

On English *turn out* and Spanish *resultar* mirative constructions

A case of ongoing grammaticalization?

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This article focuses on the diachronic development of English *turn out* and Spanish *resultar* ‘turn out’ mirative constructions. Having undergone processes of semantic generalization over time, both verbs express evidential and, most prominently, mirative nuances in the present-day languages. This study explores the mechanisms that condition the evolution of *turn out* and *resultar* from their original meanings as lexical resultative and change-of-state verbs towards their eventual subjectification and grammaticalization as predicates conveying evidential and mirative senses. The present-day mirative constructions take *that*- and infinitival complement clauses in both languages. The analysis suggested here shows that both verbs exhibit diverging, though closely related, paths and degrees of grammaticalization. Moreover, this study delves into the further development of these predicates as parenthetical expressions. While English parenthetical *turns out* has already been grammaticalized, Spanish *resulta* may be on its way to becoming a grammaticalized parenthetical.

Keywords: mirativity, evidentiality, grammaticalization, raising predicates, *resultar*, *turn out*

1. Introduction

The expression of evidential and mirative strategies may take a wide range of forms in the languages of the world. English *turn out* and its Spanish equivalent *resultar* are such forms. As raising predicates, these verbs can take both *that*- and INF-clauses as complements. In addition to their evidential readings (see Cornillie 2007, 2008 for *resultar*, Heller & Howe

2010 for *turn out*), these constructions express mirativity (see Howe & Heller 2010 for *turn out*), i.e., they signal information which is newsworthy or unexpected, with overtones of surprise and counterexpectation. The present paper deals with the diachronic development of mirative *resultar* and *turn out* verb constructions such as the ones illustrated in (1) and (2):

- (1) **It turns out that** elephants have an advanced sense of self, which means in part that they're smart enough to be capable of really caring about others. (COCA, 2009)

- (2) En esta ocasión le voy a dar un ejemplo bastante ridículo. **Resulta que** los lobos han desaparecido oficialmente en Estados Unidos. La cacería descontrolada, los prejuicios y la insaciable voracidad de los explotadores del medio ambiente acabaron con esos nobles animales.
'This time I'll give you a pretty ridiculous example. **It turns out that** wolves have officially disappeared in the United States. Uncontrolled hunting, prejudices and the insatiable voracity of environmental exploiters have put an end to those noble animals.' (CORPES, 2001)

The verbs *turn out* and *resultar* in the impersonal constructions in (1) and (2) behave like complement-taking predicates (CTPs), that is, they have an inherently secondary status with respect to the proposition expressed by the complement clause (see Boye & Harder 2007, Van Bogaert 2011). Thus, in spite of their matrix clause status, *resulta que* and *it turns out that* introduce secondary information, their main function being that of conveying evidential and, most conspicuously, mirative overtones, as well as that of introducing the propositions under their scope. The study of evidential and mirative CTPs like the ones exemplified in (1) and (2) is especially relevant, since such constructions seem to be evolving towards grammaticalized parenthetical expressions whose functions resemble those of pragmatic markers (see Dehé & Kavalova 2007, Kaltenböck 2013, 2015).

This article focuses on *resultar* and *turn out* constructions involving *that*- and INF-complements. It explores the processes whereby these predicates evolve from their erstwhile status as lexical resultative and change-of-state verbs to their eventual subjectification and grammaticalization as verbs expressing evidential and mirative meanings. Furthermore, it delves into their development as parenthetical expressions. The results show that both constructions exhibit diverging, though analogous, paths and degrees of grammaticalization.

While English *turns out* has already been grammaticalized into a parenthetical, Spanish *resulta* may be undergoing further grammaticalization into a parenthetical element.

I begin by offering an introduction to the expression of evidential and mirative strategies in English and Spanish in Section 2. In Section 3 I outline the present-day usages of *turn out* and *resultar* mirative constructions. Section 4 probes into the historical development of *turn out*, while Section 5 explores the diachronic evolution of *resultar*. These last two sections focus on qualitative and contrastive aspects, especially as regards the parallelisms and divergences between both developments. Section 6 offers a tentative account of the further grammaticalization of Spanish *resultar* into a parenthetical. Finally, in Section 7 I put forward some concluding remarks, including some suggestions for further research.

2. Evidentiality and mirativity in English and Spanish

Evidentiality and – to a lesser extent – mirativity have received growing scholarly attention in recent times, from both the perspective of typological studies (see, among others, Aikhenvald 2004, 2014, 2015 for evidentiality; DeLancey 2001, 2012, Aikhenvald 2012 for mirativity) and of studies on languages in which these categories are not morphologically encoded (see, for instance, Chafe 1986 for evidentiality in English, Squartini 2001 for evidentiality in Romance, Bermúdez 2005 and Cornillie 2007, for evidentiality in Spanish, Diewald & Smirnova 2010a for evidentiality in German, Hengevald & Olbertz 2012 for mirativity in Andean Spanish, Marín Arrese *et al.* 2017 for evidentiality in European languages). Despite the wealth of literature devoted to evidentiality and mirativity, their status as linguistic categories is still a matter of considerable debate (see Aikhenvald 2004, 2012, Diewald & Smirnova 2010a, 2010b, DeLancey 2012, among others). This is especially true when it comes to defining these categories, elucidating the way in which they relate to each other and delimiting what kind of elements might be considered evidential or mirative markers.

Evidentiality is the linguistic expression of source of information. It is an obligatory grammatical category, expressed morphologically by means of affixes, clitics and/or particles, in about a quarter of the languages of the world (Aikhenvald 2004: 1). Mirativity is a complex category that conveys new information, surprise, and sudden discovery with overtones of counterexpectation and unprepared mind (of the speaker, the addressee or a third person) (see DeLancey 1997, 2001, 2012, Aikhenvald 2012). Grammatical miratives are also well attested in a substantial number of languages, but they are less prevalent than grammatical evidentials in the languages of the world (Aikhenvald 2012: 473).

Although mirativity has sometimes been considered a part of evidentiality, there is widespread scholarly consensus that the former constitutes a linguistic category in its own right (see Aikhenvald 2004: 195-215 for an overview of the relationship between both categories, 2012, DeLancey 2012, Hengeveld & Olbertz 2012, Peterson 2013, 2015; contra Hill 2012). However, the boundaries between evidentiality and mirativity are not clear-cut, and both categories seem to be closely interrelated. This is evidenced by the fact that some evidentials can acquire mirative uses. According to Aikhenvald (2015: 260), a non-visual or a non-firsthand evidential may express a mirative meaning when the speaker uses it in first person. Gipper (2014), for instance, provides evidence for the extension from inferential evidentiality to mirativity in Yurakaré, a Bolivian isolate language.

In languages like English and Spanish, which do not encode evidentiality or mirativity morphologically, the linguistic realizations of these categories are optional communicative strategies that are most often lexically represented (see Cornillie 2007, 2008, Diewald & Smirnova 2010a, 2010b). Still, evidential and mirative strategies in these languages can be found at different linguistic levels that range from the prosodic through the morphological to the discourse level. Exclamatory intonation, for instance, may convey mirative nuances of surprise. So do a range of discourse-pragmatic expressions, like the English interjection *wow!* or its Spanish equivalents *¡vaya!* and *¡anda!*, as well as adverbial expressions such as English *surprisingly* and *unexpectedly* and their Spanish counterparts *sorprendentemente* and *inesperadamente*. Nevertheless, the expression of these strategies may take place in more grammatical settings in these languages.

Unlike certain languages with complex grammaticalized evidential systems, European languages generally feature expressions of indirect evidentiality, while direct evidentiality is left formally unmarked (Diewald & Smirnova 2010: 59). In (3) below, adapted from Bermúdez (2005: 3-4), the Spanish imperfect (3a) is used to express indirect evidence. In fact, *salía* does not imply any temporal or aspectual reference (the bus might have departed yesterday or may depart today or tomorrow). Rather, it suggests that the speaker is reporting on something which s/he has not witnessed him/herself: s/he might have read that the bus was supposed to leave at 15h after looking it up on the timetable. The use of the imperfect contrasts with the use of the perfect in (3b), where there is no room for indirect evidence, as it indicates that the bus did depart at 15h.

(3) a. el bus **salía** {hoy/ayer/mañana} a las 15h.

the bus depart.PST.IMPFV.3SG {today/yesterday/tomorrow} to the 15h
'the bus is/was supposed to depart at 15h.'

- b. el bus **salió** a las 15h.
the bus depart.PST.PFV.3SG to the 15h
'the bus departed at 15h'

Likewise, mirativity may be grammatically encoded in some varieties of Spanish. In Ecuadorian Highland Spanish the perfect aspect (present perfect) has a secondary function as a mirative marker (Olbertz 2009, Hengeveld & Olbertz 2012). According to Olbertz (2009: 70), the mirative might have been introduced into Andean Spanish through contact with Quechua varieties. In (4), the present perfect signals surprise upon the discovery of new information. Further evidence of this mirative usage is (5), in which the erstwhile present perfect is used to refer to a future event.

- (4) De albaricoque **ha sido**.
From apricot AUX.PRES.3SG COP.RES
'It's from apricot (I see).' (Hengeveld & Olbertz 2012: 492)¹

- (5) El año que viene **ha sido** bisiesto.
The year REL come.PRES.3SG AUX.PRES.3SG COP.RES leap year
'(I just realize) next year is a leap year.' (Hengeveld & Olbertz 2012: 493)

Considering these examples, it appears that both evidential and mirative strategies may also be expressed resorting to grammatical means even in languages that do not have evidentiality and/or mirativity as obligatory grammatical categories. Although the expression of these categories is far from obligatory in English and Spanish, the use of both *turn out* and *resultar* is a further example of the linguistic realizations of evidential and mirative strategies in these languages.

3. Present-day mirative *turn out* and *resultar* constructions

¹ The translation for example (4) is Hengeveld & Olbertz' (2012) own. Perhaps a more appropriate translation would be 'It turns out it is apricot jam', since 'I see' implies direct evidence.

As noted above, English *turn out* and Spanish *resultar* may convey both mirative and evidential overtones. However, their mirative readings are more salient and tend to overlay the evidential ones. The expressions *it turns out that* and *resulta que* in (1) and (2) could be paraphrased using mirative adverbials such as *unexpectedly* or *surprisingly*, in the case of (1), or their Spanish equivalents *inesperadamente* or *sorprendentemente*, in (2). Such paraphrases reveal that *it turns out that* and *resulta que* convey mirative overtones of sudden revelation (to the addressee) and unexpectedness or counterexpectation (both to the speaker and the addressee) and thus of surprise. Moreover, these expressions are used to emphasize the newsworthiness of the propositions within their scope. Conversely, the omission of the *turn out* and *resultar* matrix clauses in (1) and (2) would exclude their mirative interpretations. In (1') and (2'), the mirative meanings of these expressions are evaluated by means of a simple entailment test:

(1') **It turns out that** elephants have an advanced sense of self, # not that this is a newsworthy, unexpected or surprising discovery.

(2') **Resulta que** los lobos han desaparecido oficialmente en Estados Unidos, # no es que esto sea un descubrimiento destacable, inesperado ni sorprendente.

'**It turns out that** wolves have officially disappeared in the US, # not that this is a newsworthy, unexpected or surprising discovery.'

The negations in (1') and (2') prove odd, if not contradictory. The uses of these verbs convey newsworthiness and surprise and, in turn, overtones of unexpectedness and counterexpectation. Thus, the mirative meanings conveyed by the *turn out* and *resultar* constructions can be regarded as rather conventionalized and not as mere conversational implicatures.

Concomitant to their use as mirative strategies, these verbs also tend to convey non-firsthand evidential nuances. The expressions *it turns out that* and *resulta que* in (1) and (2) could also be paraphrased using hearsay evidential expressions such as *I've been told* or its Spanish counterpart *me han dicho*. The evidential scope of these verbs can be tested as well:

(1'') **It turns out that** elephants have an advanced sense of self, # but elephants might not have an advanced sense of self.

(2") **Resulta que** los lobos han desaparecido oficialmente en Estados Unidos, # pero podría haber lobos en Estados Unidos

'**It turns out that** wolves have officially disappeared in the United States, # but there could be wolves in the United States.'

The infelicitous result of examples (1") and (2") corroborate that the speakers rely on external sources of information to make their claims. Compare these examples with the felicitous combination of the inferential use of *seem* in *Wolves seem to have officially disappeared in the United States, but there could be wolves in the United States*. As Cornillie (2007: 49) argues, the speaker is not involved in the conclusion expressed by *resultar*, a claim that can also be extended to *turn out*. The speakers in (1") and (2") are reporting on someone else's findings (most likely scientists), and do not evaluate the proposition. The constructions *it turns out* and *resulta que* are thus used to convey hearsay evidentiality. However, the array of evidential meanings expressed by these verbs may also cover inference, deduction or reasoning from direct evidence. In fact, this is not an unusual development, as resultatives or other forms with completive meanings may acquire an additional inferential overtone, or more generally, overtones of non-firsthand information (Aikhenvald 2015). Sections 3.1 and 3.2 provide an overview of the main mirative construction types with these verbs. Although there might be some geographic differences regarding the use of *resultar* and *turn out* mirative constructions, the exploration of diatopic variation (e.g., European Spanish vs Puerto Rican Spanish) is beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, *resultar* and *turn out* mirative expressions are well attested on both sides of the Atlantic.

3.1 Mirative *turn out* constructions

Mirative strategies in English have not received much scholarly attention (see, for instance, Gentens *et al.* 2016 for *no wonder* miratives). In Present-day English, mirative uses of *turn out* may occur in three different constructions: raised subject constructions (6), impersonal constructions (7) and parenthetical constructions (8-9).

In the raised subject construction *turn out* takes a *to*-INF clause. The verb *turn out* in this construction functions in a similar way to a semi-auxiliary, modifying the proposition contained in the INF-clause. This infinitive is generally copular *be*, although other infinitives may occur in the construction occasionally (Serrano-Losada, *forth.*). In (6), the former 2016

presidential candidate Hillary Clinton is commenting on her 2015 email controversy, in which she used her private email server for her official email communications while she held the office of United States Secretary of State:

(6) So, look, I did what was, as I said, allowed. I said it wasn't the best choice. And **it turned out to be** a mistake, in retrospect. (COCA, 2015)

In example (6) Clinton's expectations are challenged by the outcome: she made a poor decision that was ultimately revealed to be a mistake. Thus, the unexpected result portrayed in (6) entails overtones of sudden realization and is intended to express surprise on the speaker's part and to astound her addressee. In turn, raised subject *turn out* constructions tend to express evidential overtones of inference from direct evidence. In (6) the speaker seems to have deduced that what she did was *a mistake* after reflecting upon (and reevaluating) the experience (*in retrospect*). Contrast the use of the raised *turn out* construction with an instance such as *and it was a mistake*, where the deductive process would not be acknowledged. Thus, a piece of information (her mistake) is presented as being logically inferred from another piece of information (namely her decision to use her personal email to conduct government business and the consequences this brought about). This can thus be interpreted as inference based on results or assumption. According to Aikhenvald (2004: 146), the fact that the meanings of deduction and inference are linked to the results of something that has already been achieved explains why resultatives tend to develop inferential overtones.

Moreover, the evidential and mirative use of raising *turn out* in (6) can be related to the concept of "deferred realization" (Aikhenvald 2015: 262), whereby a "post-factum inference" is made based on something that the speaker experienced before but that s/he could only interpret and realize in retrospect. These revelations tend to involve a sudden realization whereby the speaker is enabled to interpret what has occurred. Such unexpected realizations reveal the speaker's "unprepared mind" and also involve the speaker's distancing her/himself from the actual events.

As illustrated in (7), raising *turn out* can also occur in impersonal construction with *it* as subject and a *that*-clause. As argued in Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 960), in such constructions the subject is semantically empty and the content clause is the only argument of the matrix clause. A different analysis is put forward by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1183), who

consider the *that*-clauses in examples like (7) cases of obligatory subject extraposition. Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 960-962), however, analyze such constructions as impersonal and argue for the inability of the extraposed subject interpretation, suggesting, *inter alia*, that these alleged extraposed subjects cannot occupy preverbal position. In this construction, the *turn out* matrix clause has a focalizing function in discourse with forward scope: it is generally used to introduce new information. Kaltenböck (2015: 124-126) refers to such *turn out* clauses as “presentational matrix clauses”. In his view, these are “weakly stressed”, “filler matrix predicates” that assert the existence of the second clause. Thus, although syntactically the *turn out* clause is a matrix clause, semantically and discursively this matrix clause can be considered secondary to its complement clause (Boye & Harder 2007).

- (7) We just spent an hour in the car together. **It turns out that** his best friend is one of my best friends (COCA, 2011)

In (7) the speaker uses the *turn out* impersonal construction to express sudden revelation to the addressee and unexpectedness and surprise given the fact that after having talked to someone for an hour, s/he has discovered that they have a very good friend in common. As regards evidentiality, the construction seems to entail hearsay, as the speaker has learned this from talking to somebody. According to Heller & Howe (2010, slide 18), the meaning of *turn out* impersonal clauses is evidential in the sense that it indicates an external source of evaluation. In spite of the contextual information provided by the speaker, the impersonal *turn out* construction introduces a reportative reading that would not be as readily available if the *turn out* construction were omitted. Unlike the raised subject construction, which usually conveys either inference or reportative evidentiality, impersonal *turn out* constructions tend to convey reportative evidential meaning.

Mirative *turn out* can also appear in parenthetical expressions. These may be either bare (8) or adverbial (9) parentheticals:

- (8) She looked at her husband with an astonished glance. “Well, the CEO, **turns out**, is an absolute prick.” (COCA, 2008)

- (9) I had scheduled [...] an interview with the CEO of UnitedHealthcare, the largest health insurance company in the United States and my health insurance company, **as**

it turns out. (COCA, 2015)

The terms “bare” and “adverbial parenthetical” are taken from López-Couso & Méndez-Naya (2014: 298-299). Example (8) features a bare parenthetical that is both syntactically and prosodically detached from its host clause, appears in medial position and presents subject and complementizer omission (see Howe & Heller 2010). Whereas complementizer omission is obligatory, bare parentheticals may or may not feature subject omission (cf. example 23). Adverbial parentheticals like (9), feature an adverbial element *as* referring anaphorically to its anchor clause. In the present case, the adverbial parenthetical *as it turns out* appears in final position. In both examples, the parentheticals express mirative nuances of surprise and unexpectedness.

Taking into account the preceding evidence, it can be argued that mirative *turn out* typically introduces newsworthy information, a proposition that is argumentatively opposed to an earlier proposition or that challenges or contradicts the speaker’s and/or the addressee’s beliefs or expectations. Thus, *turn out* encodes unexpectedness and counterexpectation (and hence surprise), both to the speaker and the addressee, and overtones of sudden revelation, especially for the addressee (Serrano-Losada, forth.).

3.2 Mirative *resultar* constructions

Mirative *resultar* may appear in several constructions. Cornillie (2007: chs. 2-3) analyzes the evidential scope of *resultar* constructions, among which he includes *resultar* + INF, *resultar* + *que*-clause, left-dislocation + *resulta que* and *resulta ser que*. In this paper, I refer to the *resultar* + INF as the raised subject construction, and to *resulta* + *que*-clause as the impersonal construction. Both constructions behave similarly to their English *turn out* counterparts.

Like *turn out*, mirative *resultar* resembles a semi-auxiliary verb (see Cornillie 2007): *resultar* modifies the proposition contained in the INF-clause, expressing mirative and evidential overtones. The set of infinitives that may take part in the construction is basically restricted to copular *ser*, *estar* and *tener* (Cornillie 2007: 48), although other infinitives may also appear from time to time. In (10) below, extracted from a newspaper article, the reporter is commenting on an alleged bomb threat that was ultimately revealed to be false. Thus, the writer employs the mirative construction to communicate the unexpectedness of the outcome. Moreover, (10) conveys overtones of sudden realization and is intended to express surprise

and to startle the reader.

(10) Las labores de búsqueda terminaron sin novedad y la amenaza de bomba **resultó ser** una falsa alarma.

‘Search efforts were unsuccessful and the bomb threat **turned out to be** false.’

(CREA, 2004)

Simultaneous to its mirative nuances, the construction conveys indirect evidential meaning. Like its English counterpart, *resultar* is used to express non-firsthand evidence. According to Cornillie (2007: 50), *resultar* + INF constructions express inferential evidential readings more readily than hearsay information, although the latter may also occur. In (10) either evidential reading could be posited. The inferential reading surfaces from the fact that the bomb threat was deemed false after search efforts yielded no result. However, a hearsay interpretation is also possible, since the reporter is recounting an event that s/he has not experienced in person. The mirative and the evidential interpretations of (10) would be canceled if copular *ser* ‘be’ were used instead of the raising *resultar* construction (*La amenaza de bomba fue una falsa alarma* ‘The bomb threat was a false alarm’).

The impersonal *resultar* construction functions in a similar way to its English equivalent. Thus, *resultar* also functions as a CTP with focalizing function.

(11) un día más tarde **resulta que** ese hombre no es la persona buscada.

‘A day later, **it turns out that** that man is not the person they are looking for’ (CREA, 2004)

In (11), also taken from a newspaper article, mirativity is expressed by means of counterexpectation (both for the speaker and the addressee), as the man they had detained after the 2004 Madrid train bombings was not the right person. It thus expresses nuances of sudden revelation and surprise. Regarding its evidential readings, impersonal *resultar* constructions are mainly used to convey reportative meaning (Cornillie 2007: 49-52). In (11) the reporter learns that the arrested man was not the person they were looking for from a third party.

Cornillie (2007: 48) argues that *resultar* does not occur as a parenthetical. However, in view of examples like (12), parenthetical uses of mirative *resultar* might be on their way to

becoming grammaticalized. Such cases, as well as other evidence pointing towards the ongoing grammaticalization of *resulta* as a parenthetical, are discussed in Section 6.

- (12) Pero si mi crédito hipotecario, de mi casa, que vale como 700 mil pesos y luego debo más de un millón y ahora **resulta**, no está en el Fobaproa [= Fondo Bancario de Protección al Ahorro], pues me voy a indignar [...]
'But my mortgage loan is about 700 thousand pesos, and then I owe over a million, and now, **it turns out**, it is not in the Banking Fund for the Protection of Savings, well I'm going to be outraged' (CDE, 19-OR)

Regardless of their status in the contemporary languages, *turn out* and *resultar* have not always conveyed evidential and mirative nuances. In fact, it was not until the eighteenth century that these verbs started exhibiting such readings. Nonetheless, the processes that led to their grammaticalization as mirative predicates are somewhat divergent.

4. A diachronic overview of *turn out*

The following historical overview is based on data from the OED, EEBOCorp1.0, CLMET3.0, COHA and COCA. The earliest examples of evidential and mirative *turn out* can be traced back to the mid-eighteenth century (see Serrano-Losada, forth. for a more detailed diachronic account of mirative *turn out* constructions in Late Modern English). With over 80 senses listed in the OED, 20 of which are devoted to phrasal *turn out*, *turn* is a highly polysemous verb. The verb has its origin in OE *tyrnan* (also *turnian*), from Latin TORNĀRE 'to turn in a lathe, round off' (OED s.v. *turn*, v.). Over time, *turn*, a verb meaning physical shift or displacement from one point to another, came to acquire resultative and change of state senses. These senses were reinforced by means of the adverb *out*, which was grammaticalized as a verbal particle over the course of history (see De Smet 2010 for an overview of phrasal verb particle *out*). As exemplified in (13), the spatial particle *out* has a prototypical reading of location in the sense of being away from a central locus in an outward direction (see Tyler & Evans 2003: 200-209 for a cognitive semantics analysis of *out*).

During the Early Modern English period, *turn out* was frequently used with the meanings 'to go away, to depart' (OED s.v. *turn*, v., *turn out*, 15.), 'to expel' (OED s.v. *turn*, v., *turn out*, 3.), illustrated in (14), and 'to dismiss or eject from office or employment' (OED s.v. *turn*, v., *turn out*, 5.). These senses were already incipient in Middle English (13), although

turnde ut in this example is not (yet) a phrasal verb.

(13) he **turnde ut** of þe burh into wildeerne

‘He went out of the city into the wilderness’ (MED, c1225)

(14) He maruellously gaue victory vnto them against mighty kings and Nations, and to bring them into a blessed lande and countrey, by his power & not their might: he **turned out** the inhabitants thereof before them. (EEBOCorp1.0 1573)

During the Late Modern English period, *turn out* also developed a meaning of completion related to reaching an end-point in a process. It is over the course of this period that new meanings arise, giving birth to the evidential and mirative meanings of the verb. These senses are listed in Table 1:

OED	s.v. <i>turn</i> , v.	Sense
a.	<i>turn out</i> (20.a.)	To come about in the end; to result, eventuate.
b.	<i>turn out</i> (20.b.)	With complement: to come to be, become ultimately (and so be found or known to be).
c.	<i>turn out</i> (20.c.)	To be ultimately found or known, to prove <i>to be</i> (without implication of becoming).

Table 1. OED evidential and mirative senses of *turn out*

The approximately 4000 EEBOCorp1.0 hits for phrasal *turn out* in Early Modern English did not provide any instances of either of the senses listed in Table 1. In contrast, the Late Modern English data retrieved from CLMET3.0 yielded 1129 instances of *turn out*, out of which 651 (58%) correspond to the OED senses included in Table 1. The most common complementation pattern in the data is *to*-infinitives (31%), followed by predicatives and adverbials (27%), NP (15%) and *that*-clauses (10%). Moreover, 7% of the *turn out* instances are adverbial parentheticals. The remaining 478 (42%) instances in the dataset reflect earlier meanings for *turn out*, including the sense adduced for (14), ‘to dismiss eject or expel’, which accounts for 25% of the total number of examples.

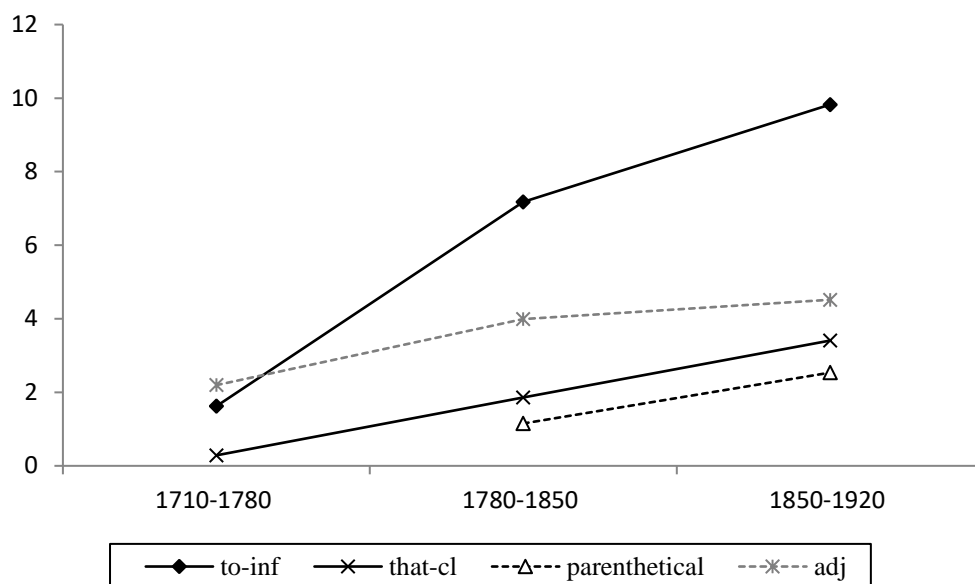


Figure 1. *Turn out* constructions in CLMET3.0 (frequencies per 1 mil. words).

Figure 1 displays normalized frequencies for *turn out* raised subject constructions (*to*-INF), impersonal constructions (*that*-clause) and adverbial parentheticals in CLMET3.0.

Frequencies for the predicative construction (i.e. *turn out* + adjective) are also included.

In light of the data, a series of semantic changes can be posited as the cues that bring about the emergence of the evidential and mirative readings of *turn out*. The first of these changes is explained by Sense (a) in Table 1, ‘to come about in the end or issue; to result, eventuate’, first attested in the eighteenth century. This sense exhibits a prototypically resultative *Aktionsart* whereby ‘something results in something’. As shown in (16-17), this sense does not readily convey evidential or mirative nuances.

(15) As things have fortunately **turn’d out** (OED, 1735)

(16) [...] just as Matters shall **turn out**. (CLMET3.0, 1765–70)

In Sense (b), ‘to come to be, become ultimately (and so be found or known to be)’ *turn out* acquires an erstwhile missing inchoative meaning. The verb now expresses change-of-state, not mere result, as in (17-18). This process of semantic generalization has syntactic repercussions, namely that the verb starts behaving like a pseudocopula.

(17) She has **turned out** a very undutiful Child. (OED, 1744)

(18) The fine gentleman formed upon reading the former [books] will almost always **turn out** a pedant, and he who forms himself upon the latter [the stage], a coxcomb. (CLMET3.0, 1749)

This sense suggests incipient indirect evidential readings of inference from direct evidence. These evidential nuances are brought about by a process of subjectification whereby the speaker has some form of external evidence on the basis of which s/he infers the expressed propositions. Thus, inferential evidential overtones are acquired through a process in which the speaker reinterprets an objective, externally observed change in terms of his or her own (internal) perceptual or cognitive evaluation (Traugott 1989). The speaker's perspective is expressed in the proposition by means of inferential knowledge. As mentioned above, resultatives can acquire inferential overtones. In fact, as Aikhenvald (2015: 268) argues, inference based on direct evidence and other non-firsthand evidential meanings can develop from the reinterpretation of the outcome of an action or a state perceived as relevant for the moment of speaking.

The third Sense, (c), 'to be ultimately found or known, to prove *to be* (without implication of becoming)', allows for both evidential and mirative readings. The verb is now used to describe that something has been discovered or proven to be a certain way. In consequence, *turn out* comes to express counterexpectation, surprise as a result of a sudden or unexpected realization or discovery regarding the proposition. The emergence of *turn out* as a raising verb coincides with this last sense, as exemplified by the impersonal (19) and raising (20) constructions exemplified below:

(19) It **turns out** that the whole combined army, English, Dutch, Austrians, and Hanoverians, does not amount to above thirty-six thousand fighting men! and yet forty thousand more French, under the Duc d'Harcourt are coming into Flanders. (CLMET3.0, 1742)

(20) And when we imagined we had a fox to deal with [...] it **turns out** to be a badger (CLMET3.0, 1749)

Although the raised subject construction and the impersonal construction seem to have emerged around the same time, the former is more robust in the data. The fact that first attestations for raised subject constructions such as (20) and impersonal constructions like (19) are found in letters and in epistolary literature, genres which one might regard as two of the closest to the spoken register in the corpus, point to the idea that the emergence of mirative *turn out*, might have taken place long before it made it into the written record (Serrano-Losada, forth.).

A further development regarding mirative *turn out* constructions is the emergence of parenthetical uses. Throughout the history of English, raising verbs have often developed functions similar to those of comment clauses and have even been grammaticalized into parenthetical expressions or pragmatic markers (see Boye & Harder 2007, Brinton 2008, Kaltenböck 2013, 2015, López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2014, 2015). The CLMET3.0 data (Figure 2) reveal that parenthetical instances of the verb are first attested in its adverbial parenthetical form *as it turns/turned out* (21) during the nineteenth century, although they do not start growing in frequency until the first half of the twentieth century, an increase that is traceable in the American English data: adverbial parentheticals rise from 0.72 tokens per mil. words during the first decade of the 1900s to 3.14 in the 1950s in COHA. This construction is similar to adverbial parentheticals like *as it seems*, which, as claimed by López-Couso & Méndez-Naya (2014: 209), clearly predate bare parentheticals (in this case, parenthetical *it seems*).

- (21) although perhaps, it would, **as it turned out**, have been much better for me, personally, if I had gone there again, under all the disadvantages which I had to anticipate, [...] (CLMET3.0, 1820–22)

Bare *turn out* parenthetical constructions seem to have developed from impersonal *turn out* constructions (see Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2009, Kaltenböck 2015). They are first attested in twentieth century American English (22), although it is not until the 1990s that *turn out* parentheticals without anticipatory *it* are documented (23).

- (22) She is of German birth, **it turns out**, despite her name, which isn't her original one. (COHA, 1927)

- (23) a. And my mom, **turns out**, was a budding starlet in the early ‘50s, [...] (COCA, 1996)
- b. I thought I’d looked everywhere. Everywhere but up, **turns out**. (COCA, 2009)

Data from COCA show that parenthetical *turn out* amounted to 0.05 tokens per mil. words during the period 1990–1994. Its presence increased to 0.98 tokens per mil. words by the 2010–2015 period. These bare parentheticals are most common in the magazine and spoken components of the corpus. Hence the corpus data evidence that parenthetical *turns out* is has become entrenched in American English. This is also supported by several factors, including anticipatory *it* deletion, the parenthetical’s ability to appear in non-initial positions and the fact that the tense of the parenthetical is independent of the verb in the host clause, as exemplified in (23) above (see Heller & Howe 2010, Howe & Heller 2010, Kaltenböck 2015).

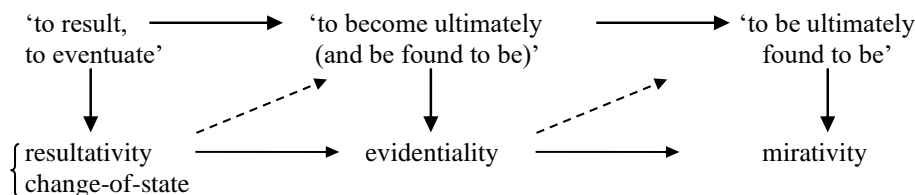


Figure 2. Semantic change of *turn out* (from Serrano-Losada, forth.)

Figure 2 schematizes the plausible semantic changes undergone by *turn out* on its way to becoming an evidential and mirative predicate during the Late Modern English period. It could thus be argued that a subjectification process triggered semantic innovations which resulted in the encoding of evidential and mirative nuances and in further syntactic changes. However, this explanation is not without difficulties. As examples (18-20) above reveal, all the different *turn out* senses in Table 1 as well as its copular and raising uses are first attested in the 1740s, within a very short period of time. Thus, the chronological evidence leaves little room to consider a gradual grammaticalization process that comprises different stages leading to the emergence of raising *turn out* and its evidential and mirative senses. Conversely, the data suggest that this might have been a rather cataclysmic change (Hendrik De Smet, p.c.) in the sense of Petré (2012), who argues for the “abrupt” copularization of Old English *becuman* and *weaxan* during the twelfth and thirteen centuries as an outcome of analogical modeling and not as the result of gradual grammaticalization.

Petré (2012: 28) refers to the abruptness with which these two Old English copulas emerged and became entrenched as sudden categorial incursion after De Smet (2009), who defined categorial incursion as a “non-gradual” analogy-driven mechanism whereby a construction becomes a member of a new category, which, however, already exists as an established category. According to De Smet (2009: 1748), such a change could be considered an “analogical extension” of a construction into the realm of another. In fact, Petré (2012: 61) claims that a certain degree of similarity is necessary for constructional attraction to occur. In the case of *turn out*, a process of (pseudo)copularization triggered the possibility of evaluative complements (17), which in turn allowed for incipient evidential interpretations, which opened the door to analogical reasoning. Thus, the verb’s abrupt incursion into the paradigm of raising verbs was brought about by means of both concrete and structural analogical modeling (see Fischer 2015) after preexisting established members of this category such as *seem*, *appear* (see Gisborne & Holmes 2007), *happen* or *prove* – as well as after other members of this class that were grammaticalized during the same period, including *promise* and *threaten* (see Traugott 1997) – all of which share, most prominently, their status as raising predicates that can be used to express either evidential meanings, in the case of *seem* and *appear*, or mirative ones, in the case of *happen* and *prove*.

5. A diachronic overview of *resultar*

Unlike mirative *turn out*, the emergence of evidential and mirative *resultar* can be accounted for by means of a more traditional grammaticalization process in which three different stages can be posited. The dataset for this section consists of 596 instances of the *resultar* + INF string and 3137 of the *resultar* + *que*-clause string drawn from CORDE.

5.1 Stage I

Spanish *resultar* is a *cultismo*, a learned word which only penetrates the Spanish lexicon during the fifteenth century, most likely via Italian. None of this verb’s Latin meanings encompass its resultative Spanish sense. Thus, Latin RĒSULTO, meaning ‘to jump, to bounce’, i.e., a physical displacement from one point to another, comes to acquire resultative and change-of-state senses by means of a metaphoric semantic change: abstract (as well as physical) change is conceived in terms of movement. First attested in Enrique de Villena’s *Los doze trabajos de Hércules* (CORDE, 1417), *resultar* was incorporated into Castilian

quite abruptly during the fifteenth century (CORDE yields 340 hits in 106 documents for the period 1417–1500).

The verb appears in a variety of constructions from its onset. It fits the *x resulta de y* ‘x results from y’ schema: *resultar* is a lexical resultative verb that takes a preposed prepositional *de*-complement, as in (24). Its early occurrences do not express conventionalized evidential or mirative senses, and its evaluative readings will only appear later on.

- (24) por tanto el juyzio dela rrazon non puede ser
 thus the judgment of the reason not can PRES.3SG be.INF
 cierto [...] **delo qual rresulta** que en los sueños non
 true [...] of the which result. PRES.3SG that in the dreams not
 podemos pecar njn tanpoco meresçer
 can.PRES.1SG sin.INF nor neither achieve.INF
 ‘Thus judgment of reason cannot be true [...] **from which results that** we cannot
 either sin nor achieve in our dreams’ (CORDE, 1445)²

The most frequent *resultar* sequences are those preceded by *de do(nde)*, *de que*, *de lo cual*, *de él* and other similar consecutive sequences that express result. This verb is generally followed by an INF-clause or a *que*-clause as subject. The *resultar que*-clause construction can be represented as (25a). In this construction, the *que*-clause functions as the extraposed subject of *resultar*, as shown in (25b):

- (25) a. [*de X*]_C *resultar* [*que*-clause]_{SBJ}

- b. de lo qual **resulta** **que** los spiritus malignos non
 of which result. PRES.3SG that the spirits evil not
 pueden tomar cuerpos
 can.PRES.3SG possess.INF bodies

² In order to reflect the different syntactic patterns of earlier Spanish *resultar* in the translations, I have opted for less idiomatic renderings of the examples. The intransitive verb *result* is used in the translations of earlier examples meaning “to become, turn out (in a specified manner)” (OED, s.v. *result*, v., 1. c), in contrast to evidential/mirative *turn out*.

‘From which **results** that evil spirits cannot possess bodies’ (CORDE c. 1445)

From its earliest attestations, *resultar* can also co-occur with extraposed INF-clauses in subject function, as illustrated in (26):

(26) a. [*de X*]_C *resultar* [INF-clause]_{SBJ}

b. De do **rresulta** **ser** **prouado** nuestro
of where result. PRES.3SG be.INF prove. PST.PTCP our
yntento & proposito.
intention and purpose

‘From which **results to be proven** our intention and purpose.’ (CORDE, 1477-1485)

Both *resultar* + nominal INF-clauses and *que*-clauses are synonymous at the time. However, *que*-clauses are much more numerous and are attested earlier on. Just in the 1425–1474 period, the corpus yields 42 instances of *resultar* + *que*-clause and one instance of *resultar* + INF. Moreover, while *que*-clauses are chiefly Romance, nominal INF-clauses have a strong Latin feel to them. Thus, it seems plausible to assume that such INF-clauses emerged due to the influence of Latin syntactic models.

Fifteenth century Castilian underwent a process of intensive Re-Latinization (see Pountain 1998, Pons 2007, 2008). The influence of Latin models brought about the introduction of syntactic innovations such as the imitative structures of Latin *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* (ACI), exemplified in (27):

(27) Vistas estas tres maneras de escribir, podemos dezir
Seen these three ways of writing can.PRES.1SG say.INF
el estilo de aquestas coplas ser sátiro e comedio
the style of these couplets be.INF satirical and comical

‘Given these three ways of writing, we can claim the style of these couplets to be satirical and comical’ (Mena, *Coronación* ca. 1439, in Pons 2007: 274)

In fifteenth-century imitative ACI constructions the INF-clause functions as the direct object

of the main verb and has a subject different from that of the main clause (Pons 2007, 2008). In contrast, the INF-clause in the *resultar* construction functions as the subject of the main verb, *resultar*, and has its own subject embedded within, as illustrated in (28) below:

- (28) de ser bajos los tributos **resulta ser los indios ociosos**, pues se entiende que no trabajan más de cuanto les es necesario para la paga de los dichos tributos y para su continuo y pobre sostenimiento [...]
'Out of having low tributes the natives result (to be) idle, since it is known that they do not work more than it is necessary to pay those tributes and for their continuous and poor sustainment' (CORDE, 1569–1570)

Example (28) has two INF-clauses, one embedded in the complement (*de ser bajos los tributos*) and one in subject function (*ser los indios ociosos*). In both, the infinitives (*ser*) have their own subjects (*los tributos* and *los indios*, respectively). Although these sequences are not instances of ACI proper, their emergence was crucial for the rise of the imitative ACI in fifteenth century Castilian (Pons 2007: 277), and in fact essential for the subsequent development of raising *resultar*.

Nominal INF-clauses in this construction do not present any restrictions regarding the infinitive, which explains the diversity of infinitives found from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, with up to 30 different attested infinitives in the construction. From the early eighteenth century onwards *resultar* the resultative constructions in (25a) and (26a) start to recede.

5.2 Stage II

Towards the mid seventeenth century, *resultar* undergoes a process of semantic generalization whereby its resultative meaning is blurred in favor of evaluative subjectivized readings. Incipient (inferential) evidential readings are first attested at this stage. Although instances corroborating this change are first documented in the mid seventeenth century, such readings do not become conventionalized until the mid-eighteenth century.

In the case of *resultar* + INF-clause, this semantic change leads to ambiguous contexts in which the sequence allows for a double interpretation whereby the infinitive might be considered as head of the infinitive clause with subject function (*resultar* + *ser*-clause) or

interpreted together with *resultar* in a raised construction (*resultar ser* + C). Such ambiguous contexts facilitate the construction's reanalysis, after which several actualizations took place. The interposition of evaluative adjectives between the infinitive and the subject (29) points towards the actualization of this reanalysis. Moreover, the erstwhile embedded subject of the infinitive agrees with *resultar* (30), whereas earlier examples of the construction like (28) do not exhibit such agreement (see Cornillie 2008).

(29) Esparta tuvo rigor en no admitir a su República forastero; de que **resultó ser tan corta** su población, que [...]

‘Esparta was strict in refusing foreigners in their Republic; from which **resulted** that their population was so little that [...]' (CORDE, 1626)

(30) como estas fincas vienen a recaer en la religión por fin del religioso, **resultan ser** tantas las fincas de una y otra especie que poseen, [...]

‘Since these estates end up in the hands of the clergy, the estates that they possess **turn out to be** so many [...]' (CORDE, 1747)

During the eighteenth century the *resultar* INF-clause construction and the grammaticalized raised subject construction coexist. However, there is a gradual substitution over time (see Figure 4). The demise of the first clears the way towards the generalization of the new construction.

The *resultar* + *que*-clause construction follows a parallel development, brought about by the semantic change indicated above. In (31), the *resultar que*-clause construction does no longer require a *de*-complement (although the *por*-phrase seems to occupy that slot). Moreover, the construction can be interpreted as impersonal, since the *que*-clause does no longer seem to act as the subject of *resultar*. The verb's resultative meaning is somewhat obscured and, in turn, it conveys an emergent inferential nuance.

(31) Por la idea que va de este resumen, **resulta que** el diezmo señalado por arrendamiento de las tierras es muy favorable al colono

‘From this summary, **it turns out that** the tithe fixed for the leasing of these lands is very positive for the settler’ (CORDE 1768)

For instance, in (31) the writer infers that the amount received for leasing the lands is favorable to the settlers based on the evidence provided in the summary. Although the evidential reading is confirmed in the context (*Por la idea que va de este resumen*), this example points to the incipient conventionalization of evidential overtones. As Aikhenvald (2015: 268) claims, the connection between resultative meaning and non-firsthand evidentiality is a widespread tendency across the languages of the world.

5.3 Stage III

The third stage, which coincides with the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, evidences the conventionalization of hearsay evidential and mirative extensions, and the entrenchment of both the raised subject construction and the impersonal construction.

A further actualization affecting *resultar* + INF occurs during this period. The last step towards the consolidation of the raised subject construction is subject raising itself (32), which seems to have taken place during the late eighteenth century. During this stage, there is a rise in frequency of *ser*, which is consolidated in the construction to the detriment of other possible infinitives in the nineteenth century (see Figure 3).

(32) ambas á dos **resultaron ser** superiores á la de Villafeliche [...]

‘Both of them **turned out to be** superior to Villafeliche’ (CORDE, 1791)

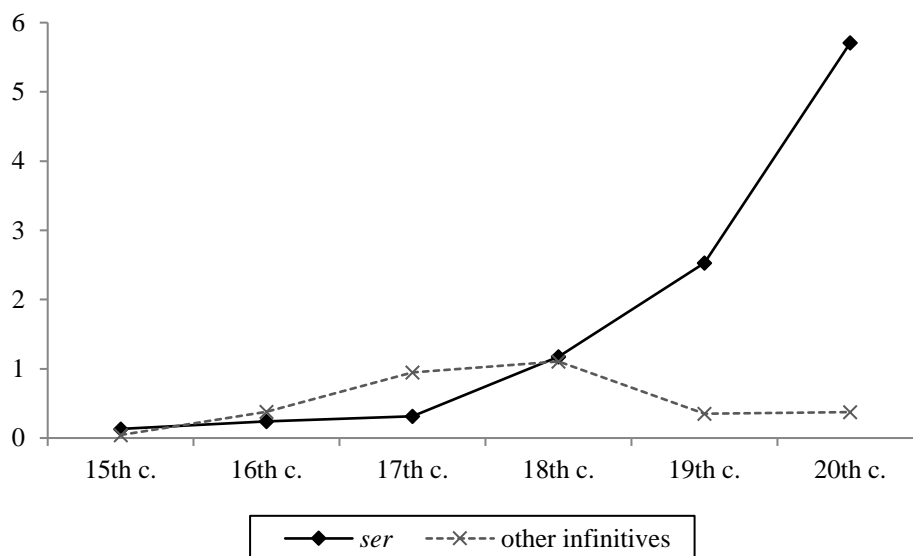


Figure 3. Infinitives in the *resultar* + INF string in CORDE (frequencies per mil. words)

The impersonal construction is also consolidated during this stage. In (33) the impersonal *resultar* construction expresses both non-firsthand evidentiality and mirativity.

(33) Aun quando [...] el sexto [abuelo hubiese sido] el primero que fuese bien educado en el [catolicismo], sin oír hablar ya de cosas de judíos, **resulta que** desde el quinto abuelo pueden ser todos los ascendientes de los que viven ahora unos cristianos tan puros, y asegurados en la fé, como los que jamás tubieron un ascendiente infecto. ‘Even if the sixth grandfather had been educated in Catholicism, without having ever heard about Judaism, **it turns out that**, from the fifth grandfather on, all of the ascendants of those who live now can be as pure and as rooted in the faith as those Christians who never had an infected ascendant.’ (CORDE, 1797)

Example (33) is taken from a text in which the narrator explains the workings of the *limpieza de sangre* (literally ‘purity of blood’) tests enforced by the Spanish Inquisition to detect Jewish or Muslim ancestry. The *resultar* construction in the example expresses hearsay evidence, as the narrator is reporting on these appalling tests. In fact, *resulta que* in (33) could be replaced with other hearsay expressions like *aparentemente* ‘apparently’ or *supuestamente* ‘reportedly’. In turn, it conveys mirative nuances of newsworthiness and sudden revelation that are intended for the audience.

5.4 Summary

Throughout its history, *resultar* underwent a process of semantic generalization whereby subjectivized meanings were progressively developed, resulting in the conventionalization of evidential and mirative nuances. These semantic shifts entailed a series of syntactic changes which brought about the weakening of the verb’s argument structure and its eventual reanalysis as a raising evidential and mirative predicate.

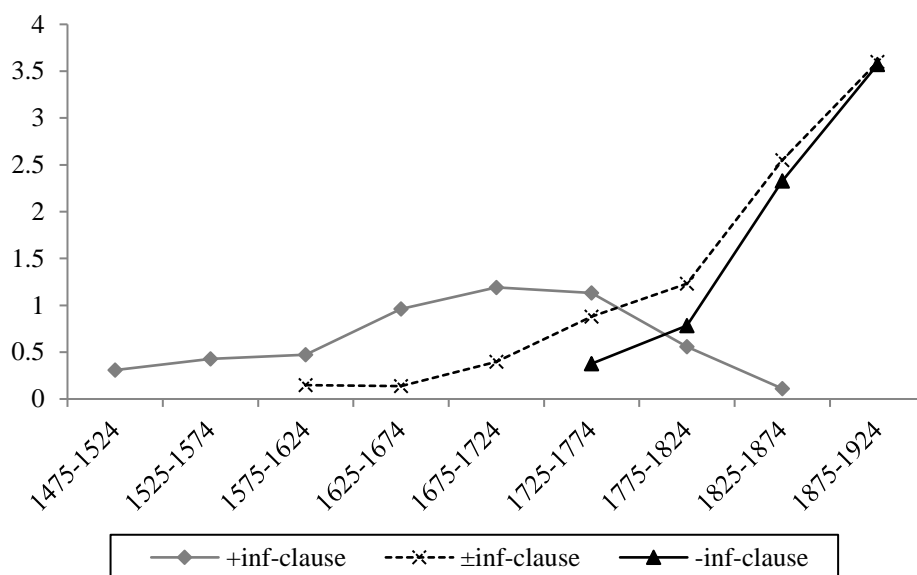


Figure 4. Resultative (+INF-clause) and evidential/mirative (-INF-clause) *resultar* + INF in CORDE (frequencies per mil. words).

The different constructions developed at different stages still coexist during the nineteenth century. The effects of layering (see Hopper 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003) become thus apparent by analyzing *resultar* in a single work. The examples in (34), all taken from Concepción Arenal's *La cuestión social* (CORDE, 1880), demonstrate the effects of syntactic persistence in the case of the *resultar* + *que*-clause sequence. While (34a) exemplifies the survival of the early *de X resulta Y* construction, (34b-34c) illustrates the grammaticalized impersonal *resultar* construction:

- (34)a. De lo dicho **resulta que** la propiedad no es un hecho arbitrario, [...]
 'From the aforementioned **results that** property is not an arbitrary fact'
- b. **Resulta que** un hombre, en virtud de su personalidad, tiene derecho á ser propietario en general, pero no á serlo de una cosa particular.
 '**It turns out that** a man, in virtue of his personality, has the right to be an owner in general, but not of something in particular.'
- c. **Resulta, que** á un pobre que no tiene hacienda ni industria ni comercio, [...], para eximirse del servicio militar paga lo mismo que un magnate

‘It turns out that a poor man that doesn’t have an estate, industry or trade [...], pays as much as a tycoon to be exempted from the military service’

Furthermore, whereas evidential and mirative constructions (34b-34c) became entrenched in the language, resultative constructions such as (34a) receded and became obsolescent by the early twentieth century.³

The grammaticalization of resultatives into evidentials and miratives is not an unfamiliar development, and the extant literature has observed a tendency for resultative and inchoative senses to develop both evidential (Aikhenvald 2004: Ch. 9, 205) and mirative nuances (see González & Maldonado 1998).

- (35) a. In any case, she told me that she was looking for a new song, so I wrote the song for her. They didn't use it **in the end**. (COCA, 2011)
- b. Después de hacer varios intentos de viajar a Chile, **finalmente** pudieron conseguir una oportunidad de trabajo en España [...]
‘After trying to travel to Chile several times, **in the end** they were able to find a work opportunity in Spain’ (CDE, 19-N)

- (36) And she went for a research trip for a couple of months and **ended up being** there for decades. (COCA, 2015)

Such is the case of the adverbial expressions illustrated in (35) and the *end up* construction in (36). English *in the end* and its Spanish equivalent *finalmente*, originally resultative in meaning, have come to convey mirative nuances of counterexpectation and hence surprise. This has also been the case with raising *end up* in American English.

6. Ongoing grammaticalization of *resultar*

The following overview is based on data from CREA, CORPES and CDE. Despite the dearth of corpus data, present-day Spanish *resultar* shows signs of further advancement in the

³ Although the resultative construction is still possible in present-day Spanish, this construction is outdated and truly scant. The search string “de esto|eso |ello [resultar] que” yields three hits for the twentieth century component of CDE. In contrast, the query “[Z*] [resultar] que”, where [Z*] stands for punctuation mark, yields 187 relevant hits.

grammaticalization process from a raising predicate into a parenthetical expression. The data yield some scattered uses of incipient parenthetical *resulta*, as illustrated in (12) above and in (37-38) below. Both *resulta que* and parenthetical instances of *resultar* tend to co-occur with *ahora* ‘now’.

(37) Y así trato también de informar [...] al personal que trabaja en la embajada que ahora, **resulta**, cada uno cuando tiene que dar respuesta a una carta tiene que venir a... mi oficina por fuerza [...]

‘I also try to inform the staff at the embassy. Now, **it turns out**, when somebody needs to reply to a letter, they have to come to my office’ (CDE, 19-OR)

(38) [...] no solamente que estamos en contra de este hecho sino que ahora **resulta**, no sé si los agentes de la DEA están informando bien a los que están aquí en México, porque ahora nos van a descertificar.

‘We are not only against this fact, but now, **it turns out**, I don’t know whether DEA agents are reporting properly to those here in Mexico, because now they will decertify us.’ (CREA, oral)

However, the further grammaticalization of Spanish CTPs into parenthetical constructions exhibits certain syntactic constraints that are not present in the grammaticalization of English parentheticals like *turns out*. Although Spanish might admit zero complementizer under certain circumstances (see Torrego 1983, Brovotto 2002), the phenomenon is marginal and far less common than complementizer omission in English (see Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2009, López-Couso & Méndez Naya 2014, 2015). Thus, Spanish syntactic constraints regarding complementizers warrant the presence of *que*. This is in fact traceable in discourse markers like Spanish *dizque* ‘apparently’, a grammaticalized form of *dice que* ‘he says that’ used in some Latin American varieties, or the synonymous Galician expression *seica*, from *sei que* ‘I know that’, which have retained a morpho-phonologically fused complementizer in their grammaticalized forms (see López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2015). The case of *resultar*, however, seems to be different, as its parenthetical instances do not retain a fused complementizer.

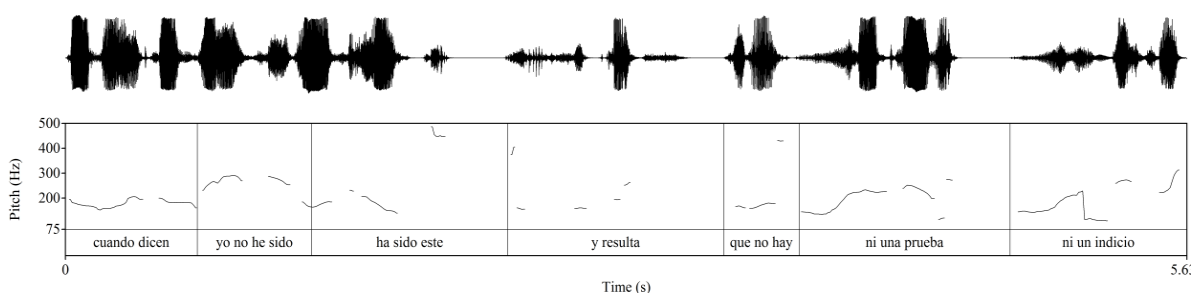
Besides those parenthetical uses of *resultar* illustrated in (37) and (38), intonation patterns might also provide crucial evidence to understand the ongoing grammaticalization

process. Certain realizations of *resulta que* might provide prosodic evidence to support that the grammaticalizing expression occupies an independent position in discourse, which is sometimes signaled in the data via commas (39):

- (39) Entonces, **resulta**, que hay nada más que ciento veinte días para poder, una vez se radica la denuncia, poder celebrársele juicio a... a la persona.
 ‘Then, **it turns out**, that there is only 120 days to be able to celebrate the trial once the lawsuit is filed. (CDE, 19-OR)

Such pauses have been transcribed in writing since the mid nineteenth century (see 34c above). However, punctuation marks in the written record cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for this hypothesis.

- (40) Como los niños cuando dicen: Yo no he sido, ha sido éste. Y **resulta, que** no hay ni una prueba, ni un indicio. Y no lo digo yo sola, lo dice el Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Madrid [...]
 ‘Like children when they say: it wasn’t me, it was him. And **it turns out, that** there isn’t any evidence. And this is not my saying; the Superior Court of Justice of Madrid says so too’ (CORPES, 2003)



CORPES has the advantage of providing sound files for some of its oral texts. Although this is not always the case, *resultar* sometimes occurs as an independent intonation unit. In (40), taken from a radio interview, Esperanza Aguirre, a member of the Spanish conservative party, is denying corruption allegations affecting her party. The audio recording reveals a marked pause between *resulta* and the accompanying *que*-clause.

Further evidence is found in the grammaticalization of other raising predicates as parentheticals in Spanish:

- (41) a. Nuestro sistema educativo está hecho, **parece**, para castrar la vida intelectual
 ‘Our educational system is designed, **it seems**, to castrate intellectual life’
 (CDE, 1993)
- b. Los ojos a vos te sirven para algo, **parece**.
 ‘Your eyes are good for something, **it seems**.’ (CDE, 1963)

The Spanish evidential verb *parecer* ‘seem’ exhibits grammaticalized parenthetical uses such as *parece* ‘it seems’ (41), but also *al parecer* ‘apparently’, *según parece*, *por lo que parece* ‘by all appearances’ and *me parece* ‘it seems to me’ (Cornillie 2007: 34-36; see Kotwica 2015 for a diachronic account of *al parecer*). In (41) parenthetical *parece* is used in medial (41a) and final position (41b). Given the functional and formal resemblance of *parecer* and *resultar* (see Cornillie 2007: ch. 2-3), the role of analogy could be, once again, pivotal in explaining the possible ongoing grammaticalization of parenthetical *resultar*. Hence parenthetical instances of this verb could be explained via analogical modeling after *parecer* parentheticals.

7. Concluding remarks

Evidential and mirative *turn out* and *resultar* are both eighteenth century innovations. Despite their diverging grammaticalizations, both verbs follow similar pathways whereby semantic changes trigger syntactic innovations and result in the encoding of evidential and mirative senses. Such senses are the result of implicatures becoming conventionalized, most likely by means of repeated use (Traugott 2003: 635). As mentioned above, the grammaticalization of resultatives into evidentials and miratives is not an uncommon development in the world’s languages, and the literature has duly noted the tendency for resultative and inchoative senses to develop both evidential and mirative senses.

Both CTPs are undergoing a further grammaticalization as parenthetical constructions. In the case of English, parenthetical *turns out* has already been grammaticalized, as demonstrated by its rise in frequency from the 1990s on. Spanish *resulta*, however, is still on the path to becoming grammaticalized. As regards the latter, the process seems to be hindered by the syntactic constraints of complementizer constructions in Spanish, although the ongoing grammaticalization of the parenthetical expression could be explained through

analogical modeling. Only time will tell whether this innovation becomes entrenched in the language or not.

Despite the scenario put forward in this paper, further research needs to be carried out to arrive at a more comprehensive analysis of the rise and development of these mirative predicates. In particular, the role of analogy is still to be explored. Could the rise of mirative *turn out* and *resultar* be the outcome of analogical extension modeled after preexisting raising constructions with *seem*, *happen* or *parecer*? The developmental pathways of these and other similar verb constructions in the eighteenth century emergent paradigms of raising evidential and mirative predicates in English and Spanish could shed some light into the nature of raising and its relation to evidentiality and mirativity.

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Abbreviations

3 = 3rd person

AUX = auxiliary

C = complement

COP = copula

INF = infinitive

IMPFV = imperfective

PFV = perfective

PRES = present

PST = past

PTCP = participle

REL = relative

RES = resultative

SG = singular

SBJ = subject

Databases and dictionaries

- CDE *Corpus del español*. 2002–2016. Compiled by Mark Davies.
<http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>.
- CLMET3.0 *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, v. 3.0. Compiled by
Hendrik De Smet, Hans-Jürgen Diller & Jukka Tyrkkö.
<https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/>.
- COCA *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. 2008-2016. Compiled by
Mark Davies. <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>.
- COHA *Corpus of Historical American English*. 2010–2016. Compiled by
Mark Davies. <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>.
- CORDE *Corpus diacrónico del español*. Real Academia Española.
<http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>.
- CORPES *Corpus del español del siglo XXI*. Real Academia Española.
<http://web.frl.es/CORPES>.
- CREA *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. Real Academia Española.
<http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>.
- EEBOCorp1.0 *Early English Books Online Corpus* 1.0, compiled by Peter Petré.
2013. <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/handle/123456789/416330>.
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com>.

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