

Cornillie, Bert and Nicole Delbecque (eds.) *Pragmaticalization and modalization in language and discourse*. Special issue of the *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*. 20. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 2006. 19-45.

## Syntactic Determinants of Pragmatic Markers of “Closure”

MARÍA JESÚS GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ AND  
RICARDO MALDONADO

(Universidad de Salamanca - UNAM - UAQ)

### 1. Introduction

Current approaches to discourse have identified a wide variety of adverbial forms which under special conditions operate as discourse organizers<sup>1</sup>. This paper provides a semantic-conceptual characterization of a group of discourse markers derived from the root *fin(-al)*: ‘end/final’ in Spanish: *finalmente* ‘finally’, *por fin* ‘at last’, *al fin* ‘at last/after all’. Although these forms have different deriving suffixes, we will propose that they all conform to the basic notion of CLOSURE which gives special conceptual prominence to the terminal part of the event. Our study attempts to offer a motivating analysis for several pragmatic extensions involving the speaker’s expectations.<sup>2</sup> We will propose that together with the notion of CLOSURE, a force-dynamics situation and a high degree of transitivity (telicity and agentivity) constitute the basis for the emergence of the conceptualizer’s view of the event.

The notion of closure highlights the endpoint of an event, yet more specific meanings can also be conveyed. The ones to be considered in this paper are:

- (i) Temporal closure of an event sequentially scanned
- (ii) Discourse closure of an ordered enumeration
- (iii) Felicitous result of an expected event
- (iv) Evaluative conclusion regarding a previous situation

These meanings are illustrated by the following examples. The number of the example corresponds to that of the proposed meaning:

- (1) *Se ha sabido que tales masas de agua persistente duran días, semanas e incluso meses, antes de dispersarse **finalmente**.* (Cemc 413007101)  
‘It has been informed that persistent masses of water keep running for days, weeks and even months, until they are *finally* dispersed’

- (2) *En primer lugar debes organizar los datos, después clasificarlos y establecer categorías. Finalmente/por fin establecerás los patrones generales de comportamiento para cada categoría.*  
 ‘First, you have to organize your data, then you classify items and set them up in categories, and *lastly*, you establish general behavioral patterns for each category.’
- (3) *Al fin/por fin/finalmente me concedieron el permiso para irme de viaje.*  
 ‘In the end/finally I was granted a permit to travel.’
- (4) a. *Finalmente, yo soy el que debería irme. Ella... ni siquiera tiene un lugar adonde ir.*  
 ‘After all, It is I who should leave. She doesn't even have a place to go.’  
 b. *Haz lo que quieras. Al fin tú eres el que decide.*  
 ‘Do whatever you want. After all, it is you that decides.’

Traditional grammars have classified these markers as “adverbs of order” (RAE 1924: §166g; 1931: § 169g; Alonso and Henríquez Ureña 1938: §207) or even more vaguely as “adverbial locutions” (RAE 1931: §172). Other analysts looking beyond the sentence boundary have analyzed them as “discourse organizers” (Alcina and Blecua 1975: §4.9.1.1) or as “supra-sentential linkers” (Gili Gaya [1943] 1990: cap. XXIV, §251; Fuentes Rodríguez 1987). Based on semantic grounds, more recent approaches have categorized them as “markers of closure” (Portolés 1994: 154), or as “concluding and reformulating connectors” (Fuentes Rodríguez 1994, 1996, Vázquez Veiga 1994/95), etc.<sup>3</sup> What may be missing from these studies is an account of how the meanings in (1-4.b) relate to one another and, crucially, under what principles the pragmatic readings obtain. Based on the schematic representation of CLOSURE, this paper aims at shedding some light on those problems.

Given the examples (1-4.b) we can propose that the notion of closure corresponds to the schematic characterization in (5):

- (5) CLOSURE: Discourse endpoint marker which depicts the last element of a list, the last step in a sequential process or (the last element of) a situation being evaluated.

Traugott (1982, 1985, 1988, 1995) has proposed that in the emergence of pragmatic meanings there is a grammaticalization process in line with the following path: referential marker > text sequencing connector > pragmatic marker introducing the speaker’s expectations.

As can be seen from the examples in (1-4b) the move follows Traugott’s direction. However, more specific steps seem to be present. From the examples (1-4) we can identify the following continuum:

## Scale 1

1. Spatial closure > 2. Temporal closure > 3. Expected result of some scanned process > 4. a. Reaching a (potentially problematic) goal (expectations) > 4.b. Final evaluation of a contradicting event (Counter-expectations)

The move from a referential to a pragmatic marker involves a series of extensions of the schematic representation from the spatial-temporal domain to that of the text and finally to the domain of the conceptualizer. In other words, it involves a process of “subjectification” by which the conceptualizer’s view (C) is incorporated--from the external region of the observer--into the objective scene (Langacker 1985, 1991b: 326).

In this paper we provide evidence that the subjectification process outlined above is determined by three main factors: a) a situation of force-dynamics (Talmy 1985, 2000) where two antagonistic forces oppose in resolving the outcome of an event, and b) two main factors of transitivity: agentivity and telicity. We propose that the notion of closure reflects the speaker’s expectations as determined by a high degree of transitivity.

The paper is organized in the following manner. Section 2 offers a conceptual representation of referential and pragmatic closure. Section 3 shows the influence of force-dynamics in the emergence of the speaker’s expectations. Section 4 describes the transitivity (telicity and agentivity) in pragmatic readings. Section 5 offers some concluding remarks about the internal organization of pragmatic markers.

## 2. The prototype. Spatial-temporal discourse closure

Given the schematic representation of CLOSURE as an endpoint marker which depicts the last element of an event, we expect prototypical examples to conform to that basic representation. This is in fact the case. The vast majority of markers found in our data<sup>4</sup> conform to a special or a temporal basic organization where the last member of a series of actions or the result of some process is made prominent. Examples in (6) involve a ‘discourse organizer’ which highlights the last element of an ordered sequence; those in (7) contain a ‘temporal closure’ marker highlighting the endpoint of a scanned event.

- (6) a. *Primero elaboró la idea, luego escribió el texto y **finalmente/ [por último]** lo envió por fax al periódico.*  
 ‘First he elaborated the idea, then he wrote the text and *finally/ [lastly]* he faxed it to the newspaper.’
- b. *El director comenzó explicando el funcionamiento general de la nueva empresa, después habló de la cuestión de las contrataciones y **por fin/ [por último]** se refirió al proceso de selección de candidatos.*  
 ‘The director started explaining the general functioning of the new business, then he talked about hiring issues and *finally/ [lastly]* he addressed the candidates selection process.’

- (7) a. *Estuve horas esperándolo y finalmente / [\*por último] no llegó.*  
 ‘I waited for hours and *finally*/ [\*lastly] he didn’t come.’
- b. *Todavía no sé por qué no quisieron acompañarme a la fiesta, pero al fin/ [\*por último] decidí no rogarles más e irme.*  
 ‘I still don’t know why they didn’t want to come with me to the party, but *in the end*/ [\*lastly] I decided to stop begging them to come and I left.’
- c. *Me levanté a las ocho para llegar a tiempo al autobús de las nueve y por fin/ [\*por último] acabé yéndome en el de las 10.30.*  
 ‘I woke up at 8 am to catch the 9 o’clock bus on time and *in the end* /[\*lastly] I took the 10: 30 bus.’

Notice from (6) that the discourse organizer only operates in spatial terms, since the endpoint of a discourse need not coincide with the endpoint of a process or with its result (Traugott 1978: 379, Egea 1979: 209, Levinson 1989:76-80). Since *por último* ‘lastly’<sup>5</sup> designates the last element of a list, it follows that it can be used as a discourse organizer. In contrast, *finalmente/al fin/por fin* mark an endpoint that coincides with the result of the action. Since the temporal dimension in (7) is in profile, *por último* is ruled out.

The schemas for 6 and 7 contrast precisely in terms of space and time. We provide a convenient representation of those schemas. In Figure 1 there is an ordered sequence of discourse elements in space of which **An** is the last. In contrast Figure 2 depicts a sequence of actions coming to a result or a conclusion with which **An** is equated. Time is of course relevant in all processes, however in constructions corresponding to Figure 1, the temporal profile remains in the base while in those corresponding to Figure 2 time is most prominent:

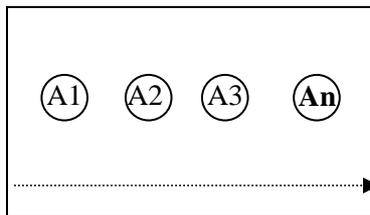


Figure 1. Discourse closure

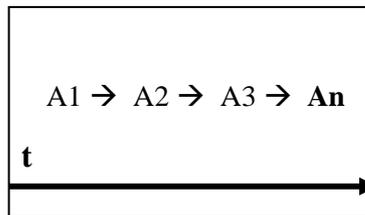


Figure 2. Temporal closure

The closure schema constitutes the base for the development of meanings involving expectation and evaluation. We show those meanings in the next section.

### 3. Expectations and evaluation

The extension from spatial/temporal closure to more pragmatic readings constitutes a recurrent phenomenon. We can see from examples (8) and (9) that

the terminal portion of the event is still relevant, however the construction focuses on the way the event is conceptualized by the speaker. The speaker's expectations come forward as imposed by a force-dynamics situation (Talmy 1985, González Fernández 1996a, 1996b, 2000): some forces block the event from coming true, yet those forces are somehow contravened to let the event match the speaker's desires, as in (8):

- (8) a. *Finalmente* / [*\*por último*] me dieron esa beca.  
 'In the end [*\*lastly*] they gave me that grant.'  
 b. ¡*Al fin* / *Por fin* [*\*por último*] comprendí lo que querías decirme!  
 'Finally/at last [*\*lastly*] I understood what you were trying to tell me!'

We can of course have the opposite situation where the element blocking the speaker's expectations is stronger than his will. A counter-expectation reading is thus obtained. In the examples in (9) an evaluative reading is at play: the event is bound to happen regardless of the conceptualizer's expectations; b), for instance, would be uttered by a good Mexican wife unable to blackmail her macho husband:

- (9) a. ...oírle murmurar, tú, *finalmente* [*\*por último*], no has sido lo más importante de mi vida... decidir no verla jamás... (Cemc 108020156)  
 '...to hear her mutter that, *after all*, you haven't been the most important thing in her life... to decide not to ever see her again...'  
 b. *Haz lo que quieras. Al fin tu eres el que decides.*  
 'Do whatever you want. *After all* you are the one that decides (here).'

The schema subsuming (9) is the mirror image of that in (8). Figures 3 and 4 represent the contrast between those schemas. Notice first that both the sequential ordering of elements ( $A_1, A_2, A_n$ ) and the terminal profile in the event (the gray area) depicted from the basic schema of closure are still present. The extension comes from the inclusion of the speaker's view (C) plus the contradicting forces (the angles  $\gg<$ ) of the viewer's will and the event inertia. The contrast between the two schemas is evident. Since in Figure 3 all actions follow the flow of the speaker's expectations the potential blocking force is downplayed. Given these facts, the long expected result of the event becomes most prominent ( $+>$ ) making the waiting time a profiled figure. In contrast, Figure 4 depicts a conflict between  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ . The stronger opposing force is in profile to let counter-expectations emerge. Notice that time remains in the base (the dotted arrow) since the evaluative reading operates with respect to the event as a whole disregarding the length and effort that its scanning may involve.

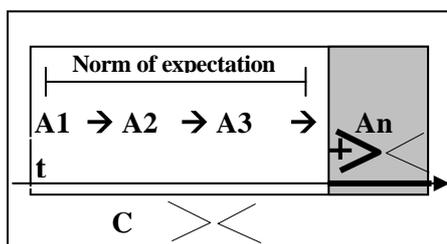


Fig. 3. Expectation

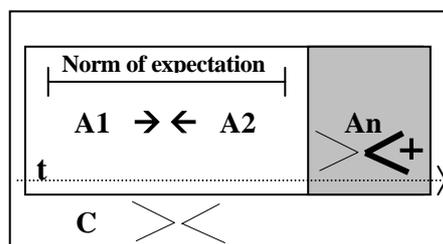


Fig. 4. Counter-expectation (Evaluative)

#### 4. Expectations and transitivity

So far we have been able to show that the extension from temporal-sequential marker to one signaling pragmatic readings profiling the speakers expectations is well attested. We show now that the emergence of pragmatic values is favored by a high degree of transitivity (further developed in González Fernández 2000, and González Fernández and Maldonado 2004).

Some fundamental clarifications are at stake. The three markers can designate the four readings schematized in Figures 1 to 4; however they show different degrees of pragmatization. The most obvious one is that *finalmente* occupies the leftmost extreme of scale 2, where spatial/temporal closure dominates; at the opposite end, pragmatic evaluative values are designated. The progression involves, of course, a considerable amount of overlap. *Finalmente* can certainly designate pragmatic readings just as temporal spatial/closure is not precluded for *por fin* and *al fin*. However these two tend to designate predominantly pragmatic meanings ((counter)expectation and evaluation):

Scale 2. Degree of pragmatization:

$$Finalmente \succ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} por\ fin \\ al\ fin \end{array} \right\}$$

In *finalmente* the preferred reading is one of spatial/temporal closure; in *por fin* and *al fin* the dominant reading is one of expectations. These tendencies can be reversed under special pragmatic contexts; for instance in (10), the use of *por fin* or *al fin* would only be felicitous if the reading of expectation were to be emphasized:

- (10) *Estuvimos dando vueltas durante horas tratando de buscar un regalo para Pedro. Finalmente /?? por fin / ??al fin no encontramos nada y decidimos preguntarle a él directamente qué quería.*  
 ‘We spent hours going around trying to find a present for Pedro. *In the end*, we didn't find anything and decided to ask him directly what he wanted.’

Moreover, in contexts favoring the speaker's view, only *por fin* and *al fin* (11b) activate a (positive) reading of expectation, while *finalmente* simply designates the schematic temporal closure (11a):

- (11) -Oye, ¿y que pasó con tu tío Juan?  
 -Tell me, what happened to your uncle Juan?  
 a. -Nada, que *finalmente* le dieron el trabajo y se fue.  
 -‘Well, *in the end*, he got the job and left.’

- b. -*Nada, que **por fin/ al fin** le dieron el trabajo y se fue.*  
 -‘Well, *at last* he got the job and left.’

Furthermore, the isolated speech acts designating the speaker’s desires are precluded for *finalmente*. After a long wait for someone to come or for something to happen, (12a) can be uttered, while (12b) is pragmatically awkward:

- (12) a. *¡Por fin!/ ¡Al fin!*  
 b. *¡Finalmente!*

Scale 2 implies *finalmente* will be less sensitive to the conditions determining a reading of expectations, while those to the right will prove to be very sensitive. Our main claim is that the coding of expectations correlates with the degree of transitivity of the event. We thus make the following generalizations:

- (13) a. Low degree of transitivity implies closure and low degree of expectations.  
 b. High degree of transitivity determines high degree of expectations.

The rest of the paper is devoted to show how these generalizations are manifested in Mexican Spanish.

#### 4.1. Force-Dynamics

Transitivity parameters commonly refer to definiteness, telicity, agentivity and so forth as seminally stated by Hopper and Thompson (1980). These parameters are manifestations of the degree of transitivity of the event. They reflect the degree of Subject-Object interaction, more specifically, the amount of energy flowing from the agent to the patient. This is of course determined by the lexical properties of the verb. Energetic verbs are high in the transitivity scale while non-energetic ones, i.e. “absolutes” are not (Langacker 1987, Maldonado 1992, 1999). For absolutes to gain transitivity some special marking such as a causative morpheme, or an “energetic *se*” (Maldonado 1988, 1993) must be added.

One class of verbs that by definition are high in transitivity are those involving force-dynamics (Talmy 1985, 2000). By our hypothesis, force-dynamic energetic verbs trigger a reading of expectations (González Fernández, 1996a, 1996b, in press; González Fernández and Maldonado, 2004). This does not hold for non-energetic ones.

Modal verbs are pristine examples of force-dynamic construals. A prototypical case is *tener que* ‘have to’ where the realization of an act presupposes an antagonistic force, an obstacle, which the subject must overcome. Since the degree of subject participation is high, the use of a closure marker triggers a reading of expectation. Given the pattern consistency of modal verbs we will provide here only one example (but see also 28, 29, 31):

- (14) *Yo también, siempre me acuesto con mi ropa puesta. Después apagaron la vela y yo, **al fin...** tuve que acostarme. La tía me decía que para eso me había casado y que me acostara. (Cemc 915048051)*  
 ‘Me too, I always go to bed with my clothes on. Then they blew the candle out and *finally* I had to go to bed. My aunt would tell me that that was the reason why I had gotten married and that I should go to bed.’

Verbs such as *llevarse* ‘take over’ and *decidirse* ‘make a decision’ incorporate the clitic *se* to derive an energetic reading from the plain transitive verb. *Llevar* ‘take’, for instance, gains subject involvement by means of the middle clitic *llevar+se* ‘take over, win’ imposing a force-dynamics construal where a stronger force dominates a weaker one. Combined with *finalmente* a reading of expectation obtains, as is attested in (15a). Notice from (15b) that in the absence of *finalmente* the speaker’s expectations cease to be designated<sup>6</sup>:

- (15) a. *La quarteta española de polo “Puerta de Hierro”, se llevó finalmente la serie internacional que se jugó en ... (Cemc 287254008)*  
 ‘The polo Spanish quartet ‘Puerta de Hierro’ finally carried off the international series that was played in...’  
 b. *La quarteta española de polo “Puerta de Hierro”, se llevó la serie internacional que se jugó en dos semanas en el campo Marte...*  
 ‘The polo Spanish quartet ‘Puerta de Hierro’ took over the international series that was played in...’

A parallel phenomenon takes place with *decidirse* ‘make a decision’. The contrast with *decidir* ‘decide’ is crucial, since only *decidirse* implies a long and intense period of hesitance before reaching a decision. Again, the speaker’s expectation is put forward in (16a) and it is latently present in (16b) since *finalmente* does not strengthen the force-dynamics already present in the verb. As predicted, in (16c) no balance of forces provides the base for *finalmente* to profile the speaker’s view, thus it simply marks the end of the waiting period.

- (16) a. *Francamente, el pronóstico no es muy bueno, pero el mero hecho de que nuestros funcionarios se hayan decidido finalmente a sentarse y a hablar es muy alentador. (Cemc 435060034)*  
 ‘Frankly, predictions are not very good, but the mere fact that our civil servants have finally made the decision of sitting down to talk is quite promising.’  
 b. *Francamente el pronóstico no es muy bueno, pero el mero hecho de que nuestros funcionarios se hayan decidido a sentarse y a hablar es muy alentador.*  
 ‘Frankly, predictions are not very good, but the simple fact that our civil servants have decided to sit down and talk is very encouraging.’

- c. *Francamente, el pronóstico no es muy bueno, pero el mero hecho de que nuestros funcionarios hayan decidido finalmente sentarse y a hablar es muy alentador.*  
 ‘Frankly, predictions are not very good, but the mere fact that our civil servants have finally decided to sit down and talk is quite promising.’

For expectations to be profiled it is necessary for the balance of forces to be significant. When the agonistic force does not constitute a real resisting force in a force-dynamic situation no expectations are profiled. In such cases the closure marker depicts its basic function as a temporal/spatial endpoint marker. This fact can be observed in the following examples. In (17) the initial situation implies a conflict of two opposing forces. Yet *reconocer* designates a retreat of the speaker’s expectations (the agonistic force), a change of viewpoint which eliminates the actual force-encounter. Par consequence, the closure marker simply signals the endpoint of some period. Similarly in (18) two contradicting ideas are initially faced: the parents’ expectations to hear from the speaker and her refusal to contact them. However the adversative conjunction *pero* ‘but’ does not signal the dominance of one force over the other; rather it underlines that the subject took an alternative decision. *Al fin* simply signals that her returning home is the concluding action of a complex event:

- (17) *Dictado por la ambición o por la admiración, el ardor cívico parece genuino y uno **por fin/ø** reconoce la sabiduría práctica de los políticos...* (Cemc 053318047)  
 ‘Dominated (dictated) by ambition or by admiration, civic ardor seems genuine and *in the end* one recognizes the practical wisdom of politicians...’
- (18) *Nunca le escribí a mi familia, porque nunca supe escribir una carta, y no quería que supieran de mí. Me imaginaba que si sabían, mi papá iría y me mataría de una paliza. Estos eran mis pensamientos, pero **al fin/ ø**, regresé.* (Cemc 930078011)  
 ‘I never wrote to my family, because I never knew how to write a letter, and I didn’t want them to know about me. I imagined that, if they did, dad would beat me up and kill me. That’s what I thought, but *in the end* I went back.’

#### 4.2. Telicity

The second transitivity parameter that we expect to be determinant is telicity. Given that the notion of closure depicts the endpoint of an event we can foresee that the degree of telicity will determine the emergence of the speaker’s expectations; i.e. the more perfective the verb is the more the marker of closure imposes a reading of expectations. We can propose a progression of functions for the closure marker from its core temporal/spatial meaning to the most grammaticized one, as portrayed in scale 3:

## Scale 3. Spatio-temporal-aspectual gradation:

Last element of a sequence > Temporal closure > Perfective process > Accomplished expectations

The consequences of such scale are obvious. Closure markers will tend to impose the conceptualizer's expectation with verbs having a high degree of terminal prominence (DeLancey, 1981). Those profiling other parts of the event will not favor such a reading. This can be attested from the infelicity of the closure marker with imperfective verbs (19a, 20a) and with those focusing on the source (21a, 22a) of the event. In contrast, the legal outputs are those able to profile the speaker's expectation as they focus on the endpoint of the event. All the (b) examples conform to that characterization:

- (19) a. \***Finalmente/al/por fin** sé que todo está en paz.  
'Finally I know that everything is at peace.'  
b. **Finalmente** supe que todo estaba en paz.  
'Finally I got to know (I learned) that everything was at peace.'
- (20) a. \***Al fin** le sugerí que pidiera una indemnización.  
'At last, I suggested that he asked for compensation.'  
b. **Al fin** lo persuadí para que pidiera una indemnización.  
'At last, I persuaded him to ask for compensation.'
- (21) a. \***Por fin** intenté sacarlo yo mismo de ahí.  
'At last, I tried to get it out of there by myself.'  
b. **Por fin** conseguí sacarlo yo mismo de ahí.  
'At last, I succeeded in getting it out of there by myself.'
- (22) a. \***Finalmente** lo impulsé a tomar la decisión más radical: renunciar a su cargo.  
'Finally, I pushed him to make a more rational decision: to quit his position.'  
b. **Finalmente** lo convencí para que tomara la decisión más radical: renunciar a su cargo.  
'Finally, I convinced him to make a more rational decision: to quit his position.'

We must stress that when the event is construed as a sequence of actions/situations, the closure marker depicts the expected reading of closure. However there may be cases where such a sequence involves conflictive situations. Under those circumstances the expectations reading is still latent. As examples (23) to (25) show, this is true for the three closure markers *finalmente/por fin/al fin*:

- (23) *Juan estaba muy indeciso. Estuve casi dos horas hablando con él y tratando de convencerlo de que tenía que tomar una postura*

*comprometida. Finalmente lo impulsé a tomar la decisión más radical: renunciar a su cargo.*

‘Juan was very hesitant. I talked to him for almost two hours to convince him that he should make a commitment. *Finally* I encouraged him to make a more rational decision: to quit his position.’

- (24) *Cuando Juan se cayó en aquel hoyo, lo primero que hice fue tratar de buscar ayuda. Como no encontré a nadie, traté de animarlo a que utilizara sus propias fuerzas para salir. Por fin intenté yo mismo sacarlo de ahí.*

‘When Juan fell down in that hole, the first thing I did was to try and find help. Since I found nobody, I tried to make him use his own strength to get out of there. *At last* I tried myself to get him out of there.’

- (25) *No había modo de hacerlo entrar en razón. Estaba furioso y también decidido a renunciar a su trabajo. Al principio sólo trate de calmarlo. Después le pedí que me contara con calma lo sucedido. Al fin le sugerí que pidiera una indemnización.*

‘There was no way to make him understand. He was furious and also determined to quit his job. First I only tried to calm him down. Then I asked him to calmly tell me what had happened. *In the end/finally* I suggested that he requested a compensation.’

The claim by which a high degree of terminal prominence must be at play for the emergence of the reading of expectations is apparently contradicted by examples like (26) where the verb *empezar* ‘start’ depicts the initial point of some action not the end:

- (26) *Al fin/ Por fin/ Finalmente empezó el concierto.*  
‘*At last/in the end/finally* the concert started.’

However the ingressive reading depicted by *empezar* is conceived as closing a force-dynamic situation in which the participant’s desire is faced with the long delay of the concert. All ingressive verbs have the pragmatic property of letting the beginning of an action constitute the closure of a previous act. Thus combined with a closure marker they can profile the speaker’s evaluation/expectations.

We must underline that telicity alone is not enough for the speaker’s expectations to emerge. Factive events not subsuming a force dynamics situation need not designate any type of expectation. Thus the closure marker is restricted to its temporal closure function. We can see this in the following contrasting examples. The perfective verb *fracasar* ‘fail’ in (27) simply renders the subject’s failure in doing something, thus, *finalmente* only marks the end of some complex event. In contrast (28-29) provide cases where the subject faced and dominated some opposing forces in order to accomplish his plans. Consequently the use of a closure marker profiles her/his expectations.

- (27) **Finalmente** fracasé con el proyecto.  
'Finally I failed (to carry out) the project.'
- (28) **Por fin** logré vender el terreno del Ajusco.  
'At last/finally I succeeded in selling the property by the Ajusco.'
- (29) **Al fin** conseguí abrir el tanque del gas.  
'At last/finally I was able to open the gas tank.'

The reason *fracasar* 'fail' does not determine a reading of expectations is actually related to our next parameter: agentivity. Under normal circumstances *fracasar* is low in force dynamics because it is also low in agentivity. We tend to conceive failing as the consequence of lacking the subject's effort to do something. However under special circumstances we can see failing as a volitional act. Under those circumstances (27) would impose an expectation reading. Consider the case of an engineer willing to quit a job and being forced to stay against his will. Failing to carry out a project may be a happy result leading to his leaving the company. *Fracasar* 'fail' will then align with *lograr* 'succeed' and *conseguir* 'obtain, be able' having a high force dynamic configuration and a high degree of agentivity. In that type of construal, expectations will of course be highlighted.

#### 4.3. Agentivity and volitionality

As is well known agentivity and volitionality also determine a high degree of transitivity. We thus expect these properties to favor the emergence of expectations, as they relate with a high degree of subject-object interaction in a force-dynamic way and also with a high degree of subject involvement. This phenomenon can be attested in different situations.

We have claimed that, of the three closure markers, the less grammaticized, *finalmente*, prototypically simply encodes temporal/spatial closure; yet a high degree of volitionality triggers the emergence of expectations. We can see, for instance, that *finalmente* combined with a first person pronoun, involving the speaker as an actor, highlights her/his expectations, as can be seen in (30a). Notice from (30b) that in the absence of *finalmente* no expectations are profiled. Similarly, the use of third person plural leaves expectations in the base, as in (30c):

- (30) a. ...*el Turco*. ¿Quién?, ¿Cómo?, ¿Cuál?, *el Turco*, *el Chino*. Total, *este*, *por medio de...* *del Chino finalmente di con el Turco*, ¿no?, *y desde ese día me aprendí su nombre*. (Cemc 745003742)  
'The Turk. ¿Who? ¿How? ¿Which one?, the Turk, the Chinese. In short, through... the Chinese I eventually found the Turk, ¿right?, and from that day on I know his name.'
- b. Total, *este*, *por medio de...* *del Chino di con el Turco*, ¿no?, *y desde ese día me aprendí su nombre*.

‘In short, through... the Chinese I found the Turk, ¿right?, and from that day on I knew his name.’

- c. *Total, este, por medio de... del Chino finalmente dieron con el Turco, ¿no?, y desde ese día me aprendí su nombre.*

‘In short, through... the Chinese finally they found the Turk, ¿right?, and from that day on I knew his name.’

In a similar manner, if agentivity and volitionality are high we must expect a considerable degree of subject involvement. We claim that the more the subject is involved the more the speaker’s expectations will be profiled. This is evident in first person, since speaker and actor are equated with the same participant. Yet in second and third person the subject’s involvement in her/his act will also trigger, by sympathy, the speaker’s expectations. In (31) several factors conflate to depict the participant’s involvement: first person pronoun, identifying subject and speaker, as well as the modal verb *poder* ‘can’ which is high in volition and in force-dynamics:

- (31) *Cristina me decía que todas las mañanas ponían el mismo disco, aunque ella, que sabía muy poco de música, no podía precisar cuál era. Un domingo yo pude oír la pieza **al fin** y me pareció que era uno de los conciertos para violín de Mozart. (Cemc 021060034)*

‘Cristina would tell me that every morning they would put on the same record, although since she didn’t know much about music she couldn’t tell which piece it was. One Sunday I was able to *finally* hear the piece and I thought it was one of Mozart’s violin concertos.’

In a similar manner, the verb *superar* ‘overcome’ implies a high degree of subject involvement and agentivity. Combined with *por fin*, the expectation reading is put forward:

- (32) *Primero los niños eran libres y felices en el Kindergarten, donde la libertad no parecía peligrosa; durante mucho tiempo este tipo de niños no se encontraba en ninguna otra parte, puesto que la rígida disciplina de las escuelas primarias bloqueaba ese progreso. Pero **por fin** la superaban. (Cemc 347032027)*

‘First the kids were free and happy at the Kindergarten, where freedom didn’t seem to be dangerous; for a long time this type of children were not to be found anywhere, since the rigid discipline of primary schools would block this improvement. But finally children would overcome it (the rigid discipline).’

While these examples may be eloquent, negative evidence will strengthen our point. If we were to have schematic subjects, hard to identify, the degree of involvement should be low and equally low should be the emergence of expectations. This is in fact the case. The impersonal clitic *se* imposes a low degree of agentivity since the event agent is present only in schematic terms

(Maldonado 1992, 1999). The use of a closure marker with impersonal *se* simply marks a discourse closure with no prominent speaker's expectations.

Given the low degree of agentivity of the event and our schematic characterization of CLOSURE --as marking temporal/spatial endpoints in the event or in discourse-- the behavior of *finalmente* in (33) is predicted:

- (33) *Varios remedios para curar el dolor de muelas. Como sea éste un mal de raro humor, es preciso tener a mano muchos remedios y experimentarlos todos, porque **finalmente** se dará con alguno que surta efecto.* (Cemc 730025018)

'Several remedies for curing toothache. Given the unusual nature of the disease, it is necessary to keep many remedies handy and try out all of them, because *in the end* one finds one that works.'

More interesting is the temporal closure value of *por fin* in (34). *Por fin* tends to highlight the speaker's expectations as it is quite advanced in the grammaticalization process (see scale 2); in (34), however, the schematic representation of the subject blocks the emergence of any type of expectation and restricts *por fin* to mark the last step of an ordered sequence:

- (34) *Los estados naupliares son seis, después de los cuales la larva se convierte en el llamado copepodito, fase en la cual ya se puede reconocer el aspecto del adulto. Hay cinco copepoditos, cada uno de los cuales es de mayor talla y perfección que el anterior, hasta que **por fin** se alcanza la sexta fase, que es la adulta.*(Cemc 408111033)

'The naupliar stages are six...There are five copepodites each bigger and more perfect than the other, until *finally* the sixth stage, the adult phase is reached.'

The contrast between (30-32) *versus* (33-34) argue in favor of the requirement of a well defined volitional subject for expectations to emerge. This condition, we believe, is crucial not only for the proper understanding of the emergence of pragmatic values in Spanish grammar but also for the proper representation of pragmatic coding in linguistic theory. Specifically, it argues against the position commonly assumed in formal and semiformal approaches to language by which semantic, syntactic and pragmatic representations constitute independent layers of analysis. We have been able to show that the emergence of pragmatic values is determined by very specific semantic and syntactic conditions for which no special link is necessary.

## 5. Conclusions

We have shown that all the forms derived from the root *fin* 'end' conform to the basic notion of CLOSURE giving special conceptual prominence to the terminal part of the event. We have also shown that the meanings extended

from the basic schema incorporate different facets of force dynamics which highlight the conceptualizer's view in accordance with general trends of well known paths of grammaticalization.

Traugott (1982, 1985, 1988, 1995) has pointed out the existence of a conceptual path of grammaticalization by which a referential meaning shifts first to signal text functions and, then, to depict speaker's expectations. The path identified in this paper certainly confirms Traugott's findings. We have shown that CLOSURE markers cover not only adverbial verb modifier functions but also operate as a text sequencing connectors and crucially are productively used as pragmatic markers introducing the speaker's expectations. We in fact claim that the conceptual path is subject to further specification. A finer grained description of such a conceptual path is offered in scale 4 below:

#### Scale 4

Spatial closure > Temporal closure > Expected result of some scanned process > Reaching a potentially problematic goal (EXPECTATIONS) > Final evaluation of a contradicting event (COUNTER-EXPECTATIONS).

Scale 4 is confirmed by our data. As we have shown, the spatial value of closure markers may very well operate in the referential world but what is most outstanding is their use as discourse markers (Traugott's second stage). In that dominion the most basic use of closure corresponds to sequential discourse organization where the last element in a list is highlighted. The next step in the continuum is restricted to a temporal domain highlighting the endpoint of some complex event which needs not be organized in a sequential manner. All other uses correspond to a force-dynamics situation concluding some complex event. In the simplest case, the result of the event matches the speaker's expectations since the potential obstacle does not constitute a considerable antagonistic force. The real force-encounter, where the speaker's expectations are still met, constitute the following step. The last element in the continuum is provided by situations where the speaker's expectations are overwhelmed by a contravening event. We have shown that under those circumstances the closure marker's function is evaluative with respect to the misfortunes of the unaccomplished event. Our findings suggest that within Traugott's text functions of grammaticized elements there are important conceptual steps leading to further phases of the grammaticalization process.

While these steps are attested in our data, a motivating account is still needed. We suggest that the cognitive process triggering such a path is a subjectification process (Langacker 1991b). The process involves a series of extensions of the endpoint schematic representation from the spatial-temporal domain to the text domain and furthermore to the domain of the conceptualizer. More important is the constitution of the event in a subjective manner, as a process of objectification by which the conceptualizer's view (C) is incorporated in the objective scene (Langacker 1985, 1991b: 326). Figure 1 shows the progressive emergence of the conceptualizer in the scene:

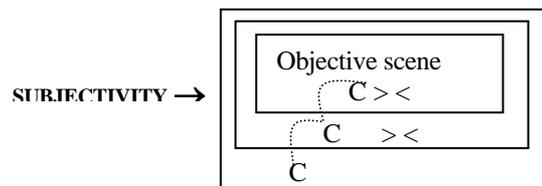


Figure 1. Objectification Process

In the outer box the conceptualizer is inside the event but outside its core region. The temporal/spatial closure corresponds simply to signaling the terminal prominence of the event. The intermediate box corresponds to the setting, in this case, the discourse space. Terminal prominence, as provided by the notion of CLOSURE, is now equated with speaker's concerns. As a discourse organization marker the CLOSURE is now imposed by the conceptualizer's view. Moreover, the two facing angles correspond to the encounter of forces depicting the speaker's expectations. In this intermediate case we have the examples where text terminal prominence and expectations coexist. Finally, in the readings involving a higher degree of force-dynamics the speaker's expectations are profiled with the corresponding detriment of terminal prominence whose presence is less salient. In these cases the whole happening is calculated from the conceptualizer's view as s/he becomes central to the whole event. Subjective conceptualizations are obtained through the incorporation of the conceptualizer in the objective scene. The more central is the conceptualizer the more prominent is the pragmatic reading.

The relationship between time and force-dynamics can be brought to finer detail. Given our schematic characterization closure markers highlight the endpoint of an event. Time, as equated with the last element or action accomplished in some complex event is expected to be particularly prominent. Interestingly enough, this is not always the case. As the pragmatic values involving speaker's expectations gain prominence, time moves back to the base. The best way to observe the complementary distribution between time and expectations is comparing the core information provided by figures 1 to 4 repeated here for convenience:

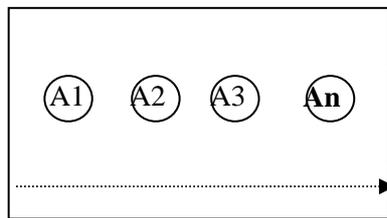


Figure 1'. Discourse closure

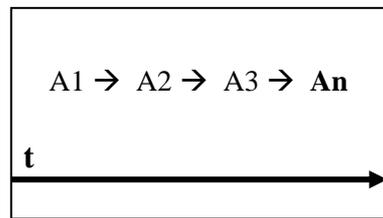


Figure 2'. Temporal closure

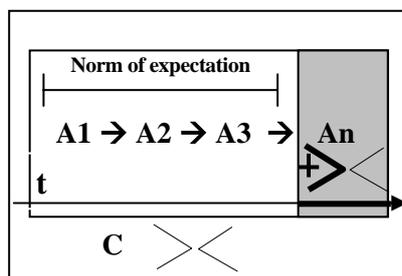


Fig. 3'. Expectation

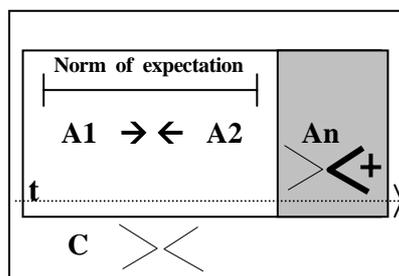
Fig. 4'. Counter-expectation  
(Evaluative)

Figure 1' shows that, as sequential elements are scanned, the temporal information remains in the base (see examples in (6)). In contrast, when we say *¡Finalmente!* 'At last!' after a long wait (see also examples in (7)), time gains prominence to the detriment of sequential/spatial scanning (Figure 2'). More interesting is the fact that when expectations emerge as the consequence of a force encounter we obtain two alternative construals. One where the conceptualizer's processing time is profiled and one where it remains in the base. In events represented by Figure 3', the conflict necessarily involves the conceptualizer's abstract timing of an awaited event; thus time is as prominent as the balance of forces in *Finalmente me dieron la beca* 'Finally they gave me the grant' (see also examples in (8)). In situations where the event as a whole triggers the conceptualizer's gestaltic reaction/evaluation of some situation the processing time remains in the base, as in Figure 4' (*Haz lo que quieras. Al fin tú eres el que decide* 'Do whatever you want. After all, it is you that decides'). There is thus clear evolution in profiling which we have conveniently represented in scale 5:

#### Scale 5 Pragmatic profiling

space > event/discourse time > processing time > speaker's expectations
---

The scale does nothing but highlight the incremental presence of the speaker's viewpoint in the pragmatic evolution of the CLOSURE schema. Time changes from concrete to abstract as expectations are profiled. Expectations by definition involve time, most commonly abstract processing time. However given our world knowledge we may have preconceived ideas about different event types which trigger gestaltic reactions. Once the conceptualizer's

viewpoint is established as a viable linguistic construal, expectations are less time dependent and the temporal sequential scanning of the event loses prominence. The counter-expectations and the evaluative uses of CLOSURE markers follow that type of construal.

Our last point pertains to general concerns in linguistic theory. Against the general claim by which linguistic analysis involves separating syntax, semantics and pragmatics, our data support Langacker's longstanding claim--now shared by Croft's *Radical Construction Grammar* (2001)--that such separation is artificial and inadequate for linguistic analysis. Pragmatic readings in our data are determined by the semantic force-dynamic composition of the verb, as well as pristine syntactic configurations of telicity and agentivity, both pertaining to a high degree of transitivity. It is the conflation of the three types of information that determines how the notion of CLOSURE operates: either as a temporal/spatial marker, as a pragmatic marker of the speaker's expectations/evaluations or as a combination of both. Based on Spanish data we have been able to show that conceptualization is deeply entrenched in the syntactic-semantic organization of language and crucially that the emergence of pragmatic values imposed in the event is not blind to the semantic and syntactic organization of a specific language.

## 6. Notes

1. The terms used to designate these forms vary a great deal depending on the theoretical traditions: 'conectores discursivos' o 'pragmáticos' (Briz 1993a, 1993b) is the most extended term. Other terms are 'enlaces extraoracionales/ supraoracionales' (Fuentes Rodríguez 1987, 1996), 'conectivos' (Mederos Martín 1988), 'operadores discursivos/pragmáticos' (Casado Velarde 1991, Martín Zorraquino 1993), marcadores de 'inclusión' (Borrego Nieto 1989). See Portolés (1994), who distinguishes 'conectores' and 'marcadores' discursivos. See also Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (1998), for a detailed discussion of the subject. For a parallel fluctuation in other languages see Ducrot (1980), Ducrot *et al.* (1980), Blakemore (1987, 1990, 1992), Blass (1990), Halliday and Hasan (1976), Halliday (1985), van Dijk (1980), Schiffrin (1987), etc.
2. Since *al final* has not developed clearly the pragmatic values of expectations we have not included this expression in our study. We thank an anonymous reader for calling our attention about this point.
3. Similar tendencies can be found in French linguistics: Adan and Revaz (1989), Roulet (1987), Roulet *et al.* (1985), Rossari (1990), Gaulmyn (1987), Gülich and Kotschi (1983), etc.
4. Our data come from the *Corpus del español mexicano contemporáneo (Diccionario del español de México)*, a data base of three million words including oral and written discourse from journalism, literature, science and semi-formal interviews. These examples are identified with alphanumerical code. In order to prove our claims we also provide invented contrasting examples based on those from the corpus. These have no identification code.

5. *Por último* 'lastly' only has discourse closure properties. We use it as a contrasting test to show the presence of extra pragmatic values in *finalmente*, *al fin* and *por fin*.
6. If *se* is deleted from (15a) there is a change of meaning with no force-dynamics *llevar* 'take' (not 'win'). Under those circumstances the use of the closure marker is senseless:  
 ??? *La cuarteta española de polo "Puerta de Hierro", llevó finalmente la serie internacional que se jugó en...*  
 'The polo Spanish quartet 'Puerta de Hierro' finally took the international series that was played in...'

## 7. References

- Adam, J. M. and F. Revaz  
 1989 Aspects de la structuration du texte descriptif: les marqueurs d'énumération et de reformulation, *Langue Française* 81: 59-94.
- Alcina Franch, J. and J. M. Blecua.  
 1975 *Gramática española*. Barcelona: Ariel
- Alonso, A. and P. Henríquez Ureña  
 1971 *Gramática castellana*. Segundo Curso. First published Buenos Aires: Losada [1938].
- Blakemore, D.  
 1987 *Semantic Constraints on Relevance*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.  
 1990 Constraints on interpretations, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 16: 363-370.  
 1992 *Understanding Utterances. An Introduction to Pragmatics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Blass, R.  
 1990 *Relevance Relations in Discourse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Borrego, J.  
 1989 Sobre adverbios atípicos. In: J. Borrego, J. J. Gómez Asencio y L. Santos Río (eds.), *Philologica II. Homenaje a D. Antonio Llorente*, 77-90. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- Briz, A.  
 1993a Los conectores pragmáticos en español coloquial (I): su papel argumentativo, *Contextos* XI/21-22: 145-188.  
 1993b Los conectores pragmáticos en español coloquial (II): su papel metadiscursivo, *Español Actual* 59: 39-56.
- Bybee, J. L.  
 1988 Semantic Substance vs. Contrast in the Development of Grammatical Meaning, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 14: 247-264.
- Casado Velarde, M.

1991. Los operadores discursivos *es decir, esto es, o sea y a saber* en español actual: valores de lengua y funciones textuales, *Lingüística Española Actual* 13: 87-116.
- Croft, W.  
2001 *Radical Construction Grammar. Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DeLancey, S.  
1981 An interpretation of Split Ergativity and related patterns, *Language* 57, 3: 626-657.
- Ducrot, O.  
1980 Analyses pragmatiques, *Communications* 32: 11-60.
- Ducrot, O. *et al.*  
1980 *Les mots du discours*. Paris: Minuit.
- Egea, E. R.  
1979 *Los adverbios terminados en -MENTE en el español contemporáneo*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Fuentes Rodríguez, C.  
1987 *Enlaces extraoracionales*. Sevilla: Alfar.  
1994 Conclusivos y reformulativos, *Verba* 20 (1993): 171-198.  
1996 *La sintaxis de los elementos supraoracionales*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Gaulmyn, M. M.  
1987 Reformulation et planification métadiscursives. In: J. Cosnier y C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (eds.), *Décrire la conversation*, 167-198. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.
- Gili Gaya, S.  
1990 *Curso de sintaxis española*. First published Barcelona: Vox [1943].
- Gülich, E. and T. Kotschi  
1983 Les marqueurs de la reformulation paraphrastique, *Cahiers de Linguistique Française* 5: 305-351.
- González Fernández, M. J.  
1996a Finalmente: determinación de las expectativas y del conflicto de fuerzas, *Memorias del III Encuentro de Lingüística en el Noroeste*, Vol. 2, 41-61. Hermosillo, Sonora: Universidad de Sonora.  
1996b Conectores discursivos, con especial referencia al español de México (Orden, expectativas y valoración).[Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Salamanca.]  
1999 La transitividad y las expectativas en los marcadores de cierre. In: J. Fernández González, C. Fernández Juncal, M. Marcos Sánchez, E. Prieto de los Mozos y L. Santos Río (eds.), *Lingüística para el siglo XXI*, Vol. 2, 851-860. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

- 2000 Transitivity and expectations. In: R. Maldonado (ed.), *Estudios cognoscitivos del español*. Special Issue of the *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada* RESLA-Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro: 131-152.
- In press 'Force Dynamics' in Spanish discourse markers. Paper presented at the *XI Seminario Susanne Hübner* (Feb 26, 2001), Dpto. de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, Universidad de Zaragoza.
- González Fernández, M. J. and R. Maldonado
- 1998 La perfectividad como fuente de contraexpectativas: *Resulta que 'X' finalmente 'Y'*, *Memorias del IV Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste*, Vol. 2, 61-82. Hermosillo: Universidad de Sonora.
- 2003 Organización léxica y marcadores discursivos en español. In: E. Matute and F. Leal Carretero (eds.), *Introducción al estudio del español desde una perspectiva multidisciplinaria*, Cap. 17. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Halliday, M.A.K.
- 1985 *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Londres: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R.
- 1976 *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Heine, B., U. Claudi and F. Hünnemeyer
- 1991 *Grammaticalization. A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hopper, P. J. and S. Thompson
- 1980 Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse, *Language* 56, 2: 251-299.
- Hopper, P. J. and E. C. Traugott
- 1993 *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, R.
- 1985 Observations and Speculations on Subjectivity. In: J. Haiman (ed.), *Iconicity in Syntax*, 109-150. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 1987 *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. I: Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 1991a *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. II: Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 1991b Subjectification. In: *Concept, Image and Symbol*, 315-342. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Levinson, S. C.
- 1989 *Pragmática*. Barcelona: Teide.
- Maldonado, R.
- 1988 Energetic Reflexives in Spanish. In: *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 14: 153-165.
- 1992 Middle Voice the Case of Spanish *se*. [Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. San Diego: University of California, San Diego.]

- 1993 Dynamic Construals in Spanish, *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* XXII, 3: 531-566.
- 1999 *A media voz. Problemas conceptuales del clítico se*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Martín Zorraquino, M. A.  
1993 Algunas observaciones sobre *claro* como operador pragmático en español actual, *Actes du XXe. Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes*, Vol. I, 467-478. Tübingen/Basilea: Max Niemeyer Verlag,.
- Martín Zorraquino, M. A. and E. Montolío Durán (eds.)  
1998 *Los marcadores del discurso*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Mederos Martín, H.  
1988 *Procedimientos de cohesión en el español actual*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Publicaciones Científicas del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.
- Portolés, J.  
1994 La distinción entre los conectores y otros marcadores del discurso en español, *Verba* 20 (1993): 141-170.
- Real Academia Española  
1924 *Gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Perlado, Páez y Compañía.  
1931 *Gramática de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Rossari, C.  
1990 Projet pour une typologie des opérations de reformulation, *Cahiers de Linguistique Française* 11: 345-359.
- Roulet, E.  
1987 Complétude interactive et connecteurs reformulatifs, *Cahiers de Linguistique Française* 8: 111-139.
- Roulet, E. *et al.*  
1985. *L'articulation du discours en française contemporain*. Berne: Peter Lang.
- Schiffrin, D.  
1987 *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, L.  
1985 Force Dynamics in Language and Thought. In: W. H. Eilfort *et al.* (eds.), *Papers from the Parasession on the Causatives and Agentivity*, 293-337. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.  
2000 Force Dynamics in Language and Thought. In: *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, Vol. 1, 409-470. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Traugott, E. C.  
1982 From Propositional to Textual and Expressive Meanings: Some Semantic-Pragmatic Aspects of Grammaticalization. In: W. P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel (eds.), *Perspective on Historical Linguistics*, 245-271. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- 1985 On Regularity in Semantic Change, *Journal of Literary Semantics* XIV/3: 155-173.
- 1988 Pragmatic Strengthening and Grammaticalization, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 14: 406-416.
- 1995 Subjectification in grammaticalisation. In: D. Stein and S. Wright (eds.), *Subjectivity and Subjectivisation Linguistic Perspective*, 31-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Dijk, T. A.  
1980 *Texto y contexto*. Madrid: Cátedra
- Vázquez Veiga, N.  
1994/95 Una aproximación a algunos marcadores con función textual de 'resumen', 'conclusión' y 'cierre', *Estudios de Lingüística. Universidad de Alicante* 10: 349-390.