

A multifactorial approach to Grammaticalization and Lexicalization The case of Spanish *dizque*

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This paper explores the evolution of evidential strategies in Spanish, specifically of *dizque*, comparing the differences between Iberian and Latin-American Spanish from the Middle Ages, through the Colonial Period, until the present. The research questions explored combine the historical evolution of the form, whether its idiomatization can be considered at any point to be grammaticalized or whether it is lexicalized, and whether frequency of usage sheds light on the grammaticalization process, and other innovative approaches, such as the relevance of social factors in grammaticalization and lexicalization (Palander-Colin 1999).

First, we specifically deal with the possibility for the same construction to follow alternatively lexicalization and / or grammaticalization (Lehmann 2002) and analyse the processes at play in each case (differences in nature, order, contextual roles) (Himmelman 2004). Another important point in order to study *dizque* as a lexicalized or grammaticalized form is the scalar nature of modal categories, between grammar and lexicon, both in a cross-linguistic and in a romance perspective (Palmer 2001). What is the place of “evidentiality strategies” (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2003, Aikhenvald 2004) in this *continuum*?

Secondly, we explore the relevance of external factors in the development of *dizque* since we feel that there is a distinct possibility that *dizque* has survived in Latin American Spanish but not in peninsular Spanish because of: 1. language contact between Spanish and other native American languages that have evidentiality (i. e. Quechua), as it is well known (Aikhenvald 2004, Heine and Kuteva, 2005) that evidential strategies easily migrate between languages in contact, 2. social factors like register and style variations perceptible in different textual types from our corpus, that could have operated in the extension of evidentials on a different basis in Spain and in America; 3. changes in cultural stereotypes throughout the period, especially the epistemological status of orality as a source of information after the end of the Middle Ages in Spain and America.

The bulk of the data analysed for our paper comes from on-line databases such as the Real Academia’s CORDE, CREA, ADMYTE, and Mark Davies’s Corpus del Español, as well as printed medieval works and collection of documents such as the *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España* (Company 1994). The analysis of such documents is not only important to assess the formal and semantic evolution of the structure, but also very importantly to ascertain the frequency of usage of different – and potentially competing – evidential strategies, which can shed light on lexicalization and/or grammaticalization processes. Specifically we maintain that frequency of usage shows a path towards grammaticalization of the *dizque* form that is eventually stumped in favour of a simple lexicalization of the form (as first suggested in López Izquierdo 2006), just as the evidential meaning gives way to the epistemic, and mirative meanings that are current in Latin America today. We adopt a multifactorial approach to account for this evolution.

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