

On the interplay between historical pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The case of the Spanish pragmatic marker *nada* and its recent grammaticalization process

Renata Enghels

Ghent University
Belgium

Sanne Tanghe

Ghent University
Belgium

ONOMÁZEIN 44 (June 2019): 132-165

DOI: 10.7764/onomazein.44.07

ISSN: 0718-5758



Renata Enghels: Department of Linguistics (Spanish section), Ghent University, Belgium.

| E-mail: renata.enghels@ugent.be

Sanne Tanghe: Department of Linguistics (Spanish section), Ghent University, Belgium.

| E-mail: sanne.tanghe@ugent.be

Received: May 2017

Accepted: February 2018

Abstract

This article examines the hypothesis according to which the increasing use of *nada* as a pragmatic marker is the recent outcome of a grammaticalization process, mainly observed in youth language. In addition to providing an overview of its polyfunctionality, it examines in detail the functional and structural changes that the poorly studied marker has undergone in contemporary Spanish. The stage of grammaticalization reached by *nada* is carefully examined through a diachronic corpus analysis, quantitatively and qualitatively tracking its behavior during four contemporary time periods (1970s, 1980s, 1990s, >2000), and documented in various databases of spoken language. The study further argues in favor of combining different methodologies in the analysis of (recent) language change, and the development of pragmatic markers in particular, namely a real-time analysis, an apparent-time analysis and a crossover between both.

Keywords: pragmatic marker; quantifier; *nada*; real-time analysis; apparent-time analysis.

1. Introduction

This article presents the results of a recent diachronic study of *nada*, and shows the pragmatic changes undergone by this indefinite negative quantifier in contemporary Spanish. More particularly, it answers the question whether its pragmatic marker use has been duly defined in the literature as the outcome of a recent grammaticalization process, related to youth language¹.

As an indefinite existential quantifier expressing inexistence, absence, deficiency or imprecision, *nada* pertains to the category of negative polarity items that establish ‘negative agreement’ (Sánchez López, 1999a, 1999b; NGRAE, 2009). This means that, by its inherent lexical and morphological characteristics, *nada* adds a negative interpretation to the context, without the need of being complemented by another negative particle (such as *no*). The use of *nada* implies negation of an entity (1a), a property (1b), or an event (1c)². Regarding its syntactic behavior, as an invariable pronoun meaning ‘nothing’, it appears embedded in the structure of an NP, mostly postposed to the main verb (1a). As an adverbial degree modifier, its scope can also be limited to a complement within an NP or VP, as in (1b), where *nada* negates the adjective *diplomática*, or in (1c), where it negatively quantifies the adverb *bien*.

- (1) a. No veo *nada*. (‘I don’t see *nothing*.’)
 b. Una *nada* diplomática solución (lit. ‘A *nothing* diplomatic solution’)
 c. No canta *nada* bien. (lit. ‘(s)he doesn’t sing *nothing* good.’)

From a cross-linguistic viewpoint, quantifiers do not constitute a common source for processes of reanalysis into pragmatic markers (e.g., they are not mentioned as possible lexical sources by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés, 1999)³. Yet, in Spanish the negative quantifier

-
- 1 For a more detailed definition of grammaticalization, as it is applied in this article, see section 4.1. The notion of ‘marker’ has been subject of diverging approaches, and lacks a univocal terminology, definition, and classification. In this article, following Brinton (1996, 2008) and Aijmer (2013), among others, the notion of ‘pragmatic marker’ is used to refer to highly multifunctional linguistic elements which have a mainly procedural meaning.
- 2 It is important to bear in mind that the pronoun *nada* is a Romance creation which had originally a positive meaning. Its etymon (RES) *NATA*, literally meaning ‘thing born’, was frequently used as an emphatic element in negative contexts, and has gradually absorbed the negative semantics of its collocates (Wagenaar, 1930).
- 3 Neither for other languages quantifiers have been adduced as a common source for pragmatic markers. For Italian Bazzanella (1995) proposes that the following items can function as ‘segnali discorsivi’: coordinating operators (*e*, *ma*), adverbial coordinating operators (*cioè*), phrasal adverbs (*praticamente*), interjections (*eh?*), verbal phrases (*guarda*), prepositional phrases (*in qualche modo*), and phrasal expressions (*come dire*). Dostie (2004) mentions that lexical (nouns, adjecti-

nada has been recategorized as a pragmatic marker, as illustrated by the examples under (2). These cases show that *nada* often appears in fixed collocations, with particular conjunctions (such as *y* ‘and’) or other pragmatic markers (*bueno* ‘okay’, *pues* ‘thus’, etc.). In this article these collocations are considered as concrete constructs of the macro pragmatic marker *nada*.

This approach is to be situated within more constructional oriented studies of discourse-related phenomena, which are gradually becoming more widespread. The central idea is that different pragmatic expressions with analogous and overlapping functions and formal characteristics are instances of an overarching construction. A pragmatic marker is defined as a construction at the highest schema level, which is then further concretized in different pragmatic marker subschemas (see for instance Enghels, 2018; Fischer, 2015; or Traugott, 2018). This article is mainly concerned with the use and evolution of the pragmatic marker *nada* at the highest level, and only looks into the particular behavior of specific constructs, or the competition between constructs (see section 4.3.1) when relevant.

- (2) a. E1: ¿Qué pasó? (‘What happened?’)
I1: pues nada, pues que van con | no te dejaban irte a la cama. (‘well **nada**, well, they go with, they didn’t let you go to bed’) (Coser)
- b. <H2> Ya, **nada** pues me avise usted. (‘Ok, **nada** so you keep me informed’)
<H1> Bueno pues nada, gracias ¿eh? (‘Ok, **nada**, thank you eh’) (CORLEC)
- c. y antes / había quedado yo con Ana Mari / antes de [/] antes de ir a la [///] al cumpleaños / y nada / y estuvimos hablando / de [/] de / que nos había llamado Maribel / (‘and before, I had a date with Ana Mari before before going to the birthday party, and **nada**, and we were talking about about that Maribel had called us’) (C-Oral-Rom)
- d. y me dice el Cordobés yo yo digo a qué hora os vais eh eh eh me dice **nada** pues tarde en teoría (‘and the man from Córdoba tells me I I say at what time are you leaving eh eh eh he says, **nada** well late in theory’) (COLAm))

The pragmatic marker use of *nada* can be distinguished from its quantifier uses on the basis of syntactic and semantic criteria. First, as is shown by the examples under (2) above, as a marker, *nada* gains syntactic autonomy and displays a high level of positional mobility. Its

ves, verbs, and adverbs) as well as functional classes (especially coordinate and subordinate conjunctions) can function as pragmatic markers in French. As for English, Fraser (1999) mentions the use of conjunctions, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and idioms as pragmatic markers. However, an attentive reviewer noticed that at least two grammatical elements in Spanish are the outcome of the reanalysis of former quantifiers, namely the indefinite article *un(a)* and the adversative conjunction *mas*, which is still rather frequently used in several Latin-American dialects.

meaning is pragmatically enriched, as the marker *nada* can convey a wide range of (inter)personal and metadiscursive values (see section 4 for more detailed information on these properties).

Still, compared to pragmatic markers in general, *nada* has received strikingly little attention in the literature. Its poor characterization contrasts sharply with the relatively high frequency of use of the item in contemporary spontaneous discourse. In the Spanish youth speech corpus COLAM for instance (see *infra* section 2), *nada* appears respectively two to three times more frequently than the markers (*ya*) *ves* (derived from the perception verb *ver* 'to see') (347 tokens of *nada* vs. 141 tokens of (*ya*) *ves*) and *vaya* (derived from the movement verb *ir* 'to go') (347 vs. 114 tokens of *vaya*), but this does not coincide with a higher frequency of studies dedicated to its functioning. Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) for instance do not mention *nada* amongst their large list of discourse markers. A thorough literature survey mainly leads towards some marginal mentions in general publications on (pragmatic or discourse) markers (Llorente Arcocha, 1996; Fuentes Rodríguez, 2009; Gallardo Paúls, 1996; Landone, 2009; Santos Río, 2003) or colloquial language use (Beinhauer et al., 1991; Schmer Miranda, 2012). Moreover, it seems that, over the last decades, the pragmatic analysis of *nada* has not gone much further than describing its general attenuating, reformulating, and discourse structuring functions. The empirical studies of Stenström (2009) and Schmer Miranda (2012) seem to constitute the only exceptions⁴.

Stenström (2009) compares the use of *pues nada* with the behavior of the marker *anyway*, which she considers to be its nearest English cognate. Both are indicators of speakers' intentions and attitudes on the interactional and discourse organizational level. But the sphere of action of *anyway* is somehow broader than the one of *pues nada*, given that its use is not restricted to spoken discourse but extends to written texts. However, the scope of this study is rather limited since it is based on a small sample of 52 occurrences of the Spanish marker in the COLAM corpus. The study of Schmer Miranda (2012) on the use of *nada* in Buenos Aires Spanish mainly examines whether *nada* can rightly be defined as a grammaticalized marker. The classical parameters related to (a) the process of semantic bleaching accompanied by 'pragmatic strengthening' (Sweetser, 1988; Traugott, 1988) of the form, (b) the 'fossilization' of

4 Although concerned with the quantifier use of *nada*, Octavio de Toledo y Huerta's (2014) study offers useful insights into the syntax and semantics of this linguistic element, and into how it has been involved in complex processes of grammaticalization throughout its history. The Italian cognate of *nada*, namely *niente*, has recently constituted the subject of a detailed study by De Stefani (2016). However, the use of *niente* as a pragmatic marker seems much more restricted than its Spanish cognate, both from a formal (lacking the wide variety of expressions as illustrated by the examples under (2) above) and functional (mainly restricted to three functions: providing an answer to a question, to an excuse or expression of gratitude, and as a pause filler) perspective.

the form and reduction of its syntactic capacities, and (c) the widening of its scope and higher degree of autonomy are confirmed on a, however limited, empirical basis (see *infra* section 4.1).

Still, the thorough literature study foregrounds two interesting hypotheses concerning the historical dating of the grammaticalization of *nada* as a pragmatic marker. The first one is by Stenström (2009: 138), who defines the typical pragmatic marker use of (*pues*) *nada* as characteristic of youth language: “the use of *pues nada* as manifested in COLAm is very much an adolescent phenomenon.” In a similar vein of ideas, Schmer Miranda (2012: 7) argues that “debido a que el uso de *nada* es bastante nuevo, no está generalizado y sólo es usado por una franja de la población en la que predominan los jóvenes (en nuestros registros, a partir de 12 años y no más allá de 30 aproximadamente) y adultos no mayores de 50 años, lo que hace que no sea fácil dejar de lado su significado básico y que su uso se sienta todavía ‘extraño’” [given that the use of *nada* is rather new, it is not generalized and only used by a small part of the population, mainly by young people (in our register, starting from 12 years old and younger than 30 approximately) and adults no older than 50, what makes it difficult to leave aside its basic meaning and that its use is still felt as “strange”]. Both authors, although focusing on the use of *nada* in different dialects, thus conclude that the reanalysis or recategorization of the negative indefinite quantifier into a pragmatic item, and mainly the extension of its use, is to be situated in recent times. This contrasts with the findings of Beinhauer, who, already in his 1930 book *Spanische Umgangssprache*, documents various uses of *nada*, such as its filler use or frequent appearance at the end of a conversation.

This apparently contradictory historical documenting constitutes the starting point for this study, set up around the following three research questions:

1. Is the use of *nada* as a pragmatic marker a recent phenomenon in Spanish or not? And, how is ‘recent’ to be defined in historical terms?
2. Can it empirically be verified that its use is mainly a phenomenon of youngspeakers, or is it also widespread among older generations?
3. Depending on the outcomes of RQs 1 and 2, can the use of *nada* empirically be described as a case of grammaticalization? Does its use attest some functional (pragmatic) and formal evolutions over the last decades?

These research questions in fact relate to two different methods of analyzing language change, namely through a real-time analysis or an apparent-time analysis of the data. Authors such as Blas Arroyo (2005), Bowie (2005), Cameron (2011), Díaz-Campos (2014), Silva-Corvalán (2001), and Meyerhoff (2011) have defined the main differences between these two methodologies, including the (dis)advantages each one of them implies.

On the one hand, when conducting a real-time analysis, one compares the speech of a constant group of speakers (although, in practice, these are often speakers with comparable

extra-linguistic characteristics and background) through different time periods, which results in a longitudinal study. For instance, one could compare the use of a particular group of pragmatic markers by adolescents in the fifties with that of the same speakers in present-day language, and with their behavior in other intermediate stages. This approach leads to the analysis of highly comparable data, which, however, for obvious reasons, are hard to find. Therefore, most diachronic real-time studies of pragmatic markers (Brinton, 1996; Degand and Fagard, 2011; Waltereit and Detges, 2007; Traugott, 2014, to cite just a few examples) are based on comparable samples of mainly written data, collected across different time periods, and hardly take into account constant speaker-related variables, such as age.

On the other hand, in an apparent-time analysis, a linguistic phenomenon is studied across the speech of different generations within one and the same time period (Bailey et al., 1991). This method is based on the assumption that the speech of older generations represents older language stages. So, for instance, in a contemporary corpus, the use of a particular pragmatic marker can be compared across different generational groups (e.g. Levey (2008) on the English marker *like*, Wieling et al. (2016) on hesitation markers such as *uhm*). These data are relatively easier to collect, but have also been subject to critical assessments. Do adult vernaculars remain stable across speakers' life (so, does the speech of a 4th generation speaker really reflect young speakers' language use of, say, 50 till 60 years ago?), or are they subject to age-grading, meaning that individuals make certain changes in their speech as they grow older, and account for speech-community wide changes (Bowie, 2005; Evans Wagner, 2012)? This article argues for a well-considered combination of both methods, and for a maximal integration of sociolinguistic information (especially, the age) on the speakers involved, when tackling a problem situated within the research domain of historical pragmatics. It is shown in this article, that the research question related to the functional and formal developments that *nada* has undergone when extending its quantifier use to its functioning as a pragmatic marker can best be answered through a cross-over between both methodologies.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 outlines the methodology and argues in favor of studying the diachrony of the late 20th and early 21st centuries in order to get insight into the process of recent language change. Sections 3 and 4 provide the results of a diachronic corpus analysis, and zoom in on the functional and formal evolution of the marker, respectively. Section 5 concludes this article by formulating an answer to the above-mentioned research questions.

2. Data selection

This article sets off from the idea that language change is not restricted to drastic long-term shifts affecting the language system as a whole, but that it can also consist of a more subtle

variation in language use coming about in the course of just a few decades. The study of these “current changes” focuses on changes in the recent past, and often also in contemporary language (Aarts et al., 2013: 1). As is the case for any data-driven investigation, good sampling of data is crucial. However, when looking for answers to the above-mentioned research questions (section 1), we are confronted with at least three methodological challenges. First, the development of *nada* as a pragmatic marker can only be traced on the basis of a spoken data corpus, because it tends to be exclusively used in informal conversational language (Stenström, 2009; Schmer Miranda, 2012). Second, short-term patterns of change can only be detected when differences in the corpus cannot be attributed to factors of influence other than the time variable, such as discourse genre, sex or socio-educational level of the speaker. Third, spoken corpora for Spanish are not as widespread as for other languages such as English, and the first one is made available only in the 1970s. As a consequence, note that this diachronic starting point for the sampling of the data is thus determined by purely practical reasons, and does not relate to former findings of historical syntax whatsoever. However, going along with Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 26), we believe that we must “make the best use of the data available” bearing in mind that the description of the development of *nada* can be restricted by the data.

The database was originally compiled from nine existing spoken language corpora for peninsular Spanish: Habla Culta de Madrid, CREA oral, CORLEC, Val.Es.Co, Coser, PRESEEA, C-Oral-Rom, COLAm, and CORPES XXI. The tokens were selected through a lexical query for the item *nada*, and were then manually sorted in order to discard full lexical quantifier uses, as in (3).

- (3) yo no toqué **nada** / porque papa no quiso (‘I didn’t touch *anything* because daddy didn’t want it’) (C-Oral-Rom)

The result of this selection process is a large database of *nada* in its pragmatic marker use containing 1820 tokens as exposed in table 1 (see below).

However, a comparison of the more detailed properties of these corpora (based on Enghels et al., 2015) shows that, in fact, it constitutes a rather heterogeneous dataset. Table 2 shows that the corpora represent four micro-diachronic time periods, namely the 70s, 80s, 90s, >2000. Note that the data are rather unequally distributed among these phases (with, for obvious reasons, most of the corpora being recorded in the present age), a parameter that will have to be taken into account during the data analysis. Next, four corpora are transcriptions of spontaneous conversations between two or more speakers (CORLEC, Val.Es.Co, C-Oral-Rom, and COLAm), three corpora have been built using semi-directed interviews (Habla Culta de Madrid, Coser, and PRESEEA), and two contain various types of discourse genres such as telephone calls, television interviews, etc. (CREA Oral and CORPES XXI). The possible impact of the

TABLE 1

Quantitative overview of data extraction

CORPUS	# TOKENS
Habla culta de Madrid	62
CREA ORAL	26
CORLEC	142
Val.Es.Co	35
Coser	547
PRESEEA	256
C-Oral-Rom	301
COLAm	347
CORPES XXI	104

TABLE 2

Overview and comparison of consulted corpora

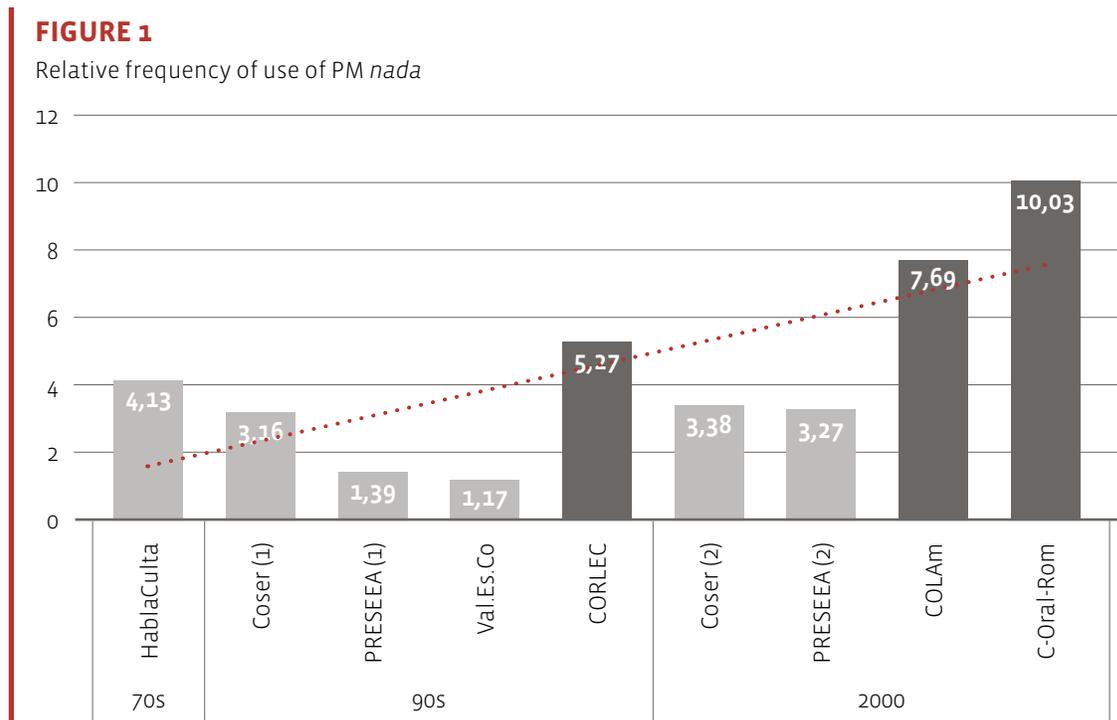
CORPUS	DECADE	GENRE	GENERATION	GENDER
Habla culta de Madrid	70s	semi-directed interviews	all	equal m/f
CREA oral	80s, 90s	Various	no inform.	no inform.
CORLEC	90s	spontaneous conversation	all	equal m/f
Val.Es.Co	80s, 90s	spontaneous conversation	all	equal m/f
Coser	90s, >2000	semi-directed interviews	Gen4	equal m/f
PRESEEA	>2000	semi-directed interviews	all	equal m/f
C-Oral-Rom	>2000	spontaneous conversation	all	equal m/f
COLAm	>2000	spontaneous conversation	Gen2	equal m/f
CORPES XXI	>2000	Various	no inform.	no inform.

communicative setting on the use of *nada* is verified in section 3. With regard to genolectal variation, almost all corpora are equally distributed among three generations (adolescents of Gen2=13-25, adults of Gen3=26-55, and elderly of Gen4= ≥56), except for Coser, which is a corpus of exclusively elderly speakers (Gen4), and COLAm, which is a youngspeak corpus (Gen2). Finally, all corpora are said to contain an equal distribution of male and female speakers. Unfortunately, CREA Oral and CORPES XXI do not provide any information on the external features of the speakers, including the gender, and more importantly, the generational class they pertain to. Hence these datasets are no longer included in this study.

The remaining 1690 tokens of *nada* as a pragmatic marker were then annotated for these sociolinguistic features (gender, socio-cultural level, and generation of the speaker), as well as for properties operationalizing the diagnostics of grammaticalization discussed in the literature (Brinton, 1996, 2008; Company, 2006a, 2006b, amongst others), and which are further specified in Section 4.1.

3. Historical and generational dating of *nada* as a pragmatic marker

In order to answer the question whether or not the use of *nada* as a pragmatic marker is a recent phenomenon, figure 1 provides its relative token frequencies per 10.000 words in each corpus included in the database, and organized along the time axis starting from the 70s decade and running to the present age⁵. Remind that four corpora contain spontaneous conversational data (Val.Es.Co, CORLEC, COLAm, C-Oral-Rom; marked in dark grey), and should be distinguished from the other semi-directed interview-corpora (marked in light grey).



5 Unfortunately, by the exclusion of CREA-Oral from the database, we do not dispose of any corpus recorded in the 1980s.

The data clearly point towards a negative answer to RQ1, as figure 1 shows that the Habla Culta corpus, representing the 1970s decade, already displays a relatively high token frequency of pragmatic marker *nada*, compared to other, more recent corpora (Habla Culta: 4.13 vs. PRESSEA (90s): 1.39 vs. Coser (> 2000): 3.38). However, across the time axis we do observe an increase of the relative frequency of use of *nada*, and this is clearest in the spontaneous data corpora, first CORLEC (90s), and then the most recent COLAm and C-Oral-Rom. In the semi-directed interview data, the relative token frequency is generally lower, and more stable across times.

This means that the grammaticalization of the quantifier *nada* into its pragmatic marker use is to be situated before our diachronic starting point, motivated by practical issues, namely 1970s. Note, however, that, as is often the case for markers, it is hard to find out when exactly they started to be used. This is mainly due to two reasons. First, not all pragmatic markers develop in a gradual way and leave clear traces of ongoing grammaticalization in historical data. They may also ‘emerge’ rather abruptly as calques, following a situation of language contact (as has for instance been argued for the marker *por cierto* by Estellés (2006, 2009), *esto es* by Pons Bordería (2008) or *así las cosas* by Pons Rodríguez (2010)). The first usages of these creations are not always documented by the data. The second factor, and perhaps more important for our purpose, relates to the lack of historical data documenting phenomena typical of orality. Diachronic studies of spoken language phenomena have been based almost exclusively on written text sources, generating a series of methodological problems (for a recent overview of these problems, see for instance Enghels and Azofra, 2018). A mayor problem is that pragmatic markers, although being frequently used in spoken discourse, are not often found in those written sources. Pons Rodríguez (2010: 528) foregrounds this issue by referring to the metalinguistic comments on the use of ‘bordones’ or ‘partículas’ in the writings of respectively Juan de Valdés (1535) and Gregorio Garcés (1791) without these elements being retrievable in contemporary corpora.

It goes without saying that a thorough research on the earlier origins of the pragmatic marker use of *nada* would exceed the limits of the current article, which focusses on its evolution in contemporary Spanish. However, bearing in mind the above-mentioned methodological restrictions, a general scrutiny of the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE, RAE) shows that *nada* as a pragmatic marker already appears in *La Regenta*, a novel written at the end of the 19th century (4a), as well as in several theatre works from the same period (4b). So far we have not been able to find earlier cases. It is however largely documented by other literary works from the 20th century, prior to the 70s decade (4c).

- (4) a. Sí, a usted; Ana es otra. ¡Qué alegría, qué salud, qué apetito! Se acabaron las cavilaciones, la devoción exagerada, las aprensiones, los nervios... las locuras... como aquella de la procesión... Oh, cada vez que me acuerdo se me crispan los... **pues nada**, ya no hay nada de aquello. (CORDE: Clarín L., *La Regenta*, 1884-1885)

- b. Antonia: Pero... cuenta, cuenta tu viaje. Tomas (Muy alegre.): **Pues nada**; Llegué al amanecer y me lo encontré todavía dentro de la cerca, en medio de las cabras, [...]. (CORDE: Echegaray J., Traducción de Tierra baja de Ángel Guimerá, 1986)
- c. ¡Ah, es verdad! Si te sale a abrir otra persona, pues nada, dices que te has equivocado; le preguntas: ¿vive aquí el señor Pérez?, y como te dirán que no, te largas y en paz. ¿Está claro? (CORDE: Cela C. J., La Colmena, 1951)

The research question concerning the characterization of *nada* as a phenomenon typical of adolescent speech can best be answered by comparing the relative frequency of use of the marker per generation in the three periods documented in the corpus (70s, 90s, >2000). This comparison excludes data from the COSER and COLAm corpora given that they exclusively include speakers from the 4th and 2nd generations, which would distort the quantitative results.

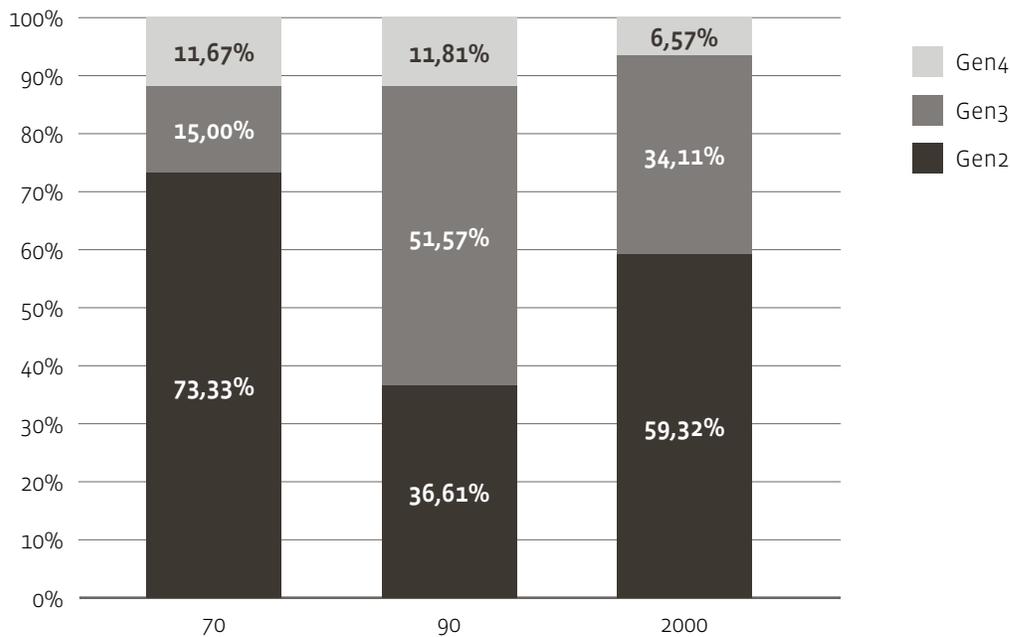
FIGURE 2Relative frequency of use of PM *nada*: genolectal analysis

Figure 2 shows that, already in the corpus of the 70s decade, *nada* is used as a pragmatic marker by all three generations, but predominantly (46/62 or 73,33%) by the youngest generation. In the corpus of the 90s decade, more than half of the occurrences are produced by middle age speakers (Gen3) (131/254 or 54,57%). This is not surprising given that, from an apparent-time analysis viewpoint, this is the speech of the 1970s Gen2 that is continued two decades later. In the most recent time period, the use of pragmatic marker *nada* is once again mostly associated with Gen2 language use, although its use by Gen3 is also relatively high (161/472 or 34,11%).

As an interim conclusion, research questions 1 and 2 can already be answered. Both hypotheses, according to which *nada* would be a recent language phenomenon, mainly observed in the language of adolescents, are refuted. First, *nada* as a pragmatic marker is already attested in the 70s subcorpus. The reanalysis and recategorization of *nada* from an indefinite negative quantifier into a pragmatic marker took place before the 70s. However, an increasing use of the marker is observed in more recent decades, and it is generally known that the spreading of a phenomenon, coinciding with an increase in an item's token frequency "is an important concomitant of its grammaticalization" (Thompson and Mulac, 1991: 319) (e.g. also Bybee, 2003). Second, older generations (mainly Gen3, to a lower extent Gen4) also use *nada* as a pragmatic marker throughout the different micro-diachronic subcorpora. However, it seems to have been especially frequent in young speech (Gen2) in former decades (70s, and possibly earlier), which still is its preferred locus of occurrence. Interestingly, these younger generations have been identified as important agents of linguistic change: "[...] adolescents play a crucial role in language variation and change. [...] Adolescents are assumed to play a prominent role in the use and development of forms that serve pragmatic, e.g. attitudinal, functions" (Andersen, 2001: 3). This leads towards the third research question, namely, given that the pragmatic marker has been used, at least, over the last five decades, by different generations but mainly the youngest one, to what extent does its behavior display a functional and formal evolution in this time period? And, can this evolution be described in terms of a continuing process of grammaticalization?

4. *Nada*, a case of continuing grammaticalization?

4.1. Pragmatic markers, grammaticalization parameters and sampling of the data

The status of pragmatic marker is generally ascribed to linguistic elements which have gone through a process of grammaticalization. As a reminder, there is a vast debate on the very notion of grammaticalization, concerned with a narrow vs. wide interpretation of the concept. This is not the suitable place to dwell upon different theories of grammaticalization. We will only mention the aspects that are most relevant to the investigation of *nada* as a marker.

The base definition has been formulated by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 18) as "[t]he change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions". In its narrow interpretation, the definition only applies to changes from the lexicon to grammar; a broader definition concerns extensions toward discourse-related functions (Traugott, 1995). This, of course, refers to the development of pragmatic markers from lexical elements, a linguistic change also described in terms of pragmaticalization (Dostie, 2004; Erman and Kotsinas, 1993). Indeed, the main reason why some authors prefer to speak of 'pragmaticalization' rather than 'grammaticalization' in the realm of pragmatic markers

is that the latter (in its narrowest definition) implies the idea of syntactic fixation and scope reduction, whereas the former implies positional mobility and expansion. But, as has been argued by Traugott (2003), the terminological debate relates to how one defines ‘grammar’, and a wider conceptualization of grammar which goes beyond the morphosyntactic level, and includes pragmatic functions, makes the notion of ‘pragmaticalization’, to some extent, redundant. As a consequence, we agree with Company (2006a, 2006b) and Diewald (2011), among others, who use the term grammaticalization as a kind of umbrella term to refer to any change, independently of the classes involved or the direction of the change.

In large terms the parameters describing the process of grammaticalization and those defining the category of pragmatic markers coincide (see Pons Rodríguez, 2010 for a thorough discussion of the relationship between both phenomena), and relate to (1) a process of semantic bleaching accompanied by ‘pragmatic strengthening’ of the form; (2) a fixation of the form or construction and reduction of its syntactic capacities; and (3) a widening of the scope and higher degree of autonomy of the form (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994; Garachana, 1999, 2008; Sweetser, 1988; Traugott, 1988; Iglesias Recuero, 2015). In concrete, the following parameters of grammaticalization are considered:

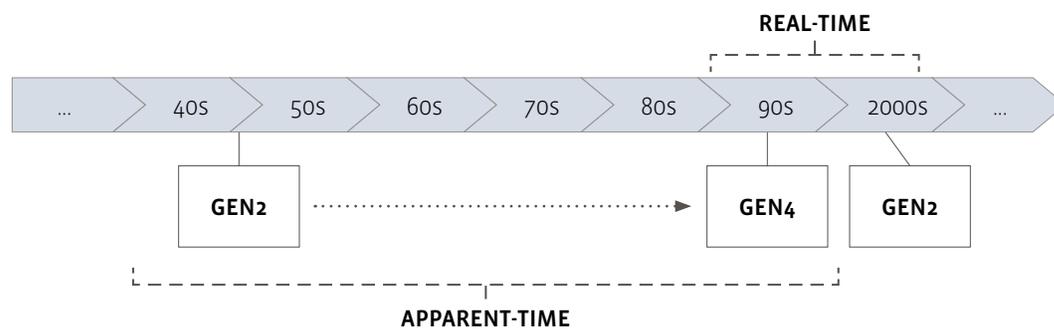
- The semantic-pragmatic meaning of *nada*: its gradual bleaching should be marked by a further neutralization of its semantic prosody. The further *nada* evolves on the grammaticalization cline, the further it is removed from its mainly interpersonal meaning, and the more it functions at the metadiscursive level (section 4.2).
- According to the hypothesis of grammaticalization, semantic bleaching goes hand in hand with formal narrowing (Hopper, 1991). The marker is therefore expected to gradually show less formal variation (section 4.3.1).
- A second formal parameter is the discourse position of the marker. Pragmatic markers are expected to display a high degree of positional variation; they increasingly function at the extra-propositional level, and are mainly placed in peripheral positions (section 4.3.2).

Given the above criteria of grammaticalization, a study of the recent evolution of *nada* (RQ3) requires a detailed comparison of its functional and formal behavior at different moments in time. This study will be based on two samples that can be considered as the extreme ends of the time continuum (excluding for now the data of the 70s decade, which are too limited for our purpose), and that, to some extent, combine the methods of real-time and apparent-time analysis. In concrete, the proposed methodology involves a real-time analysis, confronting the use of *nada* by Gen4 (with an age between 56 and more than 90 years old) in the 90s decade, with the use of *nada* by Gen2, the adolescents, in the new millennium. At the same time, this method implies an apparent-time analysis, because it assumes that the Gen4 sample reflects language use of Gen2 speakers of at least 40 years ago, as is illustrated by figure 3.

However, when interpreting the results, we must bear in mind that language is possibly subject to age-grading, and that a speaker's language may change in the course of his or her adult life, due to changing discourse traditions (Kabatek, 2005; Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, 2008, 2011, 2014; Pons Bordería, 2008, 2014) or language 'fashions' (Bowie, 2005; Evans Wagner, 2012; Iglesias Recuero, 2015).

FIGURE 3

Relating real-time and apparent-time analysis



It should be pointed out that the genre parameter distinguishing spontaneous versus semi-directed data has a significant impact on the frequency of occurrence of *nada* (cf. section 3). In order to avoid possible interference of this variable, the sample used in the upcoming analysis comprises data from the interview-corpus only, and so leaves a comparison with spontaneous data for future research. In concrete, Gen4 data from in the 90s Coser corpus is compared with Gen2 data collected from PRESEEA (>2000) corpus, consisting of respectively 259 and 89 tokens.

Since language change correlates with frequency changes (De Cuypere, 2008: 216), and because of the observed increase in the relative frequency of *nada* between the 70s and the 2000s (especially in spontaneous speech, cf. *supra* section 3), we do expect to encounter pragmatic and formal changes in those decades. Section 4.2 discusses the functional evolution of *nada*, whereas section 4.3 focuses on the formal changes undergone by the pragmatic marker in recent times.

4.2. Functional analysis: from marked to neutral semantic prosody

A first parameter of grammaticalization relates to the semantic-pragmatic meaning of *nada*: its gradual bleaching should be marked by a further neutralization of its negative and/or interpersonal semantic prosody. Pragmatic markers are typically characterized as highly multifunctional elements able to operate at various discourse levels. This is no different for the marker under consideration which has been ascribed the functions of (a) indicating a topic

shift or topic resumption (Fuentes Rodríguez, 2009; Stenström, 2009), (b) signaling the end of a discourse topic or yielding a turn (Llorente Arcocha, 1996; Stenström, 2009), (c) introducing the closing of the conversation (Llorente Arcocha, 1996; Stenström, 2009), (d) initiating an answer (Fuentes Rodríguez, 2009; Santos Río, 2003), (e) supporting the continuation of the discourse (Santos Río, 2003; Fuentes Rodríguez, 2009; Schmer Miranda, 2012), (f) attenuating an utterance as a resource of positive politeness (Beinhauer et al., 1991; Fuentes Rodríguez, 2009; Schmer Miranda, 2012), (g) introducing a reformulation (Schmer Miranda, 2012), and (h) indicating a consequence (Schmer Miranda, 2012).

In our corpus, *nada* indeed serves a wide range of discourse functions that are, however, to be situated on two levels, namely the interpersonal level and the level of discourse organization (following the bipartite classification of Brinton, 2008). As an interpersonal marker, *nada* implies the speaker's evaluation or manages the relation between the interlocutors, while *nada* operating on the level of discourse organization regulates the structure of the conversation. Stenström (2009: 143) rightly points out that the interpersonal and the metadiscursive functions should not be considered as two isolated functions since both can operate simultaneously. Consequently, the marker *nada* is not only multifunctional paradigmatically, that is the same marker can perform various functions depending on the context, but also syntagmatically, since "the same element within a given context often indexes several discourse planes at once, thus simultaneously performing different functions" (Ghezzi and Molinelli, 2014: 12). The syntagmatic multifunctionality of *nada* is illustrated in example (5).

(5) E: ¿Conoce el mar? ('Have you seen the sea?')

I: El mar sí, pero le tengo miedo al agua. ('The sea yes, but I am afraid of the water')

E: ¿Por? ('why?')

I: **Nada**, yo | a mí si me mandan ir a la playa, si me las pagan unas vacaciones para ir a la playa, y tengo que po- | ir al monte y pagarlas yo, prefiero pagarlas que ir a la playa y me paguen. (COSER) ('**nada**, I | to me when they send me to the beach, when they pay me holidays to go to the sea, and I have to- | go to the mountains and pay them myself, I prefer to pay them than to go to the beach and that they pay me')

The marker operates at a metadiscursive level as it announces the answer to the question of the interlocutor. Simultaneously, *nada* attenuates the importance and the complexity of the answer it initiates, serving an interpersonal function. The tokens in our sample have been analyzed accordingly, and thus some have been classified as operating at both the interpersonal and metadiscursive level. Before comparing the two decades and the two generations, the various functions of *nada* in the sample are defined and illustrated below.

On the interpersonal level, *nada* can be used to negate an idea formerly suggested by the interlocutor or the speaker (6), to attenuate the complexity or relevance of an utterance (7), to

confirm and even put emphasis on some part of the message (8), or to indicate the speaker's emotions (9).

(6) I: [...] pero que me a mí me hubiera gustado tener un hermano mayor // y un un hermano mayor / de <vacilación/> veinticalargamiento/>siete años o veintiocho // y<alargamiento/> <vacilación/> una hermana de mi edad / más o menos ('But I would have liked to have an older brother // and an an older brother / of twenty seven years or twenty-eight // and a sister of my / age more or less')

E: ¡qué bien! <risas = "I,A"/> ('How nice')

I: eso me hubiera gustado a mí / pero **nada**// yo he estado dieci <palabra_cortada/> bueno quince años sola ('I would have liked that but **nada** I have been say well fifteen years alone') (Preseaa)

(7) ¿Y con el corderito, qué hacían? ('And what did they do with the lamb?')

I: Pues **nada**, criarlos o venderlos para carne. ('Well **nada**, raise them or sell them for the meat') (Coser)

(8) [HS:E1 [Asent]] pues unas... tres cuartos de hora o..., o veinte minutos o treinta mi-... ('well some... three quarters of an hour or..., or twenty minutes or thirty mi-...')

[HS:I2 Menos de una hora **nada**.] ('Less than an hour **nada**') (Coser)

(9) [...] pero vino un apedreo y se quedó como... ('[...] But there was a hail storm and he was like...')

E1: Claro. ('Of course')

I1: **nada**, lo | aquel año lo perdimos todo. ('**nada**, what | that year we lost everything') (Coser)

In example (6) the speaker *I* expresses her wish to have an older sibling and wraps up this wish by saying *eso me hubiera gustado, pero nada*, emphasizing with *nada* the non-occurrence of the event. With this function of negation, the value of *nada* is still close to its original meaning as a negative quantifier. This negative semantics also persists in the marker when used at the beginning of an answer to attenuate the relevance of the previous utterance. In example (7), for instance, the answer is introduced by *nada* to mark the evidence of the fact that they used to raise lambs in order to sell the meat. On the other hand, the marker can also have a more affirmative meaning, when emphasizing the relevance of an utterance as in (8), where, after some hesitation, the time period is firmly resumed as *menos de una hora*. Finally, in its most subjective use, *nada* can indicate personal feelings or attitudes of the speaker towards the contents of the message or an extralinguistic fact. In (9), the marker introduces the aftermath of the previously described events underlining the sadness of their inevitable destiny.

The range of metadiscursive functions of *nada* is very wide and stretches between uses on a level of turn-management, on a propositional level, and on a discourse-structural level. First, on the level of turn-management (Sacks et al., 1974), *nada* operates as a turn-yielder (10) or a turn-taker (11).

- (10) dos cuartos // uno donde están los trastos / y otro donde tengo los perros / y **nada** ('two quarters // one where the scoundrels are / and another one where I keep the dogs / and **nada**')
E: ¿tienes muchos perros? ('Do you have many dogs?') (Preseea)
- (11) I4: Hala. mira, pues ese | el, el chico que... ('Hey, look, well he | the, the boy that...')
I1: **Nada** que ya os tenemos buscao hasta novio. ('**Nada** we already got each of you a boyfriend') (Cosser)

When used at the end of a turn, the marker indicates the interlocutor that he/she may take over the conversation (10). On the contrary, when *nada* introduces a turn, it announces that the speaker seizes his or her turn, often by interrupting the interlocutor (as in (11)).

Second, on the propositional level, *nada* can be used to express a logical relationship between two utterances, being a consequence or a conclusion (12), or it helps the speaker to maintain his or her turn (13). In (12), the marker introduces a conclusion of the preceding rather large description of the parcel, focusing on the most pertinent information of the utterance. In (13), *nada* is used as a filler to make it clear to the interlocutors that the speaker does not yet wish to yield the turn and is still elaborating his or her discourse.

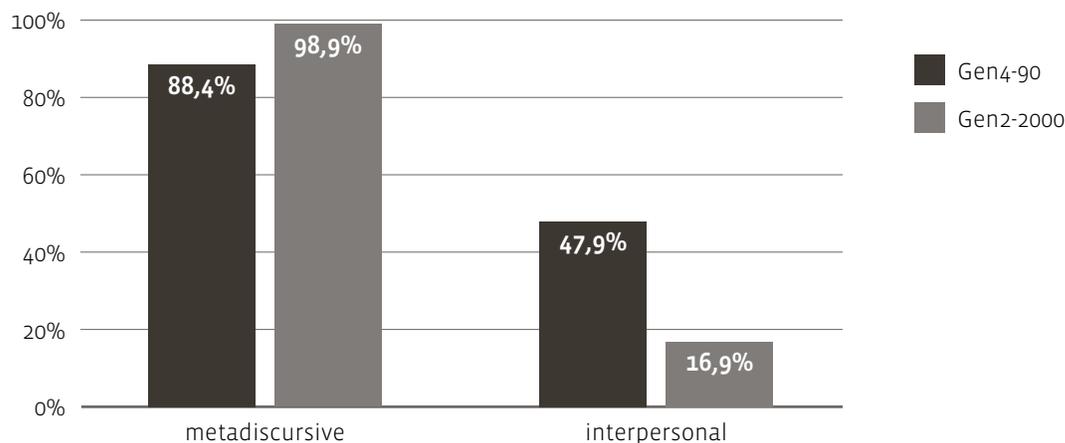
- (12) por allí cerca pero que no puedes considerar una urbanización // y **nada** pues <vacilación/> una <alargamiento/> <vacilación/> una parcela bastante grande con dos casas / bastante grande <vacilación/> mmm ('over there nearby but you can't consider it an urbanization / and **nada** well a a rather big parcel/ rather big mmm') (Preseea)
- (13) Echaban cuajo de corderitos, antes. Ahora, lo echan [V-Ljn] sintético, en polvo que lo compran. Ahora, por eso es más áspero el..., el queso de ahora que lo de antes. Y **nada** y cuando veían que ya estaba cuajada la leche, pues lo echaban en unos cinchos que preparaban. ('They added rennet of lamb, before. Now, they add synthetic, they buy it in powder. Now, that is why the ..., the cheese now is acridier than the one before. And **nada** and when they saw the cheese was already stern, the threw it in some belts they prepared') (Cosser)

Finally, on the discourse-structural level *nada* initiates an answer (14), indicates a topic resumption or a topic shift (15), introduces a restart of an utterance (16), signals the inclusion of another voice (direct or indirect speech) (17), or announces the closing of the conversation (18). In the question-answer adjacency pair, when used in turn-initial position, the marker can introduce the answer turn, as is illustrated by (14). In example (15) *nada* marks the returning to the central subject of the conversation, namely the description of the apartment. This focus on what follows is also present in the use of the marker when it indicates a restart of an utterance, for example when introducing a rectification of the preceding utterance as in (16). Furthermore, *nada* occurs at the beginning of a direct speech utterance in (17). Note that in

these contexts, the use of the marker is rather ambiguous, since it can be attributed to the actual speaker or to the cited one. Finally, in example (18) *nada* clearly signals the intention of the speaker to put an end to the conversation.

- (14) E: ¿cómo era el juego ese de<alargamiento/> la goma? ('How was that game with the elastic?')
I: <ruido = "chasquido"/> pues **nada** cantábamos canciones ('well **nada** we sang songs') (PRESEEA)
- (15) E: bien / hablemos ahora de<alargamiento/> tu casa // explícanos / descríbenos cómo es tu piso ('okay/ Lets talk now about your house // tell us // describe us how your apartment is')
I: <tiempo = "18:17"> ¿el piso? <silencio/> vamos a ver // el piso es que / actualmente en el que estoy es de donde yo nació // entonces le tengo u<alargamiento/>n <vacilación/> cariño enorme // tanto es así que antes era alquiler y lo he comprado // he comprado también el de abajo porque<alargamiento/> <vacilación/> bueno fue una ocasión que vendieron los de la finca y yo dije este piso bueno / este piso no se me va de las manos / y entonces lo compramos // Y<alargamiento/> <vacilación/> // **nada** es un recibidor pues son pisos antiguos // que es un recibidor grande / que ahora actualmente no son así / son e<alargamiento/>normes / ('The apartment? let's see // The thing about the apartment is that / the one I am in nowadays is the one I was born in // so I'm very fond of it // so much so that before I was the tenant and I bought it // I also bought the one underneath because well it was an opportunity that those of the estate sold and I said this apartment well / I will not let it slip through my fingers / and then we bought it // and // **nada** it is a portal because they are old apartments // it is a big portal / nowadays they are not like this / they are huge /') (PRESEEA)
- (16) I1: Con la leche de vaca, cuando había mucha que igual no tenía suficiente la venta, porque la de nosotros, la leche, la llevaban al Ciego, a otro pueblo grande, pues igual habían parido dos o tres, y entonces tenía | entonces **nada**, tienes un suero artificial que compras en la farmacia, [...] ('with the cow milk, when there was a lot then just as well the sale wasn't enough, because ours, the milk, they brought it to Ciego, to another big village, well maybe they had foaled two or three, and then you had | then **nada**, you have artificial whey that you buy in the pharmacy, [...]') (Coser)
- (17) Entonces dije: "**nada**, nos estamos aquí aunque sea hasta las doce de la noche" ('Then he said: "**nada**, we stay here even if until midnight"') (Coser)
- (18) I1: Bueno, pos **nada**, [A-Pln: que se los] dé bien. ('Good, well **nada**, that everything may go well').
E1: Muchas gracias. ('Thank you very much')
I1: Hala, adiós. ('Well then, goodbye') (Coser)

This comprehensive functional analysis of the data allows us to tackle the research question concerning the functional evolution of *nada*, and its relationship with the process of grammaticalization. The comparison between the functions of *nada* over the two decades and generations (Gen4 in the 90s versus Gen2 in the 2000s) reveals a significant difference. First, *nada* is used more frequently with a metadiscursive function in the Preseea sample (98,9%) than in the Coser sample (88,4%). At the same time, the interpersonal function is almost three times less frequent in the Preseea sample (16,9% vs. 47,9%), as is shown in diagram 4⁶.

FIGURE 4Functions of *nada*: Coser (90) vs. Preseea (2000)

The breaking down of the interpersonal function in figure 5 confirms a general decrease in the frequency of all interpersonal values (see figure 5 below).

As shown in diagram 5, two values are not attested in the Preseea sample, namely *nada* as a marker of affirmation or of the speaker's feelings. This absence can be explained by the rather limited size of the sample (89 tokens) in combination with possibly overall low frequencies of these values. A strong frequency decrease can be observed, not surprisingly, for the use with the strongest propositional meaning, namely the negative value (from 11,6% in the Coser sample to 1,1% in the Preseea corpus). The attenuative value also shows a considerable decrease between the Coser sample (26,3%) and the Preseea sample (13,5%).

On the other hand, there is no overall increase of the metadiscursive values of *nada*. Quite the opposite, as shown by figure 6, there is a decrease in all values, except for *nada* introduc-

6 Note that the percentages are not cumulative because, as has been mentioned above, both functions can occur simultaneously (cf. example (5)).

ing a conclusion (from 2,7% to 9,0%) and, especially, *nada* indicating the continuation of the discourse (from 15,1% to 64%).

FIGURE 5

The interpersonal values of *nada*: Coser (90) vs. Preseaa (2000)

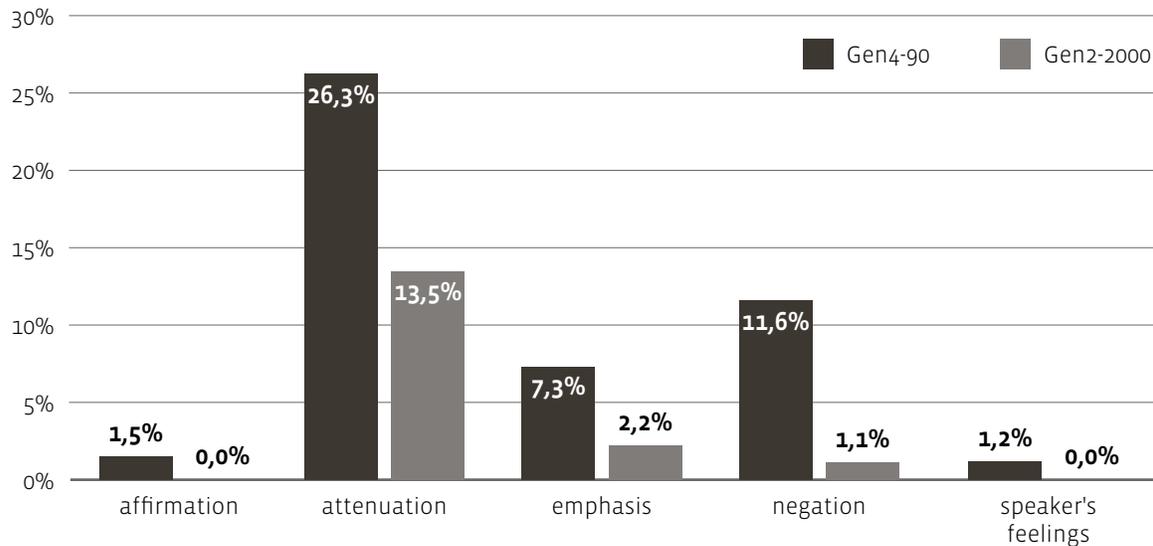
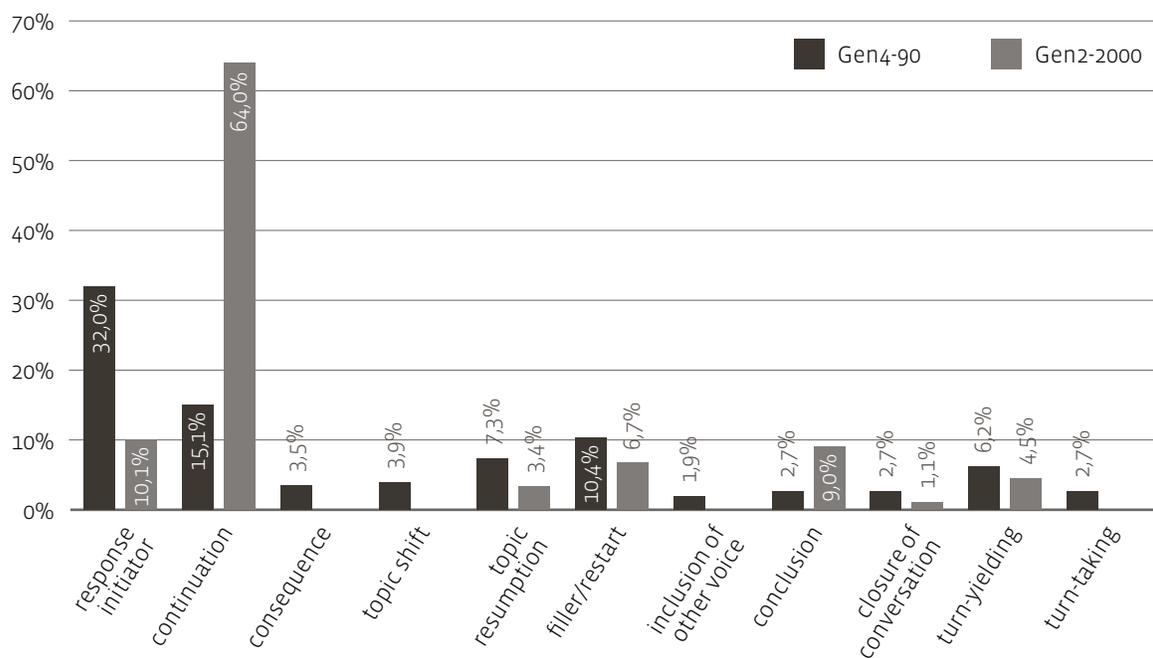


FIGURE 6

The metadiscursive values of *nada*: Coser (90) vs. Preseaa (2000)



The marker shows less functional variation when used by adolescents in the new millennium than by the fourth generation in the 90s. Especially the continuation function of *nada* has become more frequent in the most recent sample. It seems, thus, that the use of *nada* has specialized towards that one function.

From the decrease of interpersonal values of *nada* in general (figure 6), it can be concluded that the marker has been disposed of most of its marked semantic prosody (Louw, 2000; Schmitt and Carter, 2004), which implied negative as well as positive connotations, and is now being used with a more neutral semantic prosody. Next to that, the frequencies in figure 6 show that *nada* has narrowed its spectrum of metadiscursive functions, and has specialized in the continuation function. It seems that *nada* less frequently contributes to specific discourse moves, such as topic-shift or initiation of an answer, but has a more bleached or generalized meaning of indicating the continuation of the discourse.

According to the conceptions of grammaticalization theory, these semantic-pragmatic developments go hand in hand with changes on the formal level (Hopper, 1991). Hence, since pragmatic narrowing took place in the use of *nada*, the variety of formal choices should have narrowed as well (such as decrease in scope) (Lehmann, 1995). This link between functional and formal narrowing is now verified by having a closer look at the form (4.3.1) and the position (4.3.2) of the marker in both samples.

4.3. Formal parameters of grammaticalization: reduction of distributional choices

4.3.1. The lemmas of the marker

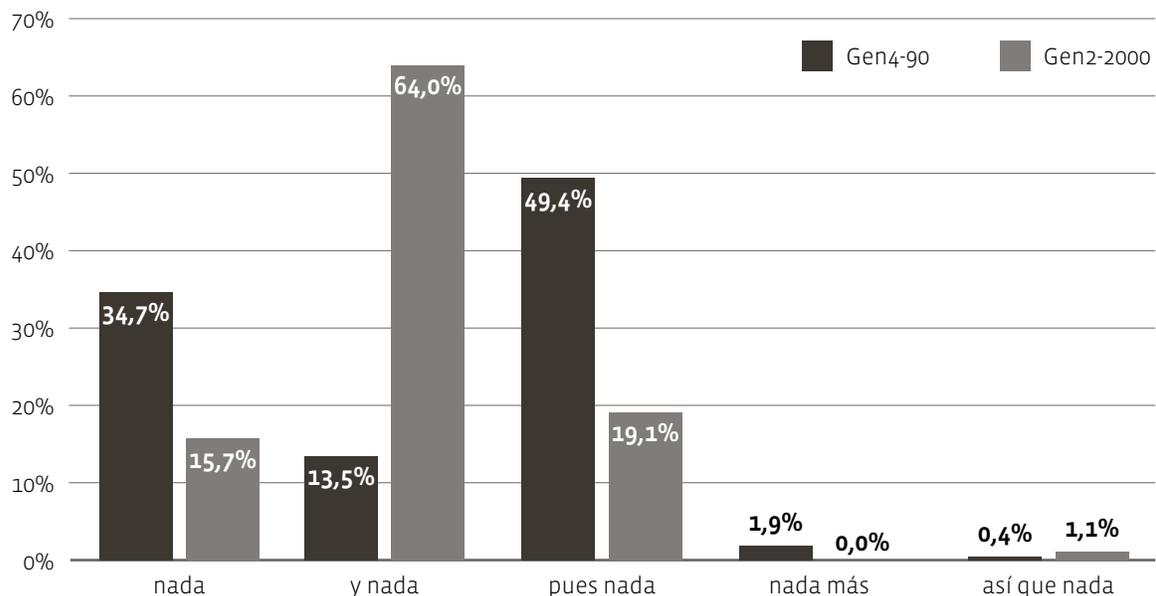
The first formal parameter under consideration is the formal appearance of *nada*. Section 1 already mentioned that *nada* can be considered as a ‘macro-pragmatic marker’ which overarches several concrete constructs. A generally accepted idea is that the relationships and proportions between the individual constructs do not remain constant, as a marker further develops on the grammaticalization cline, but that one particular variant may become prevalent, at the expense of others (Enghels, 2018). In the two samples, five forms or lemmas can be discerned, namely *nada*, *y nada*, *pues nada*, *nada más*, and *así que nada*:

(19) // está bien // tenemo<alargamiento/>s <vacilación/> **nada** / la televisió<alargamiento/>n / un mueble con la televisión / (‘// it’s okay // we have **nada** / the television / a piece of furniture with the television /’) (Preseea)

(20) ahora a lo mejor no lo hubiera hecho // y<alargamiento/> **y nada**/ lo que pasa es que<alargamiento/> luego llegué a un acuerdo con ello (‘no maybe I wouldn’t have done it // y **y nada**/ the thing is that soon I came to an agreement with them’) (Preseea)

- (21) E1: A-PI In Ah, en la iglesia, **pues nada**, estupendo. ('Oh, in the church, **pues nada**, terrific')
(Coser)
- (22) E2: Bueno, el queso, a ver ¿cómo se hacía? ('Okay, the cheese, let's see, how was it made?')
I2: Y el queso eso, **pues nada más**, cuando ya ha cuajao se lo pone en aritos, se lo va pelizcando ('And the cheese, **pues nada más**, when it is stern enough they put them in rings, they squeeze it').
- (23) y hasta el año que viene ya <alargamiento/> he cumplido <risas = "I"> **así que nada** a cenar te vas con unos amiguetes / ('and until next year I already completed **así que nada** you go to dinner with some friends') (Preseea)

According to the hypothesis that functional narrowing goes hand in hand with formal narrowing (cf. *supra* Hopper, 1991), we expect the marker to show less formal variation in the Preseea sample than in the Coser sample. The distribution of the lemmas in both samples indeed differs notably: diagram 7 illustrates the significant increase in the use of *y nada* (from 13,5% to 64%) and the decrease in frequency of the other lemmas (*nada*, *pues nada*, *nada más*).

FIGURE 7The lemmas of *nada*: Coser (90) vs. Preseea (2000)

In the sample of the adolescents in the 2000s, there are almost five times more instances of *y nada* in comparison with the sample of the fourth generation in the 90s. Of the several forms *y nada* used to compete with, this variety of formal choices has been narrowed and *y nada* gets a more prominent role within the paradigm. The reduction of choice within a paradigm is

indeed one of the central processes described by grammaticalization theory (Hopper, 1991: 22; Lehmann, 1995). The micro-diachronic analysis of *nada* confirms that the process of functional and formal narrowing took place simultaneously and, thus, confirms the above-mentioned hypothesis. The question then arises if the formal specialization also applies to the discourse position of *nada*.

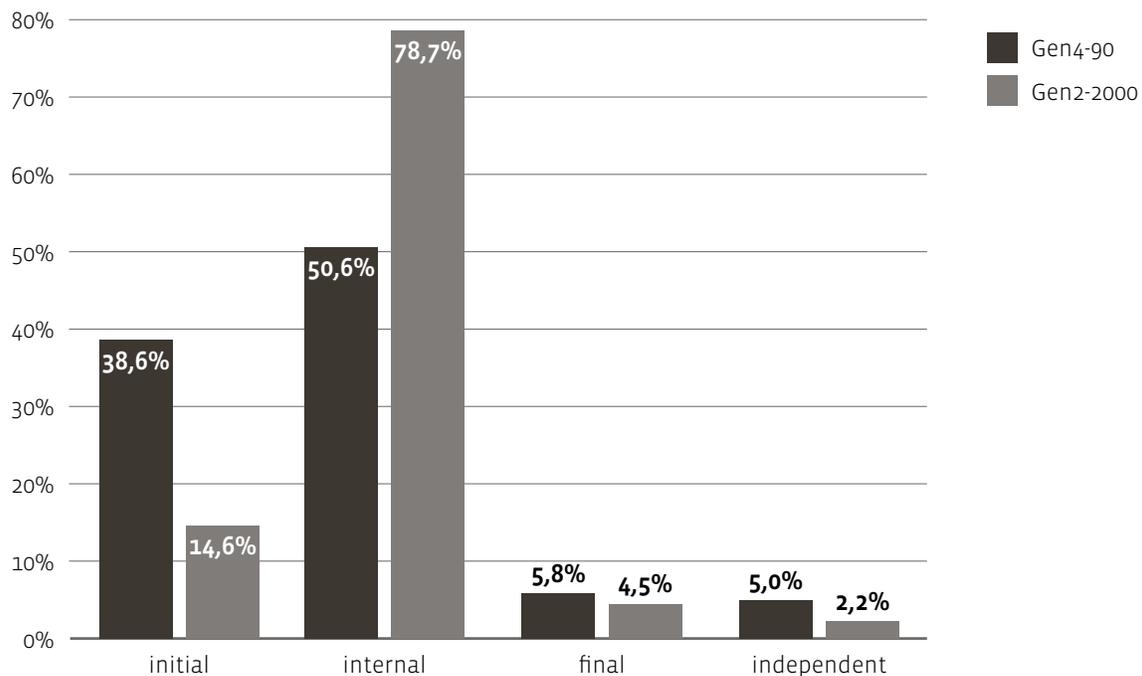
4.3.2. The position of the marker

A second formal parameter is the discourse position of the marker. The position is studied on two levels, namely the turn and, when turn-internal, the utterance. On the level of the turn, *nada* can occur in turn-initial (24), turn-internal (25), or turn-final position (26), or it can constitute an independent turn (27).

- (24) E: <cita> vamos a hacer doblete </cita> / ('let's play the doubles')
I: **nada** / yo<alargamiento/> / yo lo llevo fatal lo del atleta ('**nada** / I <lengthening/> / I'm a very bad athlete') (Preseea)
- (25) / le di el dinero // y <simultáneo> **nada** lo pasé muy mal ('I gave him the money // and **nada** I had a really hard time') (Preseea)
- (26) Miramos a ver si el ternero viene bien, cuando la vaca está ya de parto, ya está el, el ternero, el ternero apuntando, si vemos que la cabeza viene bien, **pues nada**. ('We look to see if the calf comes out well, when the cow is already in labour, when we see that the head comes right, **pues nada**')
E1: Le, le dejan a... ('They, they let him...') (Coser)
- (27) E: bueno / pues<alargamiento/> ya hemos terminado ('Okay / well we already finished')
I: **pues nada** <ruido = "golpe"/> ('**pues nada**')
E: dígame explíqueme cómo se va desde aquí a Serrano andando ('tell me explain me how do you get from here to Serrano by foot') (Preseea)

A comparison between the two samples shows a shift in the frequencies of the positions occupied by *nada*. In the most recent sample, the turn-internal position has become more preminent. Figure 8 below shows that, while in the Coser sample *nada* occurred in half of the examples in this position (50,6%), the turn-internal position represents almost 80% of the Preseea sample.

First, the higher frequency of the turn-internal position involves a decrease in the frequencies of the other positions (turn-initial, turn-final, and independent). This tendency can be explained by the pragmatic shift towards a more neutral semantic prosody or, in other words, towards less modal and interpersonal values of *nada* in the most recent corpus. As has

FIGURE 8The position of *nada* within a turn: Coser (90) vs. Preseaa (2000)

been proposed by Briz and Pons Bordería (2010: 354) and demonstrated by Tanghe (2016: 27), pragmatic markers with a textual function operate at a turn-internal level (or the level of the Act, see Grupo Val.Es.Co, 2014), while markers with a modal or interpersonal function operate at the level of the turn preferring a position in its periphery.

Second, the higher frequency of the turn-internal position means that the marker operates less frequently across turn borders, implying, in turn, a decrease in scope of *nada*. Scope reduction is one of the formal parameters proposed by the model of grammaticalization. According to Lehmann (1995: 143): “The structural scope of a sign decreases with increasing grammaticalization”. Our findings confirm that for the marker *nada* reduction in scope correlates with a reduction in variety of functional choices.

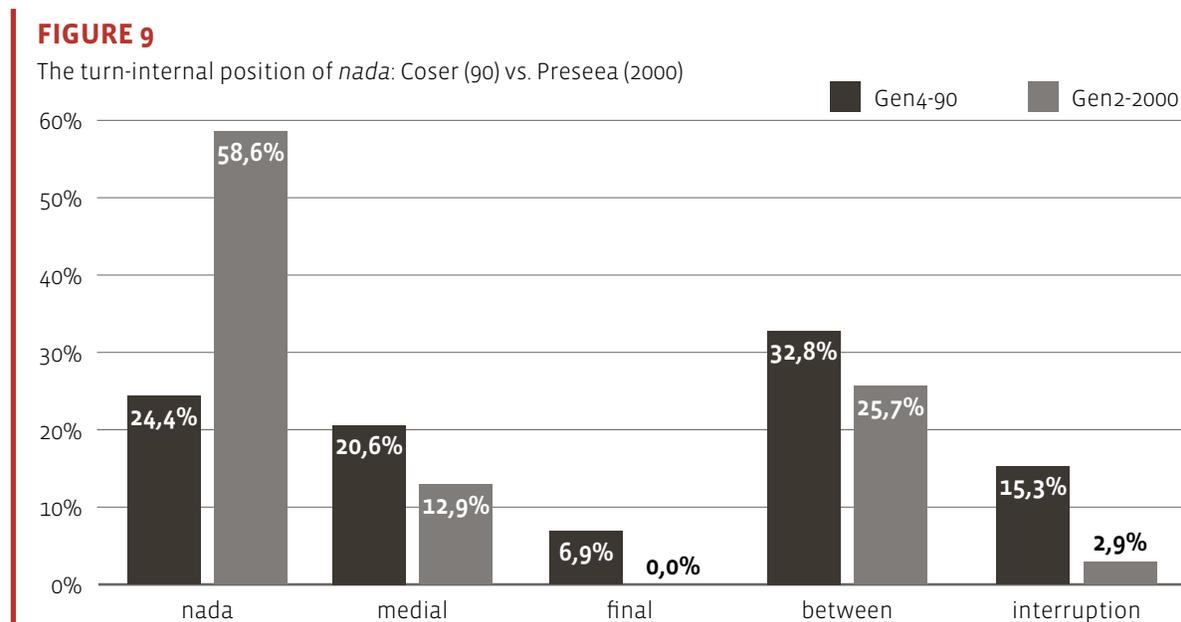
On the turn-internal level (i.e. at the level of the utterance) five positions can be discerned, namely utterance-initial (28), utterance-medial (29), utterance-final (30), between utterances (31), or interrupting an utterance (32).

(28) I: <entre_risas> sí / tengo la sensación de que aquí hay un mmm </entre_risas> / poca gente joven / hh **nada** este barrio lo que ha cambiado es que<alargamiento/> el alcalde ha puesto muchos árboles // (‘yes / I have the feeling that here there is a mmm / few

young people / hh **nada** this quarter what has changed is that the major has planted many trees') (Preseea)

- (29) Y el chorizo, **pues nada**, se aparta. ('And the chorizo, **pues nada**, you put it aside') (Coser)
- (30) pues sí lo aprovechará, pero los que no, **pues nada**. El que sabe trabajarlo lo hace ('well he will make use of it, but those who don't, **pues nada**. Those who know how to work it do it') (Coser)
- (31) ¿os llevan detenidos? </cita> digo < cita> no hombre no / para qué te voy a explicar ahora </cita> claro / total / **y nada**/ luego el comisario // pue<alargamiento/>s / me dijo que<alargamiento/> // ('Did they arrest you? I say no man no / why would I explain to you now of course / well yeah / **y nada**/ then the Chief of Police // well / he told me that') (Preseea)
- (32) [A-Pln: Como sabéis que lo veo... **pues nada**,] con esto de que están hablando en la tele tanto que están qui- | ('As you know that I see... **pues nada**, with what they are talking about on the television so much that they may') (Coser)

Figure 9 illustrates how the turn-internal positions of *nada* have a more or less equilibrated distribution in the Coser sample, but get more specialized in the Preseea corpus:



The utterance-initial position is for the Gen2 in the new millennium the preferred turn-internal position of *nada* (58,6%), meaning that also for this formal parameter a reduction in choice within the paradigm is established.

Given the above, we can rightly conclude that, when comparing both samples, the marker *nada* has undergone a narrowing both on the pragmatic and formal level. From a real-time analysis perspective, this development has taken place over the last decade, and could be due to generational differences; from an apparent-time analysis, these findings could be interpreted as the outcome of a grammaticalization process that has taken place over the last five to six decades.

Based on these findings, we hypothesize that *nada* currently is in a second phase of its grammaticalization process. In a first phase, previous to the one that has been analyzed in this study, *nada* underwent a recategorization process from quantifier with full lexical meaning to a polysemous pragmatic marker, amplifying its scope, gaining more positional freedom, bleaching its semantic meaning and an enrichment of its pragmatic meaning. As a second stage in its process of grammaticalization, its variety in functional and formal possibilities gets narrowed: it is used predominantly with a value of assuring the continuation of the discourse, the marker's favorite form of appearance is *y nada*, and it clearly prefers a turn-internal and utterance-initial position. The present study shows that this second stage of pragmatic change took place in the last decade(s), and might still be going on.

5. Conclusions

The data analyzed in this study provide valuable insights into the grammaticalization process in which the negative quantifier *nada* has been involved, as well as into the question of how recent language change can be best studied methodologically.

The starting point of this study were the hypotheses of Stenström (2009) and Schmer Miranda (2012), claiming that *nada* (1) has been integrated into the class of Spanish markers very recently and (2) is a characteristic lexical trait of youth language. The real-time analysis revealed that the use of *nada* as a pragmatic marker goes way back, as attestations have been recorded already in the 1970s (in the *Habla Culta* corpus). Its use in spontaneous speech probably goes back to the 19th century, as could be concluded from the analysis of the CORDE corpus. Consequently, the grammaticalization process through which *nada*, as an indefinite negative marker with propositional meaning, has evolved towards functioning as a highly polysemous and syntactically versatile linguistic item with mainly a procedural-interpersonal and metadiscursive—function is certainly not a phenomenon of contemporary Spanish, as was suggested already by the study of Beinhauer (1930). Moreover, at different moments in time, the pragmatic marker *nada* was used by younger, but also by older generations. Consequently, both hypotheses are contested by the data.

However, this does not mean that the analyses of Stenström and Schmer Miranda should be refuted. We claim that what has been rightly observed by both authors is a second, crucial,

phase in the grammaticalization process of the marker *nada*. Indeed, the data of the 21st century not only show an important increase in its relative frequency of use, but also a narrowing down of both its semantic-pragmatic and formal variability. The recent grammaticalization process that has then rightly been observed coincides with the spread of *nada* as a pragmatic marker and, particularly, as a marker with a mainly discourse-organizing function, repeatedly placed at different turn-internal positions, preferably at the beginning of an utterance.

At the methodological level, it follows from this case study that the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century can be studied as a locus of current language change in Spanish. It has already been demonstrated that, in this period, the development of discourse markers in Spanish has considerably accelerated (e.g. the pragmaticalization of *o sea* ‘that is to say’, *entonces* ‘so’, *encima* ‘what is more’, *vaya* or *ándale* ‘come on’, or *sabes* ‘you know’, e.g. Pons Bordería, 2014; Azofra and Enghels, 2017). The case of *nada* further corroborates this observation, and shows that (indefinite) quantifiers, when involved in a grammaticalization process, follow paths of reanalysis and recategorization similar to items derived from other types of lexical, nominal, or verbal, sources, as mentioned above.

This study thus argues for a thoughtful combination of both real-time analyses and apparent time analyses, when historical data run short. This is often the case when pragmatic phenomena, typical of spoken language, are tackled. By making a cross-over between diachronically exactly dated data and generational information on the speakers, one could maximally go back into time, and get a better comprehension on the origin and evolution of, for instance, pragmatic markers. Be it as it may, what still needs to be explored in further detail in future research is the question of to what extent the observed differences relate to different speech traditions of the youngest versus oldest generation.

6. References

- AARTS, Bas, Joanne CLOSE, Geoffrey LEECH, and Sean WALLIS (dirs.), 2013: *The Verb Phrase in English. Investigating Recent Language Change with Corpora*, Cambridge: University Press.
- AIJMER, Karin, 2013: *Understanding pragmatic markers in English*, Edinburgh: University Press.
- ANDERSEN, Gisle, 2001: *Pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation: a relevance- theoretic approach to the language of adolescents*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- AZOFRA SIERRA, María Elena, and Renata ENGHELS, 2017: “El proceso de gramaticalización del marcador epistémico deverbal *sabes*”, *Iberoromania* 85, 1-12.
- BAILEY, Guy, Tom WIKLE, Jan TILLERY, and Lori SAND, 1991: “The apparent time construct”, *Language Variation and Change* 3, 241-264.

BAZZANELLA, Carla, 1995: “*I segnali discorsivi*” in Lorenzo RENZI, Giampaolo SALVI, and Anna CARDINALETTI (dirs.): *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione* vol. 3, 225-257.

BEINHAUER, Werner, 1930: *Spanische Umgangssprache*, Verlag: Berlin.

BEINHAUER, Werner, Dámaso ALONSO, and Fernando HUARTE MORTON, 1991: *El español coloquial*, Madrid: Gredos.

BLAS ARROYO, José Luis, 2005: *Sociolingüística del español: desarrollos y perspectivas en el estudio de la lengua española en contexto social*, Madrid: Cátedra.

BRINTON, Laurel J., 1996: *Pragmatic markers in English: grammaticalization and discourse functions*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

BRINTON, Laurel J., 2008: *The comment clause in English. Syntactic origins and pragmatic development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BRIZ, Antonio, and Salvador PONS BORDERÍA, 2010: “Unidades, marcadores discursivos y posición” in Óscar LOUREDA LAMAS and Esperanza ACÍN VILLA (dirs.): *Los estudios sobre marcadores del discurso en el español, hoy*, Madrid: Arco/Libros, 327-357.

BRIZ GÓMEZ, Antonio, and Grupo Val.Es.Co., 2002: *Corpus de conversaciones coloquiales*, Madrid: Arco Libros.

BOWIE, David, 2005: “Language Change over the Lifespan: A Test of the Apparent Time Construct”, University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics 11/2 [<http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol11/iss2/3/>].

BYBEE, Joan, 2003: “Mechanisms of Change in Grammaticization: The Role of Frequency” in Brian D. JOSEPH and Richard D. JANDA, (dirs.): *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 602-623.

BYBEE, Joan, Revere PERKINS, and William PAGLIUCA, 1994: *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

CAMERON, Richard, 2011: “Age, aging and sociolinguistics” in Manuel Díaz CAMPOS (dir.): *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*, Oxford: Willey-Blackwell, 207-229.

COMPANY COMPANY, Concepción, 2006a: “Subjectification of Verbs into Discourse Markers: Semantic-Pragmatic Change Only?” in Bert CORNILLIE and Nicole DELBECQUE (dirs.): *Topics in Subjectification and Modalization*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 97-121.

COMPANY COMPANY, Concepción, 2006b: “Zero in syntax, ten in pragmatics” in Angeliki ATHANASIOUDOU, Costas CANAKIS, and Bert CORNILLIE (dirs.): *Subjectification: Various Paths to Subjectivity*, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 375-398.

CRESTI, Emanuela, and Massimo MONEGLIA, 2005: *C-ORAL-ROM. Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005.

DE CUYPERE, Ludovic, 2008: *Limiting the Iconic: From the Metatheoretical Foundations to the Creative Possibilities of Iconicity in Language*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.

DE TORRES MARTÍNEZ, José C., 1981: *Encuestas léxicas del habla culta de Madrid*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

DE GAND, Liesbeth, and Benjamin FAGARD, 2011: "Alors between discourse and grammar: the role of syntactic position", *Functions of Language* 18 (1), 29-56.

DE STEFANI, Elwys, 2016: "'Niente' nel parlato conversazionale: pratiche interazionali e processi di grammaticalizzazione di un segnale discorsivo", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 132 (1), 206-231.

DÍAZ-CAMPOS, Manuel, 2014: *Introducción a la sociolingüística hispánica*, Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

DIEWALD, Gabriele, 2011: "Pragmaticalization (defined) as grammaticalization of discourse functions", *Linguistics* 49, 365-390.

DOSTIE, Gaétane, 2004: *Pragmaticalisation et marqueurs discursifs: analyse sémantique et traitement lexicographique*, Bruxelles: De Boeck Duculot.

ENGHELS, Renata, 2018: "On the development of the interpersonal epistemic stance construction in Spanish: the case of *sabes* 'you know' and constructional variants", *Folia Linguistica* 52 (1), 107-138.

ENGHELS, Renata, María Elena AZOFRA SIERRA, 2018: "Sobre la naturaleza de los corpus y la comparabilidad de resultados en lingüística histórica. Estudio de caso del marcador pragmático *sabes*", *Spanish in Context* 15 (3), 465-489.

ENGHELS, Renata, Clara VANDERSCHUEREN, and Miriam BOUZOUITA, 2015: "Panorama de los corpus y textos del español peninsular contemporáneo" in María ILIESCU and Eugeen ROEGEST (dirs.): *Manuel des anthologies, corpus et textes romans*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 147-170.

ERMAN, Britt, and Ulla-Britt KOTSINAS, 1993: "Pragmaticalization: The case of *ba* and *you know*", *Studier i modern språkvetenskap*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, New Series 10, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 76-93.

ESTELLÉS ARGUEDAS, María, 2006: "En torno a la evolución del marcador *por cierto*: una aproximación pragmática" in Milka VILLAYANDRE (dir.): *Actas del XXXV Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística*, León: Universidad de León, 486-503.

ESTELLÉS ARGUEDAS, María, 2009: "Un caso atípico de gramaticalización (I): el valor epistémico del marcador '*por cierto*'", *RILCE. Revista de Filología Hispánica* 25 (2), 319-339.

EVANS WAGNER, Susanne, 2012: "Age Grading in Sociolinguistic Theory", *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6 (6), 371-382.

FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, Inés (dir.), 2005: *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural*, [www.uam.es/coser].

FISCHER, Olga, 2010: "On problem areas in grammaticalization. Lehmann's parameters and the issue of scope" in An VAN LINDEN, Jean-Christophe VERSTRAETE, and Kristin DAVIDSE (dirs.): *Formal Evidence in Grammaticalization Research*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 17-24.

FRASER, Bruce, 1999: "What are discourse markers?", *Journal of Pragmatics* 31, 931-952.

FUENTES RODRÍGUEZ, Catalina, 2009: *Diccionario de conectores y operadores del español*, Madrid: Arco Libros.

GALLARDO PAÚLS, Beatriz, 1996: *Análisis conversacional y pragmática del receptor*, Valencia: Episteme.

GARACHANA, Mar, 1999: "Los procesos de gramaticalización", *Moenia* 5, 155-172.

GARACHANA, Mar, 2008: "En los límites de la gramaticalización. La evolución de *encima (de que)* como marcador del discurso", *Revista de Filología Española* 88 (1), 7-36.

GHEZZI, Chiara, and Piera MOLINELLI (dirs.), 2014: *Discourse and pragmatic markers from Latin to the Romance languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GRUPO VAL.ES.CO., 2014: "Las unidades del discurso oral. La propuesta Val.ES.CO de segmentación de la conversación (coloquial)", *Estudios de Lingüística del Español* 35 (1), 11-71.

HOPPER, Paul J., 1991: "On some principles of grammaticization" in Elizabeth Closs TRAUOGOTT and Bernd HEINE (dirs.): *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, vol. I, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 17-36.

HOPPER, Paul J., and Elizabeth C. TRAUOGOTT, 2003: *Grammaticalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IGLESIAS RECUERO, Silvia, 2015: "Sintaxis, texto y discurso: la historia de *por cierto*" in Margarita BORREGUERO ZULOAGA and Sonia GÓMEZ-JORDANA FERARY (dirs.): *Les marqueurs du discours dans les langues romanes: une approche contrastive*, Limoges: Lambert-Lucas, 251-284.

JØRGENSEN, Annette Myre: *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* [http://www.colam.org/om_prosj-espanol.html].

KABATEK, Johannes, 2005: "Tradiciones discursivas y cambio lingüístico", *Lexis* 29, 151-177.

LANDONE, Elena, 2009: *Los marcadores del discurso y la cortesía verbal en español*, Bern / New York: Peter Lang.

- LEHMAN, Christian, 1995: *Thoughts on grammaticalization*, München: Lincom Europa.
- LEVEY, Stephen, 2008: "The sociolinguistic distribution of discourse marker *like* in preadolescent speech", *Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 25 (4), 413-441.
- LLORENTE ARCOCHA, María Teresa, 1996: *Organizadores de la conversación: operadores discursivos en español*, Salamanca: Caja Salamanca y Soria.
- LOUW, Bill, 2000: "Contextual prosodic theory: Bringing semantic prosodies to life" in Chris HEFFER and Helen SAUNTSOON (dirs.): *Words in Context: A Tribute to John Sinclair on his Retirement*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
- MARCOS MARÍN, Francisco (dir.), 1992: *Corpus de Referencia de la Lengua Española Contemporánea (CORLEC)*, Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- MARTÍN ZORRAQUINO, María Antonia, and PORTOLÉS, José, 1999: "Los marcadores del discurso" in Ignacio BOSQUE and Violeta DEMONTE (dirs.): *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 4051-4212.
- MEYERHOFF, Miria, 2011: *Introducing sociolinguistics*, second edition, New York: Routledge.
- NEVALAINEN, Terttu, and Helena RAUMOLIN-BRUNBERG, 2003: *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*, London: Pearson Education.
- NGRAE, 2009: *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*, Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- OCTAVIO DE TOLEDO Y HUERTA, Álvaro S., 2008: "Un nuevo esquema adversativo en el primer español moderno (h.1675-1825): la historia del nexos *sino es*" in Concepción COMPANY COMPANY and José G. MORENO DE ALBA (dirs.): *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, vol. 1, Madrid: Arco Libros, 877-907.
- OCTAVIO DE TOLEDO Y HUERTA, Álvaro S., 2011: "Santa Teresa y la mano visible: sobre las variantes sintácticas del Camino de Perfección" in Mónica CASTILLO LLUCH and Lola PONS RODRIGUEZ (dirs.): *Así se van las lenguas variando: nuevas tendencias en la investigación del cambio lingüístico en español*, Bern: Peter Lang, 241-304.
- OCTAVIO DE TOLEDO Y HUERTA, Álvaro S., 2014: "Entre gramaticalización, estructura informativa y tradiciones discursivas: algo más sobre *nada*" in José Luis GIRÓN ALCONCHEL and Daniel SÁEZ RIVERA (dirs.): *Procesos de gramaticalización en la historia del español*, Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 263-319.
- PONS BORDERÍA, Salvador, 2008: "Gramaticalización por tradiciones discursivas: el caso de *esto es*" in Johannes KABATEK (dir.): *Sintaxis histórica del español. Nuevas perspectivas desde las tradiciones discursivas*, Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 249-274.

PONS BORDERÍA, Salvador, 2014: "Paths of grammaticalization in Spanish 'o sea'" in Chiara GHEZZI and Piera MOLINELLI, Piera (dirs.): *Discourse and pragmatic markers from Latin to the Romance languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 109-138.

PONS RODRÍGUEZ, Lola, 2010: "Los marcadores del discurso en la historia del español" in Óscar LOUREDA LAMAS and Esperanza ACÍN VILLA (dirs.): *Los estudios sobre los marcadores del discurso en español, hoy*, Madrid: Arco Libros, 523-615.

PRESEEA, 2014-: *Corpus del proyecto para el estudio sociolingüístico del español de España y de América*, Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá [<http://preseea.linguas.net>].

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CREA), *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* [<http://www.rae.es/>].

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CORPES XXI), *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* [<http://web.frl.es/CORPES/view/inicio>].

SACKS, Harvey, Emanuel A. SCHEGLOFF, and Gail JEFFERSON, 1974: "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation", *Language* 50 (4), 696-735.

SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, Cristina, 1999a: "Los cuantificadores: clases de cuantificadores y estructuras cuantificativas" in Ignacio BOSQUE and Violeta DEMONTE (dirs.): *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1025-1128.

SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, Cristina, 1999b: "La negación" in Ignacio BOSQUE and Violeta DEMONTE (dirs.): *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2561-2634.

SANTOS RÍO, Luis, 2003: *Diccionario de partículas*, Salamanca: Luso-española de ediciones.

SCHMITT, Norbert, and Ronald CARTER, 2004: "Formulaic sequences in action: An introduction" in Norbert SCHMITT (dir.): *Formulaic Sequences*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1-22.

SILVA-CORVALÁN, Carmen, 2001: *Sociolingüística y pragmática del español*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

SCHMER MIRANDA, Débora 2012: "Un análisis de *nada* como marcador del discurso en el español coloquial de Buenos Aires", *RILL Nueva Época, Prácticas Discursivas a través de las Disciplinas* 17 (1/2).

STENSTRÖM, Anna-Brita, 2009: "Pragmatic markers in contrast: Spanish *pues nada* and English *anyway*" in Anna-Brita STENSTRÖM and Anette Myre JØRGENSEN (dirs.): *Youngspeak in a Multilingual Perspective*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 137-159.

SWEETSER, Eve, 1988: "Grammaticalization and semantic bleaching", *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 14, 389-405.

TANGHE, Sanne, 2016: "Position and Polyfunctionality of Discourse Markers: The Case of Spanish Markers Derived from Motion Verbs", *Journal of Pragmatics* 93, 16-31.

THOMPSON, Sandra A., and Anthony MULAC, 1991: "The discourse conditions for the use of the complementizer *that* in conversational English", *Journal of Pragmatics* 15, 237-251.

TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs, 1988: "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization", *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 406-416.

TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs, 1995: "The role of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization", paper presented at the 12th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Manchester, UK, August 1995 [available at www.stanford.edu/~traugott/ect-paperonline.html].

TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs, 2003: "Constructions in grammaticalization" in Brian D. JOSEPH and Richard D. JANDA (dirs.): *The handbook of historical linguistics*, Oxford: Blackwell, 624-647.

TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs, 2014: "On the Function of the Epistemic Adverbs *Surely* and *No Doubt* at the Left and Right Peripheries of the Clause" in Kate BEECHING and Ulrich DETGES (dirs.): *Discourse Functions at the Left and Right Periphery. Crosslinguistic Investigations of Language Use and Language Change*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 72-91.

TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs, 2018: "Modeling Language Change with Constructional Networks" in Salvador PONS BORDERIA and Óscar LOUREDA LAMAS (dirs.): *Beyond Grammaticalization and Discourse Markers*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 17-50.

WAGENAAR, Kornelis, 1930: *Étude sur la négation en ancien espagnol jusqu'à XVe siècle*, Groningen: Noordhoff uitgevers.

WALTEREIT, Richard, and Ulrich DETGES, 2007: "Different functions, different histories. Modal particles and discourse markers from a diachronic point of view", *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 6, 61-080.

WIELING, Martijn, Jack GRIEVE, Gosse BOUMA, Josef FRUEHWALD, John COLEMAN, and Mark LIBERMAN, 2016: "Variation and change in the use of hesitation markers in Germanic languages", *Language Dynamics and Change* 6 (2), 199-234.