

Article

Analyzability and Grammaticalization of Consecutive Phrases Containing {*forma/manera/modo/suerte*} and Their Variants

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Abstract

In contemporary Spanish, there are three types of sequences with consecutive meaning that contain the nouns *forma*, *manera*, *modo*, and *suerte*: the sequence *de tal* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que*, which forms part of a prepositional phrase that contains a consecutive construction formed by a quantifying phrase and a subordinate clause headed by *que*; the phrasal conjunction *de* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que*, which can introduce a consecutive (resultative) subordinate clause included in the predicate verb phrase of the main clause or a consecutive clause modifying the entire matrix clause; and the phrasal preposition *de* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *de*, which generally has an infinitive clause as its complement. This paper explores the analyzability of these sequences and their evolution towards the current state of Spanish, where all three variants coexist. As will be demonstrated, the latter two variants, which emerged from the first, are the result of a grammaticalization process. This process, operating through reanalysis and analogy, has led to two distinct lexical splits.

Keywords: analyzability; grammaticalization; reanalysis; analogy; lexical split

1. Introduction

The analyzability of a morphosyntactic sequence is related to the possibility of isolating its smallest components. It can be defined as the extent to which a complex linguistic expression reveals its internal structure, and to which its constituent parts enable us to deduce its overall meaning.¹ Grammaticalization,² on the other hand, is a diachronic process whereby lexical elements or syntactic constructions are transformed into grammatical elements or words with functional meaning, such as prepositions, conjunctions, or morphemes. Analyzability and grammaticalization are inversely correlated, as the latter is essentially a process that involves the loss of the former.

This paper focuses on the diachronic and synchronic study of Spanish sequences of the type *de* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que* ('in a way that', 'so'), with the aim of determining their analyzability and the processes of grammaticalization that have led to the existence of several variants, based on the nouns that form part of them: sequences of the type *de tal* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que* ('in such a way that'), which head consecutive constructions (1a); similar sequences without the determiner *tal* ('such'), which head consecutive constructions integrated in the predicate verb phrase of the matrix clause (1b); and *illative* sentences, that is, sentences with consecutive meaning that modify the entire matrix clause (1c).³ When the subordinate verb appears in the subjunctive, the constructions acquire a purpose value (1d):



Academic Editors: Josep Alba-Salas and Manuel Delicado Cantero

Received: 25 November 2025

Revised: 20 May 2026

Accepted: 17 June 2026

Published: 26 June 2026

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- (1)
 - a. Gritó *de tal manera que* se quedó afónico
'He screamed so loudly that he lost his voice'
 - b. Cerró la puerta *de forma que* nadie pudo oírla
'She closed the door so that no one could hear her'
 - c. Nunca pensó llegar tan lejos, *de modo que* puede estar satisfecho
'He never thought he would get this far, so he can be satisfied'
 - d. Voy a quitar este muro, *de forma que* la cocina *quede* integrada en el salón
'I am going to remove this wall, so that the kitchen is integrated into the living room'

In contemporary Spanish, and particularly in several Latin American varieties, the variants *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de (que)* are also documented. These can be followed by a clause containing a finite verb (2a), or an infinitive verb (in this case, the conjunction *que* does not appear) (2b).

- (2)
 - a. Ahora, un tuit citado es adjuntado al nuevo mensaje, *de modo de que* se ve mucho mejor y queda separado del comentario del segundo participante (laprensagrafica.com. El Salvador, 2015; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
'Now, a quoted tweet is attached to the new message, therefore it looks much better and is separated from the second participant's comment'
 - b. realizan un estudio de mercado *de manera de* elegir qué producto comercializar (lanacion.com.py. Paraguay, 2001; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
'They conduct market research so as to decide which products to market'

As we shall see in the following pages, some of these variants are syntactically analyzable, while others form complex prepositions or conjunctions resulting from a grammaticalization process involving reanalysis and analogy mechanisms (Hopper & Traugott, 1993). Their coexistence in modern Spanish exemplifies the phenomenon known as 'lexical split' (Roberts & Roussou, 2003), that is, the situation that arises when, in contemporary language, a non-grammaticalized form coexists with forms that have acquired functional values over the course of diachronic evolution. For the study presented in these pages, the *Corpus del español del siglo XX* (CORPES XXI, n.d.) has been used as the source of data on contemporary Spanish. As for diachronic data, the *Corpus del Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española* (CDH, 2013) and the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE, n.d.), both from Real Academia Española, have been consulted.

Section 2 will address the analyzability of the sequences *de (tal) {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* and the grammaticalization processes that have led to their present-day variants. This issue has been explored by several authors, most notably Narbona Jiménez (1978), Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga (2005), Manzano Rovira (2012), and Parodi (2014). Section 3 will examine the variant *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de (que)*, which has received little attention in the literature. RAE-ASALE (2025, 43.6c) considers this to be a case of 'dequeísmo', but the data we have compiled, both diachronic and synchronic, refute this hypothesis. We will examine how its origin has been influenced by the analyzability of sequences without *de*, as well as by analogy with other prepositional phrases. Finally, in Section 4, we will explain in what sense the existence of these variants constitutes a case of lexical split (Roberts & Roussou, 2003, 15 ff.).

2. The Sequences *de (tal) {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*

2.1. Patterns of Sequences and Constructions That They Head

The complex sequences examined in this study can be grouped into three patterns: *de tal {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, and *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de*. In this section, we will study the first two. The initial observation that may be made is the alternation of four synonymous nouns: *forma*, *modo*,

manera, and *suerte*. In Old Spanish, the noun *guisa* was also utilized, a usage that has since fallen out of favor in the contemporary language. However, it will be invoked on occasion when examining certain diachronic data.⁴

The aforementioned alternation raises the question of whether, in cases where these sequences constitute complex, or phrasal, conjunctions or prepositions, we should understand that each of these nouns gives rise to a different complex unit, or whether we can consider each type of sequence to be a phraseological unit with “empty slots”. In other words, each one of the three patterns of sequences could be a *locución con casillas vacías* (‘phrase with empty slots’) (Montoro del Arco, 2008), a phraseological unit with a fixed or semi-fixed syntactic structure that includes variable elements, or “empty slots,” in its composition. This seems to be the case with the sequences in question, but we will not delve deeper into this issue; we will simply refer to them as phrasal conjunctions or phrasal prepositions.

We can distinguish three types of consecutive constructions introduced by *de tal* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que*, or *de* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que*:⁵

1. We will refer to those introduced by *de tal* {*forma/modo/manera/suerte*} *que* as INTENSITY–MANNER CONSECUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS. These constructions are integrated into the predicate of the main clause, functioning as an adjunct of manner:
 - (3) a. El filósofo Fernando Savater lo dice *de tal modo que* no queda más que citarlo textualmente (S. Venturo Schultz, *Contrajuventud: ensayos sobre juventud y participación política*; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘The philosopher Fernando Savater puts it so well that there is nothing left to do but quote him verbatim’
 b. El ama, al oír tales despropósitos, palideció *de tal suerte que* el cochero volvió la cabeza al sentir el relumbre (J. Riosalido, *La casa del Ñandú*; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘The mistress, upon hearing such nonsense, turned so pale that the coachman turned his head when he felt the glare’
2. The sequences that introduce the second type, CONSECUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MANNER, do not include the determiner *tal*, although the constructions they head, as in the case of the first type, are integrated into the predicate of the main clause as adjuncts of manner or result:
 - (4) a. Y no te preocupes, que lo vamos a dejar *de forma que* nadie se va a dar cuenta de que hemos tocado nada (M. Lejarza y F. Rueda, *Yo confieso. 45 años de espía*; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘And don’t worry, we’ll leave it in such a way that no one will notice we’ve touched anything’
 b. Se reformó el escalafón municipal *de manera que* todos los funcionarios subieron de categoría («EDITORIAL. A prepararse y a prepararnos». *El País digital*. Montevideo: elpais.com.uy; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘The municipal hierarchy was reformed in such a way that all civil servants were promoted’

The semantic distinction between these constructions and the preceding ones is subtle: while the latter merely encode a causal relationship, the former also foreground the magnitude or intensity of the cause. Consequently, example (4b) indicates that the manner of execution yielded a specific outcome, whereas in (3a), the qualitative degree of the action’s manner is focalized.

3. The constructions of the third type express the consequence of what is stated in another clause. However, they appear in a different clause, separated from it by a pause. In the Spanish grammatical tradition they have been called *oraciones ilati-*

vas (lit. ILLATIVE SENTENCES). These types of clauses can also be introduced by *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*:

- (5) a. Pero no lo sabía, *de manera que* me senté en uno de los confortables sillones de cuero que había en la habitación y esperé (R. Bolaño, *Putas asesinas*; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘But I didn’t know that, so I sat down in one of the comfortable leather armchairs in the room and waited’
 b. Los DD. HH. forman una unidad, [. . .] *de suerte que* no es admisible que se desconozcan unos derechos so pretexto de salvaguardar otros (L. Díaz Gamboa, *Constitucionalismo social: hacia un nuevo estado social, democrático de derecho*; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘Human rights form a single entity, [. . .] so that it is not permissible to disregard some rights on the pretext of safeguarding others’

2.2. The Nouns on Which These Sequences Are Based

The sequences introducing the consecutive constructions discussed in the previous section are derived from the nouns *forma*, *manera*, *modo*, and *suerte*. As noted by authors such as Amaral and Delicado Cantero (2022), the inherent properties of nouns largely determine the diachronic evolution of the constructions based upon them; therefore, this section will briefly review these characteristics. From their earliest attestations in pre-classical Spanish, *forma*, *manera*, and *modo* have exhibited the modal or manner-related meaning with which they are employed in consecutive sequences—a meaning that, moreover, is preserved in contemporary Spanish. According to Corominas and Pascual (1980, s.v. *forma*), the noun *forma* is first documented in the works of Berceo; the earliest example identified in the CORDE database dates to 1391 (6a). In examples (6b,c), we observe the use of the noun *manera* with a similar meaning as early as the 12th century, while example (6d) provides an occurrence of *modo* from the 13th century. Regarding *suerte*, whose original meaning refers to destiny or to the portion assigned to an individual in a distribution, it began to acquire the meaning of ‘form’ or ‘manner’ during the Late Middle Ages, eventually consolidating this sense in the 15th century (6e):

- (6) a. el jurado de aquella parroquia con el procurador o procuradors de aquella mediant jura por ellos publicament prestada alli en la *forma* dessuso dita esleyan los ditos hueyto suficientes mas o menos de aquella parroquia (Anonymous, *Ordinación dada a la ciudad de Zaragoza por el rey don Juan I*, 1391; CORDE, n.d.)
 ‘The jury of that parish, together with its representative(s), having taken a public oath on the spot in the manner described above, elected the eight (or approximately eight) competent members of that parish’
 b. é quien los rescibiére en tal *manera*, sea tenudo á la nuestra voz á pena de cient maravedís (Anonymous, *Ordenamiento de unas cortes de León*, p. 1188; CORDE, n.d.)
 ‘And anyone who receives them in this manner shall be bound by our authority, on pain of a fine of one hundred maravedis’
 c. Et daquela misma *manera* parta con los dela segunda & dent adelant con los de la tercera et con los de quantas mugieres ouiere. (Anonymous, *Fuero de Soria*, c 1196; CORDE, n.d.)
 ‘And in the same way, divide the inheritance among the [children] of the second [wife], and so on, among the [children] of the third and of any other wives he may have had’

- d. las adeujnanças de las cosas & las voluntades sobre los males dubdosos sienpre aduzen tristes cuidados en los coraçones de los omnes & en el *modo* de la dubda en pena andaua el suenno del que teme & sienpre veye cornelia en suennos a tesalia (Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Quinta parte*, a 1284; CORDE, n.d.)
 ‘Speculations about the future and fears of impending misfortune always bring sorrowful worries to people’s hearts; and, in the form of doubt, the sleep of the fearful was filled with torment, and Cornelia always saw Thessaly in her dreams’
- e. la piedra en vexiga se cura en la *suerte* que auemos curado la piedra pasada (Francisco López de Villalobos, *Sumario de la medicina con un compendio sobre las pestíferas bubas*, 1498; CORDE, n.d.)

‘A bladder stone is treated in the same way as we treated the previous stone’

As demonstrated in the preceding examples, the nouns *forma*, *manera*, *modo*, and *suerte* may be modified by various types of constituents: articles (6a, d, e), demonstratives (6b, c), adjectives (6c), participles (6a), relative clauses (6e), and complements headed by the preposition *de* (6d). Furthermore, they can function as manner adjuncts within prepositional phrases, headed by the prepositions *en* (6a, b, d, e) or *de* (6c). Their behavior is, therefore, analogous to that observed in contemporary Spanish, where they can be modified by the same classes of determiners and complements. However, in modern usage, the use of the preposition *de* (7a–d) to head manner complements with these nouns clearly predominates over the use of the preposition *en* (7e):

- (7) a. Le tomó juramento de la forma antes descrita.
 ‘He swore him in in the manner described above’
- b. Nadie entendía por qué se había enfadado de tal manera.
 ‘No one could understand why he had got so angry’
- c. Lo escribió del modo que le habían enseñado.
 ‘He wrote it the way he had been taught’
- d. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, por su parte, ofrece su versión del mismo asunto -también en glosa de Alfonso Reyes- de esta suerte (P. Del Valle, *Comer y beber en Honduras*. Honduras, 2002; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘Bernal Díaz del Castillo, for his part, offers his own account of the same matter—also in a commentary by Alfonso Reyes—as follows’
- e. En esa manera el precio es menor para ambas partes (*El Diario de Hoy*, El Salvador, 2006; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘In that way, the price is lower for both partners’

2.3. Analyzability and Grammaticalization of the Sequences *de (tal) {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*

In intensity–manner consecutives, *tal* (‘such’) is a qualifying or intensive determiner that forms a quantitative phrase with the noun. The conjunction *que* heads a subordinate clause that expresses consequence (RAE-ASALE, 2025, §45.14d–h). Therefore, in these constructions, the sequences *de tal {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* can be analyzed as described in (8): they are part of a PP headed by the preposition *de*; the object of this preposition (OP) is the consecutive construction, which is formed by a quantitative phrase (QP) and a subordinate clause (SC).

- (8) [PP *de* [OP [QP *tal {forma/modo/manera/suerte}*] [SC *que...]*]]

Parodi (2014) points out that sequences *de tal {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* are grammaticalized, since in them, “*tal* pierde su significado equivalente al de un demostrativo anafórico ‘eso’, como en: ¿por qué dices tales cosas?/¿por qué dices esas cosas?” (Parodi, 2014, p. 4107) (‘*tal* loses its meaning equivalent to the anaphoric demonstrative ‘that’, as in *why do you say such things?/why do you say those things?*’).

However, the sequence's analyzability is demonstrated by the possibility of its members appearing separately, as occurs in focalization constructions of type (9a). Likewise, the determiner *tal* can appear after the noun, as in (9b).

- (9) a. Cuentas *de tal manera* las cosas *que* apenas se entienden (Ex. from Parodi, 2014, p. 4107)
 Lit. You tell *in such a way* things *that* it's hard to understand them
 b. Cuentas las cosas *de manera tal que* apenas se entienden (Ex. from Parodi, 2014, p. 4108)
 Lit. You tell the things *in a way such that* it's hard to understand them.

In consecutive constructions of manner, sequences headed by *de* {forma/modo/manera/suerte} *que* function as an adjunct of manner to the main verb. Álvarez (1999, §58.3.1) suggests that the clause headed by *que* is a relative clause, since it can be replaced by an adjective, as shown in (10):

- (10) a. Y no te preocupes, *que* lo vamos a dejar *de forma cuidadosa*
 'And don't worry, we'll leave it in a careful way'
 b. Se reformó el escalafón municipal *de manera radical*
 'The municipal hierarchy was reformed in a radical way'

However, the possibility of paraphrasing with an adjective does not imply that the subordinate clause is a relative clause. In fact, the particle *que* can be understood as a relative pronoun in some of these sequences, but not in others. Therefore, in (11a), the relative pronoun *que*, whose antecedent is *manera*, functions as the subject in the subordinate clause, which can be reasonably interpreted as 'the way of organizing the classroom is what allows participation and cooperation among students.' However, other sequences similar to these are ambiguous. For instance, in (11b), it is possible to understand that the relative pronoun *que* has *modo* as its antecedent and functions as the subject of the subordinate clause. This construction would indicate that the manner in which the arch is constructed will allow the Latin phrase to be revealed. However, it could also be interpreted that the subject of the subordinate verb is co-referential with the noun phrase (NP) *este arco*, meaning that it is the arch itself that will allow the phrase to be revealed. In such a case, the supposed relative would have no syntactic function in the subordinate clause, and, therefore, it must be understood that we are actually dealing with the subordinating conjunction *que*, which is homonymous with the relative.⁶ Consequently, the structure is analogous to that of (6). This is the sole viable analysis for sequences such as those depicted in (7a,b) above.⁷

- (11) a. Estas pueden ser atendidas adecuadamente [. . .] a través de una serie de acciones *que* todo educador utiliza habitualmente para dar respuesta a la diversidad: organizar el aula *de manera que* permita la participación y cooperación entre los alumnos [. . .] (M. P. Godoy Ienz, *Guía de apoyo técnico-pedagógico: necesidades educativas especiales en el nivel de educación parvularia*. Chile, 2007; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 'These can be adequately addressed through a series of actions that all educators routinely use to respond to diversity: organising the classroom in a way that allows for participation and cooperation among students'
 b. ¿Puedes construir este arco de modo *que* revele una frase latina oculta cuando esté de pie?
 (https://www.reddit.com/r/latin/comments/1ep3w82/arch_anagram_can_you_build_this_arch_so_that_it/?tl=es-es; accessed on 16 June 2026)
 'Can you construct this arch so that it reveals a hidden Latin phrase when standing upright?'

Parodi (2014) notes the existence of sequences ambiguous between an interpretation as a consecutive of manner and as a consecutive of intensity-manner with the omission of

the determiner *tal*. The example provided by the author is (12a). However, despite the fact that this construction lends itself to both interpretations from a semantic perspective, an examination of the syntactic structure reveals that they are not structurally equivalent. As previously mentioned, the presence of the intensifier *tal* enables the left-dislocation of the sequence formed with *manera* (12b), a phenomenon that does not occur in the absence of the intensifier, as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of (12c).⁸

- (12) a. Ana recitó el poema de manera que conmovió al público (Ex. from Parodi, 2014, p. 4108)

‘Ana recited the poem in a way that moved the audience’

b. De tal manera recitó Ana el poema que conmovió al público

Lit. In such a way recited Ana the poem that moved the audience

c. *De manera recitó Ana el poema que conmovió al público

Lit. In (a) way recited Ana the poem that moved the audience

In medieval Spanish, some consecutive constructions of manner are documented in which the members of these phrases, or others equivalent to them, such as *de guisa de*, appear separated (13). However, Narbona Jiménez (1978, §2.2.8) has noted that from the 14th century onward, this type of discontinuous sequence became less prevalent, and by the time of *La Celestina*, it had fallen into disuse.

- (13) *de guisa irán por ellas que a gran ondra verrán* (*Cid* 1280; Ex. from Narbona Jiménez, 1978, p. 217)

Lit. *in a way* they will go for them *that* they will come to great honour

As demonstrated above, it can be concluded that the sequences *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* are grammaticalized expressions that reject the separation of their components. This phenomenon can also be observed in *illative* sentences, where they also lose their sense of mode or manner (see (14a,b)). This particular type of clause has been documented since the 13th century, with the elements of the sequences fixed:

- (14) a. Liuiana es mucho. & ligera de quebrantar; *de manera* que quiebra apretandola entre los dedos (Alfonso X, *Lapidario*, c. 1250; CORDE, n.d.)

‘It is very fragile and easy to break; so it breaks when squeezed between the fingers’

b. con todo esso passa el sennorio dello al que lo recibe. *de guisa* que no gelo pueden despues demandar (Alfonso X, *Primera Partida*, 1256–1263; CORDE, n.d.)

‘With all that, the ownership of it passes to the one who receives it. So that they cannot then demand it back’

When the consequence is presented as the result of a future action, or is regarded as something desired or required, the meaning of these constructions incorporates the idea of purpose. In this case, the sequences *de (tal) {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, since their first documentation in the 13th century (15), are followed by the subjunctive, which is generally required since the main clause contains a future tense (15a), an imperative (15b), or some other exhortative formula (15c). Also in modern Spanish, as illustrated in (16), the employment of the subjunctive is linked to this purpose or purpose-consecutive interpretation, irrespective of whether the meaning of manner is preserved, as depicted in (16a), or not, as evidenced in (16b).

- (15) a. *Cortarás todos tus pecados con la penitencia en⁹ manera que non quede ninguno* (Casts. E docs. BAE, 151b-3; Ex. from Narbona Jiménez, 1978, p. 241)
 ‘You shall cut off all your sins with penance so that none remain’
 b. *echad todos las manos en él et prendetle et recabdable en guisa que non uos salga de mano* (Cron. Gen. 350b-30; Ex. from Narbona Jiménez, 1978, p. 240)
 ‘All of you lay your hands on him and seize him, and keep him securely so that he does not escape’
 c. *Amigos, ha mester de consejo tomar, / de guisa que podamos tal fuerça (recundar)* (F. Glez. 297c; Ex. from Narbona Jiménez, 1978, pp. 240–241)
 ‘Friends, we need to take advice, so that we may (¿regain?) such strength’
- (16) a. *El instrumento debe estar suspendido a la altura del hombro, de manera que permita observar tanto a la partitura como al director* (Ministerio de Cultura, *Guía de iniciación a la percusión*, Venezuela, 2003; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘The instrument should be suspended at shoulder height, allowing the musician to see both the score and the conductor’
 b. *Porque vengo de la tierra de los hielos. Por eso. De modo que da igual adónde vaya porque la sobriedad y el frío están dentro de mí* (C. Sánchez-Andrade, *Bueyes y rosas dormían*. España, 2001; CORPES XXI, n.d.)

In summary, in this section, we have verified the existence of the following variants in modern Spanish:

1. *De tal {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* is an analyzable sequence that constitutes a part of a syntactic structure, in which its various elements correspond to different constituents.
2. *De {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* can correspond to two distinct structures:
 - (a) A semi-grammaticalized sequence that remains analyzable, in which the element *que* is a pronoun that heads a relative subordinate clause, and whose antecedent is the noun that expresses mode or manner.
 - (b) A grammaticalized sequence, that is, a phrasal conjunction that introduces consecutive clauses of manner or *illative* sentences.

In all cases, the employment of the subjunctive mode serves to redirect the semantic orientation of the construction toward a purpose meaning.

3. The Variants *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de (que)*

In modern Spanish, the variants *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* are documented (cf. RAE-ASALE, 2025, §46.10v; Pavón Lucero, *in press*, §45.2.2.2). Their behavior does not resemble that of a conjunction or phrasal conjunction, as evidenced by the sequences presented above, but rather, it is more akin to that of a phrasal preposition. This is evident in their ability to accept both clauses with finite verbs that are headed by the conjunction *que* (17a) and infinitive sentences (17b–d).

- (17) a. *Sirve un poco de la mezcla en la sartén de forma de que quede con forma redondeada y esponjosa* («Receta para el Día de las Madres: Panquecas de manzana». *El Tiempo Latino*. Estados Unidos, 2017; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘Pour a little of the mixture into the pan so that it forms a round, fluffy shape’
 b. *En la retina se suceden esos ciclos de recepción, elaboración, acumulación, envío y supresión, de modo de evitar las interferencias* (D. Bardier, *De la visión al conocimiento*. Uruguay, 2001; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
 ‘These cycles of reception, processing, accumulation, transmission and deletion occur in the retina in order to avoid interference’

c. Es fundamental buscar agresivamente el diagnóstico para iniciar terapia lo más pronto posible, *de manera de limitar* el daño de los órganos comprometidos (S. Palma C., «Vasculitis». Chile, 2002; CORPES XXI, n.d.)

‘It is essential to aggressively seek a diagnosis in order to begin treatment as soon as possible, *so as to limit* damage to the affected organs’

d. El nuevo pacto social y político estaría construido sobre la urgencia de promover la gobernabilidad democrática de la globalización, *de suerte de lograr* una sociedad contemporánea más justa (C. Tünnermann, «Una nueva cultura política para América Latina». Nicaragua, 2005; CORPES XXI, n.d.)

‘The new social and political pact would be built on the urgent need to promote democratic governance of globalization, in order to achieve a fairer contemporary society’

To document these expressions in contemporary Spanish, CORPES XXI (n.d.) was utilized, yielding 219 cases distributed between Spain and other countries in the Americas, predominantly Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, and to a lesser extent, Venezuela and Panama (see Table 1).¹⁰

Table 1. Number of cases and distribution of consecutive *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* in (CORPES XXI, n.d.).

Country	<i>de forma de</i>	<i>de manera de</i>	<i>de modo de</i>	<i>de suerte de</i>	No. of Cases
Chile	24	27	10	--	61
Uruguay	33	6	13	--	52
Argentina	14	10	13	--	37
Venezuela	6	10	1	--	17
Panama	--	2	10	--	12
Cuba	7	--	--	--	7
Spain	4	--	1	--	5
Costa Rica	--	--	5	--	5
Perú	--	--	3	--	3
Dominican Republic	1	2	--	--	3
Bolivia	2	--	--	--	2
Ecuador	--	1	1	--	2
El Salvador	1	1	--	--	2
Guatemala	2	--	--	--	2
Honduras	2	--	--	--	2
Mexico	--	1	1	--	2
Paraguay	1	1	--	--	2
Colombia	--	1	--	--	1
United States	1	--	--	--	1
Nicaragua	--	--	--	1	1

To explain the origin of these complex units, let us consider two alternative hypotheses:

1. Some authors consider sequences containing *de que* to be instances of *dequeísmo* (insertion of the preposition *de* before the complementizer *que* in grammatical contexts where the governing head neither selects nor structurally governs a prepositional argument) (Serradilla, 1997; Gómez Torrego, 1999, 34.1.2.6; Rabanales, 2005, 1.1.5.2; RAE-ASALE, 2025, 43.6c; among others). If this is the case, the possibility that *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* introduces an infinitive clause is triggered by analogy with other prepositions or phrasal prepositions whose complement can be both a finite verb clause headed by *que* and an infinitive clause.

2. A second hypothesis we will argue for is that the sequences *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* have been generated from *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, replacing the conjunction *que* with the preposition *de*, which would allow its use with both a clause headed by *que* and an infinitive clause.

One fact that seems to rule out the first option is that the infinitive is used more frequently, regardless of the noun that forms part of the phrase, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Percentages of use of *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* with infinitive or *que* with a finite verb.

	No. of Cases	Infinitive	Que + Indicative	Que + Subjunctive
<i>De forma de</i>	98	95 (97%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)
<i>De manera de</i>	62	61 (98.3%)	1 (1.7%)	--
<i>De modo de</i>	58	58 (100%)	--	--
<i>De suerte de</i>	1	1 (100%)	--	--
Total	219	215 (98%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)

Regarding the origin of these expressions, the forms *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* are documented in Spain from the 15th century onwards, though on a very sporadic basis. The earliest examples found in CORDE date from the 15th and 16th centuries, and they appear in the infinitive form (18a,b). In the 16th century, the first documented instance of a sentence with a finite verb introduced by *que* is also recorded (16c), in which the verb appears in the indicative. The first example with the subjunctive corresponds to the 17th century (18c).

- (18) a. Cuando Amadís tornó hacia él su cavallo, vio estar *de manera de lo acometer*, y echó mano a la espada, y fuéronse ambos acometer tan bravamente, que todos se espantaban en ver tal batalla (Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, libros I y II, España, 1482–1492; CORDE, n.d.)

‘When Amadís turned his horse towards him, he saw that he was ready to attack, and he drew his sword, and they both charged so bravely that everyone was terrified to see such a battle’

- b. Las cosas están guiadas *de suerte de haceros saber* que si nosotros todos los cristianos queremos usar juntamente de sano y buen consejo, esta embajada ha sido enviada á gran honra y reposo y provecho universal de la república cristiana [. . .] (Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, España, c 1550; CORDE, n.d.)

‘Things are guided in such a way as to let you know that if all of us Christians wish to use sound and good advice together, this embassy has been sent for the great honour and repose and universal benefit of the Christian republic’

- c. ábrenle el pico y fréganle el paladar, do está el gallillo, con miel, y sobr  ella le echan oruga en polvo freg ndole con entrambas cosas; y as , al calor y movimiento destas cosas, descende el agua de la cabeza y l nzana los halcones por el paladar y ventanas de narices, *de manera de que*, as  como sale por las ventanas, *va al buche parte desta agua* (Fadrique de Z niga y Sotomayor, *Libro de cetrer a de caza de azor*, Espa a, 1565; CDH)

‘Open its beak and rub its palate, where the gullet is, with honey, and sprinkle powdered caterpillar on it, rubbing it with both substances; and thus, with the heat and movement of these things, the water descends from the head and the falcons spit it out through the palate and nostrils, so that, as it comes out through the nostrils, part of this water goes into the crop’

d. No haga algo por donde le pongan por sus bellaquerías *de modo de que le dé el ayre en todo el cuerpo* (Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Entremés de Bárbara*, ESPAÑA, a 1620; CORDE, n.d.)

‘Don’t do anything that will get you into trouble for your misdeeds, so that you can breathe freely throughout your entire body’

The limited documents available from these historical periods do not allow us to conclusively state that infinitive constructions originated first, followed later by sequences with finite clauses headed by *que*. However, if we add to this the fact that in contemporary Spanish the infinitive is the dominant verbal form, we can affirm that *dequeísmo* is not the origin of this type of sequence. Rather, the fact that the infinitival variant exhibits a significantly broader distribution than the finite clause variant headed by *que* provides compelling evidence that the former gave rise to the latter, rather than the reverse. This leads us to consider the second of the aforementioned hypotheses. If this is correct, it would imply the analyzability of the sequence *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* at the point when the variants with *de* arise. In other words, the language users’ awareness of the nominal value of the noun of manner would allow a complement headed by *de*, the preposition that, by default, introduces noun complements.

The first documented instance of this construction is from the 15th century, when, according to Narbona Jiménez (1978) (see Section 2.3), the phrases *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* were undergoing grammaticalization. As of the 14th century, there has been a marked decline in the documentation of these phrases appearing separately. However, as previously mentioned, the presence of phrases containing *de* indicates that the phrase remains analyzable, with the nominal value of the noun being preserved. An additional factor that may have contributed to the emergence of variants with *de* is the analogy with other phrasal prepositions. Indeed, in the CORPES and the CDH, we find sequences *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de*, followed by an NP, dating back to the 13th century (19). Although their meaning is not strictly identical to that of consecutive connectives, it is evidently linked to the core lexical semantics of the base nouns in both types of phrases, namely, ‘mode’ or ‘manner’. In the context of consecutive sequences, this translates to the manner of execution of an action, whereas in the phrases illustrated in (19), it denotes appearance, form, or similarity:

- (19) a. e los sagres e los que son *de manera de* los sagres, an en sí tres contenentes (Abraham de Toledo, *Moamín. Libro de los animales que cazan*, España, 1250; CDH)
 ‘and the sagres [falcons], and those that are like the sagres, have three parts’
 b. E si el ascendente fuere signo *de forma de* omne sera *de* religión (Anónimo, *Judizios de las estrellas*. España, 1254–1260; CDH)
 ‘And if the ascendant is a sign in the form of a man, it will be religious’
 c. sean puestos doblados de la cara encima de una tabla, y con una rebotadera espesa, *de suerte de* las que tienen los tondidores (Anónimo, *Primer proyecto de Ordenanzas generales para Castilla*, España, 1495; CDH)
 ‘be placed face down on a board, and with a thick iron comb, such as those used by shearers’
 d. y por esso se llaman atabalados, porque quedan *de modo de* atabales (Domingo Hernández de Maceras, *Libro del arte de cocina*, España, 1607; CDH)
 ‘and that is why they are called drum-shaped, because they are shaped like drums’

Based on these observations, it can be deduced that multiple factors influence the origin of phrasal prepositions *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de*. On the one hand, the phrasal conjunctions *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que* were undergoing grammaticalization in the 15th century. At that time, awareness of the nominal value of the nouns that form part of these phrases facilitated the introduction of the preposition *de*, which by default heads the

prepositional complements of nouns. Furthermore, the analogy with other homophonous phrasal prepositions supports the use of the preposition *de*. This results in a phrasal preposition with equivalent meaning to the phrasal conjunction, enabling the inclusion of both an infinitive clause and a clause with a finite verb as its complement. Additionally, like the phrasal conjunction, it allows for both the indicative and the subjunctive to be used. As demonstrated in Table 2, the construction with the infinitive is more prevalent in contemporary language. This development may be attributed to the competition that the phrasal preposition followed by *que* has faced from the phrasal conjunction, which had already gained widespread use by the time the PP emerged.

In the vast majority of cases, in modern Spanish the constructions introduced by these phrasal prepositions express a semantic relationship of purpose with respect to the main clause or predicate (RAE-ASALE, 2025, §46.10v). As shown in Table 3, constructions with an exclusive purpose value account for 87.5% of the total. If we add to these the constructions in which, along with that meaning, a manner and/or consequence nuance can be appreciated, they represent 97.5% of the examples found.

Table 3. Meanings of *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de*.

Phrasal Preposition	No. of Cases	Purpose	Manner–Purpose	Purpose–Consequence	Manner–Consequence	Consequence
<i>De forma de</i>	98	85 (87%)	7 (7%)	2 (2%)	--	4 (4%)
<i>De manera de</i>	62	56 (90%)	5 (8%)	--	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
<i>De modo de</i>	58	50 (86%)	8 (14%)	--	--	--
<i>De suerte de</i>	1	1 (100%)	--	--	--	--
Total	219	192 (87.5%)	7 (7%)	2 (1%)	1 (0.5%)	5 (2%)
			214 (97.5%)			

The data, therefore, seem to show that we are facing a process of grammaticalization that is practically complete, whereby the sequences *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* have come to constitute phrasal prepositions with a purpose value that take an infinitive clause as their complement.

4. Phrasal Units Derived from Nouns Such as *{forma/modo/manera/suerte}* as an Example of a Lexical Split

As Hopper and Traugott (1993, chapter 3) point out, the concepts of reanalysis and analogy are the two main mechanisms that drive linguistic change. Reanalysis is the mechanism by which speakers assign a new grammatical structure or functional status to a sequence of linguistic elements without necessarily changing the external phonetic form of that sequence. Analogy, on the other hand, is a mechanism of change that operates by proportion or similarity. Speakers tend to extend existing patterns or models to elements that, due to historical or phonetic reasons, do not align with the standard.

In previous sections, we have examined the role of both processes in the formation of the different variants of the phrases under study. Starting with the structure of a PP that includes a consecutive construction (also formed by a quantifying phrase and a subordinate clause), reanalysis leads to a new unit, a sequence initiated by a phrasal conjunction *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, which can introduce a consecutive clause. The analyzability of this phrasal conjunction, along with the analogy to homophonous prepositional phrases, results in the formation of a new variant: a phrasal preposition *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de*.

Lexical split (Roberts & Roussou, 2003) is the process by which a lexical item (a word with lexical meaning, such as a verb or noun) gives rise to two separate and homophonous

lexical entries in the lexicon of the language: the original lexical element, which retains its initial category and meaning, and a new derived element, corresponding to a functional category, with a more abstract or grammatical meaning. The path we have shown in the previous sections indicates that the formation of the variants of the sequences containing the nouns *{forma/modo/manera/suerte}* involves two cases of lexical split.

The original structure, as has just been pointed out, consists of a PP headed by *de* (as well as *en* in pre-classical Spanish) that functions as a manner adjunct within the main clause. The prepositional complement is an NP headed by one of the aforementioned nouns, modified by the demonstrative determiner *tal*, which correlates with a subordinate consecutive clause introduced by *que*. From this initial configuration, a new unit emerges through the reanalysis of the sequence <P + N + P> (*de {forma/modo. . .} que*), characterized by the omission of the determiner. This new unit, which corresponds to a functional category (specifically a complex or phrasal conjunction), has been documented since the 13th century. It coexists with the compositional PP, in which the noun retains its status as the head of a lexical category. Consequently, this process leads to an initial lexical split.

The analyzability of this latter unit—in which its individual components and, crucially, the nominal properties of its constituent nouns can still be recognized—facilitated the emergence of a new unit, likely starting in the 15th and 16th centuries: the prepositional locution *de {forma/modo. . .} de*. The formation of this unit was further driven by analogy with formally identical phrasal prepositions (see Section 3). In contemporary Spanish, this new unit is primarily documented in Latin American varieties and coexists with the aforementioned structure, thus representing a further instance of lexical split. This development resulted in the configuration observed in modern Spanish, where the conjunctive locution, the prepositional locution, and the source nouns from which they derived continue to coexist.

5. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have studied the analyzability of sequences with consecutive meaning containing the nouns *forma*, *manera*, *modo*, and *suerte*, as well as the grammaticalization processes that have given rise to their variants in contemporary Spanish. We have identified the following elements:

- The sequence *de tal {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, which forms part of a PP headed by *de* that has a consecutive construction at its complement, and in which the noun retains its original lexical and grammatical properties.
- The phrasal conjunction *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} que*, which introduces consecutive constructions of manner or consecutive sentences that modify the entire matrix clause (we have referred to them, in accordance with Spanish grammatical tradition, as *illative* sentences).
- The phrasal preposition *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de*, mostly used with a purpose value, which takes an infinitive clause as its complement, although it is also possible to find clauses with a finite verb headed by *que*.

The earliest attested form is the first of the aforementioned sequences, documented in the oldest texts of medieval Spanish. Subsequently, a grammaticalization process occurred—originating in old Spanish and crystallizing in the 15th century—which yielded the second form. In the present study, we argue that the third form derives from the second, and that its emergence was driven, first, by the analyzability of the latter at the time of its formation (with the earliest examples dating to the 14th and 15th centuries) and, second, by formal analogy with semantically phrasal prepositions in which the base noun retains its literal meaning. In contemporary Spanish, sequences of the type *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* are widespread across Latin American varieties but remain marginal in Peninsular Span-

ish. The simultaneous existence of all of them in present-day Spanish is indicative of a lexical split process, as described by Roberts and Roussou (2003).

While the present study has focused on the analyzability of these sequences and how this triggers the emergence of a new form at a specific stage in their grammaticalization, achieving a comprehensive understanding of their evolution and contemporary usage necessitates further research into areas not addressed here. One of these is the correlation between the diachronic development of these sequences and specific text types. Although an in-depth exploration of this aspect falls outside our current scope, the data suggest that the selection of these phrases is heavily influenced by register and genre. Consequently, they predominate in planned, formal written discourse (see RAE-ASALE, 2025, 46.12b), frequently appearing in academic, scientific, legal-administrative, and journalistic texts. Furthermore, given that our dataset is drawn exclusively from written sources, it would also be interesting to study the use of the analyzed sequences in spoken language. Another pertinent line of inquiry would involve tracing the diachronic spread of *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* to determine the causes of their overwhelming restriction to Latin American Spanish—particularly in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay—and their specialization towards a purposive meaning. Ultimately, these future directions will help illuminate the historical roots of the complex system of consecutive connectors and, more broadly, of adverbial subordination in contemporary Spanish.

Funding: This research was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, grant number PID2021-123617NB-C44.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: Data are available upon request from the author.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Notes

- ¹ As Langacker points out, analyzability “pertains to the ability of speakers to recognize the contribution that each component structure makes to the composite whole” (Langacker, 1987, p. 448).
- ² There is an extensive bibliography on grammaticalization, including Hopper and Traugott (1993), Lehmann (2004), Heine (2017), and Narrog and Heine (2021), among others.
- ³ The term *consecutive*, to refer to the type of clauses, sentences, or constructions that head the complex particles we are studying, alternates in English with the terms *result* or *resultative*. In this paper, we have chosen the former term as it is closer to the one used in studies on Spanish grammar. For a similar reason, we use the expression *illative sentence*, as a translation of the Spanish expression *oración ilativa*, to refer to this type of non-quantitative consecutive sentences, which are not integrated in the predicate of the matrix clause and in various studies have been considered coordinated sentences. This, however, is an issue that we will not deal with here. For further information, see RAE-ASALE (2025, §§46.11-12).
- ⁴ We have only documented two examples of consecutive constructions headed by *de guisa que* in (CORPES XXI, n.d.), both by the same author and from the same work; (i) is one of them:
 - (i) adivino la figura de mi esposa acodada en el balcón, *de guisa que* me siento libre para dirigirme hacia el bar donde me he citado con mi cuñado (Á. Colomer, *Los bosques de Upsala*. España, 2009; CORPES XXI, n.d.)
‘I spot my wife leaning on the balcony, so I feel free to head to the bar where I have arranged to meet my brother-in-law’
- ⁵ The following bibliography may be consulted for further reading on this subject: Narbona Jiménez (1978, §2.3), Álvarez (1999, §§58.1, 58.3), Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga (2005, §§12.3-4), Parodi (2014, §33.3.2.6), and RAE-ASALE (2025, §§45.14, 46.11-12).
- ⁶ Note that the indefinite article could be added to (9a) without altering the meaning (. . . *de una manera que permita*. . .). In the case of (9b), the addition of the indefinite (. . . *de un modo que revele*. . .) is only acceptable if *que* is interpreted as a relative pronoun whose antecedent is *modo*.

- 7 According to Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga (2005, §12.3), these constructions stem from a relative clause that modifies the noun *manera*. Furthermore, Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga (2005, p. 511) notes that in medieval Spanish, relative and consecutive uses of *que* coexisted in these sequences.
- 8 The only way to explain the existence of an intensifier that is not phonetically realized in (12a) would be to propose some kind of restriction that prevents the focusing of a sequence containing it. This issue will not be explored in depth here.
- 9 In medieval Spanish, the preposition *en* is sometimes documented instead of *de* in these constructions (Narbona Jiménez, 1978, §2.4.2; Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga, 2005, §12.3). We briefly referred to the alternation between these two prepositions in Section 2.2.
- 10 For data collection, all sequences taking the form *de {forma/modo/manera/suerte} de* were extracted. The resulting dataset was subsequently filtered to exclude any instances not followed by the complementizer *que* or an infinitival clause, as well as those that did not fulfill the consecutive or purposive functions under investigation.

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