

Discourse markers in Romance languages (DISROM7)
Crosslinguistic approaches in Romance and beyond

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**French *imaginer*, Italian *immaginare* and
Spanish *imaginar*
From verbs to deverbal discourse markers**

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1. Introduction

- Fr. *imaginer*, It. *immaginare*, Sp. *imaginar*
- Comparative analysis
- Focus on a specific aspect: verb → deverbial discourse marker
- Grammaticalization/pragmaticalization
- Research still in progress
- Preliminary/partial versions in Schneider (2018, 2020a, 2020b, 2022)

1. Introduction

- Diachronic French, Italian and Spanish corpora:
 - *Base textuelle Frantext (Frantext)*
 - *Biblioteca italiana (BIBIT)*
 - *Corpus del Nuevo diccionario histórico del español (CDH)*
 - *Corpus del Tesoro della lingua italiana delle Origini (TLIO)*
 - *Perugia corpus (PEC)*
- Individually analyzed texts

1. Introduction

- Research questions:
 - 1. Examine the evolution of Fr. *imaginer*, It. *immaginare*, Sp. *imaginar*
 - 2. Examine the emergence of deverbial discourse markers based on these verbs

1. Introduction

- (1) hacía proselitismo entre los gitanos, siempre con prisa, *me imagino*, diciendo algo así como (1984, Alejandro Gándara, *La media distancia*, CDH)
- (2) c'est un peu comme les retraites dans un monastère que font les croyants, histoire, *j'imagine*, de se purifier. (1999, Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *L'enfant des limbes*, Frantext)
- (3) Un'attività di gruppo, *immagino*, ricca di suggerimenti (2009, autori vari, *Manuale accademico*, PEC)

2. 'Form a picture' meaning

- Medieval borrowings from Latin *imaginari* and/or *imaginare* (Corominas & Pascual 1980; Cortelazzo & Zolli 1999; *DEAF*; *FEW*; *GDLI*)
- First appearance in the 13th century (Schneider 2022)
- Initially semantically related to the corresponding nouns Fr. *image*, It. *immagine* and Sp. *imagen*
- Prevailing meaning is 'form a picture'

2. 'Form a picture' meaning

- (4) como si alguno *imaginasse* cuerpo de omne (1275, Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Primera parte, CDH*)
 - (5) sì tosto com'io *imagino* la sua mirabile bellezza, sì tosto mi giugne uno desiderio di vederla (1292/1293, Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova, TLIO*)
 - (6) avoit cellui sur son heaume *ymaginé* le Dieu d'Amors (1400, Anonyme, *Ysaÿe le Triste, Frantext*)
- The picture can mental (4) - (5) or physical (6)
 - The physical meaning is abandoned in the following centuries

3. 'Suppose' meaning

- 14th century: appearance of cognitive meanings that background or even delete the picture aspect
- Metonymical shift:
 - Contents of mental picture in the background
 - Origin, constitution and reality of mental picture in the foreground
- Considerable variation
- 'Bear in mind', 'conclude', 'consider', 'devise', 'invent', 'know', 'machinate', 'plan', 'ponder', 'realize', 'reason', 'reflect', 'suppose', 'understand'
- Initially, none of these meanings predominates

3. 'Suppose' meaning

- 'Machinate', 'plan':

(7) *imaginar* algunas cosas contra personas baxas (1350, Anónimo, *Traducción de la Historia de Jerusalem abreviada de Jacobo de Vitriaco*, CDH)

- 'Conclude', 'reason':

(8) si pensa sus ung petit et *ymagina* que il ne sejourneroit pas là longuement (1390, Jean Froissart, *Chroniques. Troisième livre*, Frantext)

3. 'Suppose' meaning

- Gradually, the 'suppose' meaning begins to stand out from the cognitive meanings without picture aspect
- From the 16th century onwards, the 'suppose' meaning is well established and conventionalized:
 - (9) *immaginavano* che io, in mezzo a tanti travagli ed angosce, fossi in istato di stampar libri (1737, Pietro Giannone, *Vita scritta da lui medesimo*, BIBIT)
- The 'form a picture' meaning continues to be present

4. Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction

- Emergence of syndetic sentence-adverbial construction (Schneider 2012):
 - (10) la qual, *com'io immagino*, doveva esser fior di bellezza (1586, Torquato Tasso, *Lettere*, BIBIT)
 - (11) estos versos, *como yo imagino*, fueron tomados vno de acá y otra de acullá (1596, Alonso López Pinciano, *Philosofía antigua poética*, CDH)
 - (12) je le vis sousrire deux ou trois fois, jugeant, *comme je m' imagine*, l'impatience (1637, Honoré d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, Frantext)

4. Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction

- First sporadic signs already in the 14th and 15th centuries
- Particularly frequent during the 16th and 17th centuries
- Possible with all verb forms, but predominantly with first person present indicative singular
- Initially with Fr. *comme*, It. *come*, Sp. *como*
- Subsequently extended to other conjunctions

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- End of 16th century, 17th century
- Emergence of deverbal discourse marker (Schneider 2018, 2020b):
 - (13) con este enredo/gozar segura *imagino*/del amor de Bandalino./ (1594, Lope de Vega, *El maestro de danzar*, CDH)
 - (14) era (*m'imagino*) appunto della tacca del sudetto dottore. (1596, Tommaso Costo, *Il fuggilozio*, LIZ)
 - (15) Cela se faict, *je m' imagine*, si le mouvement que ces petits corps reçoivent rencontre dedans nous d'autres petits corps (French, 1655, Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac, *Les Estats et empires de la lune*, Frantext)

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- French:
 - 17th century: *je m' imagine*
 - End of 18th century: *j' imagine*
 - Today: *j' imagine*
- Italian:
 - End of 16th century: *m' immagino*
 - 19th century: *immagino*
 - Today: *immagino*
- Spanish:
 - End of 16th century: *imagino*
 - Beginning of 20th century: *me imagino*
 - Today: *me imagino*

6. Conclusion

- 1. Evolution of Fr. *imaginer*, It. *immaginare*, Sp. *imaginar*:

'Form a picture' meaning



Addition of 'suppose' meaning



Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction



Deverbal discourse marker

6. Conclusion

- 2. Emergence of deverbal discourse marker:

Cognitive metalinguistic meaning



Detachment



Deverbal discourse marker

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