

# The Evolutions of The Old Spanish Adverbs *ende* and *ý*: A Case of Grammaticalization\*

Carlos Sánchez Lancis

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Departament de Filologia Espanyola. Seminari de Filologia i Informàtica

08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona). Spain

carlos.sanchez@uab.es

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## Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to provide a syntactic account, within the framework of grammaticalization, of the loss of the two space locative pronominal adverbs *ende* and *ý* in Old Spanish. Firstly, we present the evolution of Old Spanish space deictic adverbs, to which *ende* and *ý* belong, in order to study the changes undergone during this historic period. Secondly, we analyse the syntactic behaviour of these deictic adverbs in an Old Spanish corpus, where one can observe that there is little difference among the adverbs of the same group, and that there is a progressive grammaticalization of *ende* and *ý*, that ended up being distinct from the rest of deictic adverbs. Finally, we analyse the reasons for the loss of *ende* and *ý* from a phonetic and lexical, as well as syntactic, point of view, so as to show the most used grammatical meanings of these adverbs and the conditions which help their appearance.

**Key words:** diachrony, syntax, grammaticalization, deixis, locative adverbs.

**Resum.** *L'evolució dels adverbis medievals ende i ý: un cas de gramaticalització?*

L'objectiu d'aquest treball és donar una explicació sintàctica, des del marc teòric de la gramaticalització, a la pèrdua dels adverbis pronominals locatius d'espai de l'espanyol medieval *ende* i *ý*. Primerament, es presenta l'evolució dels adverbis deíctics d'espai medievals, als quals pertanyen *ende* i *ý*, per estudiar els canvis que van sofrir durant aquesta etapa històrica. En segon lloc, s'estudia el comportament sintàctic d'aquests deíctics en un corpus literari medieval, on es pot comprovar la poca diferenciació que existia entre els adverbis d'un mateix grup, així com la progressiva gramaticalització que *ende* i *ý* van sofrir per diferenciar-se de la resta de deíctics. Finalment, s'analitzen les causes de la seva pèrdua tant a partir de criteris fonètics i lèxics com sintàctics, i d'aquesta manera es mostren els valors gramaticals més utilitzats per aquests adverbis, així com les condicions que afavoreixen o no la seva aparició.

**Paraules clau:** diacronia, sintaxi, gramaticalització, deixi, adverbis locatius.

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### 1. Introduction: the origin and the survival of *ende* and *ý*

The main purpose of this paper is to explore the relation between the two medieval locative adverbs *ende* 'from there' e *ý* 'there' and their evolution, in order to discover the reasons why both of them disappeared at the end of Old Spanish. As we shall see, they disappeared because of a double process of grammaticalization.

As for the origin of these two space locative pronominal adverbs, according to Corominas and Pascual (1980-1991:s.v. *ende*), the adverb *ende* comes from the Latin deictic adverb *ĩnde* 'from there', 'from it', which expressed origin of movement; on the other hand, the adverb *ý* has two possible different origins: from the Latin adverb *ĩbi* 'there, on it' > *i* (according to Hanssen (1913/1945:§624), Menéndez Pidal (1940:§128,1) and García de Diego (1970:254), among others) or from the Latin adverb *hĩc* 'here' (as Meyer-Lübke (1890-1906:§720) suggests).<sup>1</sup> Putting aside the origin of both adverbs, the most important fact is that the Latin pronominal adverb system, at least in relation to these two elements, was inherited, among other languages, by Old Spanish. Both deictic adverbs appeared almost at the beginning of the language (*ende* in the *Cid* and *ý* in a document in 1074). As for its survival, Corominas and Pascual (1980-1991:s.v. *ende* and *y*) show that the adverb *ende* tended to disappear by the 15<sup>th</sup> century and survives only in Asturian (with a locative sense) and the Aragonese dialects (where it is used similarly to its Catalan equivalent). The loss of this adverb in both Spanish and Portuguese occurs almost at the same time as that of the locative adverb *ý* (in fact, the latter happened before). Therefore, it is understandable that neither locative adverb, *ende* or *ý*, appears in the list of individual adverbs and adverbial phrases, found in the 16<sup>th</sup> century prose by Keniston (1937:§§39.6.-39.96.), with the only apparent exception of *ende*, which survives in Spanish as a linking word preceded by the preposition *por* (*por ende* < *proinde* Latin 'therefore').<sup>2</sup>

Both adverbs are included in the class of space locative pronominal adverbs in Old Spanish. This grammatical class was formed by different deictic adverbs, inter-

1. Corominas and Pascual (1980-1991:s.v. *y*) give a neutral solution, since they combine both theories. According to them, the locative adverb *ý* in Old Spanish and in the Aragonese dialect, French *y*, Occitan *i* and Catalan *hi* (these are the only Romance languages which have this pronominal adverb) mistook both words, *ĩbi* and *hĩc*, for only one.
2. The expression *por ende* is included by Keniston (1937:§42.26) within the coordinated conjunctions with illative sense, whose function is «to connect two coordinated sentences and to indicate that the proposition expressed by the second sentence is the result of the first proposition.»

**Table 1.** Old Spanish I (12th and 13th centuries).

| Proximity to speaker |           | Non proximity to speaker |              |            |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Non Movement         | Movement  | Non Movement             | Movement     |            |
| aquí                 | acá       | allí ‘there’             | ende         | allá       |
| ‘here’               | ‘to here’ | ? ‘there’                | ‘from there’ | ‘to there’ |

**Table 2.** Old Spanish II (14<sup>th</sup> century).

| Proximity to speaker |           | Non proximity to speaker |              |                   |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Non Movement         | Movement  | Non Movement             | Movement     |                   |
| aquí                 | acá       | allí ‘there’             | ende         | allá ‘to there’   |
| ‘here’               | ‘to here’ | ? ‘there’                | ‘from there’ | acullá ‘to there’ |
|                      |           |                          | ahí ‘there’  |                   |

related among them, which evolved during throughout Old Spanish.<sup>3</sup> Their first grammatical relationship appears in Table 1.

During the 12th and the 13th centuries, the space locative pronominal adverbs contrasted in only one feature, which distinguished «place near the speaker» (*aquí, acá*) from «place distant from the speaker» (*allí, ý, ende, allá*). Furthermore, in every group, they contrasted in reference to a static point (*aquí, allí, ý*) or to a movement, in order to denote the origin (*ende*) or the goal (*acá, allá*) of the verbal action. All could express «pure» deictic or anaphoric relations, since the adverbs referred to a place outside or inside the speech. The only adverbs which distinguished deictic from anaphoric functions lexically, were, in theory, *allí* and *ý* respectively, although in the texts, as we will see later on, a distinction of meaning cannot be seen so clearly. However, during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the number of space locative pronominal adverbs undergoes a change, charted in Table 2.

The relationship among the different adverbs described in Table 1 remains in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but we can observe the grammaticalization or the appearance of two new adverbial elements (*ahí, acullá*) which support the two existing adverbs phonetically and semantically (*ý* and *allá* respectively). In contrast, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century this system of space deictic adverbs underwent an important transformation, as we can see in Table 3.

Firstly, the opposition among the different space locative pronominal adverbs stopped being a two-member relation (proximity / distance) and turned into a three-member relation (proximity to speaker / proximity to listener / non prox-

3. For a study of space and time adverbs in Old Spanish, see Sánchez Lancis (1992). For studies on Modern Spanish, see, apart from the Spanish grammars, the study by Carbonero Cano (1979) and the one by Kovacci (1999).

**Table 3.** Old Spanish III (15<sup>th</sup> century).

| Proximity to speaker |           | Proximity to listener   | Non proximity to speaker and listener |              |                   |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Non Movement         | Movement  | Non Movement / Movement | Non Movement                          | Movement     |                   |
| aquí                 | acá       | allí                    | allí                                  | ende         | allá 'to there'   |
| 'here'               | 'to here' | 'there'                 | 'there'                               | 'from there' | acullá 'to there' |

**Table 4.** Old Spanish III (16<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>th</sup> centuries).

| Proximity to speaker |           | Proximity to listener   | Non proximity to speaker and listener |                   |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Non Movement         | Movement  | Non Movement / Movement | Non Movement                          | Movement          |
| aquí                 | acá       | allí                    | allí                                  | allá 'to there'   |
| 'here'               | 'to here' | 'there'                 | 'there'                               | acullá 'to there' |

imity to speaker and listener or distance). This is due to reanalysis, in other words, it is not a change in the number of the grammatical elements, but in the grammatical meaning, which the adverb *ahí* has. It was a support to the *ý* and began to express proximity to the listener by itself.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, during all this century, the definitive degrammaticalization<sup>5</sup> of *ý* as a locative adverb takes place.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in the process from Old Spanish to the Classic and Modern Spanish, the last changes with this class of adverbs take place, as you can see in the table 4.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century we inherit the current space adverbial system, because the adverb *ende* is degrammaticalized as a space locative pronominal adverb (the only element which showed the origin within the space adverbial system), although it survives as a linking word.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the expression of movement with the meaning of

4. Nebrija (1492:3,16) confirms the existence of a system of three-member oppositions among the place adverbs in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, since the grammatical meaning of *aquí/aí/allí* is distinguished clearly.
5. For the concepts of grammaticalization, degrammaticalization, regrammaticalization and reanalysis, see Hock (1986), Ridruejo (1989), and Hopper and Traugott (1993).
6. For a study of the survival of the adverb *ý* in the impersonal form *hay* 'there is' (*ha+ý*) of the verb *haber* 'have', which acquires existential meaning, see García (1986) and Lloyd (1993:568-569); for a study of the amalgamation of the adverb *ý* with the medieval forms *do*, *so* *vo*, *estó*, see Alvar and Pottier (1983:§145.1.), Urrutia Cárdenas and Álvarez Álvarez (1988:234-238), Schmiedely (1988:611-619) and Lloyd (1993:565-570).
7. The Real Academia Española (1992:s.v. *ende*) analyses *por ende* an adverbial phrase as *por tanto*, and Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999::§63.3.3.6) take it to be a linking word used nowadays in elegant language. For a description of the classifications and the opinions given by different Spanish grammars and dictionaries about the survival of *ende* and *ý* in Classical and Modern Spanish, see Sánchez Lancis (2001).

distance is only indicated by the adverb *allá* together with its supported variant *acullá*. The use of the latter will be being reduced during the following centuries up to the present, where *acullá* is practically not used, despite being included in the dictionaries.<sup>8</sup>

2. Evolution of *ende* and *ý* in Old Spanish

From now, we are going to study the reasons why the space locative pronominal adverbs *ende* and *ý* disappeared at the end of Old Spanish. In order to do this study, we will analyse not only the behaviour of these two adverbs, but also that of *allí* and *ahí* (deictic adverbs with which *ende* and *ý* had a clear grammatical relationship during the Old Spanish period), in a literary corpus of Old Spanish consisting of seven representative texts of different centuries (*Cid* (12<sup>th</sup>), *Milagros* (13<sup>th</sup>), *General Estoria* (13<sup>th</sup>), *Lucanor* (14<sup>th</sup>), *Buen Amor* (14<sup>th</sup>), *Corbacho* (15<sup>th</sup>) and *Celestina* (15<sup>th</sup>)).

2.1. Ende

In the analysed texts, the adverb *ende* (with the apocopated graphic variants *end*, *ent* and *en*, or supported by the prepositions *de* (*dende*, *dend*, *den*, *dent*, *dente*) and *des* (*desende*, *desend*, *desent*)) appears in 508 occurrences, from which 242 correspond to its independent use and 266 to its use as an adverbial phrase in *por ende*. Its distribution by texts and centuries is as in Table 5 (on the left, the meaning as an adverb and on the right the meaning as an adverbial phrase).

From the quantitative analysis based on the data, we can observe the progressive increase of the adverbial phrase during all these centuries until it is widespread in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in *Corbacho*; at the same time its use as a simple adverb undergoes a progressive decline because of its degrammaticalization as an adverb and its grammaticalization as a linking word. At the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century, in *Celestina*, the use of *ende* as an adverb and an adverbial phrase seemed to be balanced, but this fact only confirms, because of the poor number of examples, the almost total loss of *ende* as an adverb during the whole 15<sup>th</sup> century and the evolution of the adverbial phrase to the non oral register (remember that *Celestina* is a play).

Table 5.

| 12 <sup>th</sup> |       | 13 <sup>th</sup> |      |                   |       | 14 <sup>th</sup> |     |                  |       | 15 <sup>th</sup> |       |                  |       |
|------------------|-------|------------------|------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-----|------------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
| <i>Cid</i>       |       | <i>Milagros</i>  |      | <i>Gral. Est.</i> |       | <i>Lucanor</i>   |     | <i>Buen Amor</i> |       | <i>Corbacho</i>  |       | <i>Celestina</i> |       |
| 19               | 3     | 36               | 3    | 48                | 19    | 105              | 54  | 24               | 41    | 4                | 138   | 6                | 8     |
| 86,4%            | 13,6% | 92,3%            | 7,7% | 71,7%             | 28,3% | 66%              | 34% | 36,9%            | 63,1% | 2,8%             | 97,2% | 42,8%            | 57,2% |

8. For Seco, Andrés and Ramos (1999:s.v. *acullá*) this adverb is only used in literary language.

On the other hand, the adverb *ende* could have different meanings in Old Spanish,<sup>9</sup> as we see in the following examples:

- (1) a. E en Medina todo el recabdo está; /(...)/ Bien salieron  
and in Medina all the precaution is well went-out  
*den* çiento que non parecen mal,  
from-there hundred that not seem bad  
'And all the precaution is in Medina;... At least one hundred armed people went out from there.'  
[*Cid*:vv.1493;1507]
- b. Si ante fora bono, fo *desende* mejor;  
if before (he)-be-PastSubj.3sg. good (he)-was from-there better  
'If he was a good person before, he was better after that.'  
[*Milagros*:v.493a]
- c. E non dixo Jacob mas de Zabulon nin esponen *ende* mas  
and not said Jacob more of Zabulon nor expound of-there more  
los sanctos padres.  
the saint fathers  
'And neither did Jacob say anything more about Zabulon nor did the saint fathers expound more about it.'  
[*General Estoria*:251]
- d. si poco *ende* trabajé, muy poco *ende* saqué.  
if little of-there (I)-worked, very little of-there (I)-got  
'If I worked little on it, I got very little from it.'  
[*Buen Amor*:v.1319d]
- e. SEM.- (...). Calisto es cavallero, Melibea fijadalgo: (...). *Por SEM.*  
SEM. Calisto is knight, Melibea noblewoman for  
*ende* no es de maravillar que ame antes a ésta  
there not is of amaze that I-love-PresSubj. before to this  
que a otra.  
that to another  
'SEM.- (...). Calisto is a knight, Melibea a noblewoman: (...). Therefore it is no wonder that I rather love her than another woman.'  
[*Celestina*:145]

In (1a) we find the etymological deictic meaning of *dende* 'from there', which expresses the origin of the movement with the support of the preposition *de*. In (1b) this adverb, preceded by the prefix *des-*, has the time meaning of 'later' because of the connection between space and time deixis.<sup>10</sup> In (1c, d) the adverb changes its deictic

9. For a study of the meanings and functions of the locative adverbs *ende*, *ý*, *allí* and *ahí*, see Cuervo (1994).

10. For a complete study about the relation between the space deictic and the temporal deictic systems in Old Spanish, see Sánchez Lancis (1992:chapter 4).

function to the anaphoric one when the adverb refers to a part of the speech, and gets the demonstrative meaning of ‘from it’, since it does not refer to a specific place (except for *saqué* ‘I got’, verbs do not express movement). Finally, in (1e) we find *ende* within the adverbial phrase *por ende* as a linking word with the meaning ‘therefore’, since, in its linking function, it has moved to the initial position in the sentence.

2.2. *Ý*

We find the adverb *ý* (with the graphic variants *hi*, *hy*, *i*, *y*) in 589 examples, from which 304 correspond to an independent word in contrast to 285 in which the adverb is graphically attached to the verb *haber* ‘have’ in order to make an impersonal sentence. These data, based on the aforementioned texts, can be distributed in the following way (firstly the independent meaning and secondly the impersonal meaning appear) (Table 6).

According to the data from Table 6, the progressive reduction of the use of *ý* as an independent adverb occurred at the same time as the continuous increase of its use as an impersonal support of the verb *haber* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (cf. the data from *Lucanor* and *Buen Amor*). In contrast to *ende*, which survives as an adverb until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the locative *ý* is degrammaticalized or disappears almost completely from the beginning of this century (we only have a dubious case in *Celestina*), and it survives amalgamated to the verb *haber* in order to express a pure existential meaning, as a result of a slow process of grammaticalization.

The different semantic meanings of the adverb *ý* in Old Spanish appear in these examples:

- (2)
- a.

»oy en este pinar de Tévar por tollerme la  
today in this pine-forest of Tévar for take-up-to-me the  
ganancia.»/(...)/ hi gañó a Colada que más vale  
profit there (he)-won to Colada that more is-worth  
de mill marcos. I venció esta batalla por o  
of thousand marks there he-won this battle for where  
ondró su barba,  
(he)-honoured his beard  
‘today in this pine forest of Tévar, in order to take me up the profit, there  
he won the Colada which is worth more than thousand marks. There he  
won this battle, so he honoured himself’  
[Cid:vv.999;1010-1]

Table 6.

| 12 <sup>th</sup> |      | 13 <sup>th</sup> |    |                   |      | 14 <sup>th</sup> |       |                  |       | 15 <sup>th</sup> |      |                  |     |
|------------------|------|------------------|----|-------------------|------|------------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------|------|------------------|-----|
| <i>Cid</i>       |      | <i>Milagros</i>  |    | <i>Gral. Est.</i> |      | <i>Lucanor</i>   |       | <i>Buen Amor</i> |       | <i>Corbacho</i>  |      | <i>Celestina</i> |     |
| 70               | 3    | 24               | 0  | 97                | 9    | 76               | 13    | 36               | 42    | 0                | 118  | 1                | 100 |
| 95,9%            | 4,1% | 100%             | 0% | 91,5%             | 8,5% | 85,4%            | 14,6% | 46,2%            | 53,8% | 0%               | 100% | 1%               | 99% |

- b. Luego qe esti nome de la sancta Reína / udieron los diablos  
 after that this name of the saint Queen heard the devils  
 cogieron-s d'y aína;  
 they-left-refl.pron. from-there immediately  
 'After the devils heard the name of the saint Queen, they left from there immediately;  
 [*Milagros*:vv.278a-b]
- c. et començo a andar muy sesuda mientras en ello e  
 and he-started to walk-Inf. very wise-ly on it and  
 dar y muy buen recabdo (...).  
 give-Inf. there very good precaution  
 'and he started to be engaged in it very wisely and to take the precaution of it'  
 [*General Estoria*:243]
- d. Mandó los colgar altos, bien como atalaya, e que  
 (He)-ordered them hang-Inf. high well like watchtower and that  
 a descolgallos ninguno y non vaya;  
 to take-down-Inf.-them nobody there not go-PresSubj.  
 'He ordered to hang them high, like a watchtower, and forbode anybody to go there to take them down;'  
 [*Buen Amor*:vv.1126a-b]
- e. Entrando Calisto [en] una huerta empós de un falcón suyo,  
 coming-in Calisto [in] a garden behind of a hawk of-his  
 falló y a Melibea,  
 he-found there to Melibea,  
 'Once Calisto came [in] a garden following his falcon, he found there Melibea,'  
 [*Celestina*:19]

Firstly, in the previous examples, *ý* behaves as a stressed locative adverb,<sup>11</sup> since, otherwise, its appearance in the first position in the sentence would violate the Tobler-Mussafia Law (cfr. 2a).<sup>12</sup> Thus, in (2a, e) *ý* expresses a place mentioned in the preceding speech, in (2b) the origin of a movement, with the support of the preposition *de*, and in (2d) the goal of a movement, but in this case without the support of the preposition *a*. The example (2b) is very odd, since here we would expect to find the adverb *ende* in order to express origin; therefore, it could be a mistake in the text, because it is the only example of the preposition *de* followed by *ý* in all the corpus. The same happens in (2e), which also is the only case in the

11. However, Fernández Soriano and Táboas Baylín (1999:§§27.3.4. y 27.3.7.) take *ý* to be a locative clitic of the old language.

12. For an accurate description of the Tobler-Mussafia Law and its relation to the position of the unstressed pronouns of Old Spanish, see Ramsden (1963) and Batllori; Sánchez; Suñer (1995).

15<sup>th</sup> century and furthermore is an example which appears out of dialogue. Finally, in (2c), as a deictic element, *ý* gets the demonstrative meaning of ‘to it, on it’, since it does not refer to a place but to a part of the discourse.

### 2.3. Allí

The locative adverb *allí* (with the graphic variant *ally*) is found 342 occurrences in our corpus, distributed in the following way (Table 7).

**Table 7.**

| 12 <sup>th</sup> | 13 <sup>th</sup> |                   | 14 <sup>th</sup> |                  | 15 <sup>th</sup> |                  |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Cid</i>       | <i>Milagros</i>  | <i>Gral. Est.</i> | <i>Lucanor</i>   | <i>Buen Amor</i> | <i>Corbacho</i>  | <i>Celestina</i> |
| 23               | 10               | 152               | 23               | 45               | 54               | 35               |

The previous data only shows us the survival of this adverb during all of Old Spanish. This important fact can be compared with the data obtained for the adverbs *ende* and *ý* (cf. Tables 5 and 6). As for the meanings of the adverb *allí* during this period, they are exemplified in these sentences:

- (3) a. quando mio Çid gañó a Valençia e entró en la  
 when my Çid defeated to Valencia and (he)-entered in the  
 cibdad. / (...) / Todos eran ricos quantos que *allí* ha.  
 city all were rich how-many that there have-Pres3sg.  
 ‘When my Cid defeated Valencia and came in to the city. (...) All those  
 who were there were rich.’  
 [*Cid*:vv.1212;1215]
- b. E Jacob, quando llego *alli* e uio a Josep su  
 and Jacob when (he)-arrived there and (he)-saw to Josep his  
 fijo tan grand, (...).  
 son so old  
 ‘And Jacob, when he arrived there and noticed that his son Josep was so  
 old,’  
 [*General Estoria*:239]
- c. (...) la buena dueña et sus parientes ovieron con él [tan]  
 the good lady and her relatives had with him [so]  
 grand plazer, que *ally* començaron a reyr.  
 great pleasure, that there (they)-started to laugh  
 ‘the good lady and her relatives had [so] great time with him, that after-  
 wards they started to laugh.’  
 [*Lucanor*:233]

- d. Nunca Dios lo quiera, fija, que *de allí* nasca  
 never God it-want-Subj. daughter that from there spring-Subj.  
 contienda;  
 confrontation  
 ‘God forbid, my daughter, that any confrontation may spring from it;’  
 [*Buen Amor*:v.864c]
- e. E (...) partióse luego la Pobreza *de ally*, e  
 and left-refl.pron. then the Poverty from there, and  
 fuese luego para Boloña, / e *desde ally* andovait-  
 went-refl.pron. then to Bologna and from there (it)-walked  
 e anda fasta oy día por todo el mundo;  
 and (it)-walks until today day by all the world  
 ‘And then Poverty left from there, and then went on to Bologna, and from  
 there it walked and is still walking up to now around the world;’  
 [*Corbacho*:271]

The semantic meanings of *allí* in these examples do not differ from the ones of the previous adverbs. As a deictic adverb, it refers to a static place in (3a), or expresses origin with the support of the preposition *de* or *desde* in (3e) or the goal of movement in (3b). Furthermore *allí* can have a time meaning in (3c) or anaphorically refer to a part of speech in (3d), because of its demonstrative meaning ‘from it’.

## 2.4. Ahí

Finally, the adverb *ahí* (with the graphic variants *aí* and *ay*) only appears in 28 occurrences in the corpus, which are distributed in the following way (Table 8).

Table 8.

| 12 <sup>th</sup> | 13 <sup>th</sup> |                   | 14 <sup>th</sup> |                  | 15 <sup>th</sup> |                  |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Cid</i>       | <i>Milagros</i>  | <i>Gral. Est.</i> | <i>Lucanor</i>   | <i>Buen Amor</i> | <i>Corbacho</i>  | <i>Celestina</i> |
| 0                | 0                | 0                 | 0                | 9                | 3                | 16               |

The examples of *ahí* are hardly found and only from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on. In this century its meaning is the same as the adverb *allí*, and does not get its present meaning until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as the examples (4) show:

- (4) a. quiero ir ver Alcalá, moraré *aí* la feria; *dende*  
 I-want go see Alcalá I-will-dwell there the market from-there  
 andaré la tierra, dando a muchos materia.«  
 I-will-walk the earth giving to many-people subject  
 ‘I want to go to see Alcalá, I will be there during the market; from there  
 I will leave, and many people will talk about it.’  
 [*Buen Amor*:vv.1312c-d]

- b. Dicho e fecho: el buen onbre sabyo tomó la anpolla e  
 said and done the good man wise took the bottle and  
 púsola en una ventana donde ella la viesse. E luego  
 he-put-it in a window where she it see-PastSubj. and then  
 dixo ella: «¿Qué ponés ay, marido?»  
 said she what you-put there husband  
 'It was no sooner said than done: the wise good man took the bottle and  
 left it near the window where she could see. And she said immediately:  
 «What are you putting there, my husband?»  
 [Corbacho:152]
- c. MEL.- ¡Ce, señor! ¿Cómo es tu nombre? ¿Quién es el que  
 MEL.- hey sir how is your name who is the that  
 te mandó ay venir?  
 to-you ordered there come-Inf.  
 'MEL.- Hey, sir! What is your name? Who ordered you to come there?'  
 [Celestina:171]
- d. ARE.- Salte luego de ay.  
 ARE.- leave-reflpron. then from there  
 'ARE.- 'Leave immediately from there.'  
 [Celestina:201]
- e. ARE.- Dos moços./CEN.- Pequeña presa es essa, poco cevo tiene  
 ARE. two boys./CEN. little prey is that, little bait has  
 ay mi espada  
 there my sword  
 'ARE.- Two boys./CEN.- This is little prey, little bait for my sword'  
 [Celestina:218]

In (4a) the adverb refers to a place not near the speaker and the listener, the same as deictic *allí* (cfr. *dende* 'from there' in the following verse). However, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century we can confirm a change not only in its meaning but also in its relations to the rest of space deictics, since *ahí* changes to an indicator of place near the listener in (4b), and even of origin in (4d) or goal in (4c), of the movement expressed by the verb of the sentence. Finally, we also find a demonstrative meaning in (4e), when the adverb does not refer to a place anaphorically, but to a previous element, action or part of discourse.

### 3. The loss of Old Spanish adverbs *ende* and *ý*

The studies about the loss of Old Spanish adverbs *ende* and *ý* are neither too many nor very recent.<sup>13</sup> Badia Margarit's study (1947:§76) stands out among the more

13. A complete summary of the different ideas proposed by different linguists to explain the loss of Old Spanish adverb *ý* is in Sánchez Lancis (2001). We must point out, however, that of all the

recent, and he completely agrees with Place (1930:228) in attributing the loss of *ende* and *ý* to: a) the poor variety of meanings of these adverbs; b) the fact that they were not uniformly unstressed; and c) the fact that, because of their frequent use as stressed adverbs not attached to verb, *ý* competed with *allí* 'there' and *allá* 'to there', and *ende* did with *de ello* 'from it', as well as *de allí* 'from there'. As we have seen in the previous examples, certainly *ý* and *ende*, unlike in Catalan and like in Portuguese, behave clearly as stressed elements, and have the same meaning and the same syntactic function as the other locative adverbs in the same class.<sup>14</sup>

However, were these the only reasons for the loss of *ende* and *ý* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century? We think that, apart from phonetic and lexical-semantic reasons, there were some grammatical causes (the invisible hand mechanism of the language change of García (1997)), which caused the grammaticalization and, therefore, the loss of both locative adverbs. In order to confirm that, we apply the analysis proposed by García (1986 and 1989) to the study of these adverbs in two copies of the same text, but of different time.<sup>15</sup> According to García (1986:557), it is possible to establish a relation between changes of absolute or relative frequency of a linguistic element, and changes of its semantic meanings. In that way, if we analyse the relative proportion between the adverbs *ende* and *ý* and their variants supported by a preposition, morphologically (*dende* and *ahí* respectively) or syntactically (*por ende*), in addition to the adverb *allí*, we get the following data (Table 9).

In the case of *ý*, the data in Table 9 clearly show a progressive increase in the use of its supported variants, mainly from the 15<sup>th</sup> century; on the other hand, in the case of *ende* only the variant syntactically supported by a preposition survives. An accurate explanation consists in postulating the need for morphologic support only in those variants which could raise problems about its stressing (the possible case of *ý* when it goes together with the verb *haber*), which never happened with *ende*.

**Table 9.** Relative proportion of locative variants

| Centuries        | ý + ahí |       | y + allí |        | ende + dende |         | ende + por ende |            |
|------------------|---------|-------|----------|--------|--------------|---------|-----------------|------------|
|                  | Total   | % ahí | Total    | % allí | Total        | % dende | Total           | % por ende |
| 12 <sup>th</sup> | 70      | 0     | 93       | 24,73  | 22           | 77,27   | 5               | 60         |
| 13 <sup>th</sup> | 121     | 0     | 283      | 57,24  | 106          | 36,79   | 67              | 32,83      |
| 14 <sup>th</sup> | 121     | 7,43  | 184      | 39,13  | 224          | 13,83   | 193             | 49,22      |
| 15 <sup>th</sup> | 20      | 95    | 86       | 98,83  | 156          | 6,41    | 146             | 100        |

opinions exposed there, we disagree from Meilán (1988), who takes the adverb *ý* to be an adverbial morpheme.

14. For a study of the behaviour of these adverbs in Catalan and Portuguese, see Nilsson (1984) and Brea (1988) respectively.

15. A similar study about the adverb *ý* is in Douvier (1978).

If we pay attention to the meanings of these adverbs in the corpus and compare them with the meanings of the adverbs *allí* and *ahí*, we get the following data (Table 10).

**Table 10.** Meanings of *ý*, *ahí*, *ende*, *allí*

| Century  | Non locative |     |      |      | Locative |       |      |      |          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|----------|--------------|-----|------|------|----------|-------|------|------|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|          | ý            | ahí | ende | allí | Origin   |       |      |      | Locative |      |      |      | Goal |      |      |      |
|          |              |     |      |      | ý        | ahí   | ende | allí | ý        | ahí  | ende | allí | ý    | ahí  | ende | allí |
| 12th     | 13           | 0   | 17   | 4    | 0        | 0     | 5    | 1    | 48       | 0    | 0    | 14   | 9    | 0    | 0    | 4    |
| 13th     | 34           | 0   | 91   | 43   | 1        | 0     | 15   | 14   | 75       | 0    | 0    | 84   | 11   | 0    | 0    | 21   |
| 14th     | 29           | 0   | 208  | 20   | 0        | 0     | 16   | 3    | 65       | 7    | 0    | 31   | 18   | 2    | 0    | 14   |
| 15th     | 0            | 2   | 153  | 26   | 0        | 5     | 3    | 12   | 1        | 8    | 0    | 39   | 0    | 4    | 0    | 12   |
| Total    | 76           | 2   | 469  | 93   | 1        | 5     | 39   | 30   | 189      | 15   | 0    | 168  | 38   | 6    | 0    | 51   |
| %Partial | 11,9         | 0,3 | 73,3 | 14,5 | 1,3      | 6,7   | 52   | 40   | 50,8     | 4    | 0    | 45,2 | 40   | 6,3  | 0    | 53,7 |
| %Total   | 25           | 7,1 | 92,3 | 27,2 | 0,3      | 17,85 | 7,7  | 8,8  | 62,2     | 53,6 | 0    | 49,1 | 12,5 | 21,4 | 0    | 14,9 |

From the study of the previous data, we firstly infer a progressive grammaticalization of the adverb *ende* as it loses the locative deictic meaning of origin, ‘from there’, and replaces it by a non locative meaning, ‘therefore’, as a linking word from the beginning. On the other hand, we also observe a very similar behaviour of the adverbs *ý* and *allí*, except for the expression of «pure» locative meaning, which also clearly indicates the existence of a process of grammaticalization, different from that of *ende*, which will en up in morphologization (see García (1991)), in which the adverb *ý* becomes an expression of general «reference to place», as opposed to the deictic meaning of *allí*, as a «reference to a place not near the speaker» (see García (1989:132)). This analysis is supported by the data of the tables 11 and 12.

The analysed parameters for *ende* and *ý* in comparison with *allí* in these tables are: Negation; reference to a physical Place; Individuated Human Subject; Subordination; Movement; in case of Non Movement, if the adverb is grouped with *aver* ‘to have’ or *ser* ‘to be’; Speech; and, in case of Non Speech, if the verb is in the Preterite. These tables are based on the study of conditions that are more congruent with the deictic meaning of *allí* versus *ý* and *ende* according to García (1989:134). The congruent conditions for *allí* are: Non Negation; Place; Individuated Human Subject; Non Subordinate; Movement; Non Aver/Ser events; Speech; and Preterite. In accordance with García (1989:137) «a coefficient of 1 would indicate the total irrelevance of the parameter to the use of the forms: no preference is observed, in either direction, for either adverbial», on the other hand «a coefficient of less than 1 indicates a skewing of opposite sign to the one predicted» and «the higher the coefficient, the greater the skewing.»

From these data, we can get some interesting conclusions. Firstly, a comparison of adverbs *ý* and *allí* shows a clear difference of deictic behaviour between these adverbs, since the degree of skewing is almost always higher except in the

**Table 11.** Relative frequency of *ý* / *allí* in Old Spanish

|                 | <i>ý</i> |      |      |      | <i>allí</i> |      |      |      | Condition |      |      |      | % <i>allí</i> |      |      |      | Degree of skewing |      |      |      |
|-----------------|----------|------|------|------|-------------|------|------|------|-----------|------|------|------|---------------|------|------|------|-------------------|------|------|------|
|                 | 12th     | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th        | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th      | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th          | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th              | 13th | 14th | 15th |
| Negation        | 8        | 22   | 22   | 0    | 2           | 9    | 2    | 7    | 20        | 29   | 8,3  | 100  |               |      |      |      | 1,4               | 3,8  | 8,1  | 0    |
| Non negation    | 62       | 99   | 90   | 1    | 21          | 153  | 66   | 82   | 25,3      | 60,7 | 42,3 | 98,8 |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Place       | 13       | 34   | 29   | 0    | 4           | 43   | 20   | 26   | 23,5      | 55,8 | 40,8 | 100  |               |      |      |      | 1,1               | 1,1  | 0,8  | 0    |
| Place           | 57       | 87   | 83   | 1    | 19          | 117  | 48   | 63   | 25        | 57,3 | 36,6 | 98,4 |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Non IHS         | 12       | 36   | 30   | 0    | 1           | 23   | 12   | 23   | 7,7       | 39   | 28,6 | 100  |               |      |      |      | 4,6               | 2,6  | 1,7  | 0    |
| IHS             | 58       | 85   | 82   | 1    | 22          | 139  | 56   | 66   | 27,5      | 62   | 40,6 | 98,5 |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Subordinate     | 28       | 61   | 57   | 0    | 3           | 56   | 17   | 18   | 9,7       | 47,9 | 23   | 100  |               |      |      |      | 4,5               | 1,9  | 3,8  | 0    |
| Non Subordinate | 42       | 60   | 45   | 1    | 20          | 106  | 51   | 71   | 32,2      | 63,8 | 53,1 | 98,6 |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Movement    | 61       | 109  | 94   | 1    | 18          | 133  | 40   | 65   | 22,8      | 54,9 | 29,8 | 100  |               |      |      |      | 1,9               | 2    | 3,7  | 0    |
| Movement        | 9        | 12   | 18   | 0    | 5           | 29   | 28   | 24   | 35,7      | 70,7 | 60,8 | 100  |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Aver/Ser        | 27       | 37   | 14   | 0    | 3           | 16   | 2    | 7    | 10        | 30,2 | 12,5 | 100  |               |      |      |      | 4                 | 3,8  | 3,3  | 0    |
| Non Aver/Ser    | 34       | 72   | 80   | 1    | 15          | 117  | 38   | 55   | 30,6      | 61,9 | 32,2 | 98,2 |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Speech      | 52       | 102  | 94   | 1    | 20          | 150  | 54   | 52   | 27,8      | 59,5 | 36,5 | 98,1 |               |      |      |      | 0,4               | 0,4  | 1,3  | 0    |
| Speech          | 18       | 19   | 18   | 0    | 3           | 12   | 13   | 37   | 14,3      | 38,7 | 41,9 | 100  |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Preterite   | 40       | 98   | 68   | 0    | 10          | 69   | 39   | 43   | 20        | 41,3 | 36,4 | 100  |               |      |      |      | 3,3               | 4,8  | 1    | 0    |
| Preterite       | 12       | 24   | 26   | 1    | 10          | 81   | 15   | 9    | 45,5      | 77,1 | 36,6 | 90   |               |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |

**Table 12.** Relative frequency of *ende* / *allí* in Old Spanish

|                 | Condition |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |        |      |      |      |                   |      |      |      |
|-----------------|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|-------------------|------|------|------|
|                 | ý         |      |      |      | allí |      |      |      | % allí |      |      |      | Degree of skewing |      |      |      |
|                 | 12th      | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th   | 13th | 14th | 15th | 12th              | 13th | 14th | 15th |
| Negation        | 5         | 8    | 12   | 1    | 2    | 9    | 2    | 7    | 28,6   | 52,9 | 14,3 | 87,5 | 3,75              | 1,8  | 3,4  | 1,3  |
| Non negation    | 14        | 76   | 119  | 9    | 21   | 153  | 66   | 82   | 60     | 66,8 | 35,7 | 90,1 |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Place       | 14        | 54   | 115  | 7    | 4    | 43   | 20   | 26   | 22,2   | 44,3 | 14,8 | 78,8 | 13,3              | 4,9  | 17,3 | 5,7  |
| Place           | 5         | 30   | 16   | 3    | 19   | 117  | 48   | 63   | 79,2   | 79,6 | 75   | 95,5 |                   |      |      |      |
| Non IHS         | 0         | 12   | 21   | 1    | 1    | 23   | 12   | 23   | 100    | 65,7 | 36,4 | 95,9 | 0                 | 1    | 0,9  | 0,3  |
| IHS             | 19        | 72   | 110  | 9    | 22   | 139  | 56   | 66   | 53,7   | 65,9 | 33,7 | 88   |                   |      |      |      |
| Subordinate     | 7         | 15   | 42   | 1    | 3    | 56   | 17   | 18   | 30     | 78,9 | 28,8 | 94,8 | 3,9               | 0,4  | 1,4  | 0,5  |
| Non Subordinate | 12        | 69   | 89   | 9    | 20   | 106  | 51   | 71   | 62,5   | 60,6 | 36,5 | 88,8 |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Movement    | 14        | 69   | 115  | 7    | 18   | 133  | 40   | 65   | 56,2   | 65,9 | 25,8 | 90,3 | 0,8               | 1    | 5    | 0,9  |
| Movement        | 5         | 15   | 16   | 3    | 5    | 29   | 28   | 24   | 50     | 65,9 | 63,6 | 88,9 |                   |      |      |      |
| Aver/Ser        | 2         | 17   | 12   | 0    | 3    | 16   | 2    | 7    | 60     | 48,5 | 14,3 | 100  | 0,9               | 2,4  | 2,2  | 0    |
| Non Aver/Ser    | 12        | 52   | 103  | 7    | 15   | 117  | 38   | 55   | 55,6   | 69,2 | 27   | 88,7 |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Speech      | 8         | 68   | 114  | 5    | 20   | 150  | 54   | 52   | 71,5   | 68,8 | 32,2 | 91,2 | 0,1               | 0,4  | 1    | 0,7  |
| Speech          | 11        | 16   | 27   | 5    | 3    | 12   | 13   | 37   | 21,4   | 42,8 | 32,5 | 88,1 |                   |      |      |      |
| Non Preterite   | 7         | 32   | 45   | 4    | 10   | 69   | 39   | 43   | 58,8   | 68,3 | 46,4 | 91,5 | 7                 | 1    | 0,3  | 1,2  |
| Preterite       | 1         | 36   | 69   | 1    | 10   | 81   | 15   | 9    | 90,9   | 69,3 | 17,9 | 90   |                   |      |      |      |

case of reference to a place. This fact proves that *ý* has the general meaning of reference to a place in contrast with the deictic meaning of *allí*. Secondly, the relation between *ende* and *allí* has a different behaviour, since the degree of skewing is higher than 1 in most cases until the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore it is interesting to observe the high degree of skewing in the case of reference to place and to movement mainly in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which demonstrates the semantic and functional change which *ende* underwent, in contrast to *ý*

#### 4. Conclusion

The loss of Old Spanish adverbs *ende* and *ý* can be explained not only from a phonetic and lexical-semantic point of view, but also from the grammatical point of view, as we have demonstrated. The syntactic evolution of the two adverbs triggers a process of grammaticalization when these adverbs are out of the grammatical context of deixis. On the one hand, adverb *ende* survived as a linking word when it lost the locative reference; on the other hand, adverb *ý* morphologized, and disappeared as an independent lexical adverb when it began to express «pure» reference to a place. Both cases of grammaticalization (from syntax to morphology and to pragmatics) were due to functional pressure exerted by the rest of the space locative pronominal adverbs of the same class and with the same function and meaning, *ahí* and *allí*.

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