

Subjectivization and Intersubjectivization in the Evolution of the Verb *Témer* in Catalan (13th-19th c.)*

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Abstract

In current-day Catalan, the verb *témer* ('to fear') has an intersubjective value, together with a lexical and epistemic/evidential value. It is used as a strategy of negative politeness in contexts where an apology is made or information that the speaker anticipates will displease or contradict the hearer/reader. However, this value is not exclusive to Catalan and has been observed and studied in diachrony in other languages, especially English. Based on previous studies, this paper aims to describe and explain the process of change whereby the verb *témer* ('to fear') and other synonymous idioms (*haver/tenir por/paor/temor*) will develop an intersubjective value in Catalan, in a process that will end during the nineteenth century. This research is based on the analysis of data from computerized textual corpora of old, modern and contemporary Catalan. The data obtained have been analyzed qualitatively – in contrast to the evolution described for English (especially in Mazzon's 2012 study) – using the concept of (inter)subjectification by E. C. Traugott (Traugott & Dasher 2001; Traugott 2010)

Keywords: Catalan language; diachronic linguistics; (inter)subjectification; politeness; pragmatics; *témer* ('to fear')

Resum. Subjectivació i intersubjectivació en l'evolució del verb *témer* en català (segles XIII-XIX)

En català actual, el verb *témer* presenta, juntament amb un valor lèxic i epistèmic/evidencial, un valor intersubjectiu. S'usa com a estratègia de cortesia negativa en contextos en què s'expressa disculpa o es transmet una informació que el parlant preveu que desagradarà o contradirà l'oient. Aquest valor no és, però, exclusiu del català i ha estat observat i estudiat en diacronia en altres llengües, especialment en anglès. Partint dels estudis previs, en aquest article volem descriure

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i explicar el procés de canvi pel qual el verb *témer* i les locucions sinònimes (*haver/tenir por/paor/temor*) desenvoluparà, en català, el valor intersubjectiu, en un procés que culminarà durant el segle XIX. La recerca es fonamenta en l'anàlisi de dades de corpus textuals informatitzats del català antic, modern i contemporani. Les dades obtingudes han estat analitzades qualitativament, en contrast amb l'evolució descrita per a l'anglès (especialment, en l'estudi de Mazzon 2012), fent ús del concepte d'(*inter*)subjectivació d'E. C. Traugott (Traugott & Dasher 2001; Traugott 2010).

Paraules clau: llengua catalana; lingüística diacrònica; (inter)subjectivació; cortesia; pragmàtica; *témer*

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4. Diachronic evolution of the intersubjective usages
2. Methodology	5. Conclusions
3. Analysis of intersubjective usages	References

1. Introduction¹

The verb *témer* has two semantic nuclei in contemporary Catalan: on one hand, it works as a psychological verb and expresses the mental state (fear) of the subject/experiencer. With this meaning, the verb is generally transitive: [N₁ V (N₂/Vinf₂)] (N₁[human]; N₂[human, circumstance, fact, act, thing]), 'To fear someone, some circumstance, some fact, some act, something'₂' (DDLC, s.v. *témer*, 1a; ex. (1a)). Secondarily, it is intransitive: [N1 V (de N2)], [N1 V de/en Vinf2] 'to have fear of someone, some circumstance, some fact, something' (DDLC, s.v. *témer*, 1b; ex. (1b)).

- (1) a. Aquesta vida m'agrada tant [...], que jo mateix penso que hauria de **témer** la mort. I no sé si la **temo** o no la **temo**, però sé que penso que tot allò que és bell en la vida, i la plenitud que hi pressento, bé ho deuré trobar un cop passada la porta. (Serrahima, Maurici [1970], *De mitja vida ençà*; CTILC)
 'I like this life so much [...] that I even think that I should **fear** death. And I do not know whether I **fear** it or not, but I think that everything that is beautiful in life, and the plenitude I feel it has, I will have to find it once I cross the door.'
- b. Et riuràs de la devastació i de la fam i no hauràs de **témer** de la bèstia de la terra. (Agué i Montanyà, Ramir [1959], *Job*; CTILC)
 'You will laugh at the devastation and hunger and will not have **to fear** anything about the earthly beast.'

1. To facilitate the reading of this article, we use the following abbreviations: Cat.: Catalan; En.: English; ex.: example; H/R: Hearer/Reader; S/W: Speaker/Writer.

On the other hand, it has a second meaning according to which the S/W formulates a conjecture (generally a prediction but it can also be about a simultaneous or prior fact) and expresses now a negative attitude (worry, upset) regarding the inferred situation: [N₁ V/Vpron *que* Vind₂/*que* Vsubj₂]; [N₁ V/Vpron N₂] (N₁[human]; N₂[situation, circumstance, fact]) ‘(to have a preoccupation about [a circumstance, a fact that involves danger or annoyance]2)’ (DDLC, s.v. *témer*, 2; ex. (2a,b)).

- (2) a. Veí Segon: **Em temo que** el Blasi avui no vindrà. Ja comença a ser tard. (Pàmias, Jordi [1979], *Camí de mort*; CTILC)
‘I **fear** that Blasi will not come. It is starting to be late.’
- b. En tot cas aquest sector sembla, en principi, eminentment bàsic —sobretot a la Província de Barcelona— si bé amb forta tendència a decreïxer. És possible que això obeeixi en part, a alguna falla estadística, però **em temo** que el creixement d’aquest sector no segueix pas un ritme adient. (Trias Fargas, Ramon [1966], *Catalunya i el modern concepte de regió econòmica*; CTILC)
‘In any event, this field seems, in principle, very vague, clearly basic – particularly in the province of Barcelona –, although with an obvious tendency to decrease. It is possible that this is due, at least, to some statistical mistake, but I **fear** the increase in this field does not follow an adequate rhythm.’

In a previous article (Antolí 2015), we assigned this verb an evidential value (an inferring evidential in Willett’s terms, 1988), and it constitutes an evidential marker similar to constructions with the verb *amençar* (*threaten*) (studied in Spanish from this perspective by Cornillie 2005, 2007, 2016; and in Cat. by Antolí 2019), inasmuch as it provides a negative evaluation of the stated proposition.

Nevertheless, in many contexts (3a,b) this evidential value must be clarified:

- (3) a. *Càssius*: **Em temo** que abusem del teu descans. Bon dia, Brutus, ¿no et molestem pas? *Brutus*: He estat alçat fins ara; despert tota la nit. (Oliva, Salvador [1984], *Juli Cèsar*; CTILC)
‘*Càssius*: I **fear** that we are abusing your rest. Good morning, Brutus, are we bothering you?’
- b. És una llàstima que no siguis ací, perquè ara hi ha moltes facilitats per a la investigació i podries fer bona feina. El mal és que ningú no podria assegurar-te —**em temo**— uns ingressos regulars. O potser sí, combinant la feina d’investigació i elaboració de llibres amb la de correcció de proves [...]. (Riera Llorca, Vicenç [1974], *Cartes a Amadeu Bernadó*; CTILC)
‘It’s a pity you are not here, because right now there are many opportunities for research and you could do a good job. The problem is that nobody could assure you – I **fear** – a regular income. Or maybe they could, if you combine your research work and the writing of books with correcting proofs.’

- c. *MARC*: Si decidís quedar-me amb el príncep hauria de buscar la manera que Guisla pogués reunir-se amb mi. Tu ens podries servir d'enllaç. *JOFRE*: **Em temo que no**. Quan hagi visitat el meu pare no penso tornar amb el regent. Seguiré amb tu fins al príncep. (Benet i Jornet, Josep Maria [1970], *Marc i Jofre, o els alquimistes de la fortuna*; CTILC)
 ‘*MARC*: If I decided to remain with the prince, I should find a way for Guisla to reunite with me. You could be our liaison. *JOFRE*: **I fear I could not**. After visiting my father, I do not think I will go back with the regent. I will continue with you all the way to the prince.’

The modal/evidential marking is not enough to explain the verbal function in the preceding examples: in (3a) the speaker offers an apology, in (3b) an opinion and in (3c) an intention. Even if cases (3a) and (3b) could be compatible with a modal/evidential interpretation, that is not possible in (3c).

These usages of *témer* are an example of intersubjectivity, utilizing Traugott’s terminology (2010), a concept that “refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent’s expression of his or her awareness of the addressee’s attitudes and beliefs, most especially their ‘face’ or ‘self-image’” (Traugott 2010: 33). More in particular, these usages of *témer* are examples of one of the more adequate functions of language to mark the speaker’s attitude regarding the H/R intersubjective ‘face’: politeness (Traugott 2014). In particular, and using Brown & Levinson’s classic theory of politeness (1987), it is a strategy with which the S/W shows that he does not want to interfere with the receptor’s plans, thus qualifying the degree of imposition of his opinions and how badly this can reflect on the receptor’s public image. In Wierzbicka’s words (2003: 74), there is a restriction of self-assertion as an answer to the conflict between the right of the speaker to self-assert himself and the right to personal autonomy of the receptor. In this way the speaker modulates his discourse and uses strategies with which he recognizes the H/R personal autonomy.

The intersubjective usages of the verbs of fear have already been identified in other languages, and in particular there are several studies on the English construction *I’m afraid*. Some attention has been paid to its synchronic usages (Mazzon 2019), but studies have mostly focused on the diachronic process that has resulted in these values (Akimoto 2002; Jing-Schmidt & Kapatsinski 2012; Kitis 2009; Mazzon 2012; Tissari 2007), utilizing in general Traugott’s concept of (inter)subjectification (Traugott & Dasher 2001; Traugott 2010). The best analyzed usages have been the apologetic (described in a classic study by Aijmer 1996, and synchronically by Jacobsson 2004 or Jucker 2018) and the softening (for instance Mazzon 2012 o 2019). The latter one has been termed *apprehensive* by Jing-Schmidt and Kapatsinski (2012), who describe a type of endophoric evidential.

In order to properly contextualize the creation of these new strategies of politeness, we must place the lexico-semantic change within the context of historical transformations of the culture of politeness. Even so, the available bibliography on diachronic verbal politeness is scarce and mostly refers to English (see Jucker 2010, 2012). It is only starting to be studied in the Hispanic world

(except the work by Moreno 2003; Iglesias 2001, 2006, 2010; Cruz 2017) and is still lacking in Cat.

In this regard, our study aims at analyzing the process of lexico-semantic change by which the intersubjective usages of the verb *témer* that can be attested in the contemporary language are codified in Cat. Chronologically, we will study the verb in Old (13th-15th c.) and Modern Cat. (16th c.-1832), including also the 19th century. We will also include the analysis of the synonymous periphrastic constructions *haver/tenir por* (or *paor*) and *haver/tenir temor* (constructed with *haver* (old) and *tenir*), which are more frequent than the synthetic forms. The study of this marker aims at: a) Indicating the role of politeness as a motivator of lexico-semantic change. b) Offering data on the diachronic variation of strategies of verbal politeness in comparison with En. c) Describing in detail a case of intersubjectivization following Traugott's model (Traugott & Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010).

2. Methodology

In order to describe the process of lexico-semantic change by which the intersubjective values of the verb *témer* and the idioms *haver/tenir por* (or *paor*) and *haver/tenir temor* (and their variants) were developed in Cat., we will use data from three electronic linguistic corpora which range from the first preserved Cat. texts (12th c.) to the end of the 19th century, when the value of politeness is fully developed.

The data on Old Cat. (12th-16th c.) come from the *Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Antic (CIGCA)*, a historical, diachronic and general corpus of the Cat. language (for more information see Martines & Sánchez 2014). Those on Modern Cat. (17th c.-1832) come from the *Corpus Informatitzat de la Gramàtica del Català Modern (CIGCMo)*; for more information, see Antolí 2018). Finally, for the description of the evolution of *témer* during the 19th century, we have based our analysis on the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC)*, which is a diachronic corpus covering the period 1833-1987 (for more information, see Rafel 1994).

The analysis of the data obtained is based on:

- a) The intention of the S/W in each context through the identification of the primary speech act, using Searle's classic taxonomy (1975, 1979), and typologies such as Aijmer's (1996), putting it in relation with the theory of politeness established by Brown and Levinson (1987) in articles such as those by Ardissono, Boella & Lesmo (1999).
- b) The type of strategy of politeness, using the typology formulated by Brown and Levinson (1987), but understanding politeness along the lines proposed by Escandell (1995, 1998a or 1998b), within the context of a pragmatic model of cognitive orientation and not as the result of universal rules. This implies that the strategies of politeness will vary diachronically as the cultural norms that explain them evolve historically (see, among others, Iglesias 2010

- or Jucker 2012). This also implies that the appearance and codification of the verbal markers of politeness can be explained diachronically according to the same processes that regulate linguistic change in general.
- c) The variables associated to the communicative situation, especially the social hierarchy or distance between the S/W and the H/R.

With regard to the definition and detailed analysis of the attenuating usages of *témer*, we will take into consideration the criteria defined by Albelda (2010) or Albelda & Briz (2013).

3. Analysis of intersubjective usages

We have documented 2183 usages of the verb *témer* and 1313 of the synonymous idioms in the corpora utilized, distributed as indicated in Table 1. Those that can be interpreted as intersubjective are 188 in the case of *témer* and 39 in the case of the idioms, increasing diachronically (see Table 1). This increase is particularly relevant in the 19th c. and in particular associated to the verb *témer*.

If we take into consideration the speaker's intention in each case, the intersubjective usages can be catalogued as apologies (§3.1), warnings and requests (§3.2) and asserting opinions (§3.3).

3.1. Apology

A first group of examples belong to a context of apology, one of the types of expressive acts described by Searle (1975, 1979). In particular, in the typology of apology proposed by Aijmer (1996: 83), the use of *témer* and the synonymous idioms constitute an explicit and emotional strategy to express regret: “express the speaker's attitude towards a state of affairs which is presupposed to be true”. Nonetheless, we should add that: *a*) as also indicated by Aijmer (1996), in the case of *I'm afraid*, the state of affairs expressed in the complement clause is not assumed, but rather is the speaker's apologetic attitude with regard to the affirmed or announced proposition. And *b*) the explicit character of the apology must be explained, as Jacobsson stated (2004: 189) regarding *I'm afraid*: “is not a direct apology since the expression only serves to announce the speaker's apologetic

Table 1. Evolution of the absolute frequency (f_i) and relative frequency (h_i) of the intersubjective usages (Inters.) and total usages of the verb *témer* and the synonymous idioms in the corpora utilized

Form	CIGCA				CIGCMod				CTILC (19th c.)			
	Inters.		Total		Inters.		Total		Inters.		Total	
	f_i	h_i	f_i	h_i	f_i	h_i	f_i	h_i	f_i	h_i	f_i	h_i
témer	5	0,0000006	493	0,0000600	18	0,0000026	316	0,0000456	165	0,0000244	1374	0,0002036
LOC	10	0,0000012	659	0,0000802	8	0,0000011	132	0,0000190	21	0,0000031	522	0,0000773

attitude towards a proposition or state of affairs”. Then we should differentiate between the conventional usage of this construction as an apologetic formula in the contemporary language and the construct we find in the old language. In this sense, the results can be classified into two groups:

- a) *Serious anticipatory apology* (s. XIII-XV). In Old Cat. (particularly during the 15th century), *témer* and the synonymous idioms appear in contexts where there is an anticipatory apology: that in which the speaker displays an apologetic attitude for an intention that he deems intrusive or offensive for the receptor if the assertion were to take place (Aijmer 1996). Then this apology cancels the aggression expected by the S/W. In our examples, the offense expected by S/W is related to the personal inability itself (4a, d) or the transgression of a moral code (4b,c). S/W can also express fear of affecting H/R’s possessions (4e) or emotional state (4f).
- (4) a. —Per què, reyna —dix Oració—, cové que jo us faça tota la major reverència e honor [...], e si no u faç faré desonor a vós e a ma demanda [...]. Però jo, reyna, estic en molt gran temor, car **paor hé** que us faça la honor que·s cové a vós e a ma demanda [...]. (Lull, Ramon [14th c.], *Llibre de Sancta Maria*; CIGCA)
 ‘—Prayer said— it behoves me to pay reverence and honor to you, and if I do not, I will dishonour you and my request. Because of this, my queen, I have a great **fear**, for I fear not being able to honor you and my request.’
- b. —¿E com és gran la humilitat e noblesa de la tua senyora, que a mi, qui són ·I· sotil scuder vengut de ventura de longues terres, e no sabent jo qui són, la senyora hage tramès a mi [...] les sues joyes e pregant-me que aquelles port! O senyora gentil! [...] ¿E tamíats que jo refusàs semblant cosa ne joya de tant gentil dona? Ans jo **hauria gran pahor** que fos digna de descalsar la tua delicada sabata. (*Història de Jacob Xalabin* [15th c.]; CIGCA)
 ‘How great are your lady’s humility and nobility. For she has sent me her jewels and has asked me to carry them, a mere squire who has come from far away in search of adventures, not knowing who I am! Do you think I was going to reject such a thing or jewel from such a genteel lady? On the contrary, I would very much **fear** not to be worthy of removing your delicate shoes.’
- c. E dich-vos certament que moltes voltes m’és vengut en enteniment [...] de besar e de abraçar-vos e de ffet ho aguera fet força més de cent voltes anit si no fos perquè **hé por** de fer-vos greuge”. Bernat, hoint les paraules de la dona e [...] prestant ab los braços huberts la corech abrasar [...]. (*Decameró* [15th c.]; CIGCA)
 ‘I certainly tell you that many times I felt like kissing and embracing you, and in fact I would have done it more than a hundred times every night, were it not for **fear** of offending you.’

- d. Paor no'm sent que sobreslaus me vença, / loant aquell qui totes lengües loen, / guardant honor a ·quell eternal ésser / on tota res en ell és pus perfeta / [...], / ans **hé pahor** que mon parlar no cumpla / en publicar part de sa justa fama, / tal com requer ý els mèrits seus l'atracen [...]. (March, Ausiàs [15th c.], *Poesies*; CIGCA)
 'I do not **fear** to be carried away by an exaggerated praise, praising that eternal being in whom everything is perfect, but I fear that my tongue will not be able to proclaim part of her just fame as her merits deserve.'
- e. —Molt **tem** enujar l'altaesa de la senyora primcessa —dix Tirant— de levar-li lo comdat e donar-lo a mi. —Aquest comdat —dix la princesa— me donà per sa benignitat una mia tia. E les coses que són mies són de la magestat del senyor mon pare, que ací és present. [...] E no stigau per res de acceptar lo que graciosament vos dóna e ab molta liberalitat. E yo ara de present conforme la donació per a vós e als vostres. (Martorell, Joanot [15th c.], *Tirant lo Blanch*; CIGCA)
 '—I **fear** offending the loftiness of this princess —said Tirant— by accepting this county and taking it away from her. —This county —said the princess— was given to me by my aunt. And my things also belong to my father, who is here in our presence. Do not feat accepting what he is offering graciously and liberally. I am hereby confirming this donation to you and your heirs.'
- f. —Fatiga seria de prolixitat enujosa recitar paraules que agreujarien les orelles de la magestat vostra, [...] per què suplich a la celsitut vostra no les me faça dir sta nit [...]. Mas demà, en la hora que a vostra altaesa serà plasant, yo us ho diré, e no gens a mon grat, car **temor tinch** que l'ànima de vostra altaesa no s'altere de hoir paraules tant nefandíssimes. (Martorell, Joanot [15th c.], *Tirant lo Blanch*; CIGCA)
 '—It would be irritating to say words that might offend your majesty's ears. That's why I beseech you not to make me tell you tonight. Tomorrow, whenever you want, I will tell you, although not willingly, for I **fear** your majesty's soul will be disturbed when you hear such abominable words.'

We must point out that in this usage the verb retains the lexical meaning and can select a quantifier that acts as an intensifier of the emotional state, as is typical of a verb with a psychological meaning (Antolí 2015; ex. (4b) and (4e)). In this sense, the verb formally selects a sentence with an infinitive as subordinate, or a complete sentence with the conjugated verb in subjunctive [V/LOC *de* Vinf/*que* Vsubj].

From a pragmatic perspective, it is significant that in all the examples the S/W keeps a social distance on the vertical axis with regard to the receptor, and is hierarchically subjected to him (in a relationship of deity-human, ex. (4a,d); or lord-vassal, ex. (4b,c,e,f)), maybe also in the context of a courtly love relationship (ex. (4b-e)). In all these cases, the offense is magnified by the hierarchical distance (maybe symbolic) between the S/W and the H/R. The use of *témer* and

the synonymous idioms can be understood as a strategy to repair the potential offense of the S/W towards a H/R who is hierarchically superior by employing expressivity, showing deference (declaring subjection to the interests of the H/R) and respect (showing fear implies a recognition of the superiority of the H/R). In addition, in some cases and by way of a previous apology, the S/W can implicitly request permission from the H/R to carry out his intention (it could then be an implicit request). This can clearly be seen in ex. (4c,f), where H reacts to S's intervention offering his placet (4c) or achieving S's wish (4f).

- b) *Ritual apology (18th and 19th c.)*. After the 15th c., the verb *témer* and the synonymous idioms are unusual as strategies of apology, and this continues to the end of the 19th c. From the 18th c. onwards, this occurs within a concrete context: as an apology formula for the offense (either already committed or expected) of wasting R's time (5d), of being tedious (5a,e) or incapable (5b,c) in the context of an oral or written discourse. The apology is not only anticipatory (5b,e), as it was in Old Cat.: now we also find retrospective apologies (5a). This usage, also described in En. by Aijmer (1996: 109), constitutes a ritual apology, a stereotypical rhetorical strategy (as also described by Jacobsson 2004), as indicated by the fact that: a) the degree of aggression by the H/R is minimal; b) the social distance between the S/W and the H/R is not significant; c) the degree of compromise of the S/W towards the H/R is scarce, because the figure of the H/R is vague (because of the distance that exists in the process of encoding/decoding the written discourse either for being unknown or for belonging to a group). Finally, in this context we only attest the verb *témer* (and not its synonymous idioms) and it shows signs of semantic reanalysis, such as the fact that it is not able to select an intensifier or that the verbal mode of the complete sentence is now the indicative [V/LOC de Vinf/que Vind].

- (5) a. Concloch excel·lentíssim senyor esta carta, que ya **temo** és sobradament cansada [...]. (*La Junta General de Braços (cartes)* [18th c.]; CIGCMod) 'I end here, your excellency, this letter, for I **fear** that it is sufficiently tedious.'
- b. [...] y habent de resumir aquí lo mes notable, confesso ingenuament que **temo** incórrer en alguna inexactitut [...]. (Heras de Puig, Miquel [1857], *Biografia ó explicació del arbre geneològich de la descendencia de casa Heras de Adri*; CTILC) 'Having to summarize here the most important, I confess with ingenuity that I **fear** to be inaccurate.'
- c. La Junta Directiva de nostra societat, usant ab mi d'una galanteria que molt estimo, mes á que **temo** no poder correspondre, m'ha encomenat [...] donés á coneixer los interessants travalls de D. Joaquim Gatell. [...]. (Fiter i Inglès, Josep [1879], *D. Joaquim Gatell y Folch (lo kaid Ismail)*; CTILC) The Board of Directors of our company, with a politeness I appreciate very much but I fear I cannot return, has put me in charge of making D. Joaquim Gatell's interesting work known.

- d. Vaig á finir, Senyors adjunts; pero si **temo** allargar massa aquest parlament; ¡com me dol callar tot lo que'l cor sent [...]! (Duran i Bas, Manuel [1884], *Discurs*; CTILC)
 'I will finish, gentlemen; but if it is true that I **fear** to prolong my speech, how much I am hurting from silencing what my heart feels!'
- e. Axò'm porta á fer un petit resumen del procés històrich de l'art cerámich, tan á la lleugera com sápiga [...]. Axís y tot, **temo** que m'he de fer pesat. (Bassegodá i Amigó, Bonaventura [1893], *La cerámica en la Exposició Nacional d'Industrias Artísticas de 1892*; CTILC)
 'This leads me to make a brief summary of the historical development of ceramic art. Even so, I **fear** being tedious.'

During the 19th c. the cases of apologies that do not follow the above description are rare, and frequently involve texts that want to provide expressivity to the apology (6a,b); in these contexts the idiom *tenir por* appears again.

- (6) a. Y com jo **tinch por** de que servint vostre desig, desplaurei vostra persona... héuse aquí'l perque la meva llenga está gelosa de moures. —[...] Tú ¿no ets servent meu? —Sí. —Donchs jo 't mano que fassis lo que t'he dit. (Briz, Francesc Pelagi [1872], *Lo coronel d'Anjou*; CTILC)
 'I **fear** that if I comply with your wish, I will displease you. That's why my tongue is leery of moving. —Are you not my servant? —Yes. —Then I am ordering you to do as I told you.'
- b. [...] m'he adonat de lo que feya; d'ensá que n'he hagut esment, qu'estich tremolant. —¿Y aixó, Cárlos? —li vaig dir, sorprés per aquell tó en que'm parlaba. —**Tinch por** d'haber comés una ingratitude... més qu'ingratitude, un abús de la confiança que m'heu dat á casa vostra. (Feliu i Codina, Josep [1880], *Lo Bruch*; CTILC)
 'I realize what I was doing. Since then, I am trembling. —How so, Carlos? —I told him, surprised by his tone —I **fear** having been ungrateful... More than ungratefulness, having abused the trust you gave me in your house.'

3.2. *Warning and request*

In a second group of examples, the S/W has the objective of trying to obtain H/R's reaction, that's to say, perform a directive act (Searle 1975, 1979). More in concrete, we find two directive acts in old and modern examples (following the distinction by Albelda 2010): on one hand, those that express a warning and want H/R's benefit; and those that express a request and want the S/W's benefit. Starting in the 14th c., we find the first examples in which the S/W uses *témer* and its synonymous idioms to formulate warnings; later on (16th c.), there appear the first cases that formulate requests.

3.2.1. *Warning*

In examples similar to those below, the S/W warns the H/R, that's to say, he describes a hypothetical according to which if H/R does not change his conduct or attitude, the harm expected by S/W will come to happen: in ex. (7a), if the Hs do not stop gaming or blaspheming, they will be eternally damned; in example (7b), if H returns to Paris and chases his lover, he will lose her favour; in (7c), if H does not act, he will be dishonored and punished in hell; in (7d), if H does not pay enough attention, he will make a mistake. In these contexts, the verb selects a completive sentence with a verb conjugated in subjunctive and secondarily in future indicative [V/LOC *que* Vsubj/*que* Vind].

- (7) a. [...] **Tem-me que Déus no us oblide.** [...] Anit me vingué hun hom digne de fe e dix-me que ere pasat per lo carrer de sent Cristòvol e jugaren a daus en IIIe lochs e blasfemaren Déu. Quant yo hoí açò, esclatar cuydí pel cor. Yo crit e cridaré tant com estaré en aquesta ciutat. Yo descarregat ne só, e yo pens que recapte s'í darà e·s corregirà aquest peccat tant abhominable. (Ferrer, Vicent [14th c.], *Sermons*; CIGCMod)
 'I **fear** God will forget you. Yesterday a man of my absolute confidence came and told me that he had gone through Sant Cristòfol Street and they played dice in four places and blasphemed against God. When I heard this, I thought I was dying. I will scream for as long as I remain in this city. I have told you and I believe that you will pay attention and will amend this abominable sin.'
- b. Curial estech en Monferrat per alguns dies; e, com veés que la abadessa no tornava, ne podia haver resposta d'ella, pensà, e en aquell pensament ajustà una error a altra. [...]. Per què Curial dix a Melchior: —Senyor pare, yo no faç res ací, ans pert lo temps en và; yo hé pensat tornar en París e cercar manera com no caja de l'estat en què só [...].— Lo prom sabia molt, e respòs a Curial: —Ay! E com **me tem que errats lo camí!** Car totes les dones que han sentiment, senyaladament les grans senyores, no·s volen tractar en aquexa forma; car, com no sàpien ne pusquen castigar les persones que amen en altra manera, tolen-los lo parlar, amaguen-se a ells, dien que no·ls volen; emperò moltes vegades avé que passen major pena per los enamorats [...]; e no podent-ho durar longament, elles matexes cerquen via com les paus se facen. (*Curial e Güelfa* [15th c.]; CIGCMod)
 'Curial was in Monferrat a few days ago. As he saw that the abbess did not return nor he could get an answer from her, he thought for a while, and his thoughts he went from error to error. Because of this, Curial told Melchior: —My father, I am doing nothing here other than wasting my time vainly. I have thought about going back to Paris and find a way not to lose my position. —Melchior knew very much and responded to Curial: —Alas! I **fear** you are mistaken! For all women who have great feelings, particularly those of high position, do not wish to be treated in this manner; for as they do not know nor are able to punish those whom they love in other form, they stop talking to them, hide from them, tell them they do not love them.'

But many times it behoves them to be the ones in pain on account of their lovers. And because they cannot take it any longer, they themselves find ways to make peace.’

- c. [Parlament de Fortuna a Neptú] [...] la Fortuna, qui no era encara contenta dels dans que a Curial, a instància de la Enveja, procurats havia, volguera que en lo partir d’Alexandria perís; e com lo temps fos bo e plasant, e veés que Curial ab bonança se n’anava, saltà avant e cridà grans crits a Neptumno, déu de la mar, e ab veu congoxosa li parlà e dix: —O, quina peresa o negligència és aquesta tua! [...] **tem** los dans que’t seguiran per la tua peresa, car tu, axí com indigne de senyoria, seràs posat en escarn e vituperi entre les ànimes infernals [...]. (*Curial e Güelfa* [15th c.]; CIGCMod)

‘[Fortune’s speech to Neptune] Fortune, who was not happy about the harm she had inflicted on Curial at the bequest of Envy, wanted him to die on his trip to Alexandria. And as the weather was good and saw that Curial departed calmly, she yelled to Neptune, god of the sea, and told him in an anguished tone: —How lazy and negligent you are! I **fear** the harms you will suffer because of your laziness, for, not behaving according to your position, you will be placed among the infernal souls with affront and dishonor.’

- d. Sobre'l negoci de la senyora Monpalaua, no sé si us o e ja escrit. **Tinch por que no prengau engan**, perquè jo tenia al cap que ella no havia de restituyr [...], sinó tres milia liures [...]. Lo que ella avia de restituyr mirau bé y no-m pesarà que s’allarge [...]. (*Epistolaris d’Hipòlita Rois de Liori i d’Estefania de Requesens* [16th c.]; CIGCA)

‘About lady Montpalaua’s affairs, I ignore if I have written to you already. I **fear** you will make a mistake, for I thought she did not have to return more than three thousand pounds. Pay careful attention to the sum she had to retribute and I do not care if there is a delay.’

The previous examples share in common the fact that the S/W, by expressing the situation that threatens him, in reality wants to condition the behavior or thoughts of the H/R in a context in which *a*) S/W considers that the expected situation is negative for H/R; *b*) H/R can prevent the threat by altering the present situation; *c*) according to the natural course of events, S/W deems unlikely that H/R might change the current state of things.

From a functional perspective, we must consider that threats are clear cases of face-threatening speech acts because the S/W expresses the intention of conditioning H/R’s conduct (Ardissonno, Boella & Lesmo 1995). The use of *témer* and its synonymous idioms can be interpreted in these cases as negative strategies of politeness: because the directive acts act against the H/R’s desire to remain free of impositions, the S/W feels the need to save his own image and try to persuade the other’s will. More in concrete, the verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms mitigate the warning by presenting the expected harm as an uncertain subjective opinion (thus reducing

the degree of imposition). Now the emotional component of the verb allows us to show sympathy towards the H/R, while the S/W shares the same interests as H/R when indicating his fear about the harm threatening him. It is important to point out that these contexts do not include a significant social distance between the S/W and the H/R and thus the former has no power over the latter to make him change his attitude or conduct. Thus, the expression of S/W's affective attitude towards S/W must be also understood as a persuasive strategy to move him.

The previous cases share the fact that the S/W is not the potential agent of the harm that threatens the H/W. Nevertheless, the conventionalization of this value explains that from the 18th c. onwards we find contexts in which the S/W is the origin of H/R's expected harm and thus the advice must be understood as an indirect threat (and consequently as a speech act expressed indirectly). In ex (8), in the context of a procedure against some deputies of the Courts of the Principality of Catalonia, the S/W threatens the H/Rs that, in case that the procedure succeeds, he will revolt together with his followers:

- (8) Excellentíssim senyor, tots los meus han sempre portades les armes al coll y jo, per fugir de assò, me posí a estudiar, y si vostra excellèntia fa assò, **tinc por** que no les hayam de pendrer; al ho menos jo me n'aniré a les montanyes entre los meus a la Vall de Carol". (Pujades, Jeroni [17th c.], *Dietari*; CIGCMod)

'Your Excellency, my family always carried arms around their necks, and I, trying to flee from this, began studying. But if your excellency does this, I **fear** we will not have to carry any, at least I will go to the mountains with my family to the Vall de Querol.'

3.2.2. Request

Since the 15th c. we find the verb *témer* and the synonymous idioms in dialogical and epistolary contexts in which a request is expressed (9):

- (9) Senyor molt reverend: [...] nosaltres ab gran raó confiem que'l senyor rey no y innovarà alcuna cosa [...], però, sí **ns temem** que la senyora reyna no volgués fer qualque complacència a cathalans en aquest punt de les corts [...]. On, molt reverend senyor, com açò toque honorificència de aquesta ciutat e regne, e, per consegüent, [de] vós, qui sòts valencià, [...] affectuosament pregam que de aquest material façats paraula al dit senyor rey [...]. (*Epistolari de la València Medieval II* [15th c.]; CIGCA)

'Reverend Sir: we have reasons to trust that the King will change nothing. But we **fear** that the Queen will not wish to please the Catalan Cortes. Due to this, because it affects the city's and kingdom's honour, and therefore it affects you as a Valencian, we graciously beseech you to talk about this to the King.'

In a case like this one, the verb *témer* must be understood, once again, as a persuasion strategy because the S/W: *a)* Invites the H/R to share his point of view when he expresses a negative attitude towards the expected situation. *b)* Adopts a

symbolic attitude of submission towards the H/R by declaring himself unable to make the expected threat disappear.

With this precedent, since the 16th c. it is frequent to find the verb and its synonymous idioms in a very concrete context, introducing a conjecture with the objective of eliciting a response from the H/R (see a similar intersubjective usage in Martines 2015). In the following examples, the S/W fears the expected harm whose source is H/R: H/R will not believe his words (10a), will stop loving him (10b), has other suitors (10c), will ignore his advice (10d) or will refuse doing what he wants (10e). In these examples the S/W makes a request and their primary illocutionary act is a directive act.

- (10) a. *Fàbio*: Encara vull contar-vos una cosa sobre la abundància ab què crien los ausells en aquesta ribera y és tan estranya que **tinch por** la cregau, mas ella pasa així ab veritat, perquè yo la hé volguda saber de alguns pescadors fidedignes y tots me han certificat ser així. Y és que [...] foren tants los ous [de flamenc] que allí trobaren que se'n podie carregar la barca que sol portar lo peix ordinàriament [...]. *Don Pedro*: És posible que això sia? [...] Ab tot que sie veritat, yo no u gosaré dir ni contar fora de assí. (Despuig, Cristòfor [16th c.], *Los Col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa*; CIGCMod)

‘Fàbio: I still want to tell you something else about how abundantly birds reproduce in these river shore. And it is so strange that I **fear** you won’t believe me. But it is true, because I have been told by trusty fishermen and all have confirmed it. They found so many flamingo eggs that they could not take them in the boat in which they carry the fish. Don Pedro: Is it possible that it’s true? Even if it’s true, I will not dare repeating it anywhere else.’

- b. Ma vida, no siau temps / que·s muda d’en hora en hora, / perquè, com l’amor és bona, / té destar ferme tot temps. / Per veure que sol mudar / el temps cad·hora y l’amor, / se’nora, **ting gran temor** / que no·m vingueu a olvidar. (*Cançons glossades de Rafael Bover* [17th c.]; CIGCMod)

‘My love, do not be like time, that changes constantly; for, as love is good, it has to be firm all the time. When I see that time changes constantly, my lady, I **fear** that you will forget me.’

- c. Y t’avise que no siga a hora horada, que ya sabs que·ls instants que no et tinch en ma presència em se fan sigles. Poro **tem que** atres marietes t’entretenen, y això em fa a mi portar la corda arrastrant y pegar de cap per les parets. (Galiana, Lluís [18th c.], *Rondalla de rondalles*; CIGCMod)

‘I warn you, do not be late, for you know that the moments I do not have you seem like centuries to me. But I **fear** other women are keeping you from me and I feel desperation.’

- d. A tú, Patrici, me dirigeixo en particular, puig voldria conquistarte; pero, com á voltas parlo en estil jocós, **temo** que no farás cas de lo que acabo d’explicar, com si per dir veritats fós necessari posar cara de ministre, y

com si tot fent broma no s' pogués parlar sèriament. (Cuní i Martorell, Miquel [1890], *Una excursió sense sortir de casa*; CTILC)

'In particular, I am addressing you, Patricio, for I would love to convince you. But because sometimes I use a humorous tone, I **fear** you will not pay attention to what I just explained, as if to tell the truth you would have to put on a minister's face, or as if being humorous you could not speak seriously.'

- e. Vaig à demanarvos parer de una proposició que acaban de ferme; pero veig que encare feu mala cara... si no riheu una miqueta no us ho dich. —¡Dimoni de xicota! ¿acabaràs de una vegada? —**Tinch por** que no trobantvos de bon humor me digueu que no. [...] —Esplicat. (Aldroféu, M. Figuerola [1890], *L'esca del peccat*; CTILC)

'I am requesting your opinion about a proposal they just made to me; but I see that you turn your nose up... Unless you smile a little, I won't tell you. —Damn girl! Will you stop it? —I **fear** that, being in a bad mood, you will say no to me.'

In the previous examples, the S/W wants to condition the behaviour or thoughts of the H/R by enouncing the situation that threatens him in a context in which *a*) the S/W by himself considers the expected situation as negative; *b*) the H/R is the potential origin of the threat; and *c*) the S/W thinks likely that the H/R might want to fulfil his threat. The expression of this conjecture has the objective of provoking H/R's reaction: to elicit his opinion and move him to refute the information provided as a conjecture by the S/W. In this sense, we find that in some of these cases the response of the H/R is clearly expressed: in (10a) H accepts the truth of the information offered by S/W; in (10e) H accepts implicitly S's proposal.

As with warnings, the request is a face-threatening speech act in that the S/W expresses the intention of conditioning the H/R's conduct (Ardissono, Boella & Lesmo 1995). In the previous examples, and in order to avoid the imposition implied by the request, the speaker uses a complex solution that combines several of the strategies of negative politeness defined by Brown and Levinson (1987): *a*) formulates indirectly the request by making explicit the behavior or attitude expected from the H/R; *b*) indicates deference towards the H/R as the expression of fear implies submission; *c*) somehow, the S/W expresses pessimism towards the realization of his own will by assuming that the H/R will want to do exactly the opposite of what the S/W wants him to do.

Formally, as in the case of warnings, in these cases the verbal mode of the completive sentence is mainly the subjunctive and, secondarily, the indicative (in future tense) [V/LOC *que* Vsubj].

3.3. Asserting opinion

Since the 18th c. we find cases in which the usage of *témer* or its synonymous idioms can be explained, in the context of assertive acts, as having the intention of mitigating unpleasant news or undesirable opinions. We can distinguish *a*) those

that express bad news that affect both the S/W and the H/R, or that affect the H/R while the S/W shows an empathetic attitude. And *b*) cases in which the S/W expresses an opinion or intention contrary to that of the H/R.

3.3.1. *Asserting an unpleasant opinion*

Since the 18th c., we find examples in which the verb and its synonymous idioms introduce a conjecture whose confirmation is evaluated by the S/W as negative for the H/R and for himself. In other words, the S/W shows his concern towards the confirmation of the state of things described in the proposition and presumes that this feeling will be shared by the H/R inasmuch as the harm will be generalized. It is important to highlight that the content of the sentence does not refer just to future acts, rather it can refer to an expected future situation (11b,e) as well as to conjectures about present or past facts whose confirmation is placed in the future (11a,c,f). Formally, in these cases the mode of the completive sentence is mainly the indicative and, secondarily in Modern Cat., the subjunctive [V/LOC *que* Vind/Vsubj].

- (11) a. Esta pau **temo** no ns aje aportat nostra última ruïna, pues com tu saps, y a mí me han assegurat, cedí la España a favor dels olandessos per a obtenir del christianíssim tropas y generals para devastar, conquistar y arruïnar nostre país y nostra infelís pàtria. (*La Junta General de Braços (cartes)* [18th c.]; CIGCMod)

‘I **fear** this peace has brought us a final ruin. As you know, and they assured me, I gave up Spain in favor of the Dutch in order to obtain from the most Christian troops and generals with which to destroy, conquer and ruin our country and unhappy land.’

- b. Josep: he rebuda la tua i me alegre que tu ho pàsias millor. Y jo me quedo ab lo gran cuydado de la Mundeta, que me **temo** no n’í contem una de menos. Jo me penso que ab ton cuydado i demés se farà tot lo possible, que és lo únich consol que tinch (*Epistolar de la família Burgués I* [18th c.]; CIGCMod)

‘Josep: I have received your letter and I am happy that you feel better. I am taking care of Mundeta, for I **fear** she is about to die.’

- c. [...] estigué tan llunt de que feren penjolls d’ells com de ser yo Pare Sant. El motiu **tinch por** que fonch perquè untaren bé les mans al carceler y havent-los este dat escapatòria, feren salt de mata y bolaverunt; encara que alguns dihuen que ells arrancaren la reixa y, tinatana-tinatana, picaren de taló com uns pobrets. Poro vostés no s deixen embutir l’ambut per l’ample, perquè yo ho sé de bona tinta y primer faltará el sol. (*Galiana, Lluís* [18th c.], *Rondalla de rondalles*; CIGCMod)

‘They were so far from dying as I am from being Pope. I **fear** it was because they bribed the guardian and he helped them escape. Some say that they ripped the bars apart and fled. But I know it from a good source.’

- d. GERVASI: [...] don Benigne, **temo** que nos la fregeix. BENIGNE: Home, no siguéu criatura. ¿No us vaig assegurar' ahir que don Romualdo'm va dir qu'era ja boda segura? GERVASI: Bè; pero ara, apart d' axó, veig cosas que no m'apiatxan. (Soler, Frederic [1878], *La campana de Sant Llop*; CTILC)
 'GERVASI: Don Benigne, I **fear** he is deceiving us. BENIGNE: Well, do not be a child. Didn't I tell you yesterday that don Romualdo told me that the wedding was a sure thing? GERVASI: Okay, but now, apart from this, I am seeing things I do not like.'
- e. A foch y sanch no's matan las ideas; / y las que per desgracia havem sembradas, / ay amichs meus, me **temo** molt que donen / en lo pervindre fruyes de guerra y ruinas [...]. (Rubió i Ors, Joaquim [1888], *Luter*; CTILC)
 'Ideas are not killed by fire and sword; and those ideas we have sowed, regretfully my friends, I **fear** they will cause, in future years, war and devastation.'

When interpreting the function of *témer* and its synonymous idioms in the previous examples, we must consider that it does not really act as an epistemic marker: in (11c), although the marker can express a lesser epistemic compromise of the S/W towards the proposition, we can interpret that the W believes the truth of the information stated by him: “yo ho sé de bona tinta y primer faltará el sol”. A similar interpretation can apply to (11e), in which the S has solid signs that support his conjecture: “veig cosas que no m'apiatxan”. In contexts similar to these, *témer* and synonymous idioms allow the S/W *a*) to express a negative attitude towards the stated proposition: the annoyance felt by the fact that he is transmitting upsetting information. And *b*) to protect his own image because that way the compromise towards the information provided is marked only as possible and not certain.

This usage comes to a peak in the 19th c. in examples such as (12a-c), in which the expected harm affects exclusively the H/R. In these contexts we cannot interpret that the S/W expresses preoccupation towards the expected situation, rather it clearly shows an affective implication with the H/R. The usage of *témer* and its synonymous idioms constitutes a strategy of negative politeness in the context of communicating to the H/R an opinion that is contrary to his interests. It is then a usage very close to a confrontation, which we will analyze in the next chapter (§3.3.2).

- (12) a. [...] si no's pot probar d'una manera incontrovertible que'l senyorio que exercia era jurisdiccional y no alodial, me **temo** que no quedarà mes remey que pagar [...]. (Vidal i de Valenciano, Gaietà [1880], *La familia del Mas dels Salzers*; CTILC)
 'If it cannot be demonstrated without a doubt that they had a jurisdictional lordship and not an allodial right, I **fear** there is nothing left but to pay.'
- b. —[...] Un día... la Pepeta i en Carlets... —Sí! què qué dius are? en arrivant á baix la mato! —No es per tant! però, **tinch por** de que li va fer un

petó... —Un petó dius! escolta, qué ho vas veure? dígas! —Tant com vèureho, nó; però'm va semblar que'l sentía. (Vilanova, Emili [1886], *Escenes barcelonines*; CTILC)

‘—Some day... Pepeta and Carlets... —Yes! What are you saying? When she comes downstairs I will kill her! —It is not that important. But I **am afraid** that she kissed him... —She kissed him, you are saying? Did you see it? Tell me! —I did not see it, but I thought I heard it.’

- c. ENGSTRAND: I qu'una desgracia així passi a un establiment de beneficencia que diu qu'avia de fer tant de bé a la ciutat i a la comarca. **Ting por** qu'els diaris no el posaran gaire bé, senyor pastor. MANDERS: No, d'això és lo que ting por. És pod-ser lo qu'em sab més greu de tot. Tots els atacs i acusacions indignes... Oh! m'esgarrifa de pensar-hi. (Casas-Carbó, Joaquim and Fabra, Pompeu [1894], *Espectres*; CTILC)

‘ENGSTRAND: Such a disgrace happened in a beneficial establishment that was supposed to do so much good to the city and the region. I **am afraid** the newspapers will not be kind with you, pastor. MANDERS: I fear this. It is maybe what I lament the most. All the attacks and unworthy accusations... Alas! I tremble thinking about it.’

3.3.2. Asserting contrary opinion

Finally, we have identified examples in which the assertion is a potential threat to the H/R's image. In these cases the S/W expresses, in a dialogical context, an opinion contrary to that of the H/R. This usage becomes generalized in the 19th c., although we have found cases in Modern Cat. prior to this date (13a,b). In ex. (13a), the S responds to the H by doubting the truth of his assertion: the H demands S's help arguing that nobody else can relieve him, although the S responds by saying that there is no certainty about this. In ex. (13b), the S responds to H by questioning the opinion that he has just expressed: H believes that a third person is really sick, while S thinks that the disease is feigned.

- (13) a. Lo jove li digué que ell lo avie ben entès y que no estigués enujat, anyadint: “Puix vós me aveu contats vostres treballs, jo us promet de treure us d'ells, però vull saber si sabeu lo nom del notari propietari de les escrivanies de Tordera y Hostalrich y, si'l sabeu, anau y digau-li que us trague lo acte de la escancel·lació”. Respongué dit Pere “Porter: Si fóra viu lo notari ya u agure yo fet, puix la escancel·lació se fóra trobada y, si no'm donau altre remey, poch sabeu”. Tornà a dir-li lo jove: “Jo us trauré de dits treballs, sinó que **tinch temor** que no digau veritat”. Respongué lo dit Pere Porter que tot passave de la manera que li avie dit. (*Viatge de Pere Porter a l'Infern* [17th c.]; CIGCMod)

‘The young man told him that he had understood properly and should not be angry, adding: “Since you have told me your sufferings, I promise to free you from them, but I want to know if you know the name of the notary of Tordera and Hostalric. And if you do, tell him to issue you the release order”. Pere Porter answered: “If he were alive I would have

done it already, for the release order would have been found; if you do not have other solution, you do not know much". The young man told him: "I will free you from your sufferings, but I **am afraid** you will not tell me the truth". Pere Porter replied that everything was happening as he said it would.'

- b. CONSULTOR: Ay pobret!, prou que pateix. SAGRISTÀ: Jo'm **temo** que's fa'l traydó. [...]. CONSULTOR: Bé es veu clar que és feridura, / i que, si no, bé parlaria. SAGRISTÀ: Ell féu lo mut, a fe mia, / per escapar de clausura. (*Entremès de l'hermità de la guia* [18th c.]; CIGCMod)
'CONSULTOR: Alas, pour soul! It is clear he is suffering. SAGRISTÀ: I **am afraid** he is pretending. CONSULTOR: It is clearly a case of apoplexy, otherwise he would not be talking. SAGRISTÀ: He pretends to be mute, I am sure, to escape from the confinement.'

During the 19th c., this usage becomes more frequent and we find it in contexts similar to the previous ones in which the S offers a contrary opinion to that expressed by the H or to his own beliefs (14a,d). Formally, the verb selects a completive sentence whose verb can only be conjugated in indicative [V/LOC *que* Vind].

- (14) a. [...] he pensat que vehent al hermità de aquí, me estalvio de véurer als altres, pus dantli tota la limosna, ell la podrà repartir als demés. —Podria ser, però... —Qué voleu dir? —Que'm **temo** que no'l veuréu. Es un home tan retirat del món, que encara no sent pujar á algú, deixa la capella oberta, però ell se tanca dins de sa habitació. (Bofarull, Antoni de [1862], *La orfaneta de Menargues ó Catalunya agonisant*; CTILC)
'I have thought that if I see the local hermit, I can spare myself seeing the others, for if I give him alms, he can distribute them among the others. —It could be, but... —What do you mean? —I **am afraid** you will not see him. He is so secluded from the world that when hears the noise of someone going up, he leaves the chapel open and locks himself in his room.'
- b. —[...] la nova plassa no prestà cap mena de servitut à la parròquia, [...] quedantnos ab la vila més balladora que may (ara es escandalós lo molt que's balla!) [...]. —Potser una nova prédica, mossèn Llorens... —Ay! **tinch pòr** que avuy en dia las novas prédicas no hi adobarían gayre res, per bonàs que fossen. (Riera i Bertran, Joaquim [1878], *Escenas de la vida pagesa*; CTILC)
'—The new square does not help the church at all, and now we have the village most prone to dancing ever (it's shocking how much they dance nowadays). —Maybe with a preaching, don Llorenç... —Alas! I **am afraid** that nowadays preaching cannot solve anything, even if it is very good.'
- c. Y l'home torná á pensar en son marquesat. —¿Però, dòna, y tu no vas procurar indagar d'hont venía la nova? —¿Quína nova? —La de que'm

volen fer marquès. [...] —Home, no siguis aixís. Més abiat me **temo** que's burlan de tu.— Sòrt qu'en Foix no estava per' enfadarse. “¿Què sabia ella? Ab quín dret ni per què s'havíen de mofar d'ell?” (Oller, Narcís [1891], *La febre d'or II*; CTILC)

‘And the man thought again on his marquisate. —But my lady, will you not care where the news came from? —What news? —They want to make me a marquis. —Oh, leave it. I **am afraid** they are laughing at your expense. —Thankfully, Foix did not feel like getting angry. “What did she know? With what right or why should they make fun of him?”’

- d. —No poso en dubte lo dels quaranta mil duros [...]. En quant á lo demés, y sobre tot lo del *carrottage*, ¿hont son las probas? **Tinch por** que son falornias tevas. —Las acciones no han sortit de la caixa de casa, però tu pots veure l'operació als llibres. Respecte al *carrottage*, ja pots pensar que no te'n puch oferir probas materials, però'n tinch indicis eloqüents. (Oller, Narcís [1892], *La febre d'or III*; CTILC)

‘—I do not doubt the 40,000 duros. As for the other things, particularly the *carrottage*, where are the proofs? I **am afraid** this is one of your stories. —The shares have not left the house and you can see the operation in the books. Regarding the *carrottage*, you can imagine that I cannot offer you material proof, but I have eloquent signs.’

As indicated by Ardissono, Boella & Lesmo (1995), assertive acts involve two problems: on one hand, the imposition to the H/R of some beliefs about the world; on the other, the possibility of upsetting him by imposing on him some beliefs about the world with which he does not agree. Thus, in contexts like the previous ones, the opinion of the S/W constitutes a potential aggression to H/R because he takes a position contrary to his thoughts and interests. To solve this face-threatening act, the speaker uses *témer* and its synonymous idioms as a strategy of negative politeness. In this manner, he reduces the illocutionary force of his assertion: the S/W “can put the statement in a subjective perspective, by adopting the goal that the *h* [hearer] knows that *s* [speaker] *believes* the conveyed information” (Ardissono, Boella & Lesmo 1995). Thus the verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms constitute a mechanism of attenuation by which the expressed opinion is relativized (according to Albelda's typology, it would constitute an attenuated assertion that protects the H/R's image). On the other hand, the emotional component of the verb allows the S/W to show an empathetic attitude towards the receptor, a sort of apology when facing the possibility of upsetting him.

Applying Albelda's distinction (2010) about the types of attenuating assertive acts, we do not find in the studied period clear cases of confrontation in which the assertion of factual facts is mitigated, rather they are opinions (thus relativizing the expression of judgments or opinions of the receptor). We only find some ambiguous cases that allow this interpretation (14a,c), but the clear examples we have found do not fall within the time period of our study because they appear in the 20th c. (ex. (15) and (3c)). In (15) “que heu fet la visita en va” is not an opinion awaiting confirmation, but a situation that results from the S's intention: because

the H does not want to sell any pictures, the H will not profit at all from the visit. In this context, *témer* is just a mitigator, a marker of politeness, because it is not possible anymore to interpret it as modal/evidential.

- (15) A uns interlocutors interessats a adquirir uns quadres] —**Em temo que** heu fet la visita en va, perquè no vull desprendre'm de cap quadre— havia dit el pintor girant totes les teles de cara a la paret—. (Puig, Valentí [1987], *Somni Delta*; CTILC)
 '[Addressing those who were interested in acquiring some paintings] —I **fear** you came in vain, for I do not wish to part with any of my paintings —said the painter turning all his paintings against the wall—.'

Finally, it is interesting to highlight that in some of the contemporary examples, the assertion might have as the main illocutionary act an expressive act (insult). In (16), the S offers as a conjecture about a past fact the proposition “á Barcelona, primé t'haurán fet torpe, y llavò lliberal”. The fact that the S qualifies H as “awkward” and “liberal”, characteristics considered negative by him, and the use of the idiom *tenir por* must be understood along the same lines we have indicated before regarding the assertions that constitute a confrontation: they serve to relativize the assertion and, now, to express an affective attitude towards the receptor.

- (16) —¿Comensas á entendre es modo de fé préstamos? —Me pareix que sí; pero també me pareix una tiranía. —¡Tiranía!... Tots es qui ténen enveja, diuen aquesta paraula. **Tench pó** que á Barcelona, primé t'haurán fet torpe, y llavò lliberal. (Maura i Montaner, Gabriel [1892], *Aygo-forts*; CTILC)
 '—Are you beginning to understand how to lend money? —I believe so, but I also think it is a tyranny. —Tyranny!... All those who are envious use this word. I **fear** in Barcelona they first made you awkward and later on liberal.'

4. Diachronic evolution of the intersubjective usages

If we analyze the diachronic evolution of the verb and its idioms, we can perceive that the evolution of the intersubjective values is not linear and these values are not associated to a specific construction (as also happens in En., according to Mazzon 2012). The intersubjective usages we have studied cannot be understood as disconnected from the subjective values of the verb and its synonymous idioms. They are then novelties generated from the epistemic/evidential value of the verb. The deepening of the process of subjectivation towards the codification of an attitude towards the proposition, will make possible new interpersonal usages in which the S/W will show a preoccupation about the hearer's face as a strategy of politeness.

According to the analysis we developed in a previous article (Antoli 2015), the process of subjectivation of the Cat. verb *témer* originated an epistemic/evidential value since the 15th c. which includes from a semantic perspective: *a*) an evolution of the prospective component implied by the verb from a lexical to an epistemic/evidential value; and *b*) the semantic bleaching of the emotional component that

Table 2. Correspondence between the process of subjectivization of the verb *témer* (from the evolution of the prospective and emotional components) and the intersubjective usages of the verb

	PHASE 1	PHASE 2	PHASE 3	PHASE 4	PHASE 5
Prospective Component	S/W feels fear about the possibility that a threat will materialize	S/W thinks it probable that the threat will materialize	S/W thinks it probable that the threat will materialize	S/W thinks probable the stated proposition	S/W qualifies the stated proposition as probable
Emotional Component	S/W expresses a state of fear in the face of a threat	S/W shows an attitude of fear towards the expected threat	S/W shows a negative attitude towards the expected threat	S/W shows a negative attitude towards the stated proposition	S/W shows an affective implication with the receptor
Intersubjective Usages	serious anticipatory apology (first documented in the 13 th c.)	warning (first documented in the 14 th c.)	request (first documented in the 16 th c.)	unpleasant opinion (first documented in the 18 th c.)	ritual apology (first documented in the 18 th c.) contrary opinion (first documented in the 18 th c.)

evolved towards a negative attitude of the stated proposition. Formally, the re-analysis of the verb is shown in the following formal traits: *a)* the preference for a completive sentence in lieu of the infinitive sentence or a SN; *b)* the preference for the indicative in lieu of the subjunctive in the subordinate verb, understood as the mode of assertion; *c)* the impossibility of selecting modifiers that could intensify the emotional experience. From the evolution of these ideas in the context of verbal subjectivization (understood according to Traugott & Dasher 2001; Traugott 2010), new intersubjective usages are originated, as we have tried to systematize in Table 2.

In a more detailed fashion, the phases of development of the intersubjective usages are as follows:

PHASE 1. In Old Cat. the verb *témer* still retains a major part of the lexical meaning as an emotional state verb. The use of this verb and its synonymous idioms in the context of an apology must be understood as a marked expressive strategy that is not routinized with which the S/W shows deference and respect towards the receptor. The search for expressivity as a strategy of politeness and persuasion will make possible the evolution towards an interpersonal value as a result of the following invited inference:

+The S/W shows fear before the possibility of motivating a grievance to H/R+
→ +The H/R understands that the S/W apologizes when faced with the possibility of provoking grievance to him +

In this sense, it is not by chance that most of the examples come from sentimental and religious narratives, literary genres in which we have observed (Antolí, in press) a tendency towards expressivity through emotions.

PHASE 2. The use of a warning is possible in a first phase of the process of verbal subjectivization in which the prospective component has evolved towards an epistemic/evidential value, but now the verb retains part of the semantic content of an emotional type (fear). It must have been a very expressive solution if we take into consideration that in Old Cat. the verb *témer* had a typical emotional value; that could explain its use in contexts that threaten the H/R's face and in which one wants to persuade the receptor. The use in warning contexts will be a result of the following suggested inference:

+S/W shows fear for an expected harm that will happen to H/R if he does not change his thought or behavior + → +The H/R understands that the S/W advises him to change his thought or behavior in order to avoid an expected harm +

PHASE 3. As opposed to the cases of warning, those of requests (which appear later in time) present situations in which the threat to the H/R's face is lesser, sometimes trivial; this is possible in the contexts of subjective deepening of *témer* in which the verb has an epistemic/evidential value as in the previous phase but it now comes to express a vague idea of preoccupation instead of fear:

+The S/W shows preoccupation about the expectation of being hurt by the H/R+ → +The H/R understands that the S/W is asking him to deny the expected threat +

PHASE 4. The announcement of an opinion valued as negative for the H/R is a pragmatic extension that can be understood only within the context of a great deepening of the subjectivization of the verb and its synonymous idioms. In the contexts in which an opinion valued as negative is announced, we observe that the prospective character of the verb has disappeared and only an epistemic/evidential component remains, so that the proposition offers subjective information without temporal restrictions (past, present and future). On the other hand, the emotional component has been reduced to a vague idea of annoyance and does not refer so much to the confirmation of the state of things presented as a conjecture but to the fact that an unpleasant opinion must be stated. The invited inference that allows the new intersubjective usage implies that the attitude expressed by the S/W moves from the content of the proposition to the fact that an opinion is being communicated to the receptor, along the lines of what Mazzon (2012) observed. The culmination of this reanalysis is to be found in those cases in which the stated information is negative for the H/R but not for the S/W:

+The S/W is annoyed by an information valued as negative+ → +The H/R understands that the S/W is annoyed because he has to announce bad news to him +

PHASE 5. Contrary to the intersubjective usages seen before that derive from the subjective values of the verb, the confronting value must be understood as an independent solution that arises from the context of announcing opinion. It consists then on the codification of a pragmatic value of interpersonal character in a process that can be identified with the intersubjectivization defined by Traugott (Traugott & Dasher 2001; Traugott 2010). It is a gradual process where it moves from the expression of a contrary opinion (18th c.) to the expression of factual facts or intentions that oppose the beliefs or intentions of the H/R (first documented in the 20th c.), a context in which the verb can be interpreted only as a marker of politeness. The invited inference that supports this re-analysis is as follows:

+The S/W shows his annoyance because he must announce bad news to the H/R+ → +The H/R understands that the S/W does not wish to offend +

If we compare the result obtained in Cat. and En., we find in all cases that the first intersubjective extensions of the verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms appear in the old language. Nonetheless, the type of speech act in which they appear is different for each language: in Old Cat. it appears in expressive acts (apologies) and directive acts (warnings and requests). Conversely, the attenuating usage appears later in time, beginning in the 18th c. and expanding into the 19th c. The first examples of a confronting usage date also from this same moment, particularly the 19th c. The process by which intersubjective values develop in En. is different according to Mazzon's analysis: in late Middle English it already appears as an attenuator in assertive acts in which negative news are announced to the H/R, much before it appears in Cat. From this usage there will derive the apologizing and advising usages (Early Modern English, later than in Cat.) or the confronting usages (Modern English). Regarding the contexts of ritual apology, it also appears first in En. (18th c. according to Jacobsson 2004: 197; or the examples provided by Mazzon 2012).

Thus, it seems evident that the process of lexico-semantic change observed in Cat. cannot be considered isolated from the rest of European languages. Lacking more diachronic data about other languages that have conditioned historically the evolution of Cat., such as Spanish or French (Martines 2018), the more advanced chronology of the process described by Mazzon or Jacobsson makes us think of a parallel process in several European languages induced by linguistic contact (similar to the concept of contact-induced grammaticalization proposed by Heine & Kuteva 2006 and already used in Antolí 2019). The available data do not allow us to define in detail this influence, although it is clear that Cat. during the 18th and 19th c. tends to show agreement with the languages that surround it and to reinterpret *témer* and its synonymous idioms according to new usages in assertive contexts that were strange to this language before.

The reasons that motivate this change, though, are cultural and must be found in the transformation of the culture of politeness from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period. The expressions of the intersubjective usages of *témer* and its synonymous idioms in Old Cat. can be contextualized within the frame of a courtly

culture disseminated among the high members of society or, in general, among the speakers familiarized with the culture of the *élite* in the 14th-15th c. That is why most of the examples from that period come from sentimental narratives: a genre that disseminated throughout Europe new ways of feeling and behaving properly in the transition from the Middle Ages to modernity. As Jucker and Taavitsainen (2008) conclude in their study on apologies in the Renaissance period in En., we can state that the examples of serious anticipatory apology from the 14th-16th c. must be understood as requests (in contexts of hierarchical distance) that appeal to the generosity of the H/R to forget an offense and allow the S/W to carry out his intention. It is then a form of deference politeness (Jucker 2012, a reformulation of the strategy #5 of negative politeness of Brown & Levinson 1987: 178-187), in contrast to the conventional apology understood as a strategy of non-imposition politeness, in which the S/W wants to minimize the aggression implied by requesting the H/R to forgive the offense.

Secondarily, the use of *témer* as an attenuator in the cases of a request formulated indirectly in the 16th c., in examples in which the personal interactions are symmetrically hierarchical, can be understood also within the politeness culture of the social *élite* at the beginning of modernity, in which “the show of respect and deference in the face was a crucial preoccupation independently of the degree of familiarity” (Iglesias 2010).

The diversification between the end of the 18th and 19th c. and the intersubjective usages of *témer* and its synonymous idioms as a strategy of negative politeness, as well as the increase of the frequency of these usages coincide in Cat. and En. with the beginning of a non-imposition period that still continues nowadays (Jucker 2012: 430). This change has been observed in the apology expressions (Jacobsson 2004). This expansion of a politeness culture of non-imposition, described for En., can probably be predicated about the larger Western world.

5. Conclusions

1. In this article, we have tried to describe and explain the process of lexico-semantic change whereby the intersubjective usages of *témer* were codified in contemporary Cat., which happened in parallel to other languages such as En. or Spanish. In concrete, we have studied the verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms constituted by the verbs *tenir* or *haver* (old) plus the nouns *paor* (old), *por* or *temor*, in Old Cat. (13th-16th c.), Modern Cat. (16th c.-1832) and throughout the 19th c.
2. In the corpus analyzed, the verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms show, particularly in dialogical contexts, pragmatic usages of intersubjective character in which they function, with some precisions, as a strategy of negative politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987), frequently with an attenuating function (Albelda 2010). These usages will become diversified and finally standardized, associated mainly to the verb *témer* and not to its synonymous. The identified pragmatic usages in Cat. are similar to those identified for En. *I'm afraid* (both diachronically and synchronically) (Jacobsson 2004; Jing-Schmidt &

Kapatsinski 2012; Jucker 2018; Mazzon 2012). In short, the identified usages are as follows:

- a. *Expressive Speech Acts: apology.* In concrete, we have identified a) first, pragmatic usages of the verb and its synonymous idioms in which a serious anticipatory apology occurs in situations in which the S/W is hierarchically subjected to the H/R. In these contexts, present in Old Cat (particularly during the 15th c.), the potential aggression to the H/R (intrusive or offensive) is real, so that the statement of the emotional state of fear permits to eliminate the expected offense because the S/R expresses deference and respect and, indirectly, appeals to the H/R's generosity by requesting his permission to carry through his intention. b) Secondly, since the 18th c. and during the 19th c., we find examples of a ritual apology in stereotypical contexts, particularly in oral discourses or written texts in which the S/W apologizes to a general receptor (a large audience, a reader distant in time) about trivial offenses: the possibility of wasting H/R's time, of being tedious or of not satisfying the receptor's expectations.
- b. *Directive Speech Acts: warning and request.* Secondly, we find the verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms in contexts in which the S/W wants to condition the behavior of the H/R in his benefit: warnings; or in his own benefit: requests. a) In the case of warnings (14th c.), we find the verb in contexts in which the S/W describes a hypothetical condition according to which if the H/R does not change his attitude or behavior, the expected harm will happen. The verb *témer* allows to attenuate the warning inasmuch as the proposition is presented as a subjective opinion; and now it contributes to persuade the H/R by showing sympathy. From this value there arose in contemporary Cat. contexts in which the verb and its synonymous idioms mitigated the threats formulated indirectly. b) Secondly, since the 16th c. we find the verb and its synonymous idioms in contexts in which there is a direct request. These are contexts in which the S/W expects the materialization of a situation potentially negative for himself, caused by the H/R, with the objective of eliciting his response: to refute the hypothesis presented to him. As in the case of a warning, in a face-threatening speech act, the use of the studied cases of *témer* must be understood as a mitigating strategy in which the expression of the emotional state of the S/W tries to persuade the receptor with compassion in a context of social equality.
- c. *Assertive Speech Acts.* Finally, since the 18th c., and particularly in the 19th c., we find examples in which the use of *témer* and its synonymous idioms can be explained, in the context of assertive acts, as trying to mitigate an information that the S/W expects to be upsetting or contradictory to H/R's beliefs. The verb *témer* and its synonymous idioms constitute, in these contexts, a strategy of negative politeness in order to protect the image of the H/R, while the S/W shows an empathetic attitude towards the receptor, apologizing for the possibility of upsetting him or distressing him. During the studied period, the mitigation refers to the S/W's opinions, not to factual facts or intentions; despite this, during the 19th c. there will appear cases of

the latter contexts. Finally, and derived from this value, we find the verb mitigating insults expressed indirectly.

3. According to the diachronic evolution observed, the emergence of intersubjective values is linked to the gradual process of subjectivization of the verb (understood according to Traugott & Dasher 2001; Traugott 2010), whereby the verb becomes an epistemic/evidential marker since the 15th c. In this sense, we have attempted to establish a correlation between the new intersubjective usages and the deepening of the process of intersubjectivization of the verb *témer* (following a previous article by Antolí 2015) regarding: *a*) the evolution of the prospective component and *b*) the bleaching of the emotional component.

In this manner, by using the concept of invited inference, we have attempted to explain the appearance of the different intersubjective usages. The oldest (in Old Cat. and Early Modern Cat.) are understood as pragmatic extensions (not routinized): *a*) serious apology (first documented in the 13th c.) appears in a markedly expressive usage of deferential politeness (using a concept posited by Jucker 2012); *b*) warning (first documented in the 14th c.) appears in a context in which the verb still retains an emotional component but already presents an epistemic/evidential value in order to reduce the aggression implied by this directive act. And *c*) the usage as request (first documented in the 16th c.) appears in contexts in which the emotional component of the verb is more mitigated, whenever the expected offense is more trivial. Since the 18th c. we observe the use of this verb in a new context, in assertive acts in which an upsetting opinion or contrary to the beliefs or intentions of the H/R is expressed. In this usage, we have observed an evolution (identified with the concept of intersubjectivization by Traugott) whereby the S/W's attitude moves from the stated proposition to the hearer's face: the epistemic/evidential component will ultimately result in a mitigating value and the emotional component in a vague manifestation of affect towards the receptor. The extreme end of this process can be seen in Cat. during the 19th c. when the verb *témer* will function as a formula of politeness in contexts in which the S/W expresses an intention contrary to that of the H/R, or factual facts (bad news).

The process of lexico-semantic change documented in Cat., in contrast to that of En. (Mazzon 2012, 2018 or Jacobsson 2004), presents two different moments. Until the 18th c., the evolution is independent and divergent in Cat. and En., regarding the types of usages that appear. Since the 18th c. and especially during the 19th c., we observe an agreement between Cat. and the values already displayed by En.: in assertive contexts in which upsetting or contrary opinions are stated, or in the case of ritual apologies. This makes us think about a parallel process that took place in several European languages induced by linguistic contact. The catalyst of this lexico-semantic change is cultural: the transformation of Western politeness culture. It can be explained – with all the necessary caveats – as the change from a culture of deference politeness in the Middle Ages to the predominance of a non-imposition politeness since the 18th c. (using Jucker's analysis for En.).

4. Regarding Early Modern English, Jucker (2012: 428) states that it “is recognizably modern not only in terms of phonology, morphology, and syntax but also in terms of pragmatics or more specifically in terms of politeness”. In this sense, we agree that the transformation in the culture of politeness is a factor to take into account when explaining the lexico-semantic changes, and we can conclude by indicating that more case studies and general studies on this factor are needed, particularly in the case of Cat.

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