

**Place of analogy in grammaticalisation process**  
**The case of Judeo-Spanish interrogative pronoun *loké* (*lo qué*)**

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The paper describes the process of emerging of the Judeo-Spanish interrogative pronoun *loké* and relates these research results to the theory of grammaticalisation. The study is based on the semantic and quantitative analysis of usage attested in a diachronic corpus that covers the period from 15<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century and includes both Spanish (*Corpus del español*, M. Davies and CORDE, RAE) and Judeo-Spanish sources (1550-1935).

It can be assumed that the form *loké* derives from the sequence *lo que* that introduces a nominalised relative clause marked for neuter gender in Spanish. On the one hand, the new grammatical function of *loké* cannot be described without referring to the traditional form *qué*. On the other hand, the comparison between the two is necessary for understanding the evolution of *loké*. The contrastive usage analysis of *lo que* clauses and the form *qué*, in late 15<sup>th</sup> century Spanish, reveals semantic and syntactic similarities between these two linguistic structures : they both denote a discourse referent (an entity) marked as non-human and therefore can have a similar syntactic function in a great number of constructions. Besides its interrogative function, in 15<sup>th</sup> century Spanish, *qué* appears also in many non-interrogative constructions, some of which can also take a *lo que* clause as a constituent. Within these non-interrogative constructions, the semantic difference created by the usage of one or the other form lies in the information structure function. While *qué* implies that the entity it denotes is ‘unidentifiable’ for the hearer, a *lo que* clause denotes an entity the speaker takes as ‘identifiable’ for the addressee (typically a discourse entity related to some previous portion of discourse) (Chafe 1976, Lambrecht 1994 : 77-116). The analysis shows that the presence of semantic factors like non-assertive or non-affirmative meaning diminishes the information structure difference between these two forms and favours, in 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish, the spread of *lo que* clauses in the contexts that are typical of *qué*. The actual distribution and chronology of appearance of *lo que* in different contexts in Judeo-Spanish sources shows this hypothesis is plausible. On the criterion of a discours status of a referent *lo que* clause denotes, the evolution of meaning of this linguistic structure through different constructions in Judeo-Spanish can be represented as: ‘identifiable for the hearer’ > ‘identifiable for the speaker and unidentifiable for the hearer’ (‘specified entity’) > ‘unidentifiable for the speaker’ > ‘entity on which the speaker demands the information’ (‘interrogative pronoun’).

The evolution of *loké* exhibits many features recognised as characteristics of grammaticalisation processes (gradualness, ‘subjectivation’, semantic change directed toward more abstract meaning etc.). However, observed at micro-level, the spread of *lo que* seems to be the effect of analogy that operates, in small steps, on the basis of the pragmatic meaning of a construction as a whole. Within this perspective, analogy can be observed as a factor that participates in grammaticalisation processes, especially in cases of a renewal of grammatical categories, as in the case of *loké* in Judeo-Spanish.

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