Studies in Pragmatics

Beyond Grammaticalization and Discourse Markers

New Issues in the Study of Language Change

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Grammaticalization, *Distance, Immediacy* and *Discourse Traditions*: The Case of Portuguese *caso*
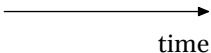
*David Paul Gerards and Johannes Kabatek**

1 Introduction

1.1 *Two Paradigms*
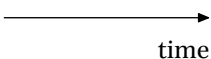
This paper aims to bring together two central linguistic paradigms with an impact on historical as well as on synchronic views, namely *grammaticalization* and *discourse traditions* (DTs, see Koch 1987, 1997, see also Borreguero Zuloaga, this volume) along the continuum between *communicative distance* and *immediacy* (Koch and Oesterreicher 1985) through examples from the Romance languages in general as well as European and Brazilian Portuguese.

Grammaticalization studies have largely focused on the evolution of the status of certain elements (words, constructions) along the history of a given language. In so doing, they usually concentrate on the diachronic evolution, conceptualizing diachrony as an abstract line determined by the factor *time*:

$$(1) \quad x1 \quad > \quad x2 \quad > \quad x3$$

$$\xrightarrow{\hspace{3cm}}$$

$$\text{time}$$

Here, *x1* is a word (or construction) which becomes a grammatical item, *x2*, or an even more grammatical item, *x3*. This view is often accompanied, in a more onomasiologic view, by parallel looks at alternative elements with similar functions and with parallel, but time-shifted evolutions:

$$(2) \quad x1 \quad > \quad x2 \quad > \quad x3$$
$$y1 \quad > \quad y2$$

$$\xrightarrow{\hspace{3cm}}$$

$$\text{time}$$

We could take the evolution of the Latin construction *amare habeo* 'I will love' towards the Romance future (Fr. *j'aimerai*, Port. *amarei*, Sp. *amaré*) as an example for *x*; *y* would then be the periphrastic future with a movement verb (Fr. *je vais aimer*, Port. *vou amar*, Sp. *voy a amar* 'I am going to love'). Interestingly, grammaticalization studies often contain observations such as "*x* is becoming a more formal element whereas *y* is more common in spoken language". This is also a typical observation with regard to the periphrastic future—less grammaticalized and associated with more informal styles. It is indeed obvious that many works on grammaticalization add remarks on registers/styles or the like. Usually, however, they do so in a rather unsystematic and cursory manner. The aim of our contribution is to show that this neglect is problematic as it only provides an incomplete and oversimplified picture of the history of individual languages. The inner differentiation of languages, i.e., their varieties, the continuum of *communicative distance and immediacy*, as well as *discourse traditions* (DTs), are essential parameters associated with grammaticalization and language change in general. We will now set out to briefly introduce both notions and illustrate how they relate to each other.

1.2 *Language between* Immediacy and Distance

According to Koch and Oesterreicher (1985), language variation is determined by a basic, universal continuum between two poles which they call *immediacy* and *distance*. They define this opposition by means of a series of communicative conditions and strategies (e.g., private–public; intimately related– unknown; emotional–without emotion; with reference to the concrete situation and action–without such reference; physically close–physically distant; dialogic–monologic; spontaneous–planned, etc.; see Koch and Osterreicher 1985). Immediacy and distance are related—in cultures with written language—to both speaking and writing, yet there is no causal, let alone absolute, relationship between the two. Instead, what can be observed are rather tendencies of common association. Koch and Oesterreicher, with reference to Söll (1974), explain that while the distinction between the phonic and the graphic medium is a clear-cut dichotomy, its relationship to immediacy and distance is a statistical one: It is more likely to find written texts closer to the pole of distance and spoken texts closer to the pole of immediacy than vice versa. This is schematized in Figure 5.1 below.

At each point of the continuum, more or less stable traditions of speaking and writing, so-called *discourse traditions* (DTs),[1] can emerge in a particular cul-

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1 The concept of *discourse traditions* was introduced by Koch (1987) with reference to previous
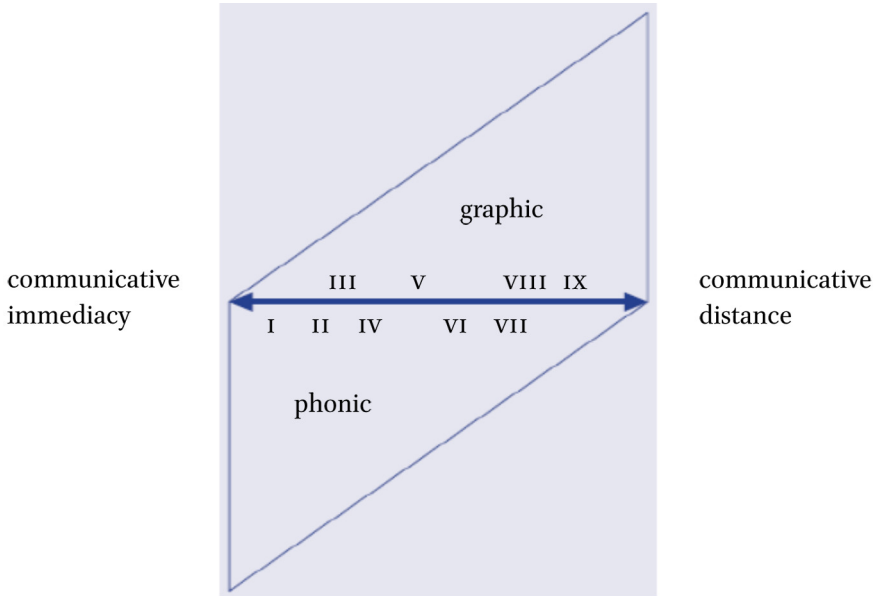
FIGURE 5.1   *Immediacy and distance, according to Koch and Oesterreicher (2010, 13)*

ture. These DTs are marked in Figure 5.1 by Roman numerals, where I is, for example, an informal conversation, III a private letter, VII a formal oral presentation and IX a juridical text (Koch and Oesterreicher 2010, 12). DTs have their own history alongside or within the diachrony of a language. In order to visualize this historical view, we have proposed rotating the scheme from Figure 5.1 and modifying it by introducing a left-to-right time axis, representing DTs as horizontal lines with their own dynamics between stability and change and with (possible) mutual influence (see Figure 5.2 below).

The underlying ideas of this paper are as follows: The diachrony of a language may be further differentiated and not all linguistic elements appear (or at least not with the same frequency) in all DTs. This also entails that innovations can emerge in a particular DT situated at a particular point along the contin-

work by Schlieben-Lange (1983) and Koch and Oesterreicher (1985). The basic idea is that in Eugenio Coseriu's framework, where a tripartite distinction between a *universal*, a *historical* and an *individual* level is considered crucial for all concrete issues of linguistic analysis (cf. Coseriu 1985), a further differentiation between the historicity of language as a system and the historicity of texts (i.e., the repetition of concrete utterances, textual forms, genres, etc.) should be introduced at the historical level. During the last decades, numerous publications in Romance linguistics have focused on the study of discourse traditions and it has become one of the most frequently applied paradigms in this field.

communicative distance
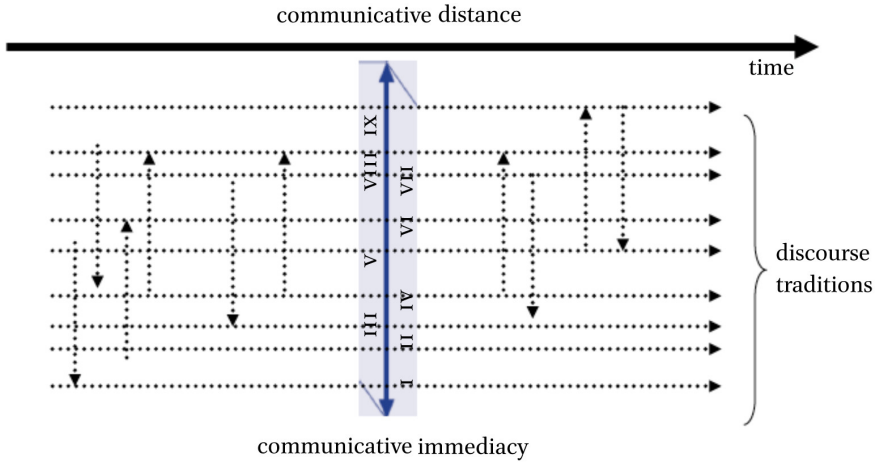
FIGURE 5.2 *Discourse traditions in diachrony between immediacy and distance*

uum of communicative distance and immediacy. From there, these innovations may (but do not necessarily need to) spread to other DTs, as represented in Figure 5.2 by the vertical arrows (see also Koch 2008 for further reflection on the interrelatedness of DTs and grammaticalization). We argue that this spread is expected to happen first into DTs situated at a point anchored along the distance–immediacy continuum similar to the point of the DT of innovation. Only at a later stage will the innovation 'conquer' DTs differently marked for the [± immediate/distant] parameter. We assume that a similar pathway can also hold for the loss of grammatical elements: If the starting point of the loss is a given DT, other DTs where an element disappears will, at first, most likely show a similar marking for [± immediate/distant], while the element is preserved longer in DTs marked differently.

It is commonly assumed that grammaticalization phenomena rather emerge "from below" (Labov 1994, 78)—that is, in DTs marked [+ immediate]—and that they are associated with expressivity, etc. (Mair 1992; Koch and Oesterreicher 1996). However, in principle, any DT may be the locus of innovation, and there are obvious examples for emergence "from above", that is, in DTs marked as [+ distant]. In Kabatek (2005a), this twofold possibility was visualized as in Figure 5.3 below.

As for changes 'from above' and in reference to Figure 5.3 and to the relationship between grammatical change and discourse traditions, Pons Bordería (2008), for example, showed how ID EST, an element of formal written Latin, became a discourse marker in Spanish (*esto es*). Several studies in Romance linguistics have discussed issues where grammaticalization and discourse traditions interact (e.g., Octavio de Toledo 2014; Winter-Froemel 2014). However,
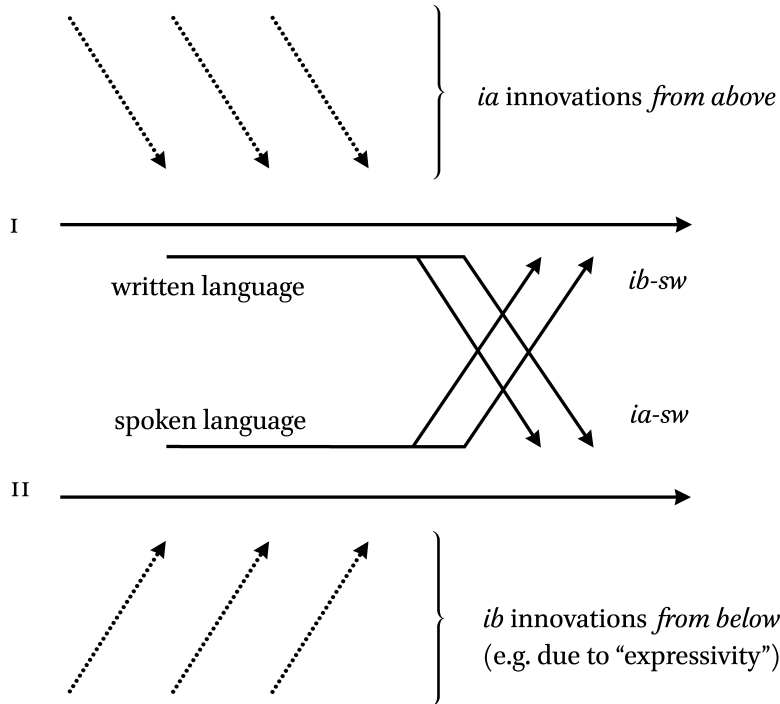
FIGURE 5.3 *Changes 'from above' and 'from below'*

most studies on grammaticalization contain only vague remarks on registers, styles or (in)formality. This is presumably due to it being a cumbersome endeavor to determine the exact DT(s) where a grammatical element originated. Notwithstanding, this is precisely the intent of this paper. We will discuss a particular case of grammaticalization 'from above'—that of Lat. CASUS 'case' and its evolution in Portuguese—and show how its grammaticalization path can only be fully understood when taking into account DTs and, thus, the continuum of communicative distance and immediacy.

1.3   *The Case of Portuguese* caso

In Modern Portuguese, constructions such as the following are commonly found:

(3) *Fumaça já   não consegue   mexer-se.   Está   de pé*
     F.   already NEG manage.3SG[2] move.INF-REFL be.3SG of foot
     porque o moreno   o   segura   por um dos   braços. Dito
     because the dark-skinned him hold.3SG by one of.the arms   D.
     *sabe   que vão   matá-lo,   **caso   não***
     know.3SG that AUX.FUT.3PL kill.INF-HIM if < case NEG
     fale.
     speak.SBJV.3SG
     'Fumaça is no longer able to move. He is standing upright because the
     dark-skinned holds one of his arms. Dito knows they will kill him if he
     doesn't talk.' (José Pixote Louzeiro, *Infância dos Mortos*, 1977; source: *Cor-
     pus do Português*)[3]

In (3), an example from Brazilian Portuguese, the form *caso* appears in a condi-
tional context and could be replaced by the traditional conditional conjunction
se (< Lat. SĪ(C)). Portuguese *caso* is originally a noun (and it continues
to be a noun in other contexts) which has grammaticalized into a conditional
conjunction through historical processes. Our empirical aim is to retrace the
evolution of different conditional constructions containing *caso* in the his-
tory of Portuguese. We will show how such constructions emerge—just as in
other European languages such as Spanish, French or English—in the con-
text of juridical DTs or other texts marked as [+ distant]. Additionally, we will
investigate how these constructions undergo a series of changes in the case of
Portuguese, which, among other things, makes them lose their formal connota-
tion, thereby allowing them to become a part of everyday oral communication.

The organization of the remainder of this paper is as follows: Section 2 is
dedicated to the origins of conditional constructions containing *caso* in older
stages of Portuguese with additional remarks on several other languages. Sec-
tion 3 deals with the evolution of *caso* into a conditional conjunction in Por-

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2   In the remainder of this paper, if no tense information is given, the form is present. Likewise,
    if mood is not specified, the form is indicative.

3   In the remainder of this paper, the *Corpus do Português* (*CdP*) by Mark Davies and Michael
    Ferreira (www.corpusdoportugues.org) will be the main, albeit not the only, source of our
    data.

tuguese. In Section 4, we add some reflections on the form *acaso* 'coinciden-tally, by chance' in Portuguese and Spanish, which has acquired the status of modalizing particle in contemporary language. In Section 5, we return to the theoretical discussion. Our general claim is that both of the mentioned paradigms—grammaticalization on the one hand and *distance–immediacy* and DTs on the other hand—should be integrated into a more complete view of language evolution. Furthermore, there is not only a parallel coexistence but an intimate relation between the two paradigms.

2 Conditional Constructions with *caso*: Older Stages of Portuguese and Beyond

2.1 *Preliminary Remarks*

In contemporary European languages, constructions containing forms etymo-logically related to Lat. CASUS 'case' (or loan translations such as German *Fall*) are quite common in certain formulaic or formal contexts, as in the following example of the well-known security instruction in aircrafts:

(4) a. Portuguese
       Em caso de despressurização *da   cabine, máscaras cairão*
       in *case* of pressure.loss   of.the cabin   masks   fall.FUT.3PL
       automaticamente à   sua frente.
       automatically   at.the your front
       'In case of a loss in cabin pressure, masks will automatically fall down in front of you.' (http://espadadeogum.blogs.sapo.pt/em-caso-de-despressurizacao-4309934; 01/22/2018)

    b. Spanish
       En caso de una despresurización *de la   cabina, se*
       in *case* of a   pressure.loss   of the cabin   REFL
       abrirán   los compartimentos encima de sus   asientos, que
       open.FUT.3PL the compartments   above   of your seats   which
       contienen   las máscaras de oxígeno.
       contain.3PL the masks   of oxygen
       'In case of a loss in cabin pressure, the compartments above your seats, which contain the oxygen masks, will open automatically.' (http://www.diarioazafata.com/2011/09/08/procedimientos-de-emergencia-la-despresurizacion-las-mascarillas-y-los-ninos/; 01/22/2018)

   c. English

     *I'm sure you've heard the sage advice from flight attendants a hundred times: **in case of a loss** in cabin pressure, put your own breathing mask on first, then put …* (Don Everts, *Go and Do: become a Missional Christian*, Google Books)[4]

   d. German

Im	***Fall***	***eines***	***Druckverlustes***	***fallen***	*automatisch*
in.the	*case*	of.a	pressure.loss	fall.3PL	automatically

Sauerstoffmasken aus   der Kabinendecke.
oxygen.masks   out.of the cabin.ceiling
'In case of a loss in cabin pressure, oxygen masks will automatically fall out of the cabin ceiling.' (Hans Peter Hepe, *Der soziale Körper*, 84, Google Books)

In any of (4a)–(4d), the word *case* (*caso*, *Fall*) appears in a prepositional construction which is largely conventionalized but conserves the semantics of *case* as a noun. In German (4d), the determiner is necessarily preserved (*in+ dem → im*), whereas in Portuguese, Spanish and English, the omission of the article is optional; that is, it is possible to substitute *no caso/en el caso/in the case* for *em caso/en caso/in case*.[5] The semantics of the word CASUS (a nominalization of the past participle of the Latin verb CADERE 'to fall') and its successors specifically favors the generating of such constructions: It is a rather abstract word, and its meaning in English, according to the *OED*, is "[a] thing that befalls or happens to anyone; an event, an occurrence; a chance happening."[6] The meanings in the other languages are similar: *case* is an 'international

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4 We want to thank Lachlan Mackenzie for pointing out in a comment to a previous version of this paper in a discussion forum on academia.edu that *in case* (*of*) might not be the most idiomatic choice in the construction (4c) and that, at least for some speakers, *in the event of* should be preferred instead. As far as we can tell, speakers from different areas of the English-speaking world seem to differ in their readiness to accept *case* instead of *event* (see, e.g., the argumentation that both constructions are indeed synonymous: https://www .dailywritingtips.com/in-case-of-and-in-the-event-of/; 01/22/2017).

5 The optionality of a determiner is typical of prepositional locutions (cf. e.g., Himmelmann 1997, 3; Lyons 1999, 51; for Old Spanish see also Codita 2017).

6 The mentioning of the French loanword *chance* < Lat. CADENTIA, a nominalization of the neuter plural form of the present participle of the Latin verb CADERE—and thus etymologically also related to CASUS and its successors—is certainly not a coincidence (cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *case, n.¹*, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/ 28393?rskey=lkTO2o&result=1#eid).

word' and the respective constructions are easily transferable into different languages where forms directly or indirectly based on CASUS exist.

Case may refer to concrete past or future events, and the prepositional construction opens a space in time within which the event may happen. Constructions with *in case of* function as conditional constructions and can be replaced with *if*, where the 'case' is the protasis and the consequence the apodosis:

(5) *If cabin pressure falls below a certain threshold, the masks will deploy from the ceiling.* (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travel-truths/truth-about-oxygen-masks-on-planes/; 01/22/2018)

The prepositional construction with *case* and a subsequent nominal has a more formal character, however, and it appears in administrative contexts or in juridical or scientific prose, that is, in texts of communicative distance. This may be related to the origin of CASUS: The Latinism was adopted in medieval European languages mainly in juridical contexts where it originally denotes a legal case.

As for Old Portuguese, such a textual bias is underpinned by the exhaustive inventory of 13th- and 14th-century occurrences of *caso(s)* in the *Corpus do Português*, not only in prepositional constructions but in any morphosyntactic environment. Table 5.1 visualizes both the number of these occurrences and the texts in which these are attested.

Indeed, it is striking that, with the exception of five attestations from the *Crónica Geral de Espanha*, all occurrences are from clearly juridical texts or at least from passages dealing with juridical matters (i.e., juridical DTs).[7] In all occurrences, *caso(s)* is used with the lexical meaning outlined above. The special role of juridical texts suggested by the data presented in Table 5.1, we argue, is to be sought in the relationship between legal cases and conditionality. Such a relationship can be illustrated by looking at the different traditions of juridi-

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7 One may, at this point, rightly consider starting a debate regarding the problematic issue of the representativity of diachronic corpora. This matter is, however, beyond the scope of this paper, and we refer the reader to a more detailed discussion of the issue in Kabatek (2013). With regard to the point made concerning Old Portuguese *caso(s)*, it is certainly true that *CdP* contains a disproportionally high number of juridical texts for the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, from our point of view, the claim as such—that is, the strong link between *caso(s)* and texts of communicative distance—remains valid. If it weren't for such a textual bias, we would be at pains to explain the complete absence of *caso(s)* in, for example, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the *Cartas Portuguesas de D. João de Portel*, or *Barlaam e Josephat*—all of which are extensive texts or text collections containing more than 10,000 words.

TABLE 5.1   *13th- and 14th-century* caso(s) *in CdP according to text*

Century	Total N caso / casos	Texts
13th	5	– Transl. of *Summa de los Nueve Tiempos de los Pleitos* (3) – *Textos Notariais. História do galego-português* (1) – *Foros de Garvão* (1)
14th	84	– Transl. of *Siete Partidas* (58) – *Costumes de Santarem* (2) – *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* (7) – *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (5) – *Documentos do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (9) – *Textos Notariais. Documentos Notariais dos Séculos XII a XVI* (3)

cal texts in the Iberian Peninsula: On the one hand, there is a consuetudinary case law system of *fazanhas* or *notícias* (Span. *fazañas*), concrete cases which on some occasions are written down and serve as points of orientation for similar future events. On the other hand, there exists a more abstract, linguistically more distant tradition of *foros* or *forais* (Span. *fueros*), which in many cases consists of lists of conditional sentences where the case is no longer concrete, but instead hypothetical. Finally, from the beginning of the Revival of Roman law (from the 12th century onwards), a third tradition with even more distant and abstract texts emerges (see Kabatek 2005a for details).

In the following two subsections, we will be concerned with the diachrony of Portuguese conditional constructions containing *caso*. As for now, we will limit our observations and analyses to older stages of Portuguese (earlier than the 19th century). Section 2.2 focuses on formal developments, whereas 2.3 zooms in on the adscription of these constructions to certain DTs and their anchoring within the continuum of communicative distance and immediacy.

2.2   *Conditional Constructions with* caso*: Formal Changes until the 18th Century*

As mentioned above, Table 5.1 does not discriminate between 13th- and 14th-century occurrences of Portuguese *caso* in (soon-to-be) highly routinized prepositional constructions and in other, less fixed contexts. In what follows, we

TABLE 5.2   *13th–18th-century* caso *in* CdP *according to construction*[8]

Century	Other N (Sg.)	em caso$_N$ que +			no caso$_N$ que +				caso$_?$ que +	caso$_{Conj}$ +
		Subj.	Ind.	de + Inf.	Subj.	Ind.	Cond.	de + Inf.	Subj.	Subj.
13th	2									
14th	54	8								
15th	397	27	5		1	2			1	
16th	1328	18	4		5	1		1	9	
17th	820	43	3	1	22	1		2	2	
18th	642	6		2	16	1	1	9	3	1

concentrate on formal changes in prepositional constructions with conditional interpretations. We specifically deal with those constructions followed by the conjunction *que* 'that' (i.e., not by the preposition *de* as in (4a)). This decision is due to the fact that it is presumably the former's becoming increasingly conventionalized which gave rise to the genesis of a grammatical peculiarity of Modern Portuguese: the availability of a conditional conjunction *caso*, which will be further discussed in Section 3.

Table 5.2 above, which illustrates the time span until the 18th century, visualizes the frequency of two different conditional prepositional constructions (*em caso que*, *no caso que*, 'in (the) case of') according to century and also lists the frequencies of two alternative constructions without prepositions (*caso que*, *caso*). For comparability, frequencies of other nominal attestations are also given.[9]

According to *CdP*, the first prepositional construction to appear is the 14th-century *em caso que* 'in case of'. At the beginning, it is necessarily followed by

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8   For the sake of clarity, neither Table 5.2 nor any of the following tables distinguish between different relativizing constructions, i.e., in Table 5.2, *no caso que* contains four attestations of *no caso em que* (one from the 17th and three from the 18th century) and one attestation of *no caso com que* (17th century). Moreover, doublets of identical attestations have been omitted in order to warrant an exact quantification.

9   Table 5.2 does not include 15 attestations of *per/por caso* (four in the 15th century; seven, 16th century; one, 17th century; three, 19th century), 63 attestations of *a caso* (10, 16th century; 42, 17th century; 11, 18th century), or two attestations of *se caso* (15th and 17th centuries); see also Section 4. An additional two other constructions were also excluded: 34 attestations of *por/per caso de* 'because of' (31, 16th century; two, 17th century; one, 18th century) and two attestations of *por caso que* 'because of which' (16th century).

the subjunctive mood (6), whereas from the 15th century onwards it also occurs with complement clauses in the indicative mood. However, the latter does not always yield conditional readings. In example (7), for instance, a concessive or adversative interpretation seems to be adequate:[10]

(6) *Outorgou   que **em caso que os dictos   logares ou cada hũu***
    enact.PRF.3SG that in   case that the say.PTCP places or each one
    deles   forem   vençudos, que lhe cõponha
    of.them be.FUT.SBJV.3PL beat.PTCP that him recompense.SBJV.3SG
    ẽ nome de uîço   en dobre.
    in name of virtue in double
    'And he enacted that, in case the aforesaid localities or any single one of them were defeated, he would recompense him doubly by virtue of gift.'
    (*Documentos do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, 14th century)

(7) *Soomente saiba-se   que **em caso que nas   mortes***
    only   know.SBJV.3SG-REFL that in case that in.the deaths
    dos   Reys e   Principes se   fazem   sempre synaaes de
    of.the kings and princes   REFL make.3PL always signals of
    grandes sentimentos, na   deste   glorioso Rey, assy em prantos
    big   feelings   in.the of.this glorious king so   in grievances
    e   lagrimas, como na   tristeza das   vestiduras de todos se
    and tears   as   in.the sadness of.the clothes   of all   REFL
    fez   por muitos com muita spicialidade de dõr.
    make.PRF.3SG by many   with much specialty   of pain
    'It should only be known that whereas/even though demonstrations of great grief are generally made upon the case of a death of a king or a

_____

10   There are cases in which a prepositional construction followed by an indicative seems to indeed receive a conditional interpretation. These are sporadically attested until the end of the 18th century. We believe these attestations to be due to the fact that in *em/no caso que*, the noun *caso* could refer to a concrete, single instantiation of a discourse-**given** 'case' (e.g., via anaphoric reference). In these cases, *caso* had no conditional implications in the sense of a 'hypothetical case', hence the use of indicative mood. The fact that such a pattern with the indicative was available might have caused, due to formal identity of the prepositional construction, the sporadic extension of the indicative mood to truly hypothetical contexts. In the remainder of this article, we will not further mention the indicative mood attestations. All percentages and quantifications given only refer to data with subjunctives.

prince, those following the death of this glorious king, with regard to grievance and tears as well as to the mournfulness of everyone's garments, were conducted by many and in an especially doleful way.' (*Crónica de D. Duarte*, Rui de Pina, end of 15th century)

In the 15th century, a second prepositional construction (*no caso que* 'in the case of') begins to appear alongside *em caso que*. In accordance with the observation concerning the Portuguese, Spanish and English examples (4a), (4b) and (4c) the data suggest that it then became possible to use the definite article with *caso* in prepositional contexts (8). Vacillation between both constructions is observed even in the writings of individual authors.

(8) *E   per semelhante guisa   nom se   contem   em a*
     and by similar   manner NEG REFL contain.3SG in the
     paga   do   retorno   do   dicto   dote   e   arras
     payment of.the compensation of.the say.PTCP dowry and arrhae
     alguũs panos   nem   cousas que ella tenha   de mouẽs
     some   drapery neither things that she have.SBJV.3SG of mobile
     saluo   ouro ou prata e   djnheiros como dicto   he   ante.
     except gold or silver and money   as   say.PTCP be.3SG before
     Ella os   aia   e   posuya   como suas cousas
     she them have.SBJV.3SG and possess.SBJV.3SG as   her things
     *proprias **no   caso em que o   dicto   gomez freire moyra***
     own   in.the case in that the say.PTCP G.   F.   die.SBJV.3SG
     primeiro.
     first
     'And in a similar vein, neither drapery nor chattels are included in the compensatory payment of the dowry and arrhae [i.e., earnest money], only gold or silver and money, as has been stated before. She is to have it and possess it as hers in [the] case the aforesaid Gomez Freire dies first.' (*Chancelarias Portuguesas. Dom Duarte 1–2*, 15th century)

The later attestation of the construction with the definite article, when compared to *em caso que*, might seem counterintuitive at first, since one might expect the rising routinization and grammaticalization of the prepositional construction to go hand in hand with formal reduction (cf. e.g., Lehmann [3]2015). Nevertheless, the path *em caso que > no caso que* does not come as a surprise if one considers the well-known fact that in grammaticalizing article systems it is, among other contexts, precisely prepositional phrases where article use is attested late (see also footnote 5).

In the 15th century, *no caso que* is clearly the marked option compared to the indeterminate *em caso que*, and it remains so until the 17th century. However, the variant with the definite article continuously gains ground: Whereas in the 15th century, only 4% of the prepositional contexts followed by a subjunctive have the definite article, the proportions are considerably higher in the 16th and 17th centuries (22% and 34%, respectively). Finally, in the 18th century, *no caso que* surpasses the older *em caso que*, appearing almost three times more frequently in our data than the latter.[11] As for the ratio of *em caso de* + infinitive vs. *no caso de* + infinitive, the variant with the definite article seems to have always been more frequent than its indeterminate counterpart. Both constructions are later developments than the respective versions with *que* and are still attested today (cf. Tables 5.5 & 5.6 below).

The 15th century is interesting not only due to the first attestation of the prepositional competitor *no caso que*, but likewise because of the attestation of a second formal alternative to the older *em caso que*. As illustrated by the following conditional example (9), *caso que* + subjunctive,[12] a formally reduced variant of *em caso que*,[13] also becomes available:

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11   For the grammaticalization of the definite article in Portuguese and in Romance, see Kabatek (2002) and references therein.

12   The categorial status of *caso* in *caso que* is hard to assess, which is why it is marked with ⟨?⟩ in Table 5.2. On the one hand, its not being preceded by any determiner speaks against a nominal analysis. On the other hand, there exists a formally related concessive formula *caso negado que* 'even if', sporadically attested in the 17th and 18th centuries, in which *negado* 'negated' could be argued to either be an adjective modifying (nominal) *caso* or to be part of a fixed chunk/construction.

13   It is possible that *em caso que* was not the only predecessor of conditional *caso que*: In both the 14th and 15th centuries, our data contain 1 attestation of *posto caso que* 'given (the) case that' (documented also in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries); in the 15th century we found 6 attestations of *sendo/avendo caso que* 'being/occurring (the) case that' (documented also in the 17th and 18th centuries). Moreover, in the 15th century, we documented three attestations of *se for/era/é caso que* 'if it were/is (the) case that' (documented also in the 16th and 17th centuries). All of these constructions have conditional meanings, and the evolution from *x caso que* > *caso que* seems equally plausible as *em caso que* > *caso que*. Another possible source is conditional *dado caso que* 'given (the) case that', which is, however, first documented in the 16th century (and survives until the 19th). The grammaticalization path suggested below in Figure 5.4 is therefore potentially somewhat of a simplification. For the sake of clarity, all the constructions commented on in this paragraph were included in the category *Other N* in Table 5.2.
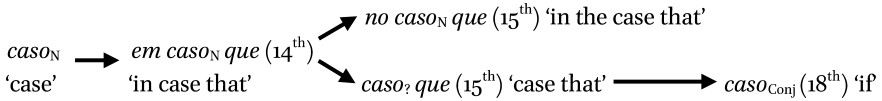
(9) […] & ***caso   que   hy   sse   aconteçesse   de matar***
       and if/case that there REFL happen.PRF.SBJV.3SG to kill.INF
       alguũ   pode   tornar   honde leyxou   na missa &
       someone can.3SG return.INF where leave.PRF.3SG the mass and
       acabala   pois   nom pecou.
       finish.INF-it because NEG sin.PRF.3SG
       'and if it happened [there] that he killed someone, he can return to where
       he left the mass & finish it, for he did not sin …' (*Sacramental*, 1488?)

Caso que is a marked option, quantitatively inferior to both *em caso que* and *no caso que*—the only exception being the 16th century, where it is at least more frequent than *no caso que*, even though not always demonstrating a clear conditional meaning (see below (14) and (15)).[14]

   Given the chronology suggested by the data, it seems likely that *caso que* + subjunctive and *no caso que* developed more or less simultaneously out of the indeterminate prepositional *em caso que*. This being said, both developments, however, appear to be independent of one another in the sense that the former, *caso que*, is a formal reduction, as expected in cases of grammaticalization, whereas *no caso que* actually strengthens the nouniness of *caso*.[15] The

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14   As for the grammaticalization of counter-argumentative markers, see also Garachana, this volume.

15   This is supported by the fact that there are sporadic attestations in which *caso* in *no caso que* is pluralized (e.g., *para que as normas* […] *sejam sancionadas como leis nacionais nos casos que se requeira sanção parlamentária* 'so that the norms are approved as national laws in [the] cases in which parliamentary approval be required'). We thank Sanderléia Longhin for drawing our attention to this point. Moreover, there are occurrences of *no caso que* in which *caso* is modified by an adjective agreeing in gender and number (e.g., *no caso suposto que* 'in the assumed case that', *no caso mesmo que* 'in the very case that'). The simultaneous innovations *no caso que* and *caso que* provide interesting empirical evidence on how bridging contexts (here: *em caso que*) work. *Caso* in *em caso que* is, to a certain extent, a problematic noun. It is indeterminate and the Portuguese definite article continues to grammaticalize. The two evolutions *no caso que* and *caso que* represent two different solutions to this problem: *No caso que* reinforces the nominal status of *caso*, whereas the formally reduced *caso que* exploits *caso*'s problematic status in *em caso que* towards a weakening of its nouniness, thus 'preparing' the reanalysis occurring in the course of the grammaticalization of a conditional conjunction *caso* (see Section 3). Crucially, in most cases of grammaticalization, only one of the two paths is trodden. Innovative formal reflexes of both possible pathways, as in *no caso que* vs. *caso que*, are rare.

$caso_N$ → $em\ caso_N\ que$ (14th) → $no\ caso_N\ que$ (15th) 'in the case that'

$caso_N$ 'case' → $em\ caso_N\ que$ (14th) 'in case that' → $caso_?\ que$ (15th) 'case that' → $caso_{Conj}$ (18th) 'if'

FIGURE 5.4   *Evolution of conditional constructions with* caso *in CdP (13th–18th century)*

TABLE 5.3   *14th–18th-century* caso *from CdP in conditional locutions and as a conditional conjunction*

Century	$em\ caso_N\ que$ +		$no\ caso_N\ que$ +			$caso_?\ que$ +	$caso_{Conj}$ +
	Subj.	Ind.	Subj.	Ind.	Cond.	Subj.	Subj.
13th							
14th	8						
15th	27	5	1	2		1	
16th	18	4	5	1		9	
17th	43	3	22	1		2	
18th	6		16	1	1	3	1

use of *caso que* declines from the 17th century onwards, and the three attestations in the 18th century are the last documented cases in our data. This loss is probably due to the genesis of the conditional conjunction *caso*, the first attestation of which (see rightmost column of Table 5.3, a simplified version of Table 5.2) is in an 18th century letter by Alexandre de Gusmão. The formal developments until the 18th-century as attested by the data from *CdP* are summarized in Figure 5.4.

With Figure 5.4 in mind, we will now turn to the question of how *em/no caso que* and *caso que* are to be situated within the immediacy–distance continuum and how certain DTs can be identified as their primary locus of 'routinization'.

2.3   *Conditional Constructions with* caso *until the 18th Century: Discourse Traditions between Communicative Distance and Immediacy*

Table 5.4 at the end of this section summarizes the main point to be made in this section: Until the 18th century, conditional constructions with *caso* spread from [+ distant] juridical DTs to non-juridical [+ distant] DTs and finally, in some cases, to more immediate DTs. In what follows, we will illustrate this development.

As shown in Table 5.1, all 89 attestations of *caso(s)* in the 13th and 14th centuries, regardless of whether in conditional constructions or not, came from highly formal texts, which are thus anchored close to the pole of communicative distance. Moreover, Table 5.1 provides relatively strong proof of a propensity for *caso(s)* to be used in juridical DTs. Since the *caso(s)* data set visualized in Table 5.1 also contained all eight cases of 14th-century *em caso que*, it is trivial to state the previous assertion holds equally true for the first attestations of *em caso que*: Out of the eight 14th-century attestations in Table 5.3 above, five come from clearly juridical texts (*Documentos do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (3), *Textos Notariais. Documentos Notariais dos Séculos XII a XVI* (1), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* (1), cf. example (6)). The remaining three *em caso que*-attestations, which are not clearly juridical in nature, are from one text: the Portuguese translation of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha* (1344).[16] The following occurrence (10), which again oscillates between a conditional and a concessive interpretation, exemplifies such a non-juridical use:

(10) *... ca   bem cuidava   elle que tam poderoso rey   como*
       because well think.IPRF.3SG he   that so   powerful king as
       era   el   rey dom Fernando que non viria   a
       be.IPRF.3SG the king sir   F.   that NEG come.COND.3SG to
       tal   logar como era   Cordova sen   muyta companha.
       such place as   be.IPRF.3SG C.   without much company
       E, en caso que muyta nõ   fosse,   que seria
       and in case that much NEG be.PRF.SBJV.3SG that be.COND.3SG
       boa.
       good
       '... because he sure thought that so powerful a king as was king Dom Fernando would not come to such a place like Cordoba without numerous company. And, in case/even if it weren't numerous, [he thought] that it would [at least] be strong.' (*Crónica Geral de Espanha*, 1344)

Crucially, the propensity for juridical contexts for *em caso que* is still present in the 15th century (18/27 in Table 5.3; 67 %), and remains equally as strong as in the 14th century. In any case, *em caso que* continues to be a construction that pertains to the domain of communicative distance, as displayed by the

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16   Again, 63 % (5/8) might appear to be too low a proportion to claim an origin of the prepositional constructions in juridical DTs. This is, at first sight, a reasonable objection, but see footnote 7 for further discussion.

following enumeration, which lists all 15th-century texts in which *em caso que* is attested:

– *Cortes Portuguesas* (1498) (7)
– *Chancelarias Portuguesas. Dom Duarte 1–2* (7)
– *Foraes* (1)
– *Crónica de D. Duarte* (3)
– *Cronica de Dom Fernando* (2)
– *Estoria de Dom Nuno Alvares Pereyra* (2)
– *Os primeiros 14 documentos relativos à Armada de Pedro Á. Cabral* (1)
– *Tratado de confissom* (1)
– *Vida e feitos de Júlio Cesar* (1)
– *Orto do Esposo* (1)
– *Leal Conselheiro* (1)

The only example of 15th-century *no caso que* + subjunctive (see example (8)) comes from *Chancelarias Portuguesas* and thus also appears in a juridical context.[17] The same holds for the first attestation of *caso que* (see example (9)), which, although the text as such is not juridical but a liturgical treatise, refers to a legal case.

The tendencies observed in the 15th-century attestations are, to some extent, still visible in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries: For both older *em caso que* and newer *no caso que*, there still are clearly juridical examples—many more so, however, in the 16th and 17th centuries ((11) & (12)). Generally speaking, however, the proportion of the juridical examples of both variants is smaller than in the 14th and 15th centuries, and examples such as (13) become much more frequent. Nevertheless, both of the conditional prepositional constructions still seem to evoke (or are indicative of) a relatively high degree of communicative distance, even though somewhat more immediacy-related attestations from the *Cancioneiro de Resende* are also well-attested:

(11) *E   outrossi mando   que todas as alldeas terras   e*
　　　and also   order.1SG that all   the villages estates and
　　　propriedades que estiuerem   vagas por aforar   e   as
　　　properties   that be.FUT.SBJV.3PL vacant for assess.INF and those
　　　que ao   diante vagarem   ou se
　　　that to.the ahead be.vacant.FUT.SBJV.3PL or REFL

17　　For a similar strong anchoring of parallel Old Italian *nel caso che* in juridical DTs, see
　　　Colella (2010, 174).

adquirirem   por guerra ou por qualquer   outro titolo,
acquire.FUT.SBJV.3PL by war   or by whichever other legal.means
em caso que se   aforem,   não valhão   os tais
in case that REFL assess.SBJV.3PL NEG be.valid.3PL the such
aforamentos [...] sem   primeiro terem   confirmação minha.
assessments   without first   have.INF.3PL confirmation mine
'And I also enact that all villages, estates and properties that are available [vacant] for assessment—and those that will be vacant in the future or be acquired through war or by any other legal means—, in case they are assessed, [that then] these assessments shall not be valid [...] without them [the people] having my confirmation first.' (*O Tombo de Diu*, 1591–1597)

(12) *E   no   caso em que o   comprador perder   o*
and in.the case in that the buyer   lose.FUT.SBJV.3SG the
gado que comprar   a noueado   por côprar a   pessoas
cattle that buy.FUT.SBJV.3SG to nine.times for buy.INF from persons
que lhe não sejão   nomeadas   pela certidão   que
that him NEG be.SBJV.3PL designate.PTCP by.the certificate that
das   camaras   há de   leuar,   as taes pessoas que
from.the authorities have.to.3SG obtain.INF the such persons that
assi lhe venderem,   perderão   o   preço que
so   him sell.FUT.SBJV.3PL lose.FUT.3PL the price that
valer   o   gado.
be.worth.FUT.SBJV.3SG the cattle
'And in [the] case the buyer loses the cattle he buys [then]—because of buying from people who are not designated by the certificate that he has to obtain from the authorities—these persons who in such a way sold it [the cattle] to him will lose nine times the price the cattle is worth.' (*Leis extravagantes*, 1569)

(13) *Também instará,   no   caso que ache   esta*
also   urge.FUT.3SG in.the case that consider.SBJV.3SG this
nomeaçao   dificultosa, que se   meta   sobre o   trono
appointment difficult   that REFL put.SBJV.3SG onto the throne
algum terceiro ...
some   third
'He will also urge, in [the] case he finds this appointment difficult, that some third person be put on the throne ...' (*Cartas de José da Cunha Brochado*, 1698)

Interestingly, the tendencies observed for 16th, 17th and 18th century condi-
tional *em caso que* and *no caso que* are not observed to the same extent as the
non-prepositional, formally reduced *caso que*. Already in the 16th century only
one of nine occurrences of *caso que* + subjunctive comes from a clearly (condi-
tional) juridical context, whereas the remaining eight attestations cannot be
argued to pertain to juridical DTS and, in many cases, have slight temporal
overtones (14) or oscillate between concessive and conditional readings, best
rendered by the alternative translation *even if/in case* ((15), further below):

(14) *E   caso   que buscassem   sombras, ribeyras graciosas,*
      and if/case that look.for.PRF.SBJV.3PL shades   banks   enjoyable
      valles amenos, altos álimos,   sombrios freyxos, suaves cantos de
      valleys pleasant high saltbushes dark   ash.trees gentle chants of
      aves, o   soidoso tom   dos   quebrados das   agoas, o   rugido
      birds the wistful sound of.the breakings of.the waters the rustle
      dos   ventos, que   zunião   nas   concavidades das   altas
      of.the winds   which buzz.IPRF.3PL in.the hollows   of.the high
      rochas: tudo isto fazião,   não somente pera seu gosto,   mas
      rocks   all this do.IPRF.3PL NEG only   for his pleasure but
      tambem ...
      also
      'And if/when they were looking for shade, enjoyable banks, pleasant val-
      leys, high saltbushes, dark ash trees, gentle chant of birds, the wistful
      sound of the breaking waters, the rustle of the winds, which were buzzing
      in the hollows of the high rocks, [then] all this they did not only for plea-
      sure but also ...' (*Imagem da Vida Cristiã*, 16th century)

Just as notable is the fact that 16th-century *caso que* without the preposition
seemed to be better a choice than *em caso que* or *no caso que* in contexts
located at least somewhat closer towards communicative immediacy. This is,
among other examples, corroborated by the fact that two of nine occurrences
come from the *Cancioneiros de Resende* (15) and another 3 from the *Diálogos de
Amador Arrais*, which are relatively simple conversations between an ill man
who receives visits from various friends. Although many of the visitors have
highly respected professions—which could be argued to trigger a more distant,
formal register—clearly conditional examples such as (16) are cases of a kind
of constructed orality:

(15) *Toda cousa da   payxam a   quem dela se   rreçea   &*
all   thing give.3SG suffering to whom of.it REFL fear.3SG and
caso   que se   nam crea   la   o sente   o
if/case that REFL NEG believe.SBJV.3SG there it feel.3SG the
coraçam.
heart
'Any thing causes suffering to those who are afraid of it & even if/in case
one doesn't believe it, the heart surely feels it.' (*Cancioneiros de Resende*,
1516)

(16) *Com rogos   se   ha de   procurar   a   equidade, &*
with prayers REFL have.to.3SG ask.for.INF the justice   and
*misericordia dos   Principes: &   **caso   que não baste***
mercy   of.the princes   and if/case that NEG suffice.SBJV.3SG
sendo   o   agravo   manifesto, remetamolo   a Deos …
be.GER the disgrace obvious   send.SBJV.1PL=it to God
'With prayers one has to ask for the justice & mercy of the princes: & if
the disgrace's being obvious is not enough, let's give it into God's hands.'
(*Diálogos*, Amador Arrais, 1589)

Based on the *CdP* data, such a statement in favor of *caso que*'s improved suit-
ability in contexts of communicative immediacy cannot be made quite as
decidedly for the 17th and 18th centuries. However, the five 17th- and 18th-
century attestations seem to at least not strongly contradict our hypothesis, as
evidenced by the texts in which *caso que* is attested (17th: *Crónica da compan-
hia de Jesus* (1), *Cartas do Parte António Vieira* (1); 18th: *Cartas do Abade António
da Costa* (2), *Cartas de Alexandre de Gusmão* (1)). An example of a 17th-century
attestation is given below:

(17) *Outros levavam   esta impossibilidade pela   dos   mares; que*
others take.IPRF.3PL this impossibility   for.the of.the seas   which
tinham   por imensos, e   impossíveis de navegar   para
have.IPRF.3PL as   enormous and impossible to navigate.INF for
*chegar   a ela, **caso   que tal   terra houvesse.***
arrive.INF at her if/case case such land exist.PRF.SBJV.3SG
'Others took this impossibility as being due to the seas, which they con-
sidered enormous and impossible to navigate with the aim of reach-
ing it [Brazil], if such a land existed.' (*Crónica da companhia de Jesus*,
1663)

TABLE 5.4   *13th–18th-century* caso *from* CdP *according to construction, ± distance and ±*
               juridical DTs

	Century	± Distance	± Juridical DTs	
Other N	13th	+++	+++	(5/5)
(Sg. and Pl.)	14th	+++	+++	(73/76)
	15th	(Due to the immense amount of data,		
	16th	no analyses were made for later *Other*		
	17th	*N*-attestations of *caso*)		
	18th			
*em caso*N *que* + ...	13th			
(subjunctive only)	14th	+++	++	(5/8)
	15th	+++	++	(18/27)
	16th	++	+	(4/18)
	17th	++	+	(10/43)
	18th	++	neutral	(0/6)
*no caso*N *que* + ...	13th			
(subjunctive only)	14th			
	15th	+++	+++	(1/1)
	16th	++	++	(2/5)
	17th	++	neutral	(1/22)
	18th	++	neutral	(1/16)
caso? *que* + ...	13th			
	14th			
	15th	++	+++	(1/1)
	16th	+	neutral	(1/9)
	17th	+/++	neutral	(0/2)
	18th	+/++	neutral	(0/3)

Given that *caso que* was most probably the direct predecessor of the con-
ditional conjunction *caso*, the hypothesis of a link between formally reduced
caso que and communicative immediacy, if true, would fit well the history of
the soon-to-arise conjunction (see Section 3).

Table 5.4 above provides a tentative summary of the anchoring of the dif-
ferent conditional constructions and of the category *Other N* within the dis-

tance–immediacy continuum and of their degree of adscription to juridical
DTs.

 We will now proceed to the discussion of the genesis of the conditional con-
junction *caso*, which represents a further step on the grammaticalization cline
and also, to the best of our knowledge, sets Portuguese apart from any other
Romance variety.

3   Going Further: 19th- and 20th-Century Portuguese

In Section 2, it was shown how the Portuguese noun *caso* 'case' < Lat. CASUS
came to be used in two different prepositional constructions with a conditional
meaning (*em caso que*, *no caso que*) and how these constructions became a rou-
tinized means for codifying conditions. As argued, this seems to have happened
first mainly in juridical DTs, from where the constructions spread to contexts of
communicative distance in general. Moreover, we provided evidence for how
em caso que was further reduced to *caso que*, which, crucially, seemed to be a
better choice in contexts of communicative immediacy than *em caso que*. *Caso
que* was lost in the 18th century. Most likely, as we briefly suggested, this has to
do with the fact that the complementizer *que* came to be omitted on a regular
basis, bringing about the genesis of a highly remarkable use of *caso*, illustrated
in the following example:

(18) ... *que o   não haver   água* (**caso   assim fosse**)
       that the NEG exist.INF water if < case so   be.PRF.SBJV.3SG
       nada   contenderia   a   imunidade da   Igreja.
       nothing dispute.COND.3SG the immunity of.the church
       '... that not having water (if being so) would not at all change the immu-
       nity of the Church.' (*Cartas de Alexandre de Gusmão*, 1735)

Crucially, in (18) the item *caso* has undergone reanalysis and grammaticaliza-
tion has further advanced: Whereas *caso* in *em caso que* and *no caso que* still
preserves many typical noun features (cf. Section 2), *caso* in (18) can only be
analyzed as a conditional conjunction meaning 'if'. As such, it is recognized
by a considerable number of grammars of both Modern European and Brazil-
ian Portuguese (cf. e.g., Dunn 1928; Cunha and Cintra [2]1984; Mira Mateus et
al. [7]2003; Bechara [37]2009; Bagno 2012; Lobo 2013). To our knowledge, however,
there are no studies on its diachrony, and neither of the grammars cited here
dedicate more than one or two sentences to *caso* as a conditional conjunction.
This is understandable in the light of the fact that the most widely used condi-

tional conjunction in Portuguese, as in most other Romance varieties,[18] is *se*, a successor of Latin sī(c).[19]

Given the lack of investigation concerning conjunctional *caso*, the present section is therefore concerned with both its diachrony in European and Brazilian Portuguese (3.2) and, parallel to Section 2, with its place along the distance–immediacy continuum (3.3). The latter will be done taking into consideration the careful suggestions concerning its predecessor *caso que* in Section 2.3 and highlight how *caso*, very different from *em caso que* and *no caso que*, slowly but steadily finds its way into domains of communicative immediacy. The overall goal of Section 3 is thus to at least partially fill one of the (many) lacunae in the description of the history of the Portuguese language and to further corroborate how grammaticalization 'from above' occurs. Our analyses will be preceded by some brief typological remarks (3.1).

3.1   *A Short Typology of Conditional Conjunctions and the Case of Modern Portuguese* caso

The remarkable renewal of the conditional conjunctional paradigm in Portuguese calls for a short typological digression concerning the lexical sources of conditional conjunctions. In a seminal paper, Traugott (1985, 290 ff.) argues that there is a well attested series of sources out of which conditional conjunctions can develop. These include: 1) words with temporal origin, meaning 'for a time', 2) forms which in their original meaning expresses epistemic or opta-

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18   With the remarkable exception of Daco-Romanian *dacă* 'if' < Lat. DE + QUOD, Megleno-Romanian (*ă*)*cu* 'if' < Macedonian ако 'if', alongside—and apparently less frequent—Latin-based *si* (Atanasov 2002, 277), and Aromanian *ma*(*că*) 'if' < Greek *μά* / Albanian *ma* 'but' (+ *că* < Lat. QUOD) (Pascu 1925, vol. 1, 59, 212). An alternative Aromanian conditional conjunction is *áma* < Greek *ἄμα* 'as soon as' < ?Turkish *amma* 'but' (Papahagi ²1974, 141; for cognate forms in Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Daco-Romanian with the meaning 'but' cf. Pascu 1925, vol. 2, 10 f., who rejects Turkish influence). Moreover, Aromanian seems to also possess older, Latin *si*-based forms, which, however, appear to only have been preserved in fixed collocational patterns of the type *seastică, sfurică* < Lat. SI + conjugated form of ESSE 'to be' + QUOD (Pascu 1925, vol. 1, 102). Both the Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian conditional conjunctions are further proof of the claim that conjunctions are easily borrowed in situations of language contact (Matras 2009, 157). Interestingly though, Istro-Romanian—a moribund variety of Romanian in strong contact with Croatian—does not use a borrowed element but Latin-based *se* (Kovačec 1971, 193 f.).

19   It is quite common that studies on the diachrony of conditional constructions in Romance are limited to a semasiological view and only consider the evolution of *si*-constructions (cf. e.g., for Spanish, Cano 2014, 3909).
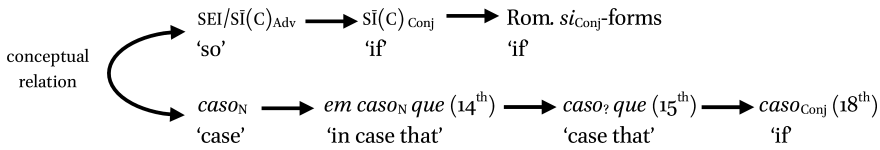
FIGURE 5.5 *Grammaticalization pathways and interrelation of conditional constructions with caso and* se

tive modality, 3) copula constructions, and 4) interrogative complements of verbs such as *to know*. Finally, Traugott lists a fifth pathway, which comprises elements roughly meaning 'given that, seeing that'. The latter pathway is precisely the source type of Latin sī, and thus, indirectly, also of Romance *si*-forms: Romance *si/se* developed out of the Latin conjunction sī(c) 'if'.[20] Notably, Latin sī(c) grammaticalized out of a formally identical adverb meaning 'so, in this case'.[21]

From our point of view, the pathway of the Portuguese conditional conjunction *caso* is very closely related to that of the more widespread Romance *si*-forms. Indeed, the noun *caso* means 'case', and a case is something which, by its lexical meaning, is very likely to be "known or given" (to use Traugott's formulation). If one accepts there to be such a cognitive bridge between adverbs like sī(c) 'so' and *caso* 'case', then Modern Portuguese has developed a new conditional conjunction by reusing a pathway already attested in its history.[22] It has done so via intermediate steps comprising the prepositional construction *em caso que*, later reduced to *caso que*. This proposed analogous pathway is illustrated in Figure 5.5 above, an adapted version of Figure 5.4.

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20 Usually, the etymology given for Romance *si*-forms is Latin sī,—that is, without the addition of the particle c(ɛ). However, this seems to be somewhat of a simplification as, at some point, there seems to have been an overlap between sī and sīc in Latin (cf. Ernout and Meillet ⁴1959, 622–623, who suggest this idea by saying that "*Sī* est le même mot que *sīc*", and later: "entre *sī* et *sīc* il y a eu une répartition"; see also de Vaan 2008, 561). In Old Latin the adverb sī(c) 'so, in this case' was SEI.

21 The older adverbial meaning is conserved in the Modern Romance reinforced forms of the type Port. *assim*, Gal./Sp. *así*, Cat. *així*, Fr. *ainsi*, Ital. *così*, Rom. *aşa*, etc., the genesis of which is possibly related to the functional overlap between adverbial and conditional *si*-forms. These forms are, to some extent, still documented in Old Romance; see Kabatek (2005a, 152–154) and have survived in some contemporary Rheto-Romance varieties.

22 While Portuguese *caso* is a singular occurrence within the domain of Romance languages, there are other languages for which the same lexical source is attested, e.g., German *falls* 'if' < *Fall* 'case' + later added adverbial genitive -*s*. *Falls* emerges in the 17th century through a pathway very similar to the one suggested in this contribution for Portuguese *caso* (cf. Kluge ²⁴2002, 274 and also especially *SHW*, vol. 2., 342 for dialectal attestations of the stage *falls dass*, formally parallel to Port. *caso que*).

TABLE 5.5   *19th- and 20th-century* caso *in CdP according to construction*

Century	Other N (Sg.)	em caso$_N$ que +			no caso$_N$ que +				caso$_?$ que +	caso$_{Conj}$ +		
		Subj.	Ind.	*de* + Inf.	Subj.	Ind.	Cond.	*de* + Inf.	Subj.	Subj. Pres./ Pret. Impf.	Subj. Fut.	Adv.
19th	876			1	19			23		28		
20th	1451			2	1	1		28		181	2	1

3.2   *The Conditional Conjunction* caso *in 19th- and 20th-Century Varieties of Portuguese*

In order to contextualize the diachronic analysis of conjunctional *caso*, Table 5.5 above gives a first quantitative impression of the various prepositional constructions, of *caso que* and of the conjunction *caso* in the 19th and 20th centuries.[23]

The data visualized in Table 5.5 suggest that prepositional *em caso que*, already rare in the 18th century, seems to completely disappear in the 19th. The same observation holds for formally reduced *caso que*, the most likely predecessor of the conditional conjunction *caso* (cf. also footnote 13).[24] Globally speaking, the data from *CdP*, thus, suggest that *caso* as a conjunction very quickly replaced its indirect (*em caso que*) or direct (*caso que*) formal predecessors. Probably, *no caso que*, still rather frequent in the 19th century, also contributed to the loss of *em caso que*, because it developed out of *em caso que* (cf. Figure 5.4), strengthening *caso*'s nouniness. Nevertheless, once con-

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23   Whereas the data for the 13th–18th centuries visualized in the various tables above present an exhaustive quantification of all occurrences in *CdP*, the data for the 19th and 20th centuries are a sample consisting of every fourth (19th), sixth (20th EP) and seventh (20th BP) occurrence yielded by the query ⟨caso⟩. Since Table 5.5 is intended to give but a first impression, it does not differentiate between EP and BP—a distinction *CdP* makes only for the 20th century. The data for the 20th century will be analyzed more carefully below.

24   A singular attestation of *caso* as a conjunction was already found in the 18th century (cf. (19)), which can be taken as a support for the idea that the loss of *caso que* had already begun in the 18th century before its completion in the 19th century.

TABLE 5.6   *20th-century* caso *in* CdP *according to construction, EP vs. BP*

Century	Other N (Sg.)	*em caso*$_N$ *que* +			*no caso*$_N$ *que* +				*caso*$_?$ *que* +	*caso*$_{Conj}$ +		
		Subj.	Ind.	*de* + Inf.	Subj.	Ind.	Cond.	*de* + Inf.	Subj.	Subj. Pres./ Pret. Impf	Subj. Fut.	Adv.
EP	658			2	1			16		58		
BP	793			2			1	12		123	2	1

junctional *caso* becomes frequent, the use of *no caso que* also diminishes and seems to become marginal in the 20th century (cf. also Hundertmark-Santos Martins ³2014, 325). Out of the different conditional variants investigated here, conjunctional *caso* becomes the most frequent option by far, at least when the following verb is finite. The situation for *em caso de* + infinitive and *no caso de* + infinitive, is, however, different. *Em caso de* + infinitive is still sporadically attested at present, and the use of *no caso de* + infinitive appears to even be frequent.

Even though we cannot ultimately determine *why* the conjunction *caso* emerged, the fact that it is a very recent 18th/19th-century development means that thanks to there being large amounts of data available, we are at least able to meticulously redraw its diachrony. This is the aim of the following paragraphs, in which the general diachronic overview presented thus far will be substantially complemented by separating European (EP) from Brazilian Portuguese (BP) data. Since *CdP* does not separate BP and EP for the 19th century, Table 5.6 above gives only a refined account of the 20th-century data.

Strikingly, Table 5.6 shows that in our data set for the 20th-century, conjunctional *caso* is about twice as frequent in BP than in EP.[25] As such, however, this does not yet reveal anything about the precise geographical circumstances under which the conjunction emerged. Given the asymmetrical frequencies between BP and EP in the 20th-century data, we considered it worthwhile to

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25   Note that for BP we analyzed only every seventh occurrence of ⟨caso⟩, whereas for EP every sixth occurrence was analyzed. This means that, in reality, the disproportion is even higher.

have a closer look at the origin of the 29 18th- and 19th-century attestations in our data—a time span for which, as noted above, *CdP* does not distinguish between diatopic varieties. The following list gives the names and birthplaces of all the 18th- and 19th-century authors for whom the use of conjunctional *caso* has been attested. The number of attestations follows in parentheses.

– Alexandre de Gusmão (*Santos/Brazil 1695) (1)
– Aluísio Azevedo (*São Paulo/Brazil 1857) (7)
– Joaquim Norberto de Souza Silva (*Rio de Janeiro/Brazil 1820) (2)
– Bernardo Guimarães (*Ouro Preto/Brazil 1825) (5)
– Franklin Távora (*Baturité/Brazil 1842) (1)
– José de Alencar (*Messejana/Brazil 1829) (3)
– Euclides da Cunha (*Cantagalo/Brazil 1866) (1)
– Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (*Rio de Janeiro/Brazil 1839) (7)
– Emílio de Menezes (*Rio de Janeiro/Brazil 1866) (1)
– Afonso de E. Taunay (*Nossa Senhora do Desterro/Brazil 1876) (1)

Crucially, without a single exception, all 18th- and 19th-century attestations of conjunctional *caso* as documented by *CdP* are from texts written by Brazilians born in Brazil.[26] It seems, thus, reasonable to assume that the conjunction *caso* is a phenomenon of Brazilian origin, from where, by the end of the 19th century, it spread to EP.[27] Importantly, this is not true of *caso que*, the presumed direct predecessor of the conjunction. The latter is documented mostly in EP, and only one attestation stems from Brazilian-born *Alexandre de Gusmão*.[28]

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26   Even though *CdP* presents a quantitative bias towards BP for the 18th and 19th centuries, the amount of EP data contained is still considerable.

27   In another corpus (*Tycho Brahe*), we did find one attestation of conjunctional *caso* from a late 19th-century Portuguese author (Eça de Queiroz, attestation from 1891). The possibility of BP-induced changes in EP has hitherto been at best only marginally proposed, let alone systematically explored. One exception we are aware of is the gap-leaving and the resumptive pronoun strategy in relative clauses such as *O prédio que o Paulo vive (ø/nele) está a ser restaurado* 'The building Paulo lives in is being renovated' being used instead of prescriptive *O prédio em que o Paulo vive está a ser restaurado*, described in detail in Veloso (2013, 2127–2133). With regard to the non-canonical construction type, attested both in BP and EP, Peres and Móia (1995, 288–297), from which the above examples are taken, consider BP influence on EP to be possible. Finally however, note that a possible BP influence for the conjunction *caso* cannot be assumed for *caso contrário* 'if not the case, failing this', an adverbial locution which according to *CdP* simultaneously emerges in 20th-century BP and EP.

28   The fact that this is the only attestation from a Brazilian author (who furthermore moved

There are also qualitative differences favoring the assumption that *caso* is a Brazilian innovation. When looking at the BP row in Table 5.6, it immediately strikes the eye that there are attestations with tenses other than prescriptive present or perfect subjunctive in BP. Example (19) illustrates one of the two BP attestations with a verb in future subjunctive:[29]

(19 BP) ...   ***caso   a   corrente* *estiver   *saindo   da**
        others if < case   the   current   AUX.FUT.SUBJ.3SG get.out.GER of.the
        tela   do   computador, o   campo magnético estará
        display of.the computer   the   field   magnetic be.FUT.3SG
        no   sentido   anti-horário.
        in.the   direction counterclockwise
        '[...] if the current is coming out of the display of the computer, the magnetic field will be counterclockwise.' (*Lei de Ampère*, 20th century)

The *CdP* data thus suggest that the grammaticalization of *caso* is further advanced in BP than in EP, inasmuch as the combinatorial restrictions are now only determined by mood and no longer by tense *and* mood. We believe this to be due to conjunctional *caso* being older in BP than in EP. We will now turn to the third aspect to be discussed in this section: the anchoring of conjunctional *caso* within the communicative distance–immediacy continuum.

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to Portugal at the age of 23) is somewhat problematic for the proposed cline *caso que > caso*. If the latter is a Brazilian innovation, we would expect there to be more Brazilian attestations of *caso que*. However, we believe this to be an effect of corpus design: *caso que* was relatively frequent (yet still a minor pattern) only in the 16th century (nine attestations), with only five later attestations (two from the 17th and three from 18th century). Crucially though, for the 16th century, *CdP* includes almost no texts from Brazil (the first Portuguese explorers arrived in Brazil in 1500).

29 A use explicitly reprimanded by normative grammars issued in Brazil (cf. e.g., Mendes de Almeida [27]1978, 565). A preliminary exploration of the *Reference Corpus of Contemporary Portuguese* (http://alfclul.clul.ul.pt/CQPweb/crpcfg16/) showed that *caso* + future subjunctive is also attested in Macanese, Mozambican, Angolan, and Cape Verdian Portuguese. In the latter variety it seems to be most frequent (9/50 cases; 18%), whereas the Macanese (2/69; 2.9%), Mozambican (3/55; 5.5%), and Angolan data (10/first 200 occurrences; 5%) show lower, but still remarkable percentages. No future subjunctives were found for the remaining non BP/EP varieties (marginally) contained in the corpus. Even though not attested in *CdP*, the possibility to use a future subjunctive after conjunctional *caso* seems to slowly expand to EP as well. This is suggested by a preliminary look at the EP section of the *Reference Corpus of Contemporary Portuguese*, which contains a lot more data than *CdP* and where very sporadic cases of *caso* + future subjunctive can be found.

3.3   *The Conditional Conjunction* caso *and its Extension to Communicative Immediacy*

In Section 2, it was tentatively put forward that, in comparison to coexisting prepositional *em caso que* and *no caso que*, *caso que* was the more suitable choice in situations located closer to the pole of communicative immediacy. A closer look at the 18th- and 19th-century examples for *caso*, all of which are from Brazil, supports the idea that this continues to be so for conjunctional *caso* in BP—likely the direct successor of *caso que*. The only 18th-century conjunctional *caso* (18) is from a letter and all 19th-century attestations, even though literary, are from diary novels or romantic/naturalistic prose, often published sequentially in newspapers (Port. *folhetins*). Of course, this is still written and, sometimes, highly elaborated data, but it is commonly accepted that prose of this type is at least not a prototypical DT of communicative distance. Furthermore, a considerable part of this 19th-century BP data from novels is from dialogical passages ('constructed orality') and, thus, undoubtedly very different from the highly formal and distance-related examples given for *em caso que* and *no caso que* in Section 2. Compare the following 19th-century BP-example of conjunctional *caso*:

(20 BP) *Então não há   meio   de chegarmos   a um acordo …*
        then   NEG exist.3SG means to reach.INF.1PL at an agreement
        —Vinte!— E,   caso   esteja   eu pelos vinte, posso
        twenty   and if < case be.SBJV.1SG I   for.the twenty can.1SG
        contar   que …?
        count.INF that
        'Then there is no way we come to an agreement.—Twenty!—And, if I
        accept the twenty [*contos* '20000 escudos'], can I count on …?' (Aluísio
        Azevedo, *O Cortiço*, 1890)

As for 20th-century BP, conjunctional *caso* is frequent in contexts of communicative distance,[30] but, crucially, continues to move further towards domains of communicative immediacy. Consider the following attestation (cf. also (3), similar to older (20)):

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30   And in fact, most 20th-century BP cases from *CdP* are from academic texts or from formal newspaper articles. We do not know whether this was also possible in the 19th century, since for this time span *CdP* only contains literary prose. We thank an anonymous reviewer for additionally pointing out that conditional *caso* is also very frequent in the *CETEMPublico*-corpus—a corpus containing exclusively journalistic texts—further corroborating the tendencies observable in *CdP*.

(21 BP) *uhn   um   gosta   mais de limpar   outro   gosta   mais de*
   uhm one like.3SG more to clean.INF other like.3SG more to
   passar   outro gosta   mais de lavar   escuta   caso
   iron.INF other like.3SG more to wash.INF listen.IMP.2SG if < case
   você morasse   *numa casa   —e- pra que você*
   you live.PRF.SBJV.3SG in.a   house and f'r that you
   dormisse   sossegada que profissional você
   sleep.PRF.SBJV.3SG reassured what professional you
   colocaria   —pra —pra sua proteção?
   put.COND.3SG f'r   f'r   your safety
   'uhm some prefer to clean, others prefer to iron, others rather to do
   the washing; listen: if you lived in a house—and—in order to sleep
   reassured—what kind of professional would you hire—f'r—f'r your
   safety?' (*orBr-LF-SP-3:251*, 20th century)

Given that in EP, conjunctional *caso* is a later development and likely influenced by BP, it is to be expected that attestations from contexts of extreme immediacy are not to be found as readily in EP. This prediction is, in fact, borne out. Out of the 58 attestations, 35 are from newspaper articles, and 16 come from academic texts. One example from a highly elaborate journalistic EP text is given below:

(22 EP) *davam   como ponto assente a   possibilidade de*
   give.IPRF.3PL as   point firm   the possibility   of
   realinhamento de o   sistema a pedido de as novas autoridades
   realignment   of the system at request of the new   authorities
   britânicas caso   se   verificasse   uma vitória
   British   if < case REFL verify.PRF.SBJV.3SG a   victory
   trabalhista.
   workers'.party
   'They took for granted the possibility of a realignment of the system
   upon request of the new British authorities, if a victory of the Labour
   Party was to be the case.' (*PUBLICO:5959:SEC:eco*, 1992)

Importantly, the seven EP attestations from literary prose and oral contexts exemplified in (23) and (24), are also indicative of situations of communicative distance (cf. the mesoclitical form *manter-se-á* and the relative pronoun *cujo*, elements clearly disfavored in contexts of immediacy):

(23 EP) *JN: Garante   que,* **caso   não ganhe**   *as   eleições,*
        guarantee.3SG that if < case NEG win.SBJV.3SG the elections
        manter-se-á   como vereador   até   ao   fim
        keep-REFL-FUT.3SG as   municipal.counselor until to.the end
        do   mandato? CA: O que   está   dito,   está
        of.the mandate   the   which AUX.3SG say.PTCP AUX.3SG
        dito.
        say.PTCP
        'JN: Do you guarantee that, if you do not win the elections, you will
        continue as municipal councilor until the end of your mandate? CA:
        What has been said has been said.' (Oral, *Interview with Carlos Azeredo
        in Jornal de Notícias*, 1997)

(24 EP) *só   se   podia   livrar   do   trabalho depois de um*
        only REFL can.IMPF.3SG free.INF of.the work   after   of one
        ano de internato   [...] a não ser por   doença grave, [...]
        year of internment   unless due.to *illness* severe which
        caso   os braços não pudessem   de todo voltar   a
        if < case the arms   NEG can.PRF.SBJV.3PL of all   return.INF to
        manejar   a   picareta [...].
        handle.INF the pickax
        '... he could only free himself from the work after being interned for
        one year, unless due to severe illness, [...] if his arms were altogether
        unable to handle the pickax anew [...].' (Literary prose, *Terra Morta*,
        Castro Soromenho, 1949)

It is only by examining corpora other than *CdP* that one can *very sporadically*
find EP examples which are situated closer towards the pole of immediacy.
Examples (25) and (26), the two only examples from the *Cordial-Sin* corpus,
could be argued to be similarly 'immediate' as the BP attestations commented
upon above:[31]

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31   *Cordial-Sin* is an oral, dialectal corpus. It consists of recordings of spontaneous conversa-
      tion. It needs to be taken into consideration, however, that the data were elicited in some-
      what more formalized, distant settings (presence of the interviewer, recording devices,
      etc.). It is not excludable that this might have also favored the use of *caso* instead of more
      informal *se*.

(25 EP) *... não tenho mais que explicar à senhora. (...)*
        NEG have.1SG more that explain.INF to.the lady
      Usamos também uma faca lá adiante, em caso de
      use.1PL also a knife there in front in case of
      emergência, para cortar. E (...) uma machadinha. **caso se**
      emergency for cut.INF and a hatchet if < *case* the
      parta *(...) o mastro (...) do bote, fazer (...) um*
      break.SBJV.3SG the mast of.the boat make.INF a
      pé para botar no seu lugar.
      post for put.INF in.the its place
      '... I don't have anything else to explain to you [+ polite]. (...) We also use a knife over there, in case of emergency, for cutting. And (...) a hatchet, if the mast (...) of the boat breaks, to make (...) a post in order to put it at the mast's place.' (Cordial-Sin, Interview in Bandeiras, Azores, 1979)

(26 EP) **Caso esteja** *muito frio, amorna-se um*
      If < case be.SBJV.3SG very cold heat.up.3SG-IMPERS a
      bocadinho põe-se o coalho, espera-se ali
      bit put.3SG-IMPERS the rennet wait.3SG-IMPERS there
      uma hora, conforme o tempo e a quantidade de leite que
      an hour, according the time and the quantity of milk that
      for
      be.SBJV.FUT.3SG
      'If it is very cold, it's heated up a little, then you add the rennet, you wait for an hour, depending on the time and on the amount of milk.' (Cordial-Sin, Interview in Unhais da Serra, 1997)

Crucially, the different diasystemic status of conjunctional *caso* in BP and EP just argued for would not at all become clear if we simply superficially examined the numbers: Table 5.7 below visualizes all 19th- and 20th-century attestations of conjunctional *caso* according to the four 'registers' covered by *CdP*. Separating BP and EP attestations, the quantitative view alone could even provoke an interpretation contrary to the conclusion drawn here: The *CdP* EP-data contain a slightly higher percentage of oral attestations, which could mistakenly be taken as evidence that EP is the variety in which conjunctional *caso* has moved further towards the pole of communicative immediacy.

It is, thus, only by carefully inspecting the attestations *themselves* that we can draw a reliable picture of how linguistic items work within a diasystem. Contrary to what seems to be the underlying assumption of much recent work in (quantitative) corpus linguistics, it is a fallacy to believe that large amounts

TABLE 5.7   *19th- and 20th-century* caso_{CONJ} *in* CdP *according to CdP-register, EP vs. BP*

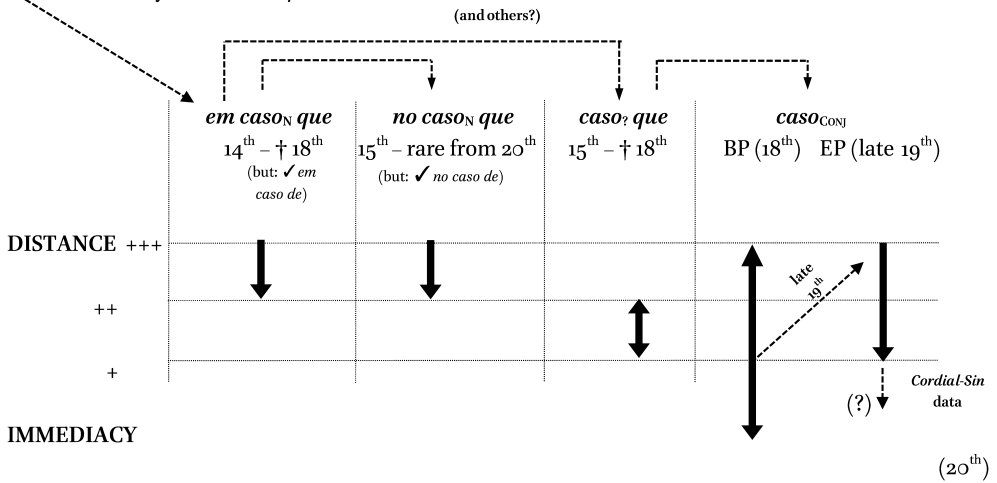|	Oral	Literary fiction	Newspapers	Academic
EP	4	3	35	16
	(6.9%)	(5.1%)	(60.3%)	(27.6%)
BP	6	19	61	40
	(4.8%)	(15.1%)	(48.4%)	(31.8%)

FIGURE 5.6   *Conditional constructions with* caso *in the history of Portuguese: interaction with the continuum of communicative distance/immediacy and discourse traditions*

of data *alone* are sufficient for elaborating a full picture of phenomena such as the one discussed in this article, and whose diachrony is integrally summarized in Figure 5.6 above.[32]

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32   See also Wall (2014, 169–171). This also holds of recent gigacorpora like the *Portuguese web 2011*, with almost 4 billion words (https://the.sketchengine.co.uk/auth/corpora/). Also here, with 2 million occurrences of *caso*, we mainly find formal examples. On the other hand, if we look at corpora also containing data closer to the pole of immediacy (such as data from Twitter, cf. de Benito 2016), we find numerous examples clearly marked as informal.

4   *Acaso*

Before arriving to the conclusions of this paper, we would like to add a few words on other developments related to Lat. CASUS in the Romance languages. The rather abstract semantics of Lat. CADERE 'to fall' and its past participle CASUS > *caso* (see 2.1.) opens a wide field for possible lexical and grammatical evolutions, as we can see if we explore some of the concepts listed by the *REW*. In the lexicon, CASUS may give rise to concepts like *case*, *coincidence*, *fortune*, *falling apple*, *waterfall*, *evening fog*, *heritage*, *slaughterhouse*, *epileptic*, etc., all of which are related to the more general idea of something unforeseen. An interesting task (which would lead too far astray from the present context) would also be to describe the emergence and semantic and formal evolution of idiomatic units like Sp. *hacer caso* 'pay attention', 'heed' in various Romance languages. As for grammar, as we have seen, in Portuguese, the general idea associated with *caso* allows for its grammaticalization as a conjunction expressing conditionality, furthermore resulting in lexemes like the adjective *casual* 'random' or the noun *casualidade* 'coincidence'.

In Modern Portuguese, we also find the interesting case of the form *acaso* (< preposition *a* 'to' + *caso* 'case'), which, on the one hand, is a noun meaning 'coincidence', 'fate', 'destiny' (as in 27) and, on the other hand, is an adverb referring to the possibility of something to happen—'may', 'maybe', as in (28).[33] Moreover, *acaso* also appears in questions with or without explicit negation marking in constructions such as (29) or (30). In these cases, *acaso* became, as Portuguese grammarians claim it to be, a "marker for rhetorical questions" (Martins 2013, 2273).

(27) *Quis   o   acaso   que eu tornasse   a ver*
     want.PRF.3SG the destiny that I   come.back.PRF.SBJV.1SG to see.INF
     aquela mulher no   teatro.
     that   woman in.the theatre
     'Destiny wanted me to see this woman again in the theatre.' (Irene Lisboa, *O Pouco e o Muito: Crónica Urbana*, 1956)

(28) *Estou à   disposição dos   senhores para responder às*
     be.1SG at.the disposal   of.the sirs   for   answer.INF to.the

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33   As already mentioned in footnote 8, from the 15th century onwards, we also find frequent constructions such as *per/por caso*, *se caso*, *a caso*, with a similar meaning.

indagações e   dúvidas que, acaso, me queiram   dirigir
questions   and doubts that maybe me want.SBJV.3PL addres.INF
e   expor.
and expose.INF
'I am at your disposal, Sirs, to respond to any questions and doubts you
may want to address and put forward.' (Luiz Beltrão, *A Greve dos Desem-
pregados*, 1984)

(29) ***Acaso** me ouviste   reclamar?*
     PART   me hear.PRF.2SG complain.INF
     'Have you heard me complain?'[34] (Martins 2013, 2273)

(30) ***Acaso** não há   formosura senão em Portugal, senhor Cavalheiro?*
     PART NEG EXIST beauty   but in Portugal sir   knight
     - me dizia   a   condessa de Laval
       me say.IPRF.3SG the countess of Laval
     'You think that beauty may only be found in Portugal, Sir Knight?—said
     the countess of Laval.' (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, *Cartas*, 1756)

This function, which is also characteristic of the earlier, analogous Spanish
form *acaso*, can be found from the 17th century onwards. Here, *acaso* becomes
a particle with a modalizing function, referring to the hearer's (presumed)
knowledge of the proposition of the utterance: It anticipates the hearer's neg-
ative response to the question while seeking the hearer's solidarity with the
speaker. At the same time, however, modalizing *acaso* provides a "margin for
the addressee to disagree and negotiate" (Meisnitzer 2012, 346).[35]

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34   The translation of this example—just like that of (30)—appears somewhat incomplete
     since it does not really reproduce the difference between the same sentence with and
     without the form *acaso*. Other languages, such as the continental Germanic languages,
     dispose of forms with a similar function. These are the *Abtönungpartikeln* or modal parti-
     cles, particles of modal resonance which evoke (presumed) common knowledge between
     the speaker and the hearer and thus encode the hearer's view as presupposed by the
     speaker (cf. the notion of *Fremdbewusstseinsabgleicher*, roughly meaning 'element to
     assess the knowledge of the other', in, e.g., Abraham 2009). A German translation of (29)
     would be *hab ich mich vielleicht/etwa beschwert?*, where *vielleicht* or *etwa* do not have
     their full lexical meanings as adverbs ('maybe'/'approximately') but instead express that
     the utterance is a reaction to the either presumed or already manifested attitude of the
     hearer. For a recent review of the cognitive function of modal particles, see Gerards and
     Meisnitzer (2017). See also Detges/Gévaudan, this volume.

35   It could be denied for syntactic reasons that entities such as modal particles (in the sense

Due to its function of actively assessing an (assumed) stance of the hearer towards the proposition, modalizing *acaso* is typical of dialogues. However, it is not marked as informal or immediate and can be found in elaborated texts as well as in more spontaneous speech.

5   Closing the *Case*: *caso*, Grammaticalization, Distance/Immediacy, and Discourse Traditions

We have shown how Lat. CASUS > Port. *caso* undergoes several evolutions in the history of Portuguese; *caso* as a noun becomes part of prepositional constructions expressing a condition, *caso* as a conjunction becomes a grammaticalized element for conditional subordination, *acaso* as an adverb becomes both a noun and a particle with a modalizing function. These observed evolutions allow for some semantic, constructional and more general conclusions regarding the relationship between grammaticalization, communicative distance–immediacy and DTs.

Semantically, CASUS and its modern successors evolve along two pathways in Portuguese (and, partly, in other languages): As in several other languages, CASUS 'event' or 'juridical event' enters into prepositional constructions with *em* 'in', where the reference to future events is hypothetic and thus accompanied by the more abstract meaning of hypothesis or conditionality. The habitualization of this secondary meaning causes it to become the primary meaning of such constructions. The second pathway becomes manifest in constructions with *a* 'to', where *caso* originally refers to a particular situation and then to a possible, 'casual' event, resulting in the meaning 'maybe'. A further step is completed once *acaso* becomes a marker of rhetorical questions, that is, an indicator of a 'secondary sense' of the utterance. With this latter function, it

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of *Abtönungspartikeln*, in footnote 34) may exist in languages which are not V2 in cases where the particles do not follow the verb. Once we leave aside purely syntactic criteria, there is, however, no doubt that the cognitive accomplishment of modal particles can also be achieved in Romance languages. The linguistic means to do so are manifold, and some of them, albeit not all, are particles (cf. Waltereit 2006; for a discussion of possible Romance modal particles and the syntactic criterion, cf. Sections 2 and 3 in Gerards and Meisnitzer 2017). Interestingly, one important source for such particles in Ibero-Romance is *insubordination* (Evans 2007), and a prototypical particle with a modalizing function created by insubordination is *si* (for Spanish, see Gras Manzano, 2010). This seems to be no coincidence, if we look at our claims regarding the relationship between *caso* and *si* in 3.1.

can be argued to have grammaticalized into a modal particle (or particle with a modalizing function, depending on the importance attributed to syntactic criteria) expressing a particular type of interpersonal epistemic modality.

Syntactically or constructionally (see Closs Traugott, this volume), *caso* in prepositional constructions like *em caso que/no caso que* emerges in medieval texts. In Portuguese, these constructions undergo a process of constructional reduction as shown in Figure 5.6 (*em caso que/no caso que > caso que > caso*). The formal reduction is also accompanied by a reduction of flexibility of the grammatical environment of the construction. As for *acaso*, this form is the product of the fusion of a preposition and a noun. As an adverb, it is rather flexible with regard to linearization and becomes habitual mainly in two concrete constructions, *por acaso* and simple *acaso* alongside a newly created noun *acaso*.

If we examine the observed items and their relationship with particular DTs and their anchoring within the communicative distance–immediacy continuum, we can see three different evolutions: Firstly, the Spanish and Portuguese lexeme *caso* '(legal) case' initially emerges in traditions of communicative distance and particularly in juridical DTs. Here, it then enters into prepositional constructions expressing conditionality. These are still tied to and/or indicative of formal traditions of communicative distance but soon cease to be limited to strictly juridical DTs. Presumably, this can also be observed in other languages such as French or English.

The second scenario is a further evolution of the first: In Portuguese, and especially in the Brazilian variety, the reduction of the prepositional construction and its becoming a simple conjunction goes hand in hand with its extension to DTs no longer marked as [+ distant]. The third case, *acaso*, either with or without a modalizing function, makes its way into texts of distance and immediacy alike.

In more general terms, this means that grammaticalization is intimately related to DTs and the communicative distance–immediacy continuum. Processes of grammaticalization can originate in the 'expressivity' of oral, immediate DTs and, from there, spread to more distant ones (Mair 1992; Koch and Oesterreicher 1996; Kabatek 2012), as schematized in Figure 5.7 below.

As we have seen, however, the opposite direction is also possible, namely the emergence of innovations in particular DTs marked as [+ distant] and their subsequent spread towards immediacy. This is visualized in Figure 5.8.

In both cases, the spread to a broader communicative spectrum is a correlate of grammaticalization, so that we might claim that *a parameter not traditionally included in grammaticalization research is the broadening of communicative scope in the continuum between communicative distance and immediacy*: The
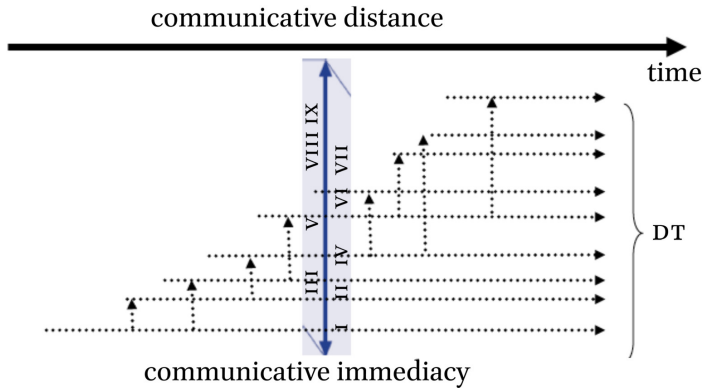
FIGURE 5.7 *Grammaticalization and discourse traditions from immediacy to distance*
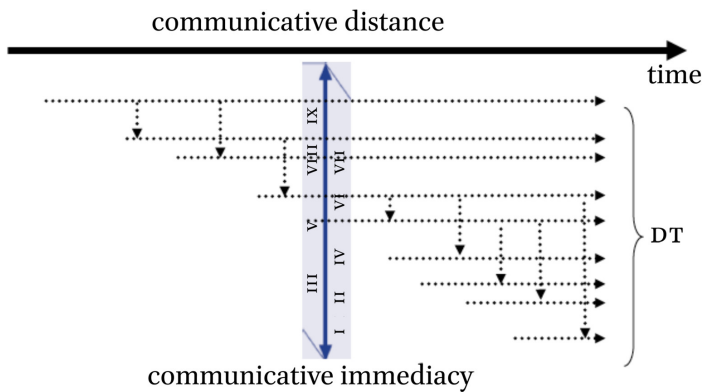

FIGURE 5.8 *Grammaticalization and discourse traditions from distance to immediacy*

more grammaticalized an element becomes, the wider the range of DTs where the element may be found.

Other scenarios are also possible, for example, when the initial spread of communicative scope is followed by a later reduction. A case in this sense would be the negation particle *pas* in Catalan: As opposed to French, where *pas* has become almost the exclusive negation marker in contemporary spoken language, Catalan *pas*, with a similar origin in communicative immediacy, has become more and more archaic and is nowadays an element of formal, generally written DTs of communicative distance, as schematized in Figure 5.9.

The schemata 5.7–5.9 are, of course, abstractions and merely intended to illustrate principles and tendencies; as shown with Portuguese *caso* in this paper, the reconstruction of a particular evolution can only be undertaken by
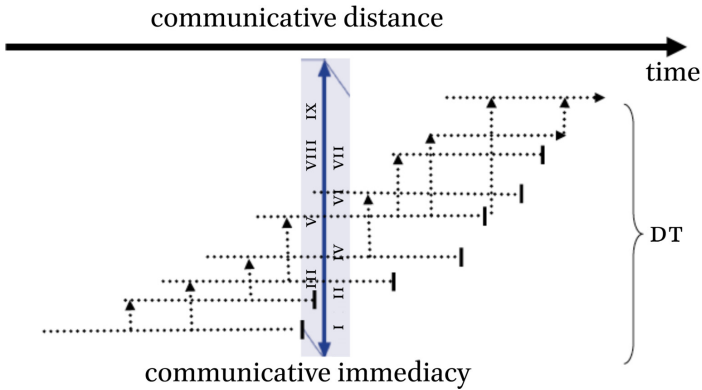
FIGURE 5.9 *Grammaticalization and discourse traditions emergence and
loss between immediacy and distance*

means of detailed corpus research (including fine-grained investigations into
single instances) with a clear differentiation of DTs and their anchoring within
the immediacy–distance continuum.

Once we accept the two possible sources of grammaticalization processes
and the importance of DTs, we can go further and ask if any grammatical item
can theoretically emerge both in communicative distance or immediacy and
in any DT or if grammaticalization processes exist which, for whatever rea-
son, typically start off in (particular DTs of) immediacy, while others do so
preferably in (particular DTs of) distance. This is, of course, a vast typologi-
cal question which cannot be answered here. A promising, albeit provisional,
starting point might be to look at certain DTs clearly situated at either of the
extremes of the communicative distance–immediacy continuum and then ask
for grammatical elements which could be assumed to have a strong link with
the communicative purpose of the respective DT. In Ibero-Romance, for exam-
ple, certain subordinators as well as certain discourse particles can originally
be associated with the pole of distance and, more precisely, with medieval
juridical DTs (cf. Kabatek 2005a, 155–158; Pons Bordería 2008). Other aspects
of grammar such as, for instance, periphrastic verbal tempora containing what
were once motion verbs or verbs of possession are clearly associated with dif-
ferent DTs of immediacy. Obviously, these are only isolated observations in
need of exhaustive typological studies. We hope that our observations will be
seen as an invitation to follow this path.

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