

## The well-worn cline: Analogy and the grammaticalization of Spanish intensifiers

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### ABSTRACT

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Usage-based models of language have proposed a dynamic, organized system based on analogy, or the recognition of similarity. The potential role of analogy *between* forms or constructions, however, is not generally discussed. The tendency to illustrate grammaticalization through one construction at a time—without assessing the relationship *between* constructions—has made it difficult to verify the universality of the proposed clines. This paper, which takes a usage-based approach, is a quantitative, corpus-based examination of language-internal constructional analogy. It is based on four forms in variation in Spanish today: *altamente* ‘highly,’ *enormemente* ‘enormously,’ *extraordinariamente* ‘extraordinarily’ and *extremadamente* ‘extremely.’ These forms all occur in at least two basic constructions in which they function as modifiers of verbs and as modifiers of modifiers; the latter construction is generally thought to be a more grammaticalized context than the former for such intensifiers. If clines are indeed uniform, then these four forms should show similar patterns of development, despite different moments of genesis. However, both their unique lexical origins and analogical processes between forms are found to have affected their development.

A diachronic corpus of Spanish that spans the 13<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was used to collect a total of 1,981 occurrences of these forms. These were coded in terms of four measures of grammaticalization: frequency, productivity as degree adjuncts (measured through verb class distribution), semantic connotations and scope as degree modifiers (as evidenced by co-occurring adjectives), and syntactic generalization. These patterns were then compared across the four forms.

Evidence is found for increased frequency, loss of productivity in older functions for some forms, semantic bleaching, and shifts in the value of each form’s semantic connotations. The examination of the syntactic constructions in which these forms have occurred, in light of a proposed cline of grammaticalization, suggests a complex story. *Altamente*, the oldest form, shows a clear path, and syntactically ambiguous past participles served as the bridge from one syntactic construction to the other. This gradual shift in meaning and function over time is consistent with our expectations for grammaticalizing forms. The other two forms that show long-term evidence of grammaticalization—*extremadamente* and *extraordinariamente*—do not follow the same path, however. It appears that they have “jumped” into their grammaticalization paths at mid-cline. They appear on the scene already bleached of meaning and already showing signs of syntactic generalization. It is suggested that speakers may have used analogy to model a syntactic and semantic space for these forms, based on *altamente*.

This “transfer” of grammaticalization paths between forms is proposed as a cross-linguistic language-internal process: while the polysemy of a model construction might be available to speakers, the *order* in which the model form grammaticalized may not be transparent. The findings in this study point to the intricacy of the relationship between structurally similar grammaticalizing forms that overlap in their functional domains. Not only do

they compete with each other, sometimes pushing each other out of functional territory, but they also may lean on each other, perhaps even “borrowing” the path another has taken.

*Keywords:* analogy, intensifiers, grammaticalization, Spanish

## 1 INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 ANALOGY AND THE UNIVERSALITY OF CLINES

Usage-based models of language have proposed a dynamic, organized system based on similarity (Bybee, 2010, p. 73; De Smet, 2012, p. 604; Langacker, 2000). Analogy, which depends upon the recognition of similarity, may be understood as “the most important principle in grammar formation” (Fischer, 2013, p. 517). Its semantic-pragmatic effects allow for the syntactic generalization of constructions as they grammaticalize. Thus, it is generally discussed as a cognitive process that occurs during the grammaticalization of one particular form or construction. The potential role of analogy *between* forms or constructions, however, is not generally discussed (Fischer, 2013, pp. 516-517).

As Boye and Harder (2012) point out, “works on grammaticalization have repeatedly stressed the uniformity of the various pathways” (p. 2). The tendency in some grammaticalization literature of illustrating grammaticalization through one construction at a time—without assessing the relationship *between* constructions—has made it difficult to verify the universality of the proposed clines. Often, the examples given are, understandably, the best possible demonstrations of what are undoubtedly cross-linguistic tendencies in grammar formation. With only the best examples, however, we cannot imagine the panchronic system as a whole—how the “best” examples may interact with the rest.

Recent work on grammaticalization has begun to address this issue in a couple of different ways. Variationists interested in grammaticalization have focused on how forms competing for the same functional space may affect each other’s paths of development (e.g., Torres Cacoullos & Walker, 2009). They may, for instance, trade functional spaces (Poplack & Malvar, 2007) or displace each other, pushing further grammaticalization (Aron, 2010). Finally, Defour (2012) uses a quantitative and qualitative comparison of semantic-pragmatic patterns in three truth-identifying English adverbs (*verily*, *really*, and *truly*) to test the extent to which the path these forms took was universal. These studies, however, focus on how the semantic-pragmatic properties of constructions engage with and drive their syntactic properties; because the main focus is the patterns underlying variation and change, they do not examine the possible effects of syntax between syntactically similar constructions. In fact, most constructions examined in variationist studies of grammaticalization are markedly different syntactically, such that analogy between constructions cannot be thought to play a major role within the scope of interest.

Others have become interested not in the effects of *competition* between disparate constructions, but in the possible impact of *similarity* between constructions, including the

potential for multiple sources to play a role in the grammaticalization of a construction (Fischer, 2013). De Smet (2012), for example, examines quantitatively several cases in which forms' previous patterns seem to affect their use in new constructions. Nonetheless, each case examined focuses on only one form, and how its participation in multiple constructions affects the actualization of change. Still unaddressed is the role of similarity—and analogy—between similar forms, each of which would be expected to follow the same cline in its grammaticalization. Analyses of similar constructions in different languages, such as Giancole Ramat and Mauri's (2012) study on adversive connectives in Romance languages, though they do shed light on the universality of clines, cannot address questions of analogy, unless contact-induced change is proposed (e.g., Pelkey, 2013).

Only one study of which I am aware has proposed analogy across grammaticalizing constructions within the same language. Trousdale (2012) carried out a qualitative study with the aim of reconciling Construction Grammar with Grammaticalization Theory. Complaining that “the essential problem with the standard conceptualization of the cline” is that it “fails to consider the larger constructional changes within which [sic] [...] micro-changes are embedded” (174), he proposes a model in which micro-constructions, such as those with *if* and those with *should*, merge to form meso-constructions, such that *should*'s path is affected by *if*'s grammaticalization. This is similar to what is to be proposed here. Nonetheless, Trousdale provides no quantitative evidence of these diachronic transformations.

The current study is a quantitative, corpus-based examination of language-internal constructional analogy. It is based on four forms in variation in Spanish today: *altamente* ‘highly,’ *enormemente* ‘enormously,’ *extraordinariamente* ‘extraordinarily’ and *extremadamente* ‘extremely.’ These forms all occur in at least two basic constructions in which they function as modifiers of verbs and as modifiers of modifiers; the latter construction is generally thought to be a more grammaticalized context than the former for such intensifiers. If clines are indeed uniform, then these four forms should show similar patterns of development, despite the fact that they first surfaced at different moments in the Spanish language. However, if we take into account the possible role of analogy in processes of language change, then we might expect these four forms' paths to influence each other in some way. Fischer suggests that, “less frequently occurring structures, whether abstract or concrete, will tend to adapt themselves to more frequent types, provided there are enough similarities between them, either in form or function or both” (p. 520). This hypothesis is in line with usage-based grammar, in which frequency is understood as a primary factor in the survival of forms and in their innovation (Bybee, 2010). Thus, we might hypothesize that *altamente*, the earliest and most frequent form, served as an analogical role model for grammaticalization within the synchronic system in which the later forms emerged.

## 1.2 INTENSIFIERS

Intensifiers, long an exciting topic in linguistics (Pahta, 2006a), may be defined as “any device that scales a quality, whether up or down or somewhere between the two” (Bolinger, 1972, p. 17). Intensifiers, which are a kind of degree adverb, can be further classified into four categories: boosters (e.g., *muy bonito*), compromisers (e.g., *medio interesante*), diminishers (e.g., *no tan*

*grande*), and minimizers (e.g., *poco común*) (Bolinger, 1972). However, variation in the use of intensifiers and their gradient nature make any attempt to establish clear-cut divisions ill-advised (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1972, p. 439).

Cross-linguistically, intensifiers are subject to rapid and intense change (Bolinger 1972; Murphy, 2010, p. 111; Pahta, 2006a). In fact, Bolinger (1972) has even claimed that “degree words are an antidote to the overconfident description of language as a system” (p. 19). Their variability makes them ideal candidates for the study of language change in progress, including processes of grammaticalization and the resulting semantic layering (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 122; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003, p. 277). At the same time, as is generally the case, “the distinction between relatively grammaticized and relatively ungrammaticized intensifiers is indeed fuzzy” (Kastovsky, 1976, p. 380). Our interest here is to enter into that fuzzy zone, with an examination of four forms’ journey through intensification.

In this study, the focus is on four boosters that in modern-day Spanish function as “modifiers of modifiers” (Salazar-García, 2008, 710), i.e., modifiers of adjectives and other adverbs. Salazar-García (2008) has argued that in Romance languages, such degree adverbs seem to be conferred “a different grammatical status to that of other kinds of adverbs, whose function would be the modification of the verb, or the modification of complex syntactic units (predication, proposition, utterance) which prototypically have a verb as their head” (p. 708). For the purposes of this paper, following the framework set out by Huddleston and Pullman (2002), I will refer to the former—modifiers of modifiers—as degree modifiers (e.g., *highly interesting*) and the latter—modifiers of verbs—as degree adjuncts (e.g., *praise highly*).

There is no clear division, however, between these two grammatical categories. Indeed, as Paradis (2008) points out:

It is important to note that meanings are not inherent in the lexical items as such but *evoked* by lexical items. On this view, meanings of words are always negotiated and get their definite readings in the specific context where they are used. Some form–meaning pairings, which we might call lexical concepts, are routinized and well entrenched, whereas novel uses of words and expressions are always *ad hoc* construals. (p. 319, emphasis in original)

Through the diachronic examination of *altamente* ‘highly,’ *enormemente* ‘enormously,’ *extraordinariamente* ‘extraordinarily’ and *extremadamente* ‘extremely,’ we can trace the path from degree adjunct to degree modifier. Fuentes Rodríguez characterizes these forms as “marcadores híbridos” because “añaden a la cuantificación un comentario modal” (p. 1). If we contemplate the move from degree adjunct to degree modifier in Spanish from a syntactic perspective, we might propose the following cline of grammaticalization:

Intensifier + V → Intensifier + COP + PP → Intensifier + COP + ADJ → Intensifier + ADJ/PP

This proposed cline is illustrated in examples (1)-(4) below.

- (1) & cantaron ay missa muy **altamente**: & fezieron su sermon muy bueno. (15th c., *Crónica del Cid*, Anonymous, [ADMYTE] Burgos Friedrich Biel para San Pedro de Cardeña 1512-03-31)

- (2) pues merescieron ser tan **altamente** alumbrados del Espíritu Santo que tuvieron nombres de intérpretes y renombres de profetas. (1513, *Libro primero de las epístolas familiares*, Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545))
- (3) ¿ Quién se atreve a creer que puede ser tan **altamente** virtuosa una mujer que vive sin guardián, sin sujeción, ociosa [...] (1732, *Los desahuciados del mundo y de la gloria*, Diego de Torres Villarroel (1693-1770))
- (4) aprendiendo por su propia cuenta que no son las demostraciones más o menos dramáticas y **altamente** infantiles las que habrán de cambiar el mundo. (20th c., *El laberinto*, Augusto Casola)

The past participle (PP) is a good possibility for the locus of change because the PP can function as both a participle in a verb phrase or as an adjective. When they occur with *ser* ‘be’ in particular, they can either be understood as part of a passive verbal construction or as predicate adjectives. The idea is that, once these boosters began to be used as degree adjuncts of copular verbs with PP complements, i.e., in passive voice constructions, they would begin to sound more familiar to speakers with these participles even when they were functioning as predicate adjectives. Indeed, “language change often advances most easily where it is least obtrusive, apparently thriving on structural ambiguities and (possibly superficial) resemblances to existing patterns” (De Smet, 2012, p. 607; see also Aitchison 1991; Bybee & Slobin, 1982).

### 1.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Interest in intensifiers in English began over a century ago, with the work of Stoffel (1901), Borst (1902), and Fettig (1934). Subsequent works have offered insight into degree adverbs in English (Bolinger, 1972; Peters, 1984; see also Méndez-Naya, 2008), and several have examined these phenomena within the framework of grammaticalization (e.g., Nevalainen, 2008; Sowa, 2009). Boosters like those of interest here have often been the unique focus (Lenker, 2008), including diachronic studies (González-Díaz, 2008; Méndez-Naya, 2008; Rissanen, 2008) and sociolinguistic analyses (Kuha, 2005; Macaulay, 2006; Stenström, 1987, 2000; Tagliamonte, 2008). Other scholars have studied degree adverbs in Dutch (Klein, 1998), Japanese (Tsujimura, 2001), and several Romance languages.

Scholars in Romance linguistics have shown quite a bit of interest in intensification, particularly in recent years, with the advent of corpus linguistics. However, in the past, the very expressivity of these forms may have relegated them to the periphery in some scholarly circles. For example, Gaarder (1966), in an examination of the modification of nouns in Mexican Spanish, noted, “El fenómeno filológico del desgaste, real o supuesto, de las palabras y su substitución por otras formas más fuertes para dar el efecto que ya no producen las originales, da lugar a unas extravagancias lúdicas: Está rebruja, retebruja, retequebruja!” (p. 590). Nonetheless, Salazar-García (2008) offers an overview of the types of intensifiers found in Romance languages, including an illuminating discussion of their syntactic flexibility (pp. 717-718), and García and Muñoz (1997) focus on hyperbole in Spanish. Particular attention has been paid to their use in colloquial Spanish (Arce Castillo, 1999; Mehedindți, 2013), and Mancera Rueda (2009) looked at the kinds of intensification found in journalistic prose. There is also some work on interjections in Spanish (e.g., *vaya*), which have sometimes been understood as a kind of intensifying construction (Sancho Cremades, 2008; Tanghe, 2013).

Several studies have examined polysemy and/or grammaticalization of intensifiers in Romance languages. Axenti (2002) focuses on the role of polysemy in the gray areas between core intensification meaning and more pragmatic uses of boosters in Romance languages. Anscombre (2009) studies the adjectives that co-occur with French *tout* in an extensive description of the polysemy of this term, ranging from lexical, concrete meanings to purely expressive uses, with clear diachronic implications (though these are not spelled out). Other such studies have included Serradilla Castaño's (2006) work on *bien* + ADJ in Spanish, De Cesare's (2003) corpus-driven study of absolute intensifiers in Italian, and Fuentes Rodríguez's (2008) description of the nuances of adjectival intensification in Spanish, with an eye toward grammaticalization. These studies, however, remain qualitative in nature, offering little hope of tracing the effects of frequent collocation or more subtle shifts in meaning over time.

In contrast, in a corpus-based, quantitative study, Torres Cacoullos (2002) examines the grammaticalization of *le* from pronoun to a non-referential verbal intensifier in Mexican Spanish. Sedano examines pragmatic and syntactic patterns that influence the variation between *muy* and *bien* in Venezuelan Spanish, and Arjona (1990) offers a quantitative analysis of *muy* and other intensifiers in uneducated Mexican speech. Similarly, in a variationist account of *bien/muy* variation in Puerto Rican Spanish, Brown and Cortés-Torres (2013) found that adjective quality (positive, negative, or variable) was the only significant factor, with positive adjectives favoring *bien*. This led them to conclude that *bien* shows some retention of its lexical origins in its use as an intensifier today (p. 15).

#### 1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This diachronic study of four boosters in Spanish will offer new insight into the nature of the grammaticalization of intensification. The choice of four similar forms—though with different lexical origins—will allow for the side-by-side comparison of intensifier development. The following research questions will guide this analysis:

- 1) As these forms developed greater productivity as degree modifiers, did their *productivity* as degree adjuncts become more limited in scope?
- 2) To what extent is there evidence, on the one hand, of *semantic bleaching* of these forms in both functions, and on the other hand, of the *retention* of their original lexical meanings?
- 3) In the path from degree adjunct to degree modifier, which *syntactic constructions* allowed for the shift in grammatical function?
- 4) Did all four forms follow *similar syntactic and semantic paths*, in terms of generalization, as they grammaticalized?

The answers to these questions have implications for theories of language change, particularly in terms of the generalizability of clines of grammaticalization. Moreover, the potential role of language-internal analogy in language change will be discussed in light of the findings.

## 2 DATA AND METHODS

The *Corpus del español* (CDE, <http://corpusdelespanol.org/>) by Mark Davies, a 100-million-word collection of nearly 10,000 Spanish-language texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries,

was used for this study. All examples of *altamente*, *enormemente*, *extraordinariamente*, and *extremadamente* were extracted via keyword search. This yielded a total of 1,982 tokens. The raw and normalized frequencies of each of these four forms by century can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. Figure 1 shows their general increase in frequency over time, with the exception of *altamente*, which hit its peak in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Such increases in frequency are an inherent part of the grammaticalization process (Bybee, 2003; Haiman, 1994).

Table 1

*Raw frequencies of altamente, enormemente, extraordinariamente, and extremadamente by century*

Century	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20 written	20 oral	Total
<i>altamente</i>	13	7	106	84	38	162	192	183	54	839
<i>enormemente</i>	0	0	1	0	2	33	32	194	66	328
<i>extraordinariamente</i>	0	0	1	20	10	53	112	80	87	363
<i>extremadamente</i>	0	0	0	23	13	55	66	269	25	451

Table 2

*Frequency per million of altamente, enormemente, extraordinariamente, and extremadamente by century*

Century	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
<i>altamente</i>	1.04	0.37	4.66	4.99	3.08	16.50	9.95	10.43
<i>enormemente</i>	--	--	--	--	0.16	3.36	1.66	11.39
<i>extraordinariamente</i>	--	--	--	1.17	0.81	5.50	5.80	7.36
<i>extremadamente</i>	--	--	--	1.41	1.05	5.60	3.42	12.88

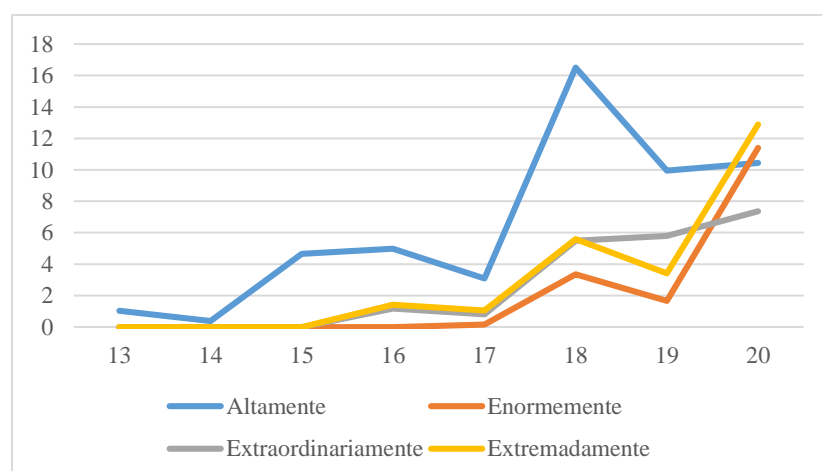


Figure 1. Normalized frequencies of *altamente*, *enormemente*, *extraordinariamente*, and *extremadamente* per million words, by century.

Given the generally low frequency of these forms, perhaps because, at least in modern times, authors are discouraged from using boosters in formal writing (Pahta, 2006a, p. 358), no

limits were placed in terms of region or genre, though written and oral data are distinguished for the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This study is meant to give only a broad overview of the diachronic paths of these forms in Spanish, though it is very likely the case that a more limited look at different varieties of Spanish would find not only regional variation, but also age-based (Barbieri, 2008), class-based, and register variation (Pahta, 2006a, 2006b; Paradis, 2008). At the same time, individual variation is also to be expected, as intensifiers are known to be particularly sensitive to individual preferences and self-expressivity (Labov, 1984; Lorenz, 1999, p. 24; Pahta, 2006b, p. 210), and at times they have been understood as emblematic of female speech (Lakoff, 1973, 1975, 1990) or of powerless speech (O’Barr, 1982; Cegala, 1989, p. 313), though others have disagreed (Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson, 1995).

Each occurrence was coded for lexical, syntactic, and semantic factors (see Altenberg, 1991, on constraints on booster occurrence). First, their syntactic role was coded as degree adjunct (functioning as an adverb, directly modifying the verb), as in (5), degree modifier (modifying and adjective or adverb), as in (6), the intermediate copular verb + ADJ construction, as in (7), or other. The separation of those occurrences that included copular verbs allowed the distinction between attributive and predicate position (Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003, p. 271). The copular + ADJ is considered intermediate due to the “gradient borderline [...] between adjectives and participles” (Pahta, 2006b, p. 210; see also Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, pp. 78-81; Mustanoja, 1960, p. 551).

(5) degree adjunct

Díjelo pensando que era vuestra, para ver cómo escribís; que para todo tenéis gracia, y si es como habláis, escribiréis **altamente**. (1598, *La Dorotea*, Lope de Vega)

(6) degree modifier

este funcionario era una persona **altamente** respetada. (1846, *Apuntes históricos sobre los Fueros del antiguo Reino de Valencia*, Vicente Boix)

(7) copular + Adj

En su fase adulta son sésiles (inmóviles) y están **altamente** modificados. (20<sup>th</sup> c., Enc: Crustáceos)

The degree adjuncts were coded according to the verb they modified and the type of verb. Verb types included verbs of activity (e.g., *bailar*), verbs of saying (communication, e.g., *hablar*), change of state (e.g., *casar*), psychological (e.g., *amar*), verbs that induce a psychological effect in others (transitive, e.g., *enojar*), stative verbs (e.g., *estar*), and other (which included several categories with minimal frequency). The degree modifiers, in contrast, were coded for adjective modified and, after Kennedy (2003) and Brown and Cortés-Torres (2013), the value of the adjective (positive, negative, or variable). Positively valued adjectives included items like *ilustrado* and *celebrado*; neutral adjectives included *escrito* and *nacional*; while negatively valued adjectives included items like *inmoral* and *contaminado*. Moreover, adjectives were examined for specific characteristics that might be linked to the lexical origins of each form, such as height in the case of *altamente* and size in the case of *enormemente*. However, due to the infrequency of such characteristics, these latter results are examined only qualitatively.



Lexical collocation (e.g., the verb or adjective modified) has been noted as an important factor in several other studies on booster variation (e.g., Bäcklund, 1973; Kennedy, 2003; Lorenz, 1990; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003). As Pahta (2006a) remarks, “the collocability of individual amplifiers varies: some have restricted collocability and only co-occur with a small set of specific lexical items, whereas others have wide collocability and appear across a broad range of types” (p. 374). Thus, alongside general semantic effects, lexical effects will also be taken into account here.

### 3 GAINING (AND LOSING) GROUND: VERBAL INTENSIFICATION

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As *altamente*, *extraordinariamente*, *extremadamente*, and *enormemente* presumably expanded in function to act not only as degree adjuncts, modifying verbs, but also as degree modifiers, modifying adjectives, we might expect to find their productivity as a degree adjunct (i.e., their occurrence in different verbal contexts) diminished. At the same time, as Méndez-Naya (2008, p. 272) suggests in her study on a similar change in English *downright*, the type of verbal predicates that co-occur with these forms over time can help us understand the semantic bleaching that allowed these forms to take on degree modifier functions. The following sections examine each form separately, tracing the very first appearances of these forms—which one would expect to be closely tied to their lexical origins—through to 20<sup>th</sup>-century spoken data. Each form except *enormemente* shows a loss of productivity with verbal predicates; *enormemente* has a different story to tell.

#### 3.1 ALTAMENTE

The form *altamente* has its lexical origins in the locative *alto* ‘high’. Of the four adverbs of interest here, this is the only one that already appeared in the texts by the 13<sup>th</sup> century. By its first appearances in the earliest texts, the locative meaning of *alto* in *altamente* already showed signs of bleaching. In fact, the first occurrences either refer to ‘loudness,’ as in (8), or use height as a social metaphor for status, as in (9).

- (8) E aun quierole fablar mas **altamente**: & con mayor soberuia que aun que dios & el emperador (13<sup>th</sup> c., *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, Anonymous)
- (9) que fue eleto por rey todos los ricos hombres le rogaron que se coronasse tan **altamente** como hazen los reyes xpistianos (13<sup>th</sup> c., *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, Anonymous)

Nonetheless, this metaphorical extension to feelings or perceptions was likely part of the polysemy of *alto*, and is not necessarily indicative of the grammaticalization of *altamente* as an intensifier. In (10), which is from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, we see that both *altamente* and *bajamente* occur in such a metaphorical context. This juxtaposition with *bajamente* points to a continued semantic link to its lexical origins.

- (10) Y no me espanto; porque se conoce a sí, y no me conoce a mí, y es propio de los humildes sentir de sí bajamente, y de otros **altamente**. Pero, como quiera que sea, mi Padre, yo no hallo en esta vida, tan llena de miserias y tropiezos, otro medio más seguro y compendioso, que el de la humildad que conviene a todos, y a los mayores más (1589, *Epistolario*, Luis de la Puente)

When *altamente* is found in a locative context, shown in (11), it is supported by the locative adverb *alto*, which suggests that *altamente* was meant, even as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, metaphorically, more than as an indication of physical height.

- (11) E asy puede fazer que antes nuestro señor & mas **alta mente** lo leuara alto consigo. (15<sup>th</sup> c., *Libro de las donas*, Francesc Eiximenis)

Both the ‘loudness’ meaning (12) and the metaphorical status meaning (13) persist in the modern era.

- (12) El marqués de Monteleón, ministro de España en Londres, se quejó **altamente** de esta operación y escribió al señor Gratz, secretario de Estado, un papel (18<sup>th</sup> c., *Comentarios de la guerra de España e historia de su rey Felipe V, El animoso*, Vicente Bacallar y Sanna)
- (13) El asesor de la Presidencia hondureña, quien recordó que su país es signatario de tres convenciones de la ONU en materia de lucha contra los estupefacientes, afirmó que "la República de Honduras valora **altamente** las propuestas" de esta Sesión Especial. (1998, Hon:Prensa:98Jun10)

Despite the general persistence of the polysemy already found in 13<sup>th</sup>-century *altamente*, we also see a move away from the positive connotations associated with height. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *altamente* begins to occur with verbs that are incompatible with high esteem or loudness, as in *repugnar* in (14) and *despreciar* in (15), though such uses are rare.

- (14) también lo repugnaban **altamente** los holandeses, porque no querían por vecino a un príncipe chico (18<sup>th</sup> c., *Comentarios de la guerra de España e historia de su rey Felipe V, El animoso*, Vicente Bacallar y Sanna)
- (15) Lo único que se necesita para sujetarlo es serenidad y dureza, despreciando **altamente** las amenazas. (1788, *De la desigualdad personal en la sociedad civil*, Ramón Campos (1755?-1808))

By the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, *altamente*’s occurrence with verbal predicates becomes even more limited, and the broad productivity of *altamente* as a degree adjunct seen in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has all but disappeared. *Altamente*’s gradual restriction to mostly stative verbal contexts—

particularly copular verbs, and often with a co-occurring adjective—can be seen in Figure 2.

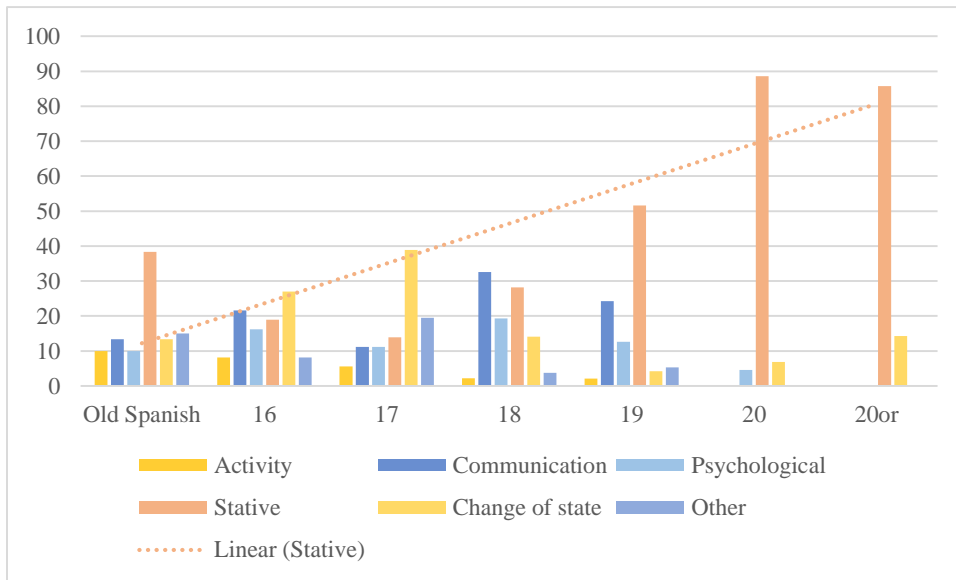


Figure 2. Verb types co-occurring with *altamente*.

The narrowing of the range of verbal predicate types that co-occur with *altamente* points to its loss of functionality as a degree adjunct through the process of grammaticalization as a degree modifier. Syntactic evidence presented later will confirm this analysis.

### 3.2 EXTRAORDINARIAMENTE

The degree adjunct *extraordinariamente* first appeared in these data in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (with only one occurrence). Over the next two centuries, its frequency hovered at around one per million words, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when it rose to around five per million (see Table 2). Despite this early low frequency, *extraordinariamente* occurred with a relatively wide range of verb types. The intensifying function of *extraordinariamente* is easily understood to be inherent to acting in a way that is ‘out of the ordinary,’ as in (16). This is particularly true in the case of psychological verbs, change of state verbs, and verbs that indicate a change in someone else’s mental state (e.g., *ofender*), which are the verb types, along with statives, that have predominated with this form.

- (16) Cortés se alegró **extraordinariamente** con ese anuncio, como que juzgaba que había de ser de muy grande utilidad (1552, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, Francisco Hernández (1517-1587))

The productivity of this form as a degree adjunct, however, is somewhat less impressive in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when nearly all of the verbs with which it co-occurs are either statives (generally accompanied by an adjective), as in (17), or change of state verbs, as in (18). Thus, as illustrated in Figure 3, we see a narrowing of the contextual scope of *extraordinariamente*, similar to that which was seen with *altamente*. As we will see in section 5, this is likely related to a rise in the relative frequency of use of *extraordinariamente* as a degree modifier in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

- (17) Su flota era **extraordinariamente** poderosa y prácticamente dominó el Mediterráneo durante casi dos siglos. (20th c., Enc: Civilización etrusca)
- (18) Es cierto que la técnica, y el nivel de preparación, ha crecido **extraordinariamente**. (20th c. oral, Entrevista (ABC))

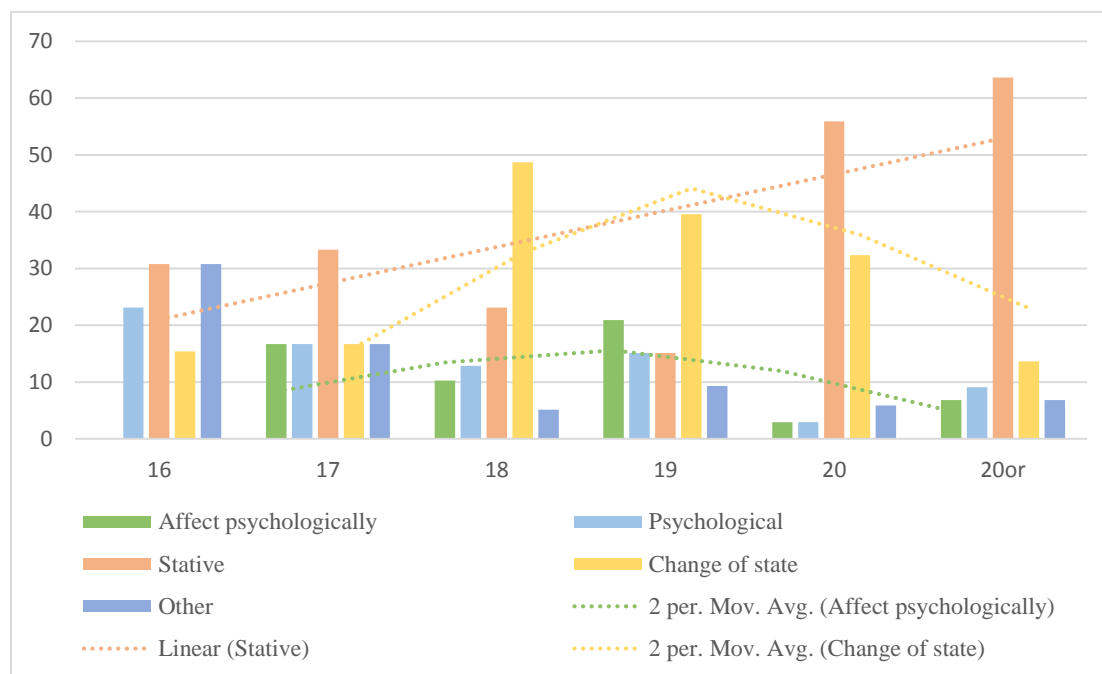


Figure 3. Verb types co-occurring with *extraordinariamente*.

### 3.3 EXTREMADAMENTE

Unlike *altamente* and *extraordinariamente*, *extremadamente* has never shown particularly impressive variety in its verbal predicate collocates. At all times except in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when it enjoyed a brief period of wider productivity as a degree adjunct, it has occurred mainly with three verb types: stative (19), psychological (20), and change-of-state verbs (21).

- (19) Esto hace que la luz láser pueda ser **extremadamente** intensa, muy direccional, y con una gran pureza de color (20th c., Enc: Láser)
- (20) Los jurisconsultos del siglo XVI ponderaron **extremadamente** esas faltas y declamaron con demasiada acrimonia contra Montalvo. (1794, *Ensayo histórico-crítico sobre la legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los Reinos de León y Castilla...*, Francisco Martínez Marina (1754-1833))
- (21) porque entrando siempre y no saliendo nunca, su abundancia pudiera encarecer **extremadamente** las cosas, y causar una apoplejía en el de los aficionados al estudio (1762, *Epistolario*: (1747-1777), Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes (1723-1802))

Less frequent were activity verbs, as in (22), and verbs of saying, as in (23), contexts which no longer appear in the data by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and which would likely sound ungrammatical to

present-day speakers.<sup>1</sup> The loss of this context may reflect a bleaching of the more specific lexical meanings of *extremadamente* as ‘in an extreme way’ as it has become a more generalized intensifier, rendering uses like (22) and (23), which are from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, respectively, nearly nonsensical to modern ears.

- (22) *jugaba* a los bolos y a la pelota **extremadamente**; tiraba la barra con mucha fuerza y singular destreza; (1582, *La gitanilla*, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616))
- (23) Eugenia *Respondió* **extremadamente**: al fin sois viejo y matrero. (1600, *Los malcasados de Valencia*, Guillén de Castro (1569-1631))

Figure 4 shows the verbs types that have occurred with *extremadamente* since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Once again, we see the same narrowing of scope evident in the other forms examined thus far.

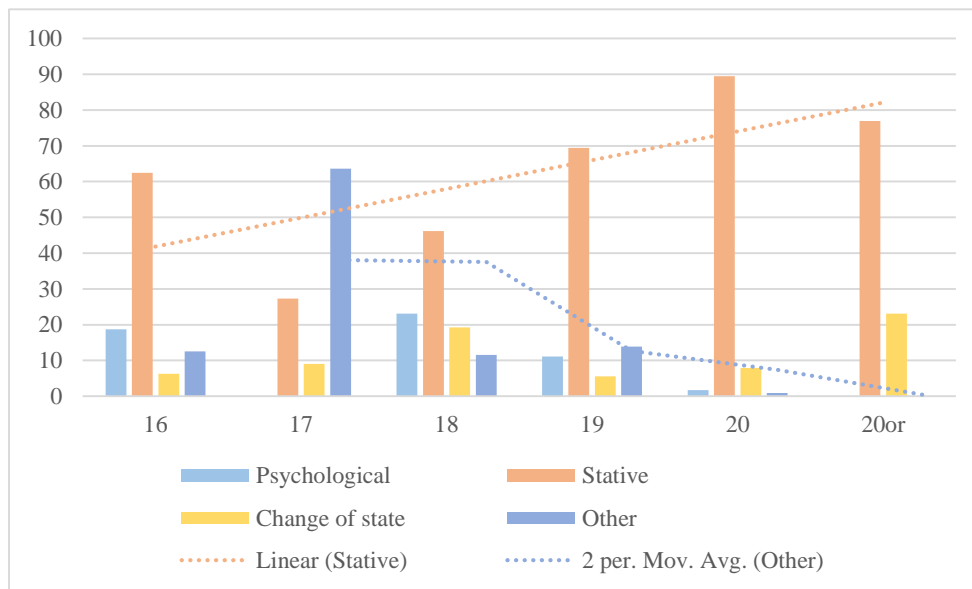


Figure 4. Verb types co-occurring with *extremadamente*.

### 3.4 ENORMEMENTE

Unlike the other three boosters discussed here, *enormemente* has suffered no loss of scope in terms of the verb types with which it co-occurs. In fact, its verbal territory has become more heterogeneous over the centuries, as is clear in Figure 5. As we will see later, this may be related to *enormemente*'s failure to develop robust usage as a degree modifier.

<sup>1</sup> There is one token of *danzar* with *extremadamente* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

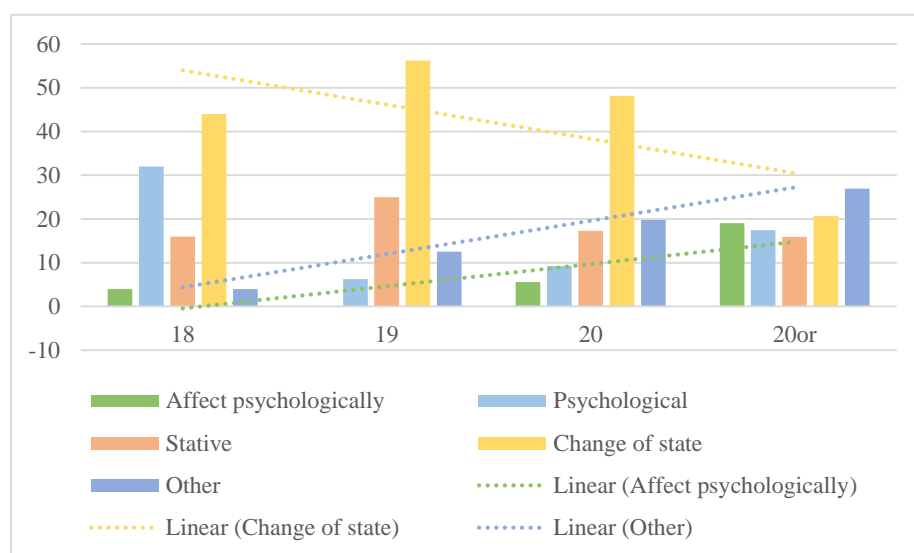


Figure 5. Verb types co-occurring with *enormemente*.

#### 4 SHIFTING SIDES: ADJECTIVES

Though in modern-day usage, all four forms may appear in overlapping contexts and carry similar connotations, the lexical origins of each form—as it developed as a degree modifier—may have constrained the nature of the adjectives with which it co-occurred. These lexical associations, however, would be expected to lose force over time during the grammaticalization process. As Rissanen (2008) points out, “In the grammaticalization of intensifiers, subjectification and the negotiation of meaning are particularly important. Innovation and enrichment are natural results of this negotiation, as intensifiers easily lose their effect through semantic bleaching” (p. 347). The following sections will examine the evidence for the semantic bleaching and enrichment of these forms through a look at diachronic shifts in the evaluative values of the co-occurring adjectives.

##### 4.1 ALTAMENTE

The oldest of the four forms, *altamente* carried in its origins the positive associations of “high” rank or status. Thus, the earliest uses occurred with value-neutral terms like *enterrado* ‘buried’ or *colocado* ‘placed,’ as in (24) and (25); the positive value was contained in *altamente* itself.

- (24) E fue enterrado muy **altamente** en el monesterio de sante saluador que el fiziera en leon do su fija era monja pater noster (15th c., *Atalaya de las Crónicas*, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo)
- (25) Baste por ahora decir a Ud. que M. Eikhorn, ministro de la instruccion pública, me ha prodigado todo jénero de atenciones, a fin de honrar debidamente al pais de donde venia, pues el nombre de Chile es respetado i querido por todos los gobiernos europeos, i está mui **altamente colocado** en la opinion pública, estendiéndose con complacencia el buen ministro en la apreciacion del buen espíritu que habia preservado a aquel pais de la anarquía jeneral en América, o de los despotismos sanguinarios, considerando a Chile

como un oasis de civilizacion i órden en aquel desierto que principia en Méjico i acaba en Buenos Aires. (1850, *Viajes por Europa, África i América : 1845-1847*, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888))

As *altamente* grew in frequency, this positive connotation was no longer obligatory. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, its presence could be felt simply as an intensifier. In (26) and (27), *altamente* occurs with *dormido* ‘asleep’ and *borrado* ‘erased,’ with no sense that these are particularly beneficial or respectable states.

(26) Cierta, que me venía tentación, De despertarle, pues tan **altamente** Dormido está, y malogra la ocasión De aspirar a la gloria ossadamente. (1772, *El Cicerón*, Gian Carlo Passeroni (1713-1830))

(27) ¡ Qué mudanza tan maravillosa! Pero esta gran mole volverá al mar, de donde salió, con el transcurso de los siglos; la soberbia ciudad que está a sus pies, centro de la opulencia, de la industria, de las artes, de la sabiduría y de los vicios, desaparecerá igualmente; y el nombre del caballero Wren, arquitecto de este templo magnífico, quedará **altamente** borrado en la memoria de los hombres. ¡ Qué pequeños somos! Nada es grande, nada es durable sino Dios. (1794, *Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra*, Leandro Fernández de Moratín)

It is in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that we see *altamente* occurring with any frequency with negatively charged adjectives (25%, N=16/64), as in *deficitaria* ‘deficient’ in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century example in (28).

(28) El sector industrial argumenta que, hasta el momento, la balanza comercial de los tres países del TN ha sido **altamente** deficitaria con México, en virtud de las múltiples barreras que impiden el acceso de sus productos al mercado mexicano. (1998, Guat:Gerencia:98JUN11)

Figure 6 shows the spread of *altamente* from purely variable adjectives—to which it contributes its own positive associations—in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. It begins to occur with positive adjectives with regularity in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (54%, N=26/48), and negative adjectives enter fully into the picture only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, though there were a handful of negative contexts in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (4%, N=2/48). The appearance of these negative adjectives marks the bleaching of the positive senses of height from *altamente*; nonetheless, it is still more likely to occur in positive contexts even in 20<sup>th</sup>-century speech (68%, N=37/54), suggesting that some of the original lexical meaning may have been retained in current patterns of usage.

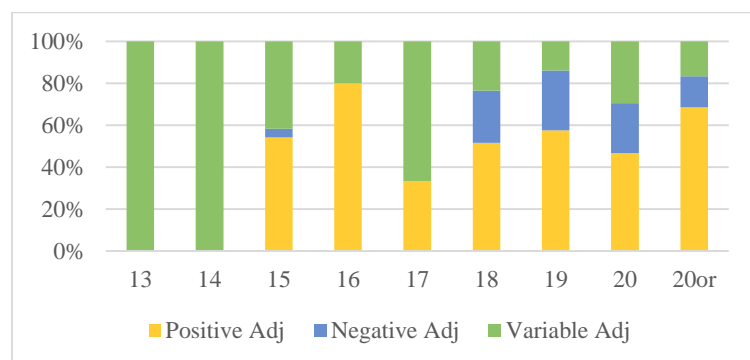


Figure 6. Evaluative values of adjectives with *altamente*, 13<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## 4.2 EXTRAORDINARIAMENTE

Unlike *altamente*, *extraordinariamente* has been used in both positive and negative contexts since its earliest uses, as seen in (29) and (30). Figure 7 shows the proportion of positive, negative, and variable adjectives that have co-occurred with *extraordinariamente* since the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

- (29) pero no se puede dejar de presumir haber sido **extraordinariamente** pernicioso, pues ha sido total causa de que en más de cuarenta años continuos (16<sup>th</sup> c., *Crónica del Reino de Chile*, Pedro Mariño de Lobera)
- (30) Todo esto en nada disminuye la fama de Zamora, región y ciudad **extraordinariamente** gloriosa en tantos aspectos, como tú muy bien sabes. (1532, *Epistolario. Selección*, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573))

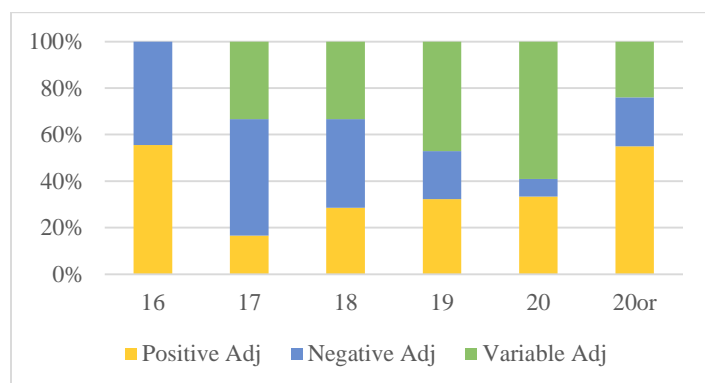


Figure 7. Evaluative values of adjectives with *extraordinariamente*, 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

After the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the occurrence of *extraordinariamente* with negatively charged adjectives grew less likely, at 20% (N=7/34) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 8% (N=5/66) in 20<sup>th</sup>-century texts, and 21% (N=15/71) in 20<sup>th</sup>-century speech. In turn, variable adjectives, as in (31) and (32), grew more common, as did positively charged adjectives. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the written texts, it seems that *extraordinariamente* is on its way toward gaining a positive connotation, with only 8% negative adjectives (33% (N=22/66) positive, and 59% (N=39/66) variable). In 20<sup>th</sup>-century speech, however, though 55% (N=39/71) of the co-occurring adjectives are positive, as in (33), over one-fifth are negative.

- (31) hechiceros, que llaman mohanes, que son ordinariamente algunos muy ancianos que hazen vida **extraordinariamente** retirada y en parte escondida, donde gustan de ser consultados; (1667, *El descubrimiento del Marañón*, Manuel Rodríguez (1633-1701))
- (32) lo que surgió fue algo **extraordinariamente** semejante a la crónica de los Hechos, Josefo y los primitivos historiadores cristianos. (20<sup>th</sup> c., España:ABC: MICHAEL BAIGENT)
- (33) entonces, el resultado, vuelvo a repetir, es **extraordinariamente** positivo. (20<sup>th</sup> c. oral, *Habla Culta: Santiago*: M52)

Thus, since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when 50% of the adjectives were negative and 17% positive, *extraordinariamente* has shown a shift toward more positive and neutral intensification contexts.



### 4.3 EXTREMADAMENTE

*Extremadamente* shows more stability than both *altamente* and *extraordinariamente*, as seen in Figure 8. After the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in which 50% (N=5/10) of co-occurring adjectives were positively charged, as in (34), *extremadamente* has occurred primarily with variable or negative adjectives, as in (35) and (36), with positive adjectives ranging from 16% (N=42/263) to 27% (N=11/41) since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

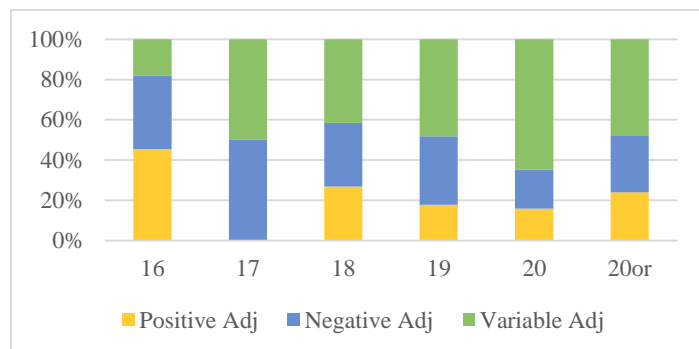


Figure 8. Evaluative values of adjectives with *extremadamente*, 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

- (34) Por lo cual su gobierno es gobierno **extremadamente** perfecto; (1559, *De los nombres de Cristo*, Luis de León (1527-1591))
- (35) es un ser... este... nocturno eminentemente, que es **extremadamente** sensible a los movimientos y a las vibraciones. (20th c. oral, *Habla Culta: Mexico*: M24)
- (36) las variables de humedad y temperatura que soporta el Pórtico son **extremadamente** dañinas. (20th c., España:ABC: PEDRO CORRAL)

### 4.4 ENORMEMENTE

With only three occurrences before the 18<sup>th</sup> century (one with an adjective in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in (37)), *enormemente* appears in the 18<sup>th</sup> century data already bleached of meaning. This is evidenced by its co-occurrence not only with the presumably redundant *grande*, but also with the presumably incompatible *pequeño*, as seen in (38) and (39), respectively.

- (37) ni era ni podía ser juez de aquella causa, con que cometió un homicidio **enormemente** grave y malicioso. (1634, *Errores celebrados*, Juan de Zabaleta (1600-1667))
- (38) Queriendo también ellos hacer alguna figura, se plantaron en las cabezas sus bonetes **enormemente** grandes, según el uso español, y sus Cristos al pecho (1760, *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional. Historia moderna*, Juan de Velasco (1727-1792))
- (39) que el microscopio no nos ha dado tantos, o tan claros testimonios de volátiles **enormemente** pequeños, como de acuátiles, y terrestres. (1734, *Teatro crítico universal*, vol. 6, Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764))

Despite this general meaning, *enormemente* was not value-free in its beginnings, as seen in Figure 9. Its only occurrence with an adjective in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was negatively charged, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 42% (N=5/12) of its co-occurring adjectives were negative, and the rest variable. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, positive adjectives first began to appear with *enormemente*, as in

(40), at 11% (N=2/18). This rose to 41% (N=26/63) in 20<sup>th</sup>-century written data, and to 53% (N=9/17) in 20<sup>th</sup>-century speech.

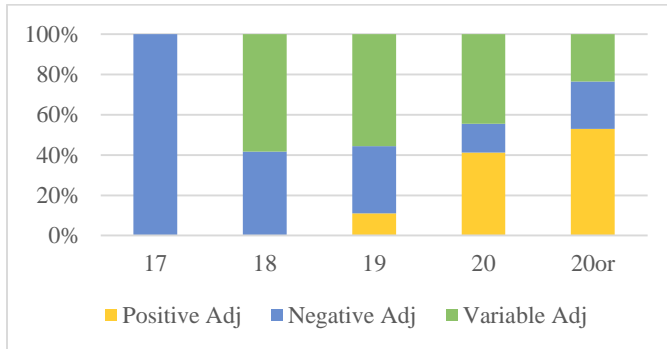


Figure 9. Evaluative values of adjectives with *enormemente*, 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

(40) y ella, la desterrada, la proscripta en ignominias, pero la **enormemente** dichosa al fin, lloró de raras alegrías. (1890, *En la carrera*, Felipe Trigo (1864-1916))

Thus, the degree modifier *enormemente*, primarily negative to neutral in its origins, has shifted toward more positive uses over time. Bleached of lexical meaning even in its earliest stages, it is difficult to maintain that this shift has anything to do with *enormemente*'s grammaticalization as a degree modifier. In fact, as we will see in section 5, *enormemente* is used infrequently as a degree modifier; its primary function lies elsewhere. Semantically, at least, unlike *altamente*, the degree modifier *enormemente* appears to have bleached somehow before it even existed, at least in written texts. Possible explanations for this will be discussed in section 6.3.

## 5 SYNTACTIC GENERALIZATION

In the sections on verbs and adjectives above, we saw how these four intensifiers have both generalized in adjectival contexts and, in most cases, simultaneously lost some semantic flexibility in terms of the verb types with which they co-occur. I have argued that the former case may be considered evidence of semantic bleaching, as these forms grammaticalize as degree modifiers. Likewise, we might hypothesize that the increasingly limited number of verbs types that occur with these forms points to their possible decline as degree adjuncts. Syntactic evidence will help us to determine the extent to which this is the case. A concomitant of the semantic processes found in grammaticalization is syntactic generalization: as forms grammaticalize, they are used with increased frequency in more varied syntactic contexts. Moreover, these forms may lose ground in earlier syntactic contexts, though this is not necessarily so.

The following sections will examine the frequency with which each form appeared in different syntactic constructions over time in an attempt to trace the evidence regarding their syntactic generalization. In each case, I have considered the syntactic forms most relevant to the cline proposed in section 1, which is repeated here for convenience.

Intensifier + V → Intensifier + COP + PP → Intensifier + COP + ADJ → Intensifier + ADJ/PP

Thus, if this cline is correct, and if these forms show syntactic signs of grammaticalization, then we should see a gradual rise in the frequency of the constructions to the right-hand side on the

cline, perhaps at the expense of the first construction on the left, in which the form is found be functioning most clearly as a degree adjunct.

### 5.1 ALTAMENTE

We see a nice example of syntactic generalization in the case of *altamente*, in Figure 10. Its primary role as a degree adjunct in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (71%) was partly ceded to the second construction on the proposed cline: Intensifier + COP + PP, as in (41), at 28% and 36%, in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, respectively. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the more innovative construction loses ground, but it regains momentum in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, at 19%, alongside a rise in the PP's extension to clearly adjectival contexts (where *altamente* functions as a degree modifier), as in (42), at 16%, which had occurred with variable but rather low frequency since the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

(41) El te deum laudamus: fue alta mente cantado (13th c., *Obras de Gonzalo de Berceo*, Gonzalo de Berceo)

(42) y el Trivulcio, altamente resentido de tan cruel desaire, fue luego asaltado de una fiebre ardiente, (1742, *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*, vol. 1, Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764))

By the 19th century, adjectives that are not derived from participles begin to co-occur with *altamente* more frequently, both with copular verbs (17%) and alone (31%). By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *altamente* as a degree adjunct has all but disappeared, making up only 2% of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century written data and not occurring at all in the oral data.

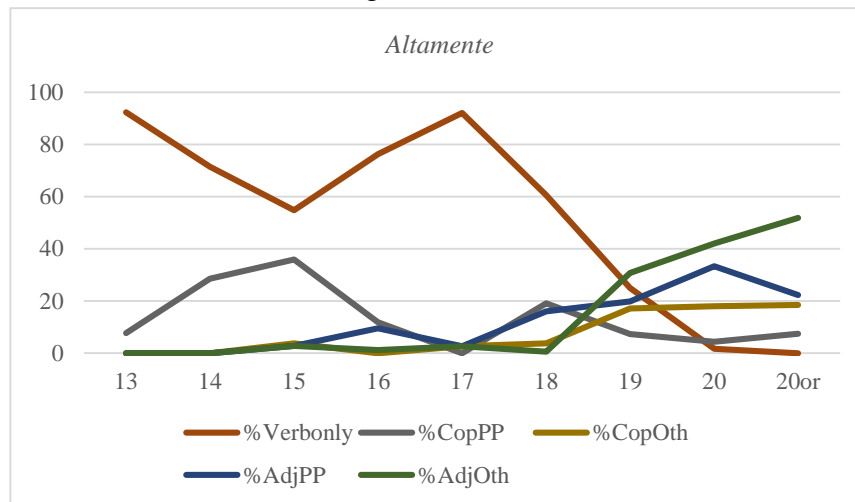


Figure 10. Relative frequencies of syntactic constructions with *altamente*, 13<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In light of these data, we may wish to modify the proposed cline as follows:

Intensifier + V → Intensifier + COP + PP → Intensifier + PP → Intensifier (+ COP) + ADJ

With this new model, the participle-based adjectival forms are the first to occur with the intensifier in its new role as degree modifier.

## 5.2 EXTRAORDINARIAMENTE AND EXTREMADAMENTE

Both *extraordinariamente* and *extremadamente* came onto the scene in the 16th century, with 20 and 23 occurrences, respectively (see Table 1).<sup>2</sup> As Figures 11 and 12 illustrate, *extraordinariamente* and *extremadamente* began as strong degree adjuncts, at 40% and 35%, respectively, they also served degree modifier functions, even with adjectives that were not participle-based.

By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, both forms had declined as degree adjuncts. *Extraordinariamente* occurred as a degree adjunct only 22% of the time in written texts and 18% of the time in speech. For *extremadamente*, these numbers are even lower, at 1% and 0%, respectively. Thus, there is evidence of a shift from the left-hand side of the proposed cline to the right-hand side. However, the development does not follow the expected order, as PPs do not occur before other kinds of adjectives, as they do with *altamente*. Moreover, the very beginning of the cline, in which these forms would have functioned solely as degree adjuncts, appears to be missing from the data. It seems that these forms had already begun grammaticalization by the time they entered into written text.

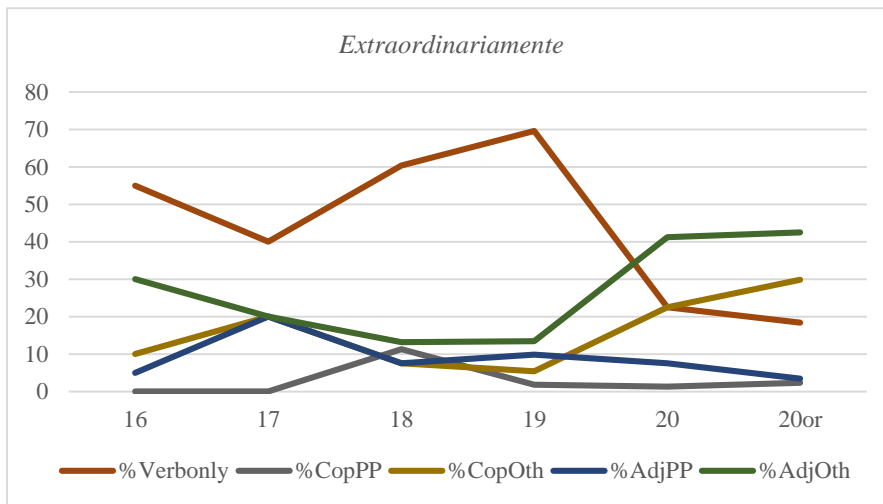


Figure 11. Relative frequencies of syntactic constructions with *extraordinariamente*, 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>2</sup> There was one occurrence of *extraordinariamente* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

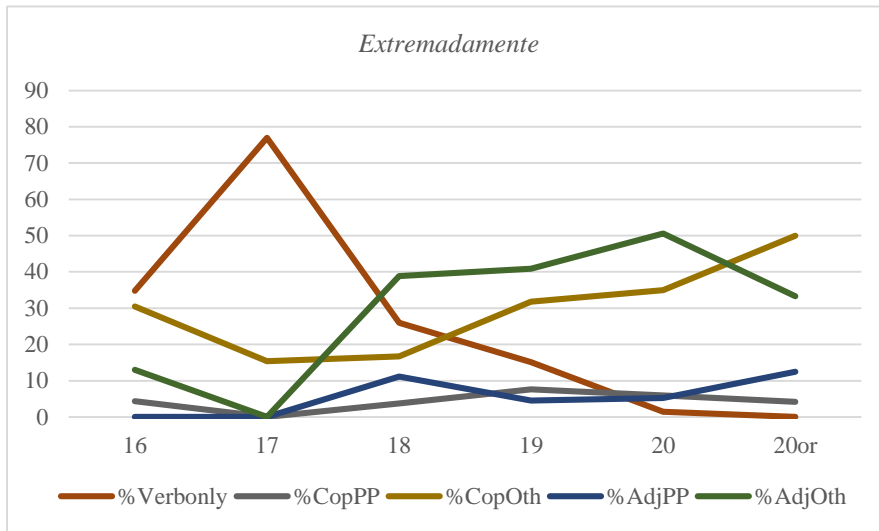


Figure 12. Relative frequencies of syntactic constructions with *extremadamente*, 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### 5.3 ENORMEMENTE

It has been suggested throughout this paper that *enormemente*, which has risen in frequency alongside the other forms examined here (Figure 1), is somehow different. Regarding its productivity with verbal predicates, we saw an increase in the heterogeneity of verb types with which it occurred (Figure 5), in sharp contrast to the other forms. Moreover, the adjectives with which it occurred as a degree modifier showed that it had already been bleached of its size-based lexical origins (section 4.4). The uniqueness of *enormemente* when compared to these other intensifiers is confirmed in its surrounding syntax. As we can see in Figure 13, though *enormemente* did begin with some currency as a degree modifier, as in (43), this function declines in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it occurs as a degree adjunct 67% of the time in written texts and 71% of the time in speech, as in (44). It appears that *enormemente*'s role as a degree modifier is declining, much unlike the other three forms.

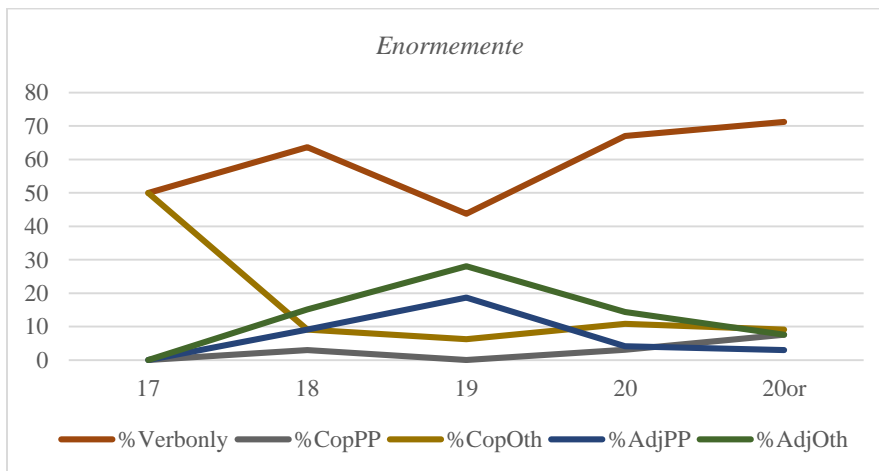


Figure 13. Relative frequencies of syntactic constructions with *enormemente*, 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

- (43) En la altura viñedo y tierras calmas, pero todo **enormemente** despoblado, abertal y mal cultivado; (1778, *Diario*, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811))
- (44) Yo, personalmente, le temo **enormemente** a la unión de Alemania; (20th c. oral, España Oral: APOL035A)

## 6 DISCUSSION

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### 6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This paper has examined the empirical evidence for the grammaticalization of four Spanish intensifiers from degree adjuncts to degree modifiers. These forms, *altamente*, *extraordinariamente*, *extremadamente*, and *enormemente* were characterized in terms of four measures of grammaticalization: frequency, productivity as degree adjuncts, semantic connotations and scope as degree modifiers, and syntactic generalization.

Regarding frequency, it was found that all four forms have risen dramatically in frequency since their beginnings. This coincides with the findings for three of the four forms for degree adjunct productivity. Looking at the variety of verb types with which these forms occurred, it was found that all but *enormemente* lost productivity, such that their occurrence with verbal predicates came to be nearly entirely limited to stative verbs and, to a lesser extent, change-of-state verbs. This suggests that the grammaticalization of these forms as degree modifiers came at the expense of their functionality as degree adjuncts. *Enormemente*, on the other hand, was found to have an increase in productivity as a degree adjunct.

The semantic analyses of these four forms focused on two questions: semantic bleaching and value. Of the four forms, *altamente* and *enormemente* had lexical origins for which certain hypotheses could be made regarding semantic bleaching. *Altamente* might be expected to be associated with high physical placement or, by extension, high esteem. It was in this extended contexts that we found the first uses of *altamente*, though this association was no longer obligatory by the 15<sup>th</sup> century. With *enormemente*, likewise, we might expect the first uses to be associated with large size. However, this does not seem to be the case, as *enormemente* occurred even in its earliest times with adjectives indicating small size.

Regarding the value—positive, negative, or neutral—placed on these forms, it was found that all shifted values over the centuries. *Altamente*, at first imbued with positive meanings attached to its lexical origins, occurred mainly with variable adjectives. However, as this meaning bleached from *altamente*, it was retained in the form's association with mostly positive characteristics. Both *extraordinariamente* and *enormemente* grew more positive over time, while *extremadamente* became more negative and neutral. This shifts in semantic prosody—only the first of which can be explained by reference to the form's lexical origins—demonstrate that these apparently fully grammaticalized intensifiers are not necessarily interchangeable, despite their apparent lexical, semantic, and morphological similarities.

Finally, the examination of the syntactic constructions in which these forms have occurred, in light of a proposed cline of grammaticalization from degree adjunct to degree modifier,

suggests a complex story. *Altamente*, the oldest of the four forms, shows a clear path from mainly functioning as a degree adjunct to mainly functioning as a degree modifier. It is found that past participles served as the bridge from one function to the other. However, the other two forms that show evidence of grammaticalization as primarily degree modifiers do not show such a clear path. Instead, it appears that they have “jumped” into their grammaticalization at mid-cline, and the PP is not seen as serving any special role. *Enormemente* remains primarily a degree adjunct, and did not fully follow the same path of grammaticalization as the others, despite its increase in frequency and its capacity to occur to some degree in all of the syntactic constructions in which the others appear.

## 6.2 GENERALIZABILITY OF CLINES

To be useful theoretically, grammaticalization paths must both 1) reflect the gradual nature of the process through a step-by-step path in which each step represents a small shift from the previous stage and 2) be relevant and accurate across forms and languages. One of the main questions that motivated this study was: Did all four forms follow *similar syntactic and semantic paths*, in terms of generalization, as they grammaticalized? In other words, do the results offer any evidence that the path of grammaticalization from degree adjunct to degree modifier is a universal path—at least for these four similar forms in this one language?

The results for *altamente* offer support for a gradual shift in meaning and function over time, one that is consistent with our expectations for grammaticalizing forms. The other two forms that show evidence of grammaticalization as degree modifiers—*extremadamente* and *extraordinariamente*—do not follow the same path, however. In fact, they appear on the scene already bleached of meaning and already showing signs of syntactic generalization.

## 6.3 LANGUAGE-INTERNAL ANALOGY IN GRAMMATICALIZATION

We might conclude, given the evidence presented in the previous section, that grammaticalization paths—even of very similar items—cannot be predicted or generalized. However, an alternate explanation is available. It is important to note that, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when *extraordinariamente* and *extremadamente* first appear in the data, *altamente* was already functioning as a degree modifier 10% of the time (Figure 10). Recall also that *altamente* had already lost its obligatory association with the positive aspects of height by the 15<sup>th</sup> century (section 4.1). The apparently precocious patterns of *extraordinariamente* and *extremadamente* may be due to the fact that their grammaticalization did not, in essence, start at the “beginning.” Instead, speakers may have used analogy to model a syntactic and semantic space for these forms, based on *altamente* (and perhaps other adverbs in *-mente* that functioned as intensifiers). This analogy would have given these forms a kind of “head start” in their development as degree modifiers.

This language-internal process may be analogous to what Heine and Kuteva (2003) refer to as “replica grammaticalization”: in a language-contact situation, “the model language provides speakers of the replica language with guidelines as to how to replicate a grammatical category via grammaticalization” (p. 540). What is interesting about this is that, while the polysemy of a model construction might be available to speakers, the *order* in which the model form grammaticalized may not be transparent. Thus, the role of the syntactically ambiguous PP, which

is clear in *altamente* alone, would not have been as crucial for *extraordinariamente* and *extremadamente*. Instead, all of the syntactic options for degree modifier use of *altamente* in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries may have been considered equally good models for the use of adverbs in *mente* as intensifiers. As De Smet (2012) argues,

surface similarities can sometimes overrule more abstract layers of structural organization in determining a new pattern's range of use [...], indicating that usage is not exclusively guided by 'deep' analysis but is sensitive to, among other things, considerations of superficial formal acceptability (Berg 1998, Bybee & McClelland 2005). (p. 604)

Though De Smet was referring here to the superficial similarities between newer uses of a form and its older uses, it is not far-fetched to suggest that the superficial similarity between *altamente* and later forms may have had an analogical effect on the syntactic representation of the latter forms in speakers' minds.

#### **6.4 IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

Intensification in Spanish takes on many forms—both lexical and morphological—and this paper has only scratched the surface of this vast and complex territory. The focus on four very similar forms with overlapping functions both as degree adjuncts and degree modifiers has been narrow, though this has offered the possibility of detail and depth. At the same time, the choice of rather infrequent forms has meant that regional and sociolinguistic factors could not be taken into account. Future studies on other sets of similar intensifiers, particularly in specific communities, would further inform our understanding of these ever-changing forms.

The findings in this study point to the intricacy of the relationship between grammaticalizing forms that share the same functional spaces. Not only do they compete with each other, sometimes pushing each other out of functional territory, but they also may lean on each other, perhaps even “borrowing” the path another has taken.



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