.
- 113 Cognitively, the lexical concept is implemented as metonymy and metaphor. Metonymically, *FURY* is presented as *BOOSTER* or *TOOL*, a specific mental state, *INSANITY*, or physiological ways of its revealing, such as *BODY SHAKING*, *TEETH GRINDING*, and *FISTS CLENCHING*. It may also be presented as a specific social response, such as *CRYING OUT LOUD*, and *LACKING WORDS*. Metaphorically, *FURY* is mapped as *POSSESSION*, *PERSON*, *RESOURCE*, *DESTINATION*, *OBJECT*, *SUBSTANCE*, *CONTENT/FLUID*, *CAUSE*, *FIRE*, *ILLNESS*, *ELEMENT/STORM*, *ANIMAL*, *SOUND*, *SEA*, *ARITHMETIC FACTOR*, *CONTAINER*, *THIRST*, and occasionally, as *WEAPON*.
- 114 The concept's multimodality, its verbalization by a hash tagged word *лють* that is one of socially significant words in Ukrainian media and its coreference with other national concepts underpin its status of a nation-building concept.
- 115 The limitations of the study include a scarce range of visual data, the Sketch Engine range of concordance that varies from month to month, and the metaphoric potential of the lexical concept *FURY* that is still to be explored. The latter factor opens further perspectives for the research of this concept.

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English

This article examines the semiotic and cognitive dimensions of the concept *FURY*, which has recently gained significant prominence in Ukrainian war-related media. The analysis positions *FURY* as a key element of the Ukrainian construal of the world, as it fulfils the criteria of nation-building concept. The dual nature of the concept *FURY* necessitates the use of both semiotic and cognitive approaches in its study. From a semiotic perspective, the concept is explored through the Peircean framework, where it is analyzed as an icon, an index, and a symbol, with particular attention given to the distinct affordances of each and their hybrids. As a lexical concept, verbalized by the Ukrainian word *лють* (*fury*), it is initially viewed as a sign with significant potential for functioning as both an icon and a symbol. Furthermore, the lexical concept *FURY* is investigated through the

frameworks of the Lexical Concept and Cognitive Model (LCCM) Theory and the Extended Metaphor Theory. A corpus-based study of the Ukrainian lexical concept *FURY* reveals its extensive potential as both a semiotic unit and a cognitive construal of metonymy and metaphor. The article presents the most frequent affordances of *FURY* as a sign and a symbol, as well as its most common uses in metonymy and metaphor. The metaphorical scope of *FURY* is also modelled with typical source domains identified.

Français

Cet article examine les dimensions sémiotiques et cognitives du concept *FURY*, qui a récemment gagné en importance dans les médias ukrainiens liés à la guerre. L'analyse positionne la *FURIE* comme un élément clé de la construction ukrainienne du monde, car elle répond aux critères du concept de construction de la nation. La double nature du concept *FURY* nécessite l'utilisation d'approches sémiotiques et cognitives dans son étude. D'un point de vue sémiotique, le concept est exploré dans le cadre de la théorie de Charles Peirce, où il est analysé comme une icône, un indice et un symbole, avec une attention particulière accordée aux moyens distincts de chaque type de signe. En tant que concept lexical, verbalisé par le mot ukrainien *лють* (*fureur*), il est d'abord considéré comme un signe ayant un potentiel significatif pour fonctionner à la fois comme icône et comme symbole. En outre, le concept lexical *FURY* est étudié dans le cadre de la théorie du concept lexical et du modèle cognitif (LCCM) et de la théorie de la métaphore élargie. Une étude du concept lexical ukrainien *FURY* basée sur un corpus révèle son vaste potentiel en tant qu'unité sémiotique et en tant que construction cognitive de la métonymie et de la métaphore. L'article présente les possibilités les plus fréquentes de *FURY* en tant que signe, ainsi que ses utilisations les plus courantes dans la métonymie et la métaphore. La portée métaphorique de *FURY* est également modélisée et des domaines sources typiques sont identifiés.

Mots-clés

construction nationale du monde, concept multimodal, concept de construction nationale, icône, symbole, métonymie, portée métaphorique

Keywords

national construal of the world, multimodal concept, nation-building concept, icon, symbol, metonymy, metaphoric scope

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Sens polysémiques, sens opposés ? Analyser le terme *byudvikling* dans un conflit danois au prisme de la polysémie, de la polyphonie et de la resémantisation

Polysemic or opposing meanings? Analyzing the term byudvikling in a Danish conflict as polysemy, polyphony and resemantisation

Marianne Høi Liisberg

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Introduction

1. Contexte et données
2. Vers une description de la polysémie : la Théorie des blocs sémantiques
 - 2.1. *Byudvikling* comme terme polysémique
3. La Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique à l'œuvre
 - 3.1. *Byudvikling* : des points de vue opposés ?
4. Resémantisations de *byudvikling* vues par la Sémantique du programme
 - 4.1. *Byudvikling*, terme objet d'une suite de resémantisations

Conclusion

Introduction

- 1 Au sein de la sémantique dite « argumentative » (Anscombe et Ducrot, 1983 ; Ducrot, 1984) a récemment émergé une série de travaux ayant trait à la description sémantique des situations politiques y compris les conflits sociaux de longue durée (Lescano, 2023 ; Camus, 2020 ; Camus et Lescano, 2019). En s'inscrivant dans la continuité de ces travaux, le présent article cherche à établir la nature du croisement entre la polysémie et la polyphonie dans le cadre de l'analyse des conflits sociaux. Nous travaillerons sur le cas d'un conflit social danois qui a eu lieu entre 2016 et 2018 lors d'un projet de construction de logements dans un espace naturel situé au centre de Copenhague. Dans ce conflit, le terme danois *byudvikling*¹ joue un rôle central. Car, au fur et à mesure qu'apparaissent des

textes publiés autour de ce conflit dans les médias danois, ce terme est défini de trois manières différentes : comme l'expansion de la ville dans de nouveaux espaces, comme la planification de la ville future, et comme l'aménagement de la ville pour les résidents d'un quartier. Ces redéfinitions deviennent un enjeu majeur à l'heure d'établir la suite des actions que l'État sera à même d'accomplir, notamment si, en définitive, l'espace naturel sera effectivement occupé par le projet d'urbanisation.

- 2 Partant de l'hypothèse selon laquelle le travail qu'effectuent les discours sur la signification d'un terme inclut une dimension sociale, nous situons la polysémie au cœur de l'analyse de la discursivité sociale (Laclau et Mouffe, 1985 ; Montero, 2018). Il s'agira notamment d'étudier les transformations sémantiques du terme *byudvikling* dans une sélection d'extraits d'un corpus de textes médiatiques apparus dans le journal national *Politiken* lors du conflit afin d'analyser les rapports d'opposition de ce conflit. Selon nous, ces rapports se constituent à un niveau sémantique du conflit, à travers les discours qui y interviennent. Pour les analyser, nous proposerons et discuterons trois voies que pourrait envisager une approche sémantique afin d'aborder le rôle central de ce terme – en ses trois sens – dans le cas du conflit danois : la description sémantique du caractère polysémique de ce terme ; l'analyse polyphonique des rapports entre énonciateurs qui se positionnent par rapport à ce terme ; et, finalement, l'analyse des interventions transformantes sur « ce qui peut être dit » dans ce conflit. Notre étude révélera que ni la description de la polysémie du terme, ni l'analyse polyphonique des énoncés, ne suffirait pour décrire le rôle que joue *byudvikling* dans ce conflit. C'est pourquoi nous serons amenés à adopter la troisième voie, celle de la resémantisation, qui nous permet de concevoir le conflit comme un espace sémantique au sein duquel les énoncés effectuent successivement des interventions visant à transformer ce qu'il est possible de dire dans le conflit.
- 3 L'article présente, applique et évalue successivement ces trois voies (à savoir la polysémie, la polyphonie, la resémantisation). Une discussion évaluative de chacune de ces trois voies nous amène enfin à proposer une explication du rôle, central, du substantif *byudvikling* (et du verbe correspondant *at byudvikle*) dans le cas danois, qui, selon nous, permet de l'envisager sous une approche sémantique des conflits

sociaux. Avant d'aborder ces trois voies, nous allons, à présent, parcourir le contexte historique dans lequel nos énoncés du conflit se situent.

1. Contexte et données

- 4 Pour financer une nouvelle ligne de métro, la municipalité de Copenhague décide en 1992 de lotir une partie d'un espace naturel situé dans le centre-ville pour y édifier des logements. Face à l'arrivée de nouveaux habitants, le projet devait proposer 2500 nouveaux logements. Initialement prévu pour commencer en 2022, le projet est avancé, et, dès avril 2016, la municipalité lance un appel de propositions architecturales. Or, entre-temps, des scientifiques constatent que sur cet espace précis se trouve un habitat naturel unique au monde. C'est pourquoi le projet de construction rencontre une contestation énorme. À en croire les critiques, l'espace naturel mériterait le statut légal de réserve naturelle afin de le préserver en tant que tel. De ce fait, un débat public vif éclate suite au lancement du concours architectural en avril 2016. Ce débat marque le début d'un conflit dont la question de l'aménagement d'une ville grandissante sera immédiatement centrale.
- 5 Le conflit se développe tout au long de l'année 2016 et se poursuit jusqu'en 2018. Les énoncés que nous étudions au cours de cet article et que nous traduisons nous-mêmes au fur et à mesure qu'ils sont présentés, sont datés de la première année du conflit, entre avril 2016 et décembre 2016. Ils ont été tirés d'une base de 170 textes publiés dans les grands journaux danois au cours du conflit et choisis parce qu'ils représentent des emplois de *byudvikling* fréquents dans ce conflit, et pour autant, semble-t-il, antagoniques. Ce conflit se manifeste en particulier à travers le débat public et notamment par des tribunes publiées dans le journal danois *Politiken*. Les trois énoncés sont également parus dans ce journal. Le premier est tiré d'un entretien avec un politicien, les deux autres des tribunes signées respectivement par un politicien et un riverain. Si nous travaillons sur ces énoncés, c'est parce qu'ils représentent trois emplois de *byudvikling* (et ses associations sémantiques) qui se manifestent au travers trois formes lexicales différentes : une forme verbale passive (*byduvikles*) ; un infinitif avec un groupe nominal (*at udvikle*

en *by*) ; et un groupe nominal complexe (*udviklingen af Ørestad*). En effet, le conflit danois se cristallise autour de ce terme et ses trois emplois différents : le développement urbain comme l'expansion de la ville, comme la planification de la ville future, et comme l'aménagement de la ville pour les résidents d'un quartier.

- 6 Puisque le terme *byudvikling* est employé souvent dans le conflit danois et ceci de manières différentes, nous proposons, comme la première voie d'analyse, de l'aborder sous l'angle de la polysémie et plus précisément en faisant recours aux acquis de la Théorie des blocs sémantiques.

2. Vers une description de la polysémie : la Théorie des blocs sémantiques

- 7 Généralement défini selon les deux conditions que (i) à une seule forme est associée une pluralité de significations, et (ii) que ces significations sont différentes, mais apparentées, le « phénomène » (Victorri, 1997 ; Rastier, 2014 : 24) de la polysémie se comprend selon la place que l'on accorde à la signification. Certains considèrent la polysémie comme un « artefact » de l'analyse linguistique (Kleiber, 1999 : 9 ; Victorri, 1997). D'autres, notamment les théories structuralistes défendant l'idée qu'à chaque forme correspond une seule signification, y voient un « défaut de la langue » (Rastier, 2014 : 24). Dans la sémantique lexicale, où la polysémie est d'ailleurs généralement acceptée, et plus précisément dans la sémantique argumentative, la Théorie des blocs sémantiques (TBS) (Carel, 2011) inscrit la polysémie dans la signification d'un terme : si plusieurs significations peuvent être associées à un seul terme, c'est parce que ce terme contient plusieurs « aspects » dans sa signification conventionnelle (Carel, 2011 : 71). C'est à partir de la notion d'aspect que la TBS décrit la signification d'un terme dans un discours : lorsqu'un terme fait partie d'un énoncé, les aspects sont spécifiquement activés en fonction du discours. La signification linguistique d'un terme est dans ce contexte conçue comme la possibilité d'énoncer des enchaînements. Autrement dit, la signification est la structure sémantique des enchaînements qui

peuvent être énoncés à l'aide du terme. Ainsi ce sont les aspects, déjà inscrits dans la signification du terme, qui permettent d'énoncer certains enchaînements plutôt que d'autres. Dès lors, la TBS propose de décrire la signification d'un terme à partir des paraphrases en enchaînements. Les aspects, à savoir la signification linguistique du terme, peuvent ensuite être dérivés.

- 8 Pour fournir une description sémantique de la signification, la TBS distingue deux types fondamentaux d'aspects : ceux qui donnent lieu à des enchaînements de types « normatifs » (Carel, 2011 : 21) et ceux qui donnent lieu à des enchaînements de types « transgressifs » (Carel, 2011 : 41). Les enchaînements de type normatif comprennent les structures conclusives comme celles en *donc* ou en *parce que* et ils sont annotés « DC » pour désigner le *donc*, alors que les transgressifs englobent des structures concessives comme celles en *pourtant*, en *bien que* ou en *même si*. Nous les notons « PT » pour désigner le *pourtant* (Carel, 2011 : 59). En paraphrasant les énoncés en enchaînements de ces types, il sera ensuite possible d'identifier les aspects comme des schémas sémantiques. C'est par la description des aspects différents, mais apparentés qui se manifestent dans les emplois spécifiques d'un terme que cette tradition décrit la polysémie. Avec cette description sémantique, il semblerait ainsi possible d'analyser en quoi le terme *byudvikling* est polysémique dans les énoncés provenant du conflit danois. Appliquons, à présent, cette démarche aux énoncés.

2.1. *Byudvikling* comme terme polysémique

- 9 Le premier énoncé que nous étudions est tiré d'une tribune parue dans le journal *Politiken* le 11 novembre 2016 :

- (1) *København vokser med ca. 1.000 indbyggere hver måned. Den afledte boligefterspørgsel har skabt enorme prisstigninger på hovedstadens boligmarked. Det er årsagen til, at der fortsat byudvikles i Ørestad, som skal huse en god portion af de mange nye borgere^a.*

« Chaque mois, Copenhague s'agrandit avec environ 1000 nouveaux résidents. La demande extraordinaire de logements a causé une croissance énorme du marché immobilier de la capitale. C'est la raison pour laquelle on poursuit le développement urbain d'Ørestad qui va abriter une bonne partie des nouveaux citoyens. »

- a. Rune Dybvad Simonsen (politicien), « *Vilde planter skal ikke stå i vejen for boliger til borgerne* » (fr. « Les plantes sauvages ne doivent pas empêcher la construction de logements »), tribune, *Politiken*, 11 novembre 2016.

- 10 Avec l'emploi de *der fortsat byudvikles* (fr. « on poursuit le développement urbain »), cet énoncé met le verbe *at byudvikle* par la forme *s-passiv* en discours en lui associant une première signification. Comme nous venons de le présenter, dans la TBS, la description d'une signification est donnée par un aspect de type transgressif ou normatif. Ici, l'énoncé unit le fait que la ville grandit et le besoin de logements. Cette structure conclusive se manifeste en particulier par l'expression *det er årsagen til* (fr. « c'est la raison pour laquelle ») qui fonctionne ici comme un enchaînement de type normatif correspondant à la structure conclusive des conjonctions *parce que* ou *donc*, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut. Outre cette expression, l'usage de la forme définie *de mange nye borgere* (fr. « des nouveaux citoyens ») marque la présupposition tenue pour acquise suite à la croissance démographique posée dans la première partie de l'énoncé, à savoir *København vokser med ca. 1000 indbyggere hver måned* (fr. « Chaque mois, Copenhague s'agrandit avec environ 1000 nouveaux résidents »). L'enchaînement que crée cet énoncé peut donc être paraphrasé ainsi : lorsque la ville grandit, le prix de l'immobilier croît, ce qui entraîne le besoin de construire des logements dans les quartiers comme celui d'Ørestad où se situe le site naturel en question. C'est-à-dire que par le biais de la croissance du marché immobilier, cet énoncé présente un enchaînement argumentatif entre l'agrandissement de la ville et le besoin de logements, et l'aspect que l'on peut dériver est donc du type normatif grâce à l'expression *det er årsagen til*. Il s'agit, en ce sens, d'un développement de la ville qui se manifeste comme l'expansion de la ville dans de nouveaux espaces. En suivant la TBS, nous décrivons cette signification comme un aspect argumentatif du type suivant :

(1) CROISSANCE DU MARCHÉ IMMOBILIER DC CONSTRUCTION DU LOGEMENT

- 11 À cette première signification s'ajoute une deuxième qui apparaît clairement dans un entretien avec un politicien local d'un parti qui, dans sa ligne officielle, s'oppose au projet d'urbanisation. Notre deuxième énoncé date du 26 avril 2016 :

(2) At **udvikle en by** er ikke kun infrastruktur og nye, pompøse bygninger. Det er lige så meget at skabe rekreative områder, hvor københavnere kan koble af og nyde naturen^a.

« Développer une ville ne passe pas seulement par l'infrastructure et [la construction de] nouveaux bâtiments pompeux. Il s'agit tout autant de créer des espaces de récréation où les habitants de Copenhague peuvent se reposer et profiter de la nature. »

a. Katrine Ravndal, « *Københavnerne får 100 mio. til forbedring af kæmpe naturpark* » (fr. « Les habitants de Copenhague reçoivent 100 millions pour l'amélioration d'un énorme parc naturel ») reportage, *Politiken*, le 6 avril 2016.

- 12 Dans cet énoncé, on trouve non pas un, mais deux sens donnés à *at udvikle en by*. Un premier sens se trouve dans l'emploi de *infrastruktur og nye, pompøse bygninger* (fr. « l'infrastructure et [la construction de] nouveaux bâtiments pompeux »). Le deuxième sens, quant à lui, se trouve dans *skabe rekreative områder* (fr. « de créer des espaces de récréation »). Dans la partie suivante, sur la polyphonie, nous allons étudier la particularité des emplois des prédicats *ikke kun... lige så meget* (fr. « pas seulement... tout autant ») dans cet énoncé. Pourtant, dans cette partie, où nous nous consacrons à la polysémie de ce terme, nous nous contentons de remarquer que cet énoncé pose, en effet, deux sens différents à *at udvikle en by*. C'est cette polysémie qu'il s'agit désormais d'analyser et de distinguer par rapport à l'analyse du premier énoncé que nous venons de présenter.
- 13 En effet, comme l'aspect (1'), un premier sens dans l'énoncé (2) considère le développement urbain comme étant centré autour de la construction et l'expansion de la ville dans de nouveaux espaces. En revanche, par l'emploi de *pompøse* (fr. « pompeux »), l'énoncé (2) accentue le caractère grand, mais aussi non fonctionnel et inutilement cher des bâtiments.
- 14 À ce premier sens s'ajoute un deuxième, toujours fourni par l'énoncé (2), qui inclut la possibilité de « créer des espaces de récréation » (da. *at skabe rekreative områder*). Selon ce deuxième sens, il est possible de développer la ville en dépit de la création de nouveaux espaces de récréation. Autrement dit, l'établissement d'espaces de récréation n'empêche nullement le développement de la ville. Ainsi, le développement de la ville peut être considéré comme l'occasion de planifier la ville future tout en gardant des sites naturels dans la ville grandissante, ce qui permet en retour d'assurer la possibilité de repos pour les résidents de la ville. Avec la description sémantique que nous fournit la TBS, nous pouvons décrire ces deux sens provenant de l'énoncé (2) comme deux aspects. Nous considérons le premier comme étant de type normatif et le second comme étant de type

transgressif. En ce sens, selon notre lecture de cet énoncé, le développement de la ville entraîne soit la construction des logements soit celle des espaces naturels :

- (2') DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS [OÙ LES GENS POURRONT HABITER]
- (2'') DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POURRONT SE REPOSER

15 Comme nous allons le voir plus bas, la Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique nous permet de considérer la relation entre ces deux aspects, et de la décrire comme une opposition. Cette opposition se reflète déjà par l'usage en miroir de *pompøse bygninger* (fr. « bâtiments pompeux ») et *rekreative områder* (fr. « espaces de récréation »). Parce que si nous interprétons l'emploi de *pompøse* comme étant un emploi ironique, alors une interprétation possible de cet énoncé stipulerait que l'expansion dans de nouveaux espaces ne signifierait pas seulement *plus* de bâtiments, mais aussi qu'il y en ait déjà trop dans ce quartier. La TBS ne nous permet pas de décrire cette relation, alors que la Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique en propose une interprétation.

16 Finalement, une dernière signification de *byudvikling* émerge dans notre corpus avec des énoncés comme le suivant, tiré d'une tribune signée par un riverain du quartier d'Ørestad, où se trouve l'espace naturel :

- (3) Fokus på **udviklingen af Ørestad** burde være, at **Ørestad udvikles** til et godt og levende byområde, hvor der er taget hensyn til trafiktilgængeligheden (kort afstand til metroen), varierede byområder og den oprindelige natur, som kunne indgå i de nye områder på en berigende måde^a.

« L'objectif du développement d'Ørestad devrait être de faire d'Ørestad une zone urbaine intéressante et dynamique, en tenant compte de l'accessibilité au trafic (courte distance du métro), des zones urbaines variées et de la nature originale qui pourrait être intégrée dans les nouveaux quartiers d'une manière enrichissante. »

- a. Frank Slemming (riverain), « Red Amager Fælled ved at bygge på området » (fr. « Sauvez Amager Fælled en y construisant des logements »), tribune, *Politiken*, le 1^{er} décembre 2016.

17 Nous nous focaliserons ici sur les deux saisies constructionnelles qui se rapportent à *byudvikling*, à savoir *udviklingen af Ørestad* (fr. « du développement d'Ørestad ») et *Ørestad udvikles til et godt og levende byområde* (fr. « de faire d'Ørestad une zone urbaine

intéressante et dynamique »). Ainsi, selon notre lecture, il ne s'agit ni d'étendre la ville pour abriter les nouveaux riverains, ni d'arrêter toute l'urbanisation de ce site, mais plutôt d'aménager un quartier soit pour les résidents qui y vivent déjà, soit pour créer un quartier qui, contrairement à des quartiers-dortoirs par exemple, est dynamique. En ce sens, selon l'énoncé (3), c'est le développement de la ville qui rend possible d'aménager un quartier de sorte qu'il devient intéressant et dynamique, toute en préservant la nature originale. La présence de la nature originale semble même ajouter une valeur supplémentaire pour le quartier si elle est « intégrée dans les nouveaux quartiers d'une manière enrichissante ». Nous décrivons cette troisième signification² par un aspect argumentatif du type normatif :

(3) DÉVELOPPER LE QUARTIER DC QUARTIER ÉQUILIBRÉ

- 18 Selon la TBS, si ces trois énoncés, tous publiés au cours du conflit danois, mettent en discours des aspects différents du même terme, c'est parce que ce terme contient déjà ces aspects dans sa signification conventionnelle : chaque énoncé exprime un ou des aspects déjà présents dans la signification que la langue attache, structurellement, à ce terme. Ainsi, les différents aspects de la signification du terme *byudvikling* (et des saisies constructionnelles qui s'y associent) sont spécifiquement activés à travers les emplois que nous avons pu observer dans les trois énoncés. De cette manière, la TBS permet d'isoler et de décrire comment la polysémie du terme se déploie dans les énoncés provenant du conflit danois.
- 19 Nous venons de décrire, avec les outils de la TBS, la polysémie du terme *byudvikling* dans les énoncés provenant du conflit danois. D'après la description que propose la TBS, les différents éléments de la signification du terme polysémique semblent cohabiter pacifiquement dans un même extrait. Or, dans le cas du conflit danois, ces éléments sont pris dans des rapports complexes, parfois convergents, parfois conflictuels. Ces rapports rendent ce terme particulièrement intéressant quand il s'agit d'analyser le conflit d'un point de vue discursif et sémantique. En effet, le deuxième énoncé illustre d'emblée un des tels rapports : deux significations différentes du même terme sont mises en discours par le même

énoncé et l'énoncé se positionne différemment à leur égard : il montre les aspects comme des prises de position qui ne sont pas équivalentes dont l'aspect (2') (DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS [OÙ LES GENS POURRONT HABITER]) est présenté comme relatif au problème ; l'aspect (2'') (DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POURRONT SE REPOSER) comme la voie à suivre pour le résoudre. La TBS fournit une explication de la double signification mise en discours par cet énoncé, pourtant elle ne nous permet pas de rendre compte des rapports, dialogiques, qui résident entre ces deux significations et notamment par l'articulation des deux locutions adverbiales *ikke kun... ligeså meget* (fr. « pas seulement... tout autant »). C'est pourquoi la TBS est insuffisante pour analyser le rôle que joue *byudvikling* dans le conflit danois, et tout particulièrement dans le cas de l'énoncé (2). La Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique, en revanche, parce qu'elle inscrit au cœur de la sémantique la mise en rapport de points de vue différents, semblerait nous offrir une voie pour étudier la conflictualité interne à la polysémie d'un terme, comme dans le cas de l'énoncé (2). Ainsi, nous proposons, à présent, comme deuxième voie d'analyse, de compléter notre étude de la polysémie en étudiant l'énoncé (2) sous le prisme de la théorie de la polyphonie linguistique.

3. La Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique à l'œuvre

- 20 La Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique (Ducrot, 1984) (désormais « TPL ») postule que le locuteur d'un énoncé met en scène une sorte de dialogue théâtral entre des personnages énonciatifs. Ces personnages énonciatifs, que Ducrot appelle « énonciateurs », sont des subjectivités abstraites qui ont une certaine attitude envers un point de vue. Le locuteur de l'énoncé se positionnerait vis-à-vis de chacun des énonciateurs : il peut s'identifier à l'un d'eux et se distancier des autres. Cette théorie semble ainsi apte à décrire comment, dans certains énoncés, les locuteurs mobilisent différentes significations associées à un même terme et, ce faisant, font émerger des rapports antagoniques entre eux. De même, nous proposons de mettre à l'œuvre la TPL pour étudier le rapport entre significations

provenant de l'énoncé (2) grâce aux locutions adverbiales *ikke kun... ligeså meget* (fr. « pas seulement... tout autant »).

- 21 Selon la TPL, si un positionnement correspond à chacune des significations d'un terme polysémique, c'est parce que chacun des positionnements est associé à un énonciateur. Lorsque deux énonciateurs entretiennent un rapport antagonique à l'égard d'un même point de vue, ce rapport résonne dans le sens de l'énoncé où apparaît ce terme (Carel et Ducrot, 2009 ; Ducrot, 1984). Le phénomène linguistique de « renchérissement » dont une analyse révélatrice d'un exemple français semblable à la nôtre, a été proposée par Bres (1999), nous permet en effet d'analyser l'énoncé (2) en tant qu'un exemple du dialogisme faisant apparaître une opposition entre les deux significations.

3.1. *Byudvikling* : des points de vue opposés ?

- 22 Dans le contexte du cas danois, on pourrait supposer qu'une fois le terme *byudvikling* mis en discours, les enjeux antagoniques entre énonciateurs résonneraient dans le sens de l'énoncé dans lequel ce terme apparaît. De cette manière, si l'on appliquait la TPL à notre deuxième énoncé, on conclurait que l'énoncé travaille sur des points de vue (pdv) différents (correspondant aux deux significations de *byudvikling*) par rapport auxquels des énonciateurs occuperaient des positionnements antagoniques. Voyons à présent comment une analyse polyphonique de cet énoncé présenterait un tel rapport :

(pdv1) DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS

(pdv2) DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POUR-
RONT SE REPOSER

- 23 Et si l'on inclut les énonciateurs, ils se positionnent par rapport à ces points de vue de cette manière :

E1 (non-L) a une attitude positive envers pdv1

E2 (L) a une attitude négative envers pdv1 et une attitude positive envers pdv2

24 Comme l'énoncé est de structure *ikke kun... lige så meget*, il ressemble à un énoncé étant de structure similaire (« non/pas seulement x, (mais aussi/tout autant) y »), analysé par Bres comme un renchérissement³ : à ce propos, Bres remarque que le renchérissement reliant x et y fait en sorte que « la pertinence du premier qu'il [l'énonciateur] attribue à e1 doit se compléter de la prise en compte du second qu'il s'attribue » (Bres, 1999 : 77). De ce fait, notre analyse initiale de l'énoncé (2) doit être nuancée avec la TPL de sorte qu'elle prend en compte le renchérissement y compris le rapport entre énonciateurs. Cela nous permettra en retour d'illustrer comment le rapport que nous venons de qualifier d'antagonique serait en effet une « façon d'intégrer la parole de l'autre pour mieux la dépasser, d'apparaître comme quelqu'un qui loin de s'opposer infantilement à elle, la dote d'un prolongement qui lui donne toute sa valeur » (Bres, 1999 : 77).

25 Précisons d'abord que le pdv1, par « développement de la ville », entend *seulement* la construction de grands bâtiments, alors que le pdv2 entend *aussi* créer des espaces de récréation. Toutefois, le rapport entre les deux points de vue dans l'énoncé est, selon nous, toujours un rapport antagonique : le pdv1 est présenté comme incomplet, raison pour laquelle il faut le « prolonger » pour reprendre les termes de Bres, d'où le pdv2. Ainsi, le locuteur se positionne toujours en faveur du pdv2 et en opposition au pdv1, mais l'opposition entre les deux apparaît alors plus subtile que dans l'analyse initiale fournie par la TBS : le pdv1 tire toute sa pertinence uniquement du fait d'être complété. Avec cette précision, la structure de renchérissement dans les deux points de vue peut se présenter de la manière suivante :

(pdv1) DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC [SEULEMENT] CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS

(pdv2) DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POUR-
RONT SE REPOSER [TOUT AUTANT QUE CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS]

26 Ce qui nous amène à inclure les énonciateurs qui se positionneraient par rapport à ces points de vue de la manière suivante :

E1 (non-L) a une attitude positive envers pdv1

E2 (L) a une attitude négative envers pdv1 et une attitude positive envers pdv2

- 27 Nous voyons à partir de là comment des positionnements conflictuels émergent dans les sens de *byudvikling* mis en discours par cet énoncé, ce que notre sensibilité vis-à-vis du dialogisme des locutions adverbiales permet en effet d'affirmer : par le biais des positionnements d'énonciateurs, la TPL nous permet d'observer un lien entre le caractère polysémique du terme *byudvikling* et les rapports antagoniques que ce terme fait entendre lorsqu'il est employé dans cet énoncé du conflit danois.
- 28 Et pourtant, selon une critique récente, la description proposée par la TPL ducrotienne « s'avère absolument inopérante » (Camus et Lescano, 2019 : 28) quant aux discours d'un conflit social : si cette théorie tentait d'observer des rapports entre les énoncés du conflit danois, ces rapports ne seraient que des liens « accidentels » (Camus et Lescano, 2019 : 29). Certes, cette théorie est capable de décrire les rapports entre énonciateurs au sein d'un même énoncé (comme nous venons de le faire), mais face aux rapports entre une série d'énoncés, elle échoue.
- 29 Selon Camus et Lescano (2019), le problème que rencontre la TPL consiste précisément dans le fait qu'elle se fonde sur l'hypothèse que les énoncés expriment un sens qui leur appartient et ainsi elle ignorerait le rôle du discours dans la production du sens. En revanche, pour ces auteurs, l'étude sémantique de la conflictualité discursive exige de voir chaque énoncé comme le porteur d'un certain travail sur la structuration significative de 'ce qui peut être dit' dans le conflit. C'est-à-dire que tout énoncé cherche soit à 'ouvrir', soit à 'fermer' les possibilités de réaliser certains discours dans le conflit. L'analyse des énoncés d'un conflit social est pour cela intrinsèquement liée à la prise en compte d'une cible partagée, à savoir la structuration de ce qui peut être dit dans le conflit. Cette structuration est, toujours selon Camus et Lescano, de l'ordre sémantique : elle est conçue comme un *espace sémantique* qui est d'une part extérieur aux énoncés, du fait qu'il constitue la structuration du conflit tout entier (et non pas d'un seul énoncé), d'autre part, il est constitué par les énoncés parce qu'ils agissent sur lui et déterminent ainsi son évolution permanente (Lescano, 2023). C'est donc par l'intermédiaire de l'espace sémantique que les énoncés se positionneraient les uns par rapport aux autres.

- 30 Avec l'introduction de la notion d'espace sémantique est reprise une hypothèse qui a été formulée notamment par Bakhtine, affirmant que les mots sont l'arène de la conflictualité sociale, qui a ensuite mené à une autre selon laquelle toute signification articule des antagonismes (Faye, 2004 ; Krieg-Planque, 2009) et aussi à la formulation de la notion d'interdiscours (Pêcheux, 1975). Ces hypothèses se cristallisent en effet dans celle d'espace sémantique. Car si l'on conçoit les énoncés du conflit danois par l'intermédiaire de l'espace sémantique, alors les rapports entre énoncés se dessinent nettement comme une « configuration sémantique » (Lescano, 2023 : 186) dont les énoncés qui travaillent sur les significations de *byudvikling* se constituent dans des rapports parfois antagoniques, parfois convergents.
- 31 Alors que la TPL ne permet pas d'étudier les rapports discursifs ailleurs qu'au sein d'un même énoncé, une analyse qui part de l'espace sémantique est capable de cerner comment plusieurs énoncés se constituent dans des rapports entre eux. Même si la TPL n'en fournit pas une description, la polyphonie se trouve néanmoins en arrière-plan de notre démarche, et ceci à deux titres : premièrement, dans la mesure où les énoncés posent des significations distinctes du même terme, ils font entendre des significations antérieurement apparues dans le conflit danois. Deuxièmement, la notion d'espace sémantique stipule que les rapports discursifs entre énoncés se font par l'intermédiaire des possibilités discursives sur lesquelles les énoncés agissent (Camus et Lescano, 2019) et cela nous amène à un partage théorique des deux démarches : comme dans la TPL, pour Camus et Lescano, ces éléments intermédiaires sont des 'discours virtuels', à savoir des « possibilités d'agir » (Camus et Lescano, 2021 : 402) et donc de réaliser des discours. Mais, contrairement à la TPL, ces possibilités sont relatives à un espace sémantique qui est déterminant pour les énoncés qui peuvent apparaître dans le conflit social.
- 32 Ainsi, nous constatons que dans le cadre du conflit danois, la polysémie et la polyphonie s'entrelacent dans des rapports entre les trois énoncés que nous sommes en train d'étudier et qui illustrent les trois significations de *byudvikling* présentes dans le conflit danois. Ces rapports se forment dans – et grâce à – un espace sémantique partagé. Pour le décrire, ni la description de la polysémie qui pourrait être menée dans le cadre de la TBS, ni l'analyse polyphonique des

énoncés proposée par la TPL ne réussissent à expliquer les rapports antagoniques de ces énoncés dans le conflit danois. La première parce qu'elle ne rend pas compte des rapports entre énoncés ; la deuxième parce qu'elle décrit ce rapport comme un lien accidentel. Nous proposons par conséquent d'adopter une troisième approche à partir des travaux de Camus et Lescano, et cette troisième voie vient compléter les deux autres. Ainsi, avec la notion d'espace sémantique, nous considérons désormais les énoncés comme visant à agir sur la structuration sémantique du conflit danois, à savoir, sur ce qui peut être dit dans le conflit. Ce faisant, nous comprenons le travail qu'effectuent les énoncés sur la signification du terme *byudvikling* comme un travail qui porte essentiellement sur l'espace sémantique du conflit et non pas sur les autres discours directement. Le résultat de ce travail est la polysémie du terme. Un retour critique à la notion de resémantisation qui a été étudiée entre autres⁴ par Camus (2020) dans le cadre de cette approche, dite la Sémantique du programme, nous permet plus précisément de décrire ce processus.

4. Resémantisations de *byudvikling* vues par la Sémantique du programme

- 33 À travers les études portant sur le phénomène de la resémantisation dans la sémantique ducrotienne, plusieurs versions de la resémantisation se dessinent (Camus, 2020 ; Montero et Gindin, 2018 ; Montero, 2019 ; Liisberg, 2023). Dans la version qui nous concerne ici, et que Camus nomme « réfutation-resémantisation » (Camus, 2020 : 156), on parle de resémantisation lorsque deux énoncés mettent en discours le même terme en lui associant deux sens différents. Autrement dit, la réfutation-resémantisation stipule qu'« un (ou des) programme(s) nouveaux » (Camus, 2020 : 157) soient associés par un discours ultérieur à un terme sémantisé dans un discours antérieur. Dès lors, le même terme apparaît comme ayant plusieurs sens qui se lient grâce aux emplois du terme.
- 34 Cette 'polysémie' peut être décrite par le biais des mécanismes de ce phénomène linguistique particulier : comme le montrent Montero et Gindin (2018 : 24), toute resémantisation opère par un mécanisme

réfutatif parce qu'il refuse le sens attribué à un terme par un interlocuteur (fictif). À ce premier, Camus (2020 : 157) ajoute un mécanisme *multipliant* qui instaure de nouveaux sens possibles du terme dans l'espace sémantique. Pour Camus, la resémantisation est caractérisée notamment par ce mécanisme multipliant, alors que le mécanisme réfutatif est effectivement évacué de sa définition de ce phénomène. Or, comme nous en avons discuté ailleurs (Liisberg, 2023 : 193), toute resémantisation nécessite la présence de la parole d'un « autre » qui, comme le propose Montero (2019 : 17), peut être construit discursivement dans le seul but d'être refusé. En effet, la discussion de l'énoncé (2) nous a menés à proposer que ces deux mécanismes caractérisent tous deux la resémantisation et que, dans le cas de l'énoncé (2), on doit même ajouter un troisième, à savoir un mécanisme *prolongeant* (Liisberg, 2023) du fait qu'il ouvre la possibilité d'incorporer plusieurs sens dans le terme en question.

- 35 Toute chose n'importe quel autre énoncé dans une situation discursive conflictuelle donnée, une resémantisation constitue un « mode d'intervention discursive » (Camus, 2020 : 159) sur l'espace sémantique de la situation discursive dans laquelle elle apparaît. Un mode d'intervention discursive est constitué de deux éléments : d'une part, il comporte une entité sémantique nommée « programme » (Camus et Lescano, 2021 : 403) et d'autre part, il regroupe un type d'action effectuée sur ce programme, à savoir une « opération » (Camus et Lescano, 2021 : 409). Puisque le mode d'intervention est formé à partir de l'ensemble des deux éléments, nous allons, à présent, les développer successivement.
- 36 Étant une entité sémantique, le *programme* peut être décrit de la même manière que l'aspect argumentatif de la TBS que nous avons présenté plus haut. Ainsi, la notion de programme complète la description des significations – qui peuvent toujours être du type normatif ou transgressif – dans le contexte d'une situation conflictuelle donnée et en ce sens, selon notre lecture, elle correspond plutôt à la description d'une entité sémantique qu'à celle d'un point de vue. Le programme est défini en tant qu'entité sémantique à partir de laquelle des discours peuvent être engendrés et à travers laquelle un énoncé agit dans l'espace sémantique d'un conflit. Cependant, le programme se distingue de l'aspect argumentatif puisqu'il est toujours conçu de manière relative à

l'espace sémantique de la situation dans laquelle il apparaît : un seul programme peut ainsi être mobilisé simultanément par plusieurs discours. En effet, en introduisant la notion d'*opération* – comprise comme l'action que le discours effectue sur un programme – Camus et Lescano s'éloignent du plan lexical afin de décrire les rapports entre entités sémantiques en passant par le plan discursif d'un conflit⁵. Ce sont les opérations portées par les discours sur les entités sémantiques qui nous importent ici de décrire pour comprendre comment le terme *byudvikling* est resémantisé dans le conflit danois.

- 37 Dans un conflit social, tout énoncé constitue une tentative de renforcer ou d'affaiblir la possibilité qu'un programme soit mis en discours. En fonction des types d'opérations effectuées sur un programme particulier, ce programme devient plus ou moins productif et plus ou moins stable au cours du conflit. La productivité et la stabilité d'un programme sont ainsi renforcées ou diminuées selon les opérations spécifiques effectuées sur lui (Camus, 2020). D'après Lescano (2018), il existe au moins trois types d'opération que peut effectuer un discours sur un programme. Premièrement, l'opération d'investissement est accomplie par les énoncés qui affirment et supportent explicitement un programme tel que l'on peut observer dans la tribune du riverain : « L'objectif du développement d'Ørestad devrait être X » de sorte que le X est montré avec une valeur positive grâce à l'emploi du verbe modal « devrait » (da. *burde*). Parallèlement, l'opération de combat est effectuée par les énoncés qui s'opposent à un programme. On le voit par exemple dans l'emploi de la négation dans l'énoncé (2) : « Développer une ville ne passe pas seulement par l'infrastructure et [la construction de] nouveaux bâtiments pompeux », qui combat l'idée que le développement urbain passerait *seulement* par la construction de bâtiments. Enfin, l'opération de naturalisation est celle que réalisent des énoncés exposant un fait qui est présenté comme objectif. Un exemple de ce dernier type d'opération peut être tiré de notre premier énoncé : « La demande extraordinaire de logements a causé une croissance énorme du marché immobilier de la capitale », qui montre, comme non polémique, la causalité entre la croissance du marché immobilier et la demande de logements.

38 Les opérations sont des manières d’agir sur les programmes dans le but de les (dé)stabiliser ou de les rendre plus ou moins productifs. Ainsi, investir un programme, c’est le mettre en production en tentant de renforcer sa productivité dans le conflit social. De même, combattre un programme, c’est le mettre en production en tentant de diminuer sa stabilité. Tout énoncé agit dans un conflit à travers des opérations sur des programmes. L’ensemble formé par le programme et l’opération constitue un mode d’intervention discursive. C’est en tant que modes d’interventions que nous proposons de comprendre les trois énoncés du conflit danois : parce qu’ils visent particulièrement les programmes associés à un terme, ces énoncés comprennent des modes d’interventions qui constituent des phases d’un processus de resémantisation dont l’ensemble rend ce terme polysémique. La polysémie se constitue ainsi dans le contexte de la situation conflictuelle. Suivant cette démarche, nous proposons à présent d’étudier nos trois énoncés sous l’angle de la resémantisation, en tant qu’une suite d’opérations effectuées sur des programmes. À partir de là, nous serons enfin en mesure d’isoler et de décrire les rapports entre les trois énoncés dans le conflit danois.

4.1. *Byudvikling*, terme objet d’une suite de resémantisations

39 Nous proposons désormais de considérer les trois énoncés comme trois phases d’un processus de resémantisation visant le terme *byudvikling*. Rappelons les trois énoncés sur lesquels nous travaillons ici dans notre traduction française :

1. Chaque mois, Copenhague s’agrandit avec environ 1000 nouveaux résidents. La demande extraordinaire de logements a causé une croissance énorme du marché immobilier de la capitale. C’est la raison pour laquelle on poursuit le développement urbain d’Ørestad qui va abriter une bonne partie des nouveaux citoyens.
2. Développer une ville ne passe pas seulement par l’infrastructure et [la construction de] nouveaux bâtiments pompeux. Il s’agit tout autant de créer des espaces de récréation où les habitants de Copenhague peuvent se reposer et profiter de la nature.
3. L’objectif du développement d’Ørestad devrait être de faire d’Ørestad une zone urbaine intéressante et dynamique, en tenant compte de

l'accessibilité au trafic (courte distance du métro), des zones urbaines variées et de la nature originale qui pourrait être intégrée dans les nouveaux quartiers d'une manière enrichissante.

Dont nous avons précédemment distingué les aspects argumentatifs suivants :

- (1') CROISSANCE DU MARCHÉ IMMOBILIER DC CONSTRUCTION DU LOGEMENT
- (2') DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS
- (2'') DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POURRONT SE REPOSER
- (3') DÉVELOPPER LE QUARTIER DC QUARTIER ÉQUILIBRÉ

Et dont nous avons précisé, au cours de l'analyse de la polyphonie de l'énoncé (2), les deux points de vue suivants :

- (pdv1) DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC [SEULEMENT] CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS
- (pdv2) DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POURRONT SE REPOSER [TOUT AUTANT QUE CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS]

40 En nous inscrivant dans la perspective proposée par la Sémantique du programme, nous considérons désormais les aspects (1') et (3') ainsi que les deux points de vue (pdv1) et (pdv2) comme des programmes. Ainsi, on dira que l'énoncé (1) opère sur un programme correspondant à l'aspect (1'), l'énoncé (2) opère sur deux programmes correspondant aux points de vue (1) et (2) et ainsi de suite. Identifions à présent les modes d'intervention effectués par les trois énoncés sur nos programmes, ce qui nous permettra ensuite de décrire la resémantisation du terme *byudvikling* dans ce conflit.

41 Comme nous l'avons déjà montré plus haut, dans le premier énoncé, le programme correspondant à l'aspect (1') est présenté comme un fait objectif. C'est pourquoi ce programme est mis en discours avec une opération de naturalisation. Ainsi, un premier mode d'intervention (M1) se distingue dans l'espace sémantique du conflit danois. L'opération spécifique est annotée devant le programme de manière suivante :

(M1) <naturaliser [CROISSANCE DU MARCHÉ IMMOBILIER DC CONSTRUCTION DU LOGEMENT]>

42 Le deuxième énoncé, rappelons-le, contient deux programmes. Il opère sur ces deux programmes par la structure de renchérissement du tournant *det handler lige så meget om* (fr. « il s'agit tout autant de »). D'une part, le renchérissement permet à l'énoncé d'effectuer une opération de combat sur le premier programme selon lequel le développement urbain passerait seulement par la construction de grands bâtiments, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut. Cette opération correspond au mécanisme réfutatif propre à la resémantisation. D'autre part, il effectue une opération d'investissement sur le second qui envisage le développement de la ville comme la création à la fois des espaces de récréation et des grands bâtiments. L'investissement vise à renforcer la productivité du second, alors que l'opération de combat tente de diminuer celle du premier programme. Les deux programmes se trouvent ainsi en une relation de « tension » (Camus, 2020 : 108). Nous présentons donc ces deux modes d'intervention de la manière suivante :

(M2) <combattre [DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE DC [seulement] CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS]>

(M3) <investir [DÉVELOPPER L'INFRASTRUCTURE DE LA VILLE PT CRÉER DES ESPACES DE RÉCRÉATION OÙ LES GENS POURRONT SE REPOSER [TOUT AUTANT QUE CONSTRUIRE DE GRANDS BÂTIMENTS]>

43 Quant au troisième énoncé, avec l'emploi de *fokus... burde være* (fr. « L'objectif du développement d'Ørestad devrait être »), l'énoncé investit le programme (3') en cherchant à le rendre plus productif dans le conflit danois. Nous identifions par là le mode d'intervention suivant :

(M4) <investir [DÉVELOPPER LE QUARTIER DC QUARTIER ÉQUILIBRÉ]>

44 Avec les installations successives des quatre modes d'intervention que nous venons d'identifier, la resémantisation (et donc la polysémie) du terme *byudvikling* se dessine dans le contexte du conflit danois grâce aux trois mécanismes de la resémantisation : le premier énoncé installe un programme dans l'espace sémantique en le naturalisant. Le deuxième énoncé expose à la fois le mécanisme réfutatif et le mécanisme multipliant puisqu'il installe un deuxième programme en le faisant entrer en relation de tension avec le premier, à partir duquel il véhicule la possibilité de multiplier les

discours. Dès lors, non seulement le premier programme se voit réfuté, mais les possibilités discursives prolifèrent potentiellement par ce nouveau programme.

- 45 Le troisième énoncé semble aller encore plus loin en exposant le mécanisme prolongeant : il installe un nouveau programme qui rompt avec l'opposition de l'énoncé (2) en proposant une sémantisation qui se distingue des autres : dans le deuxième segment à savoir *hvor der er taget hensyn til [...] den oprindelige natur, som kunne indgå i de nye områder på en berigende måde* (fr. « en tenant compte de [...] la nature originale qui pourrait être intégrée dans les nouveaux quartiers d'une manière enrichissante »), nous pouvons constater une resémantisation de *byudvikling* en tant que création d'un quartier bien aménagé, c'est-à-dire où il y a de la nature et où de nouveaux quartiers peuvent voir le jour d'où le programme (3'). En mettant en production ce programme spécifique, l'énoncé prolonge le sens possible de *byudvikling* d'une telle manière qu'il fait entendre les trois modes d'interventions déjà installés par les deux énoncés précédents. Ainsi, en tenant compte de la présence de la nature originale ainsi que de la construction des nouveaux quartiers, l'énoncé (3) opère le mécanisme prolongeant, et crée une synthèse entre la préservation de la nature dans l'espace naturel, et l'urbanisation de ce même espace.
- 46 En somme, le deuxième énoncé installe une opposition entre deux sens qui s'associent au même terme que le troisième énoncé tente, à son tour, de modifier. Cette modification passe, essentiellement, par la resémantisation du terme *byudvikling*.
- 47 Sous l'angle de la resémantisation et la prise en compte de ses trois mécanismes, ces énoncés produisent une seule unité complexe dans le conflit social danois : après la resémantisation, il suffit de mobiliser un seul élément de cette unité pour que la totalité soit remise en production, y compris l'antagonisme qu'elle comporte. Ce que les énoncés remettent en discours quand ils emploient le terme *byudvikling*, ce ne sont pas seulement des programmes. Ce sont tout autant les opérations effectuées sur ces programmes antérieurement. Avec la notion de resémantisation comprise par ses mécanismes réfutatif, multipliant et prolongeant, nous sommes ainsi en mesure de

décrire les rapports qui se constituent entre les trois énoncés grâce à ce processus discursif.

Conclusion

- 48 Dans cet article, nous avons présenté trois approches possibles pour l'analyse sémantique d'inspiration ducrotienne d'une série d'énoncés issus d'un conflit social danois. Ces énoncés mettent tous en discours le terme *byudvikling* que nous traduisons ici par l'expression française « développement urbain ».
- 49 Nous avons présenté et évalué successivement les trois voies suivantes : la description de la polysémie du terme, l'analyse polyphonique des énoncés, et une approche considérant les énoncés comme un processus de resémantisation.
- 50 Si la TBS permet de décrire la polysémie de ce terme dans les énoncés du conflit danois en tant qu'ensemble d'aspects argumentatifs, elle peine à identifier les relations que les énoncés établissent entre ces significations différentes, notamment entre les deux mises en discours par l'énoncé (2). La Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique fournit, quant à elle, une description des rapports antagoniques instaurés au sein d'un seul énoncé, et en cela, elle permet d'étudier l'énoncé (2). Cependant, elle se limite à la description de la polyphonie telle qu'elle se présente au sein d'un seul énoncé et ainsi elle ne parvient pas à saisir les relations entre les trois énoncés issus d'une même situation conflictuelle. La voie proposée par le concept de resémantisation rend, quant à elle, possible d'envisager les énoncés comme des interventions successives dans un espace sémantique partagé. À travers ce concept, nous voyons comment les énoncés s'inscrivent dans des rapports antagoniques autour de ce terme polysémique. En ce sens, ce concept apporte une dimension politique à l'analyse sémantique d'une succession d'énoncés issus d'une même situation discursive. Comprendre les énoncés du conflit comme un processus de resémantisation nous permet, en d'autres termes, de décrire sémantiquement une série d'interventions conflictuelles produisant une unité complexe dans l'espace sémantique.

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1 Qui signifie littéralement « développement de la ville », raison pour laquelle nous le traduisons ici par l'expression française « développement urbain ».

2 L'emploi du verbe modal *burde* (fr. « devrait ») semble par ailleurs placer cette signification à un niveau différent par rapport aux deux précédentes, et nous y reviendrons plus bas, dans la section 4.

3 Les analyses proposées par Anscombe (1973) concernant le même dit « enchérissant » vont également dans ce sens. Nous avons par ailleurs discuté des similarités et des apports de ces analyses dans un autre travail (Liisberg, 2023).

4 Voir par exemple les travaux d'Ana Soledad Montero, en particulier ses deux articles « Palabras bajo vigilancia: acerca de la refutación » (Montero, 2019) et « Hay que llamar las cosas por su nombre: Polémica y renomación en el discurso de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner » (Montero et Gindin, 2018), et les discussions de ces travaux que nous présentons dans Liisberg (2023).

5 Pour une discussion approfondie de cet éloignement et de la présence, continue, du structuralisme linguistique dans la définition de la notion du programme, voir Liisberg (2023).

Français

Cet article explore les dynamiques sémantiques d'un conflit social danois (2016-2018) autour d'un projet de construction urbaine dans un espace naturel à Copenhague. En nous concentrant sur le terme central *byudvikling* (« développement urbain »), nous examinons comment celui-ci est redéfini selon trois sens distincts au cours du conflit. L'analyse s'appuie sur trois approches issues de la sémantique ducrotienne : la Théorie des blocs sémantiques (TBS), la Théorie de la polyphonie linguistique (TPL), et le concept de resémantisation. Si la TBS décrit les sens multiples du terme et la TPL le rapport antagonique entre deux sens, seule la resémantisation permet de comprendre le conflit à travers les différents sens que ce terme acquiert au fil de son évolution. En articulant ces perspectives, l'article propose une lecture innovante du conflit danois comme une succession d'interventions discursives conflictuelles sur ce terme.

English

This article explores the semantic dynamics of a Danish social conflict (2016-2018) surrounding an urban construction project in a natural area in Copenhagen. Focusing on the central term *byudvikling* ("urban development"), we examine how this term is redefined into three distinct meanings throughout the conflict. The analysis draws on three approaches derived from Ducrotian semantics: the Theory of Semantic Blocks (TBS), the Theory of Linguistic Polyphony (TPL), and the concept of resemantisation. While TBS identifies the multiple meanings of the term and TPL analyzes the antagonistic relationship between two meanings, only resemantisation enables an understanding of the conflict through the different meanings the term acquires as the conflict unfolds. By integrating these perspectives, the article offers an innovative interpretation of the Danish conflict as a succession of discursive interventions contesting the meaning of this term.

Mots-clés

développement urbain, conflit social, polysémie, polyphonie, resémantisation

Keywords

urban development, social conflict, polysemy, polyphony, resemantisation

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Existential structures as specialised constructions

Evidence from a corpus of Flemish weather reports

Des structures existentielles comme constructions spécialisées. Preuves tirées d'un corpus de bulletins météorologiques flamands

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1. Context

- 1 Many scenes in our daily life are related to a certain domain, and, consequently, some type of specialised discourse: e.g., when practicing our profession or when reading a text related to a certain domain, like a weather report (meteorology) or a horoscope (astrology).¹ As such, a cognitive linguistic framework which aims to be a valid theory about language should take into

consideration the specialised contexts in which language is used and, therefore, also the possible specialised features of language. Within the framework of Construction Grammar (CxG), this raised the question of whether constructions can have specialised manifestations – and, if so, whether it is even possible to talk about specialised constructions (Fischer and Nikiforidou, 2015; Bücker et al., 2015; Gautier and Bach, 2019).

- 2 A first case-study on the matter is provided by Gautier and Bach (2019). After having examined *be-* and *have-*structures in French oral wine descriptions as in (1), they argued that these can only be explained when integrating other knowledge components, which appear to be “encapsulated” in the constructions themselves. Their analysis of a corpus of professional wine descriptions in French has shown that both verbs are only used in pre-formed structures with specific slots directly associated with (i) the specialised knowledge about wine production and (ii) the discursive and epistemic knowledge about the structuration of wine descriptions as a discourse pattern:

- (1) a. Fr.: [...] *sinon on a les Gevrey Chambertin les Sevrey de chez Olivier Juin en 2013* [...] “otherwise we have the Gevrey Chambertin les Sevrey from Olivier Juin from 2013”
 b. Fr.: [...] *donc là on est vraiment sur le fruit croquant* [...] “and so this one is more crispy and fruity”

The constructions postulated here can be schematised as follows:

(1')	a.	<i>on</i>	<i>avoir</i>	WINE TYPE	<i>de</i>	WINE GROWER	<i>en</i>	VINTAGE
		SUBJ		DO		ABL		TEMP
	b.	<i>on</i>	<i>être sur</i>	AROMAS				
		SUBJ		SENSORY DESCRIPTOR				

- 3 In both cases, these constructions, which can only be found in these discourse patterns, do not correspond to any known valency schemata of the verbs *être* (‘to be’) and *avoir* (‘to have’). In (1a/1a’), the construction is linked with definitory segments of wine production in

France: wine has a precise origin that gives it its name, is grown by an identified producer and is characterised through the vintage. In (1b/1b'), the construction refers to the structure of wine description that always includes a presentation of the aromas. In both cases, the subject position is consistently occupied by *on*.

- 4 An overview of the current CxG-literature shows that only a few constructions in a select array of specialised discourse traditions have been considered so far. So, first, the hypothesis that constructions do have specialised manifestations needs to be sustained by more data, involving different constructions, domains and languages. Secondly, on a more theoretical level, many questions remain unanswered, like (i) how these specialised manifestations can be linked to the cognitive architecture of the domain, and (ii) whether we can – based on (a) the domain-related features the constructions gain and (b) their position within the constructicon – even call them specialised constructions, rather than specialised manifestations of general constructions. To this aim, this paper considers so-called EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS (e.g., constructions with *er is/zijn; het is; het wordt* in Dutch – see Bentley et al., 2013) in a corpus of Flemish weather reports to find out whether they show domain-related features (Section 4.2) and to elaborate on the questions raised above (Section 5).

2. Corpus

- 5 This exploratory study utilises a pilot corpus of Flemish newspaper-weather reports. These weather reports are often cited as classic examples of *text genres* in various textbooks (Liégeois, 2021: 199; 2022) since they show (i) a highly routinised linguistic structure reflecting (ii) a conventionalised cognitive architecture of the specialised field. This makes newspaper-weather reports an excellent experimental ground for the hypothesis explained above.
- 6 We created a corpus of such reports using two Flemish newspapers, *De Standaard* and *Het Laatste Nieuws*, over the span of one year, from July 2019 until August 2020. The corpus encompasses 124,000 tokens, taken from 334 weather reports.

7 A first manual analysis of a sample of texts of each newspaper, based on the four criteria singled out by Gautier (2009) – main text function (a), propositional contents (b), information structure (c) and stylistic and formulative prototypical features (d) – confirms their highly routinised linguistic structure:

- a. The *informative text function* dominates these texts, leaving no place for other ones – reflecting the expectations of the readers who consult such reports to gain basic information to guide their own behaviour (e.g., “Can I go for a walk without an umbrella?”).
- b. The *main argument* (or *topic*) of the texts is nearly always the *evolving weather situation*, expressed through various categories and based on an opposition between the current weather situation (meteorological observations) and expectations for the future.
- c. The *information structure* of the text is marked by the many temporal and locative segments which situate the weather in time and space and therefore function as *thematic indicators*. Each paragraph explains the weather situation on a certain day (e.g., *maandag*, ‘Monday’) or moment of the day (e.g., *vanavond*, ‘tonight’). This temporary weather situation, in turn, is highlighted for different places (e.g., *aan zee*, ‘at the coast’; *in de Ardennen*, ‘in the Ardennes’).
- d. Regarding the *stylistic and formulative prototypical features*, the dominance of the topic (weather) and informative text function identified above together with the dependence on temporal and locative categories amount to a highly structured text with discourse patterns consisting of weather-related, temporal and locative segments. Exceptionally frequent is the following pattern, in which a temporal or locative segment serves as the primary indicator, the weather as the topic and a temporal or locative segment as the secondary indicator:

[Time/Place]_{INDICATOR} [Weather]_{TOPIC} [Time/Place]_{INDICATOR}

8 This initial description of our corpus aligns closely with Meulleman and Paykin’s (2023) analysis of French weather reports, as well as with the analyses by Liégeois (2021, 2022) on German and Italian weather reports, and Liégeois et al. (2023) on Norwegian, Swedish, and Dutch weather reports. Regarding the possible existence of specialised constructions, we hypothesise that the pattern singled out above converges with other constructions frequently used in the specialised text genre (i.e., weather reports). We further postulate that the

constructions with which this pattern converges have some features (regarding meaning/form or function) which make them particularly suitable for the purpose of these specialised texts (i.e., informing people about the weather). This convergence, in turn, would lead to specific formal features, valency schemata and could even generate new meanings.

3. Pilot study

3.1. Object of study

- 9 In this paper, we will consider EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS (see McNally, 2011; Bentley et al., 2013) within the domain of weather reports. Considering that previous literature has often pointed out the nominal style of this text genre (Liégeois, 2021: 215-216) – meaning that the most substantial information is carried by nouns or adjectives and that the verbal field is mostly occupied by modal verbs or copulas –, these constructions can be expected to appear frequently in weather reports. They are best exemplified by the following English sentence (2):

(2) Eng.: *There are some books on the table.* (Bentley et al., 2013: 1)

- 10 In Dutch, *het is* ('it is'), *er is/zijn* ('there is/are') and *het wordt* ('there will be') appear in such EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS. Bentley et al. (2013: 1) explain their structure with the following schema (3):

(3) (EXPLETIVE) [PROFORM] [COPULA] [PIVOT] [CODA]

- 11 A PROFORM (*There*) serving as the subject of the phrase is combined with a COPULA (*are*), a PIVOT, which is mostly found in post-copular position (*some books*), and a CODA (*on the table*), i.e., an addition like a locative or temporal phrase.
- 12 Their valency schema does not adhere to the canonical valency schemata of copular verbs (see (3); Beaver et al., 2005). Accordingly, Bentley et al. (2013) state that “Existential constructions are constructions with **non-canonical morphosyntax** which express a

proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something **in a context**” (Bentley et al., 2013: 1; our emphasis).

- 13 Within the above definition, we highlighted two elements that appear promising for this pilot study: (a) the “non-canonical morphosyntax” and (b) the “importance of the context”:
- a. CxG approaches of predicate–argument structures enable us to treat the question of the non-canonical morphosyntax by considering the whole structure as a form–meaning pairing, without solely looking at syntactic features and, above all, without postulating that structures which are used differently, as in so called “normal” conditions, are always deviations from the norm and “non-canonical”.
 - b. If the *context* is such an important factor, then it should be defined precisely, as well as investigated with regard to how it is implemented in the construction – especially in the case of specialised language use.
- 14 In weather reports, these EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS have already been studied by Liégeois et al. (2023) for Norwegian, Swedish, and Flemish.² Their research, in fact, suggests that EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS in weather reports exhibit various domain-related constructional features (see Section 5). Our analysis adopts the same methodology but utilises a different corpus of Flemish weather reports, although there is some overlap in the texts. Thus, the goal and relevance of our study is twofold: on the one hand, to verify or falsify their findings; on the other, to integrate these domain-related features into CxG theory, with particular emphasis on the construction and the interaction between CxG and frame semantics (see Section 5).

3.2. Procedure

- 15 After compilation, the corpus was processed using Sketch Engine. We first sought to describe the lexical features of the texts by looking at the keywords list – which singles out text-specific vocabulary through a statistic comparison with the Dutch Reference Corpus³ (hence “DRC”) – and the frequency list of verbs. Based on this, we were able to verify whether the semantic categories of weather, time and place (the discourse pattern) dominate our entire corpus and deliver some first insights into the used verbal categories. Thereafter,

we looked at the (possibly domain-related) constructional aspects of EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS with *er is/zijn*, *het is* and *het wordt*. More specifically, we considered (i) their frequency, (ii) possible form-specific features, (iii) valency schema, and (iv) meaning.

4. Results

4.1. Lexicological analysis

4.1.1. List of specific terms

- 16 Considering this corpus as a specialised one, a first traditional approach to characterise it is to look at terminology. The corpus's single-word keywords list (consisting of 100 items) shows that very few verbs – even specialised ones – can be considered as frequently present and corpus-specific. The only verbs included in the list of specific terms are *waaien* ('blow') and *schommelen* ('fluctuate'). Instead, the list contains mostly nouns designating weather phenomena – e.g., *opklaring* ('clearance'), *rukwind* ('gust') –, indicating that nominal structures dominate the texts. Other than weather-related nouns, we find two types of circumstances: place – e.g., *Samber* ('Sambre [Belg. River]'), *zuidwest* ('southwest') – and time (e.g., *maandag* 'Monday', 's ochtends' 'in the morning'). This reflects the discourse pattern singled out in Section 2 with weather as the topic and time/place as situational indicators.
- 17 These preliminary quantitative findings suggest that domain-related nominal terms are used within structures presenting domain-transcending verbs – among them existential structures. This can be confirmed by taking a closer look at the frequency of verbs in Section 4.1.2.

4.1.2. Frequency list of verbs

- 18 Within the frequency list of verbs – produced with the POS-tagged module of Sketch Engine that also provides a normalised frequency p/million –, almost no specialised verbs are featured. *Waaien* en *schommelen* only occupy the 6th and 7th place and more general verbs like *zijn* ('be') and *worden* ('become') are used instead. This

confirms our first observations about verbs being domain-transcending (see Section 4.1.1.) and corresponds to previous observations regarding the nominal style from weather reports (Liégeois, 2021: 215-216).

Table 1: 10 most frequent verbs

Item	Freq.	Normalised Freq.	DRC
<i>zijn</i>	1,821	14,480.97	18,279.13
<i>worden</i>	1,538	12,373.19	7,282.75
<i>blijven</i>	899	7,232.44	741.05
<i>kunnen</i>	712	5,728.03	5,918.90
<i>liggen</i>	584	4,698.27	635.23
<i>waaien</i>	393	3,161.68	10.74
<i>schommelen</i>	375	3,016.87	0.26
<i>vallen</i>	353	2,839.88	329.12
<i>nemen</i>	255	2,051.47	869.25
<i>verwachten</i>	247	1,987.11	170.83

- 19 The verb *zijn* shows the highest frequency, followed by *worden*. Both have a normalised frequency of over 10,000, with *worden* even showing an overrepresentation of 5,000 words p/million when compared with the DRC.
- 20 The following Section 4.2 will discuss some of the structures with *zijn* and *worden*, which we will argue to be (specialised) EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

4.2. Constructional analysis

4.2.1. Frequency

- 21 The verbs *zijn* and *worden* are, in fact, mostly used in existential structures similar to the ones discussed in Section 3.1. The verb *zijn* is accounted for 62.05% (1,130/1,821) of the time with the pro-forms *er*⁴ (404 attestations) or *het* (726 attestations) in subject position. Structures with the verb *worden* appear 64.69% (995/1,538) of the time with the pro-form *het* in subject position (4):

- (4) a. Dt.: *Morgen **is er** eerst vooral richting Franse grens veel bewolking met nog wat regen [...]*
 “Tomorrow there is initially a lot of cloud-cover with some rain towards France”
- b. Dt.: *In het noorden en het oosten **is het** droog met brede opklaringen.*
 “In the North and the East it is dry with extensive sunny spells”
- c. Dt.: ***Het wordt** vandaag wisselend bewolkt met in de loop van de dag enkele buien [...]*
 “It will be partly cloudy today with some rain showers later on”

- 22 This leads to a relative frequency of 3,258.06 for *er is/zijn*, 5,854.84 for *het is* and 8,0224.193 for *het wordt*. These frequencies are remarkably higher than those of *er is/zijn*- (1,206.86) and *het is*-structures (2,794.13) in the DRC. *Het wordt*-structures also appear more frequently than in the DRC (7,868.10), but here the difference is less notable.

4.2.2. Word order

- 23 Our corpus-based analysis directly points to form-specific features of the three structures above. Rather than following the canonical Dutch word order SV(O), 76.90% (869/1,130) of the structures with *zijn* and 73.77% (734/995) of the ones with *worden* demonstrate subject inversion (5), leading up to a total of 1,603 structures with subject inversion:

- (5) a. Dt.: *Maandag **zijn er** afwisselend zonnige en bewolkte periodes.*
 “Monday there are variable sunny and cloudy spells”
- b. Dt.: *In het noordwesten **is het** vrijdag zwaarbewolkt maar droog.*
 “In the Northwest it is overcast but dry on Friday”
- c. Dt.: *In de loop van de namiddag **wordt het** zo goed als droog vanaf het noorden.*
 “In the course of the afternoon it will be as good as dry from the north”

- 24 This subject inversion is, however, also the main word order with the relevant structures in the DRC. *Er is/zijn* appears with subject inversion 58,26% of the time, *het is* 55,56% and *het wordt* 74,30%. Subject inversion with *zijn* appears more frequently in our own corpus, whereas subject inversion with *het wordt* is slightly – less than one percentage point – more present in the DRC.

25 The following subsections will focus on subject inversion- constructions like the ones in (5).

4.2.3. Collocations and valency

26 The subject inversion of the three constructions is always imparted upon them by the left context (LC). This LC is almost exclusively occupied by temporal ((5a) T-SEG) and locative segments (5b,5c) L-SEG), which situate the weather in time or space. These components, in turn, force subject inversion upon the EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS (see Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of components in the LC

	<i>is/zijn er</i>	<i>is het</i>	<i>wordt het</i>	Total
T-SEG	202	422	617	1,241
L-SEG	111	90	78	279
T/L-SEG	0	1	8	9
Other	13	30	31	74

27 The above table (Table 2) demonstrates the high frequency of these T-SEG and L-SEG in the LC, with T-SEG being attested for 1,241 times, L-SEG 279 times and temporal/locative ones (T/L-SEG) 9 times, whereas other components only account for a total of 74 attestations.

28 Not only in the LC, but also in the right context (RC), routinised patterns of components may be found. In this case, only three segment types appear after the verbal phrase (see Table 3):

Table 3: Distribution of components in the RC

	<i>is/zijn er</i>	<i>is het</i>	<i>wordt het</i>	Total
T-SEG	98	222	170	490
L-SEG	64	70	194	328
W-SEG	322	543	738	1,603

- 29 Always present is the weather-related component (W-SEG), which is accounted for 1,603 times. Other possible components in the RC specify time (T-SEG) or place (L-SEG).
- 30 The above observations (see Table 2 and 3) about the LC and RC correspond to the discourse pattern singled out in (2), in which the weather functions as the main topic of the text, and temporal and locative segments as primary (in the LC) and secondary thematical indicators (in the RC). This pattern is also exemplified in the sentences in (5b) and (5c) above. Concerning the structure laid out by Bentley et al. (2013: 1) (see Section 3.1), we should point out that our *EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS* can, in fact, have two *CODAS* (time and place). We therefore argue that these are specialised valency schemata of the construction. However, Liégeois et al. (2023: 173) note that T-SEG and L-SEG frequently occur with general *is/zijn er-*, *is het-*, and *wordt het-* structures in the DRC (see Section 5). Yet, other lexical segments – i.e., those unrelated to the categories of time, weather, or place – dominate these lists. In contrast, weather appears to function as a slot specific to *EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS* in weather reports. Thus, the high frequency and near-exclusive occurrence of these segments in the relevant structures, combined with the presence of two *CODAS*, constitutes their specialised manifestations.

4.2.4. Meaning

- 31 The last part of our constructional analysis questions whether the discourse pattern imposes a new meaning on the verbal phrase. This is indeed the case for those constructions with *is/zijn er* and *is het* that appear with a temporal segment as primary/secondary frame-setting topic (see the examples in Section 5). These verb phrases typically denote a present event, yet here the discourse pattern (i.e., the temporal segment denoting a future event) imposes an inchoative-future-existential reading on them.
- 32 This can be considered the most striking feature of *EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS* in our corpus of weather reports, as we would not expect constructions with *worden* and *zijn*, whether existential or not, to exhibit the same aspectual properties. In the following, we will argue that this inchoative-future-existential reading is a specialised

characteristic of the EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS found in (Flemish) weather reports (see Section 5).

5. From specialised frames to specialised constructions: The pressure of the domain

- 33 Drawing from the discussion in Section 4.2, we can enlist the following specialised constructional features for the EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS under consideration: (i) their high frequency (see Goldberg, 2006: 5) and (ii) form-specific features (subject inversion, which, however, is already very frequent with *zijn* and *worden*-structures in the reference corpus), (iii) their specific valency schemata (with respect to Bentley et al.'s 2013 representation), and (iv) the inchoative-future reading laid upon the *is het-* and *zijn/is er-* structures. This list corresponds to the specialised constructional features singled out by Liégeois et al. (2023: 174), meaning that we can confirm the results from this study.
- 34 We now turn to the theoretical questions posed in Section 1: (i) how such specialised manifestations can be linked back to the cognitive architecture of the domain, and (ii) whether we can call them specialised constructions instead of merely specialised manifestations of constructions.
- 35 When it comes to the first question, frame semantics – as a model aiming at representing knowledge structures evoked by words – may be viewed as a starting point for the description of the cognitive architecture of the underlying domain (Dalmas and Gautier, 2018). The relation between this cognitive framework and that of CxG has been emphasised from the beginning of CxG:

It has been argued that meanings are typically defined **relative to some particular background frame or scene**, which itself may be **highly structured**. I use these terms [...] to designate an idealisation of ‘a coherent individuable perception, memory, experience, action, or object’. (Goldberg, 1995: 25; our emphasis.)

36 For English, FrameNet defines a WEATHER-frame as “ambient conditions of temperature, precipitation, windiness, and sunniness pertain at a certain Place and Time.”

37 This definition highlights the three components identified through both the 4-level analysis of the corpus in Section 2 and the postulated weather-specific EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS described in Section 4.2: weather phenomena (see the definition above), time (a) and place (b):

Time [T]: This FE identifies the Time when the weather occurs.

Place [P]: This FE identifies the Place where the weather occurs.

38 The categories of time and place become even more relevant in weather reports, since they are needed to aptly describe the weather to the lay audience (Liégeois, 2021: 207). If we take the frame-semantic representation as being representative of the domain’s cognitive (ontological) architecture, we see a full convergence between this cognitive architecture and the EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION as described by Bentley et al. (2013). This mirrors what we tried to capture in the 4-level model discussed in Section 2. Level 1 – the main text function – is not isolated, as it can be looked at as a kind of meta-frame of pragmatic nature organising the whole discourse pattern (Czulo et al., 2020). For future research on constructions in specialised discourse, we argue that FrameNet can serve as a valid point of reference regarding the domain’s cognitive architecture (see our conclusion).

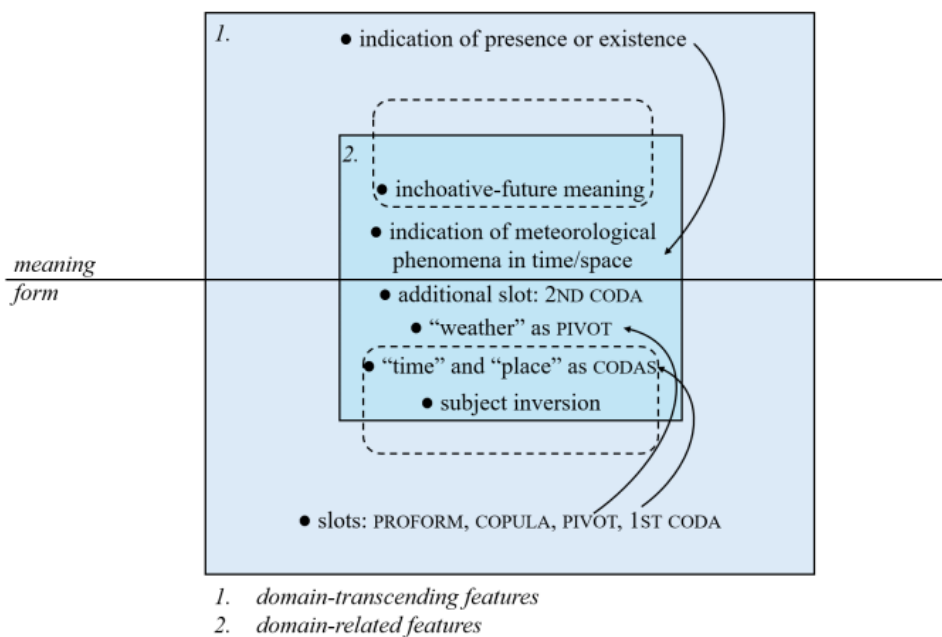
39 Concerning the second question, we can say that for realising these (specialised) constructions one needs to know the construction (EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION) and the discourse pattern(s). This implies two things:

- a. First, based on the discourse patterns and needs of the domain, constructions are chosen which aptly suit those patterns/needs. This regards the nominal style (e.g., the use of verbs like *zijn* and *worden*), but also the need for inversive structures, due to locative and temporal segments appearing at the beginning of the clause. This makes existential structures, which already frequently appear with subject inversion in general (see Section 4.2.2) as well as T- and L-SEG (see Section 4.2.3), apt

candidates that fit within the style/patterns of weather reports. The combination of the patterns with the constructions, in turn, leads to specialised features, like EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS with TWO CODAS and *zijn/iser-* and *is het-* constructions with inchoative-future-existential meaning. The aspect (inchoative-future-existential) is thus automatically laid upon the constructions by the domain, regardless of the “general” aspect of the verb.

40 In this regard, a formalisation of our specialised manifestations, inspired by Croft and Cruse (2004) but adapted to distinguish between general language and specialised communication, should take the following form (Figure 1):

Figure 1: Formalisation of EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS in Flemish weather reports



41 The features in 2. are specific to the realisation of EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS in weather reports. However, as Figure 1 illustrates, different specialised features – such as the indication of meteorological phenomena in time/space, “weather” as the PIVOT, and “time” and “place” as CODAS – represent specific semantic or lexical instances of the general constructional features. Similarly, the dashed circled features already appear frequently in general EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS (e.g., “time” and “place” as CODAS, subject inversion) or are automatically evoked by specific EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS – such as *wordt het-* structures, which

automatically carry a future meaning. Regardless, these features are always automatically imposed on the constructions by the domain (see above).

- a. Secondly, since speakers already need to know the construction, these specialised manifestations should, within the constructicon, be located below the construction-level. A question which remains, however, is whether the point of convergence between the construction and the knowledge of the domain should be situated above or on the level of constructs. The fact that new meanings and formal features might be realised through this convergence, is an element in favour of the former, in which case we might, in fact, speak of specialised constructions, situated on some kind of secondary construction-level. However, considering – as mentioned in our introduction – that there are many domains and specialised discourse traditions, which all have specific discourse patterns, this would lead to an explosion of constructions, which is an argument in favour of the convergence being oriented at the level of constructs. Should they be situated at the construct-level, a further question will need to be addressed: namely how the abstract discourse patterns singled out in Section 2 fit within CxG-theory or even the constructicon, since they impose the new features on the constructions.

Conclusion

- 42 Our paper dealt with the relationship between constructions (in the sense of CxG) and specialised discourse. Looking at EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS (Dt. *er is/zijn; het is; het wordt*) in Flemish weather reports as a case-study, we considered their possible specialised features, and tried to shed light on the question (i) how these specialised manifestations can be linked back to the domain, and (ii), whether they might even be called specialised constructions, for which (a) their domain-related features and (b) position in the constructicon were taken into consideration.
- 43 In our discussion of the results, we were able to link the frequency (Section 4.2.1), form-specific features (Section 4.2.2), valency schemata (Section 4.2.3) and meaning (Section 4.2.4) of these constructions back to the discourse pattern singled out in Section 2, which regarded the semantic categories of weather, time and space. Looking at the frame-semantic representation of “weather”, we

argued that these specific manifestations coincided entirely with the domain's cognitive architecture. We, in turn, situated these specialised manifestations below the level of constructions. However, this led to the question of whether there exists an intermediary level between constructions and constructs where the constructions and patterns converge, or whether this convergence should simply be situated at the level of constructs. We encourage future research to consider this theoretical question in more depth.

- 44 The hypothesis of specialised constructions proves to be an interesting one. However, as previously stated in Section 1, it remains imperative that more empirical research is done. Our theoretical discussion in Section 5 is intended as a starting point for those studies, which should not only concern the constructions and specialised discourse patterns discussed here, but many other constructions and specialised knowledge domains (e.g., legal, medical and economic texts) and in different languages as well. A final suggestion for future studies is to consider the interface between constructions and frames, particularly the relationship between CxG and frame semantics (see Section 5). As Bach (2021) has pointed out, many constructions are associated with or even evoked by specific frames. Given that many frames, like the *WEATHER*-frame, are linked to a particular domain, exploring this interface could provide a valuable starting point for addressing the questions raised at the end of our analysis.

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1 We define a domain broadly as a thematically and functionally defined area of communication, encompassing both professional and non-professional contexts and language users.

2 In their study, Liégeois et al. (2023) consistently use the term “Dutch weather reports”. However, since their corpus consists of texts from Flemish newspapers, these can be more accurately described as Flemish weather reports.

3 By Dutch Reference Corpus we mean the n|TenTen-corpus in Sketch Engine.

4 Note that the status of *er* as a pronoun is a matter of debate (see Grondelaers et al., 2008, 2009; Barbiers, 2017). Given the specific research

question of this paper, we will not delve further into this theoretical discussion. However, if linguists were to agree that *er* is not a pronoun, this would have implications for either the classification of the relevant *er*-constructions as EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS or the definition of EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS in Dutch and/or Flemish in general.

English

This constructionist paper deals with the specialised manifestations that constructions can exhibit and considers two questions: (i) how such specialised manifestations can be linked back to the cognitive architecture of the domain, (ii) whether we can, in this regard, speak about specialised constructions, for which (a) domain-related features regarding form and meaning, and (b) their location within the construction will be considered in more depth. More specifically, this study looks at a pilot corpus of Flemish weather reports (domain: meteorology) and performs a corpus-based analysis of EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS (Dt. *er is/zijn; het is; het wordt*) as a case-study. The results of this corpus-based analysis provide deeper insights into the lexicological features of the texts and the ways in which the constructions align with the discourse patterns of this specialised text genre.

Français

Cet article traite, dans le paradigme de la grammaire de construction, des manifestations spécialisées que les constructions peuvent présenter et examine deux questions : (i) comment ces manifestations spécialisées peuvent-elles être reliées à l'architecture cognitive du domaine, (ii) si on peut, à cet égard, parler de constructions spécialisées, pour lesquelles il conviendra d'étudier en détail (a) les caractéristiques spécifiques au domaine en termes de forme et de sens, et (b) leur position au sein du constructicon. Plus précisément, cette étude porte sur un corpus pilote de bulletins météorologiques flamands (domaine : météorologie) et propose en guise d'étude de cas une analyse *corpus-based* des CONSTRUCTIONS EXISTENTIELLES (nld. : *er is/zijn ; het is ; het wordt*). Les résultats de cette analyse *corpus-based* apportent un éclairage plus approfondi sur les caractéristiques lexicologiques des textes et sur la manière dont les constructions se combinent avec les schémas discursifs propres à ce genre textuel spécialisé.

Mots-clés

linguistique cognitive, grammaire de construction, discours spécialisé, constructions existentielles, construction spécialisée, bulletin météorologique

Keywords

cognitive linguistics, Construction Grammar, existential constructions, specialised construction, specialised discourse, weather report

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