

Luego entonces. An argumentative intersubjective marker

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Abstract

This paper shows that *luego entonces* is the product of a conceptual fusion, a Blend (Turner and Fauconnier 2002), of a bleached consecutive marker *luego* and a relatively less bleached consecutive marker *entonces* that led to the formation of an argumentative marker by which the speaker offers a statement to be taken by the hearer as a logical consequence that is therefore irrefutable. The marker serves to validate the speaker's assessment. In contrast with traditional analyses that see *luego* as a logical consecutive marker, this paper shows, based on data from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, that *luego* never had a logical cause-effect meaning; instead it encoded intersubjective consequences that were seen as highly probable. From a Cognitive Grammar perspective it is also shown that, as the consecutive meaning of *luego* started to bleach around the twentieth century, *entonces* joined the construction to reinstall the consecutive intersubjective reading that *luego* was losing. This led to the formation of the new argumentative marker *luego entonces* that is commonly used in argumentative texts to make the hearer interpret a statement as irrefutable.¹

Keywords: *luego*; *entonces*; *luego entonces*; evidentials; argumentative markers; consecutive markers; sequential markers; cause-effect relationships.

Resum. *Luego entonces*. Un marcadore intersubjectiu argumentatiu

Aquest article mostra que *luego entonces* és el resultat d'una fusió conceptual, un blend (Turner i Fauconnier 2002), entre un marcadore consecuti *luego* que s'ha dessemantitzat i d'un marcadore consecuti *entonces*, menys dessemantitzat, la qual cosa va portar a la formació d'un marcadore argumentatiu que permet al parlant oferir una afirmació que l'oient ha de prendre com una conseqüència lògica i, per tant, irrefutable. Aquest marcadore serveix per validar l'afirmació del parlant. A diferència de les anàlisis tradicionals, que consideren que *luego* és un marcadore lògic consecuti, l'article mostra, amb dades des del segle XIII al XVII, que *luego* mai no va tenir un significat de causa-efecte lògic; més aviat codificava conseqüències intersubjectives percebudes com a molt probables. Des de la perspectiva de la Gramàtica Cognitiva, es mostra també que, a mesura que el significat consecuti de *luego* es va anar perdent cap al segle XX, es va afegir a la

1. The authors would like to thank the invaluable comments of two anonymous reviewers that helped us improve the outcome of this manuscript.

construcció *entonces* per recuperar el significat consecutiu intersubjectiu que anava perdent *luego*. Això va portar a la formació del nou marcador argumentatiu *luego entonces*, que es fa servir en textos argumentatiu perquè l'oient interpreti que una afirmació és irrefutable.

Paraules clau: *luego*; *entonces*; *luego entonces*; evidencials; marcadors argumentatius; marcadors consecutius; marcadors seqüencials; relacions de causa-efecte.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4. <i>Luego entonces</i> . A conceptual blend
2. <i>Luego</i>	5. Conclusions
3. Consecutive <i>entonces</i>	References

1. Introduction

The remarkable similarities in meaning and use between *luego* ‘then’ and *entonces* ‘therefore’ opens the question as to why should they combine to conform one marker. Both adverbs show temporal uses and both develop consecutive meanings. Yet in current Spanish, the two forms have merged to mark a special case of consecutive reading as in (1):

- (1) a. Los problemas a los que me he enfrentado en el proceso de elaboración de este trabajo no tienen mucho de excepcional pero me gustaría mencionar algunos. El primer obstáculo es aparentemente subjetivo y muy poco original; es el miedo a enfrentarse con la página en blanco (una especie de miedo escénico) pensando que lo que ahí se va a plasmar, en primer lugar ya otros lo han dicho y quizá mucho mejor y, en segundo lugar, lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces*, para qué escribir. [CREA. México. Libros. 1987. Bartra, Eli. *Frida Kahlo: Mujer, Ideología, Arte*]. “The problems I have faced... The first obstacle is apparently subjective and a bit original; it is the fear of facing the empty page (a kind of scenic panic) thinking first, that what is going to be on that page, first, other people have already said it and maybe said it in a better way, and second, what one wants to say does not interest anybody, *therefore*, what should one write for”
- b. La explicación a este juicio, la encontramos cuando entendemos que las conciencias no se interconectan mutuamente, en la medida en que toda persona, es cerrada en su propio yo. Por ejemplo, la conciencia de nosotros, de los aquí presentes, es cerrada en sí misma, porque cualquiera pudiera estar pensando en otro evento, otros en la hora de salida, otros en la comida, en la familia, en la novia, etc., *luego entonces*, no existe una coincidencia absoluta y homogénea de las conciencias, lo que quiere decir que nos enfrentamos a un problema de simultaneidad... [CREA. México. 2004. VVAA. *La educación superior en América Latina. Globalización, exclusión y pobreza*]. “We find the explanation to this trial when we understand the people’s consciousness does not mutually interconnect in so as far as every person

is locked in his own self... For example the awareness of ourselves, of the people present right here, is withheld within itself because anyone could be thinking about another event, other people could be thinking about the time to leave, to eat, about the family, about his/her girlfriend, and so on *therefore*, there does not exist any absolute and homogenous coincidence among people's consciousness, which means we are facing a problem of simultaneity..."

It can be claimed that *luego entonces* is a marker that encodes a cause-effect relationship very much in the way that the frozen Cartesian expression *pienso, luego existo* 'I think, therefore I exist/am' expresses result that is a logical consequence of the premise. While the predicate *existo/soy*, in the Cartesian phrase, is interpreted as the logical consequence of the premise *pienso*, the same is not true for the examples in (1). The premise is not the exclusive and necessary initial cause for the effect; i.e. the speaker's questioning the motivation to write or the tendency to think of alternative spaces would not be a necessary condition to deny the existence of homogeneous consciousness. Instead of being determined by the relation among things in the world structure, the causes for such effects are in the speaker's subjective view. Nevertheless, the marker is employed to argue irrefutably against the utility of writing, or in favor of the individuality of consciousness. In this paper we attempt to account for *luego entonces* as a marker covering argumentative functions (Anscombe and Ducrot 1983), where the relationship between the premise and the consequence is not implicative, i.e., the premise is not a logically necessary cause of the result, but rather it lies in the speaker's subjective view (Langacker 1991, 1999, 2008). Thus *luego entonces* is analyzed as an argumentative marker that the speaker employs to strengthen the validity of his assertion. Based on diachronic data from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, which will be compared to data from the twentieth century as well as current times, we will show that *luego entonces* is the historical byproduct of a conceptual blend (Turner and Fauconnier 2002) of two markers involving temporal sequentiality as well as causal consecutive determination. The data come from several corpora: *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA)*, *Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE)*, *Corpus del Español de Mark Davies* and *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México (CSCM)*. In order to view current uses we also explored informal written uses in Google blogs. The synchronic data is limited to Mexican Spanish. Samples were extracted from *CREA* 181, *Davies* 189, *CSCM* 50, *Google* 46. We also included 208 instances of *luego que* from *CREA*. These added up to a total of 674 instances. As for the diachronic data we scanned samples from Spain (centuries 13th, 15th, 16th and 17th) to allocate instances of the argumentative marker. Since the synchronic data focuses in Mexico we only included data from Mexico beginning with the sixteenth century on. We compiled the following instances: *CORDE* sixteenth Century 177, seventeenth century 114, eighteenth 107 and nineteenth century 158. These summed up to 556 instances. The total data including current and diachronic Spanish, are 1230 instances.

Luego entonces is not a marker that has been analyzed in current literature. Dictionaries and lexicons such as *DRAE*, *DEA*, *DEM*, *DUE*, *Diccionario de*

Partículas Santos Río (2003) make no mention of *luego entonces*. Likewise traditional grammars of Spanish (Alcina and Blecua 1975, Bello 1988, Beristain 2006, Cuervo 1981, Gili y Gaya 1980, Esbozo RAE 1931, 1973, 2010, Seco 1972) make no mention of the semantic or syntactic import of the marker as such. This omission in the literature is not surprising. The first instances of *luego entonces* as a pragmatic marker are attested around the twentieth century. There is however a considerable amount of literature on *luego* and enough observations about *entonces* suggesting the presence of discourse argumentative functions which anticipate the merger of *luego* and *entonces* as a new argumentative marker. To see how this marker surfaced independent analyses of *luego* and *entonces* are necessary.

The paper is organized in the following way. In section 2 we analyze the behavior of *luego* both from current and diachronic data. Two subsections are devoted to the consecutive meaning (2.1), the argumentative function including the weaker consecutive meaning. Section 3 analyses the stronger and weaker consecutive functions of *entonces*. This will set the basis for building the conceptual blend that led to the new argumentative marker in section 4. The final remarks will be offered in the last section.

2. *Luego*

The Dictionaries RAE, DEA, DUE see *luego* as an adverb coming from Vulgar Latin *loco*, which developed from the ablative *locus* “soon, without delay”. Some grammars (Alcina and Blecua 1975; Bello 1988, Beristain 2006, Cuervo 1981, Gili y Gaya 1980 RAE 2010 Seco 1972, Pavón Lucero 1999) treat it as a temporal adverb with meanings of posteriority (2a), consequence (2b) and immediacy in the construction *luego que* (2c):

- (2) a. sicilianos, genoveses y un veneciano. Vienen *luego* los griegos (CREA. 2001. México. Libros. Juan Miralles, *Hernán Cortés. Inventor de México*). “Sicilians, Genoveses and a Venecian. *Then* come the Greeks”
- b. Estaba mojado, *luego* había llovido (Fuentes Rodríguez, 1985). “He was wet, *therefore* it had been raining”
- c. *Luego que* hablaba se reía la gente” (Gili and Gaya. 1980). “*After* he would speak, people would laugh”

The meaning equated with “after” or “later” is also attested as in (3):

- (3) a. Anoche fuimos al teatro, y *luego* a una sala de fiestas. “Last night we went to the theater and *then/after* to a party salon”
- b. Estudió derecho, y *luego*² medicina. “He studied law, and *then/after* medicine”

2. See Vázquez Veiga and Fernández Bernárdez (1996) y *luego* as a discourse marker in Galician Spanish.

The dictionary *Diccionario del español de México* (DEM) documents *luego luego* “right away”, which Company and Melis (2002) find in Mexican Spanish since the sixteenth century, as in (4):

- (4) pues *luego luego* que llegara a la mina sacaría la plata virgen (Company and Melis, 2002 (162,504)).
 “Well *just as* it would arrive at the mine, he would extract the virgin silver”

The consecutive function of *luego* is treated in Spanish grammars (Alcina and Blecua 1975, Bello 1988, Beristain 2006, Cuervo 1981, Gili y Gaya 1980, RAE 1931,[1973], [2010], Seco 1972, Álvarez 1999: 58.1 3741, 3742) as an illative marker expressing the logical consequence of some initial cause. The paragon example for such meaning is the Cartesian quote:

- (5) Pienso, *luego* existo (Descartes)
 I think, *therefore* I exist

A logical consequence only obtains when it is impossible for the premise to be true and its consequence to be false. In the Cartesian example one can allegedly claim that thinking is a necessary condition for human existence. Alvarez (1999: 58.6) proposes that *luego* unifies in one sentence the meaning of O1 and O2 in a deductive cause-effect relationship where O2 is naturally derived from O1. Likewise Fuentes Rodríguez (1985: 43) proposes that consecutive clauses (logical consecutives of *dicto*) encoded by *luego* and *entonces* manifest a cause-effect relationship where the first clause is the real or logical cause for the second. These are to be distinguished from consecutives of *Re* which are encoded by *por tanto... que* or *tal ... que* ‘such that’ which do not imply a logical consequence among O1 and O2. The author provides (6) as a case of logical consequence:

- (6) Estaba todo mojado, *luego* había llovido. (Fuentes Rodríguez 1985).
 “Everything was all wet, *then* it had rained”

Yet the logical requirement for *luego* may need to be softened since in the case of (6), as well as in (5) for that matter, there is a deduction not a logical consequence. Moreover, the condition is not a logical one since raining is not the only plausible cause for the floor being wet. Other forces (a water spill, community services cleaning the street, etc.) may have been responsible for the floor’s being in such condition. Rather, (6) is a case where the logical condition is softened since *luego* lets alternative causes drive the event. What *luego* encodes is a highly probable deduction obtained by shared knowledge. The imposition of logical structure over language is a rather artificial procedure (Anscombe and Ducrot 1983). Since the logical condition is already relaxed, it is not surprising that the examples in (1) represent cases where the speaker may want to present her/his argument as an irrefutable one by using *luego entonces*; but this is of course an argumentative strategy on the part of the speaker to make his statement a more convincing one, not

a real cause-effect logical relationship. We propose that an attenuative diachronic process of relaxing an implicative causal condition took place. Consequently, a more subjective representation made *luego* a pragmatic marker. This phenomenon will be traced down along the history of Spanish in the following section.

2.1. Consecutive *luego*

Regarding the consecutive use of *luego*, it can be seen that the lack of references in the literature follows from the fact that this meaning was not present in early or in Renaissance Spanish. Its first instances are not found until the seventeenth century. Figure 1 shows the use of *luego* from the sixteen to the eighteenth century. The dominance of the temporal meaning of posteriority is evident. All other uses, including the consecutive one, are incipient:

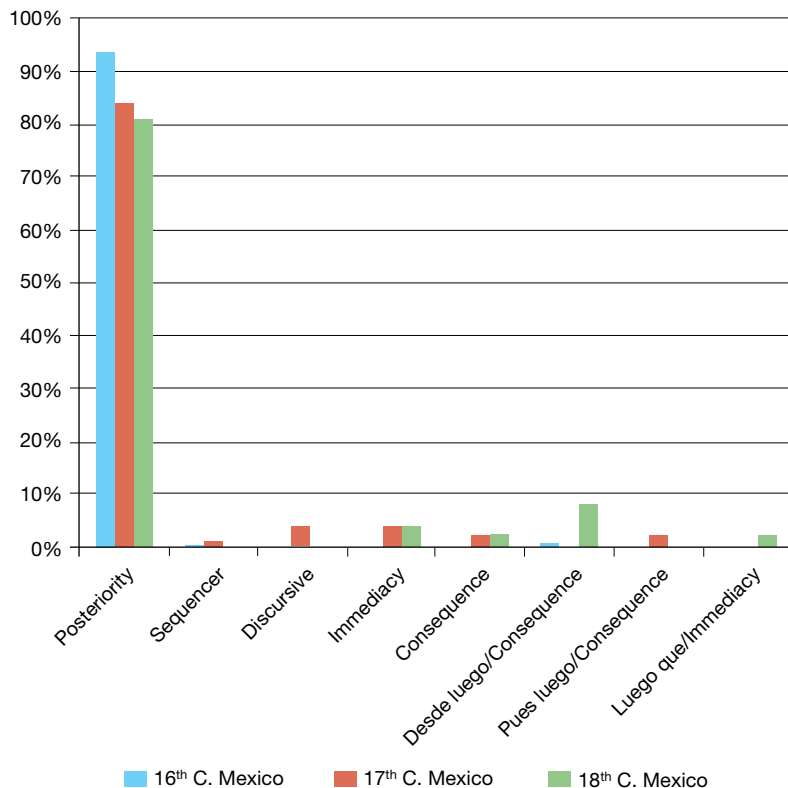


Figure 1. Meanings of *luego* 16-18th C. in Mexico*.

* For more precise uses of *luego* que in Mexican Spanish showing meaning variation between immediacy and posteriority see Guzmán Herrera (2014).

As for the consecutive use of *luego*, it can be observed that rather than encoding logical consequences, it introduces consequences that are intersubjective i.e., consequences that are naturally expected by speakers based on common knowledge. The first examples from seventeenth century Mexican Spanish follow the pattern of (7):

- (7) se han con él como la causa y efecto. ¿Hay celos? *luego* hay amor; ¿hay amor? *luego* habrá celos. (CORDE. México. 1666 - a 1695 Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Juana Ramírez. *Poesía. Lírica personal*. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, Fondo de Cultura Económica (México-Buenos Aires), 1951).
 “they have with it cause and effect. Is there jealousy? *thus* there is love. Is there love? *then* there is jealousy”

The relation is subjective since it depends on the speaker’s conceptualization. More precisely it is intersubjective (Cornillie 2007, Nuyts 2012). The two feelings are commonly related based on world knowledge, yet they constitute no logical or necessary condition for each other. We, in fact, have been unable to find one single example where there is a cause-effect logical relationship of the type suggested by Álvarez (1999) and Fuentes Rodríguez (1985). Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consecutive-intersubjective examples, like (8a, b), are the norm:

- (8) a. a la otra agravio, pues con ella estoy fingiendo; *luego*, agraviando a Calipso, a ti, mi bien, no te ofendido. (CORDE. México. 1713. Vela, Eusebio *Comedia nueva de Si el amor excede al arte, ni amor ni arte*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Universidad de Alicante (Alicante), 2003).
 “I offend the other one since with her I am pretending to be; *thus* I offend Calipso, but you, dear one, I do not offend”
- b. La novena lo dice, y así se ve pintado; *luego* es verdad, se debe creer y negarlo fuera herejía. (CORDE. México. 1818. *La Quijotita y su prima*. Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín).
 “So the novena states it and so it can be seen as painted; *thus* it is true, it must be believed and to deny it would be heresy”

The non-logical causal relationship is evident from these examples. However, given the possessive relationship between participants in (8a), it makes sense that if the speaker offended Calipso’s girl, he offended him too, and in (8b), one may assume that things are to be trusted if they are in written documents. However, since boyfriends can be as hypocritical as documents can be fabricated, in neither of these cases the causal relationship is obligatory.

Let us now consider the behavior of *luego* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From Figure 2, interesting changes can be seen for the later period: besides the fact that the obvious dominance of the temporal marker of posteriority is preserved, there are important changes at the discourse level. In both centuries, the immediacy between two events and the sequencing discourse marker (“then,

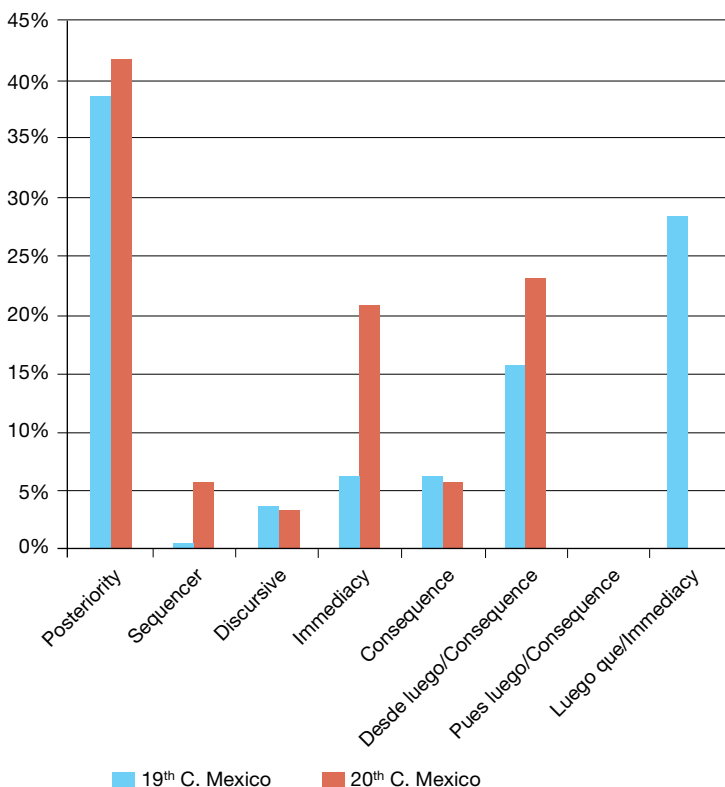


Figure 2. Meanings of *luego* 19th and 20th century in Mexico.

and then”) increase considerably. Moreover, the consecutive uses increase in two ways: i) there is a new presence of a mere consecutive marker, the meaning of which will be revised below, and ii) there is the emergence of the construction *desde luego*,³ which marks evident results. The meaning is again deductive more than consecutive:

- (9) “Esta empresa perdió la rentabilidad que tenía y *desde luego* se vendió a un precio menor al real. [CREA. México. Prensa Proceso, 1996.]
 “This enterprise lost its value and *of course* it was sold at a price way below its real value”

The fact that these changes take place in the 19th century is everything but surprising. It goes along with Melis, Flores and Bogard (2003) proposal that the

3. For more details about *desde luego* see Alvarado-Ortega, Ma. B. y Ruiz Gurillo, L. (2011) and Guzmán Herrera (2014).

19th century marks the “modern era” for Spanish. This is a crucial period where big changes in the structure of the language took place. Further studies, Ramírez Luengo (2015), Espinoza Elorza (2015), Quirós García and Torres Álvarez (2015); Guzmán and Maldonado (2015) edited by Melis and Flores (2015), have corroborated such tendencies with abundant data.

2.2. Argumentative luego. Twentieth century

The second important change for *luego* is the emergence of the argumentative meaning in the twentieth century. The first feature is that in all cases the consecutive relation between clauses is based on the speaker’s view:

- (10) ... hoy por hoy la capital de Alemania es la ciudad de Bonn, pero que se va a trasladar a la ciudad de Berlín por un acuerdo ya tomado al respecto. *Luego* hay seis capitales sin ninguna alteración, ninguna diferencia de gobierno local y federal, no existen regímenes específicos ni tampoco podemos negarle su carácter democrático. (CREA. México.1977. Cámara de Senadores).
 “At present the capital city of Germany is Bonn, but it is going to be moved to Berlin by an already signed agreement. *Thus* there are six capital cities without any alteration, no difference in the local or federal Government”

The conclusion at which the writer arrives is based on previous arguments that s/he compiles in order to make an assertion. No deep change has taken place in Germany’s cities organization. Besides being subjective there may be cases where the relation between the premise and the consequence is not causal at all; yet the use of *luego* ‘fakes’ a consecutive reading, as can be seen from (11):

- (11) En la primera parte predomina el punto de vista femenino (Rosario), la segunda sugiere un punto de vista masculino (Alberto)... En ambas, el amoralismo y la audacia de Boytler están pintados en la iniciativa de la protagonista: al principio es ella la que se entrega, la que besa y atrae al amante después de decirle “soy tan dichosa”. *Luego*, es ella la que elige, la que rechaza o acepta sus clientes, la que seduce al marino. (CREA. Libros. 1997. Paranaguá, Paulo Antonio. *Arturo Ripstein*).
 “In the first part the feminine viewpoint is dominant (Rosario), the second part suggests a masculine point of view (Alberto)... In both Boytler’s amoralism and audacity are depicted in the protagonist’s activity: at the beginning she gives herself away, it is she who kisses and attracts her lover after saying “I am so happy”. *Thus* it is she who is the one that chooses, the one that rejects or accepts her clients, the one that seduces the marine”.

Luego lets us conclude by deduction that it is the woman who determines her actions. *Luego* is linking two sequences of actions and more than encoding a consequence, it provides the subjective conclusion at which the writer arrives. Crucially, the events that *luego* introduces are nothing but repetitions, simple

expansions of the content of the premise: that her audacity and amorality are drawn from her own activity and that she is the one that chooses what to do. This is the first case where the consecutive reading is attenuated. Weaker consequences must be analyzed.

Throughout the twentieth century weak consequences constitute the most common use of *luego*. This weakness is in fact corroborated by the fact that *entonces* is used to reinforce the consecutive meaning already bleached out in *luego*. This can be seen from the examples in (12):

- (12) a. Si bien es cierto que en el dictamen que me pasaron, que fue la hoja exclusivamente de las firmas, contiene mi firma, eso no significa de que yo haya estado presente en la votación. Es necesario también de considerar que el hecho de estampar una firma no significa que yo tenga la verdad, no significa que yo tenga la razón. *Luego, entonces*, por si existiese algún argumento de que yo estampé la firma en esta iniciativa, desde ahorita hago la aclaración”. (CREA. Oral. 1996. México).
 “While it is true that the sheet has my signature, it does not mean that I was present in the voting. It is necessary to consider that the fact that I stamped my signature does not mean that I hold the truth, it does not mean that I am right. *Then, thus* I am clarifying this in case there might be an argument that I stamped my signature in that initiative”
- b. “El impulso federalista de Ernesto Zedillo es precisamente para distribuir poder y para hacer que sea efectiva la democracia. De qué serviría una democracia electoral como la que estamos construyendo si no existiese órdenes de gobierno con mayores recursos, mayores obligaciones, mayor corresponsabilidad. *luego, entonces*, ese esfuerzo es tarea de todos”. (CREA. Oral. 1996. México).
 “Ernesto Zedillo’s federalist impulse is precisely to distribute power and to make democracy effective. What good would an electoral democracy be, like the one we are building up, if there were no government dispositions with major funds, major obligations, major shared responsibility. *Therefore, then*, such an effort is a duty of all of us”

In each case *luego* hardly encodes consequence by itself. *Entonces* comes to the front to retrieve such meaning. It should be stressed that in these examples *luego* and *entonces* are not yet fused into one marker. As an oral strategy, the speaker uses two markers to emphasize the importance of her/his conclusion. A pause and an intonation change from *luego* to *entonces*, as represented by the coma, are exploited to stress her/his belief that the duty must be shared by everyone or that his signature is not particularly influential. In (12a, b) the consequences are based on the speakers beliefs and the use of two consecutive markers helps make her/his point. Now the semantic proximity of the two markers anticipates a later fusion where the emphasis found in (12a, b) is lexicalized in the fusion of the two forms to create an argumentative-consecutive marker. Such a marker

accomplishes the function of presenting consequences as irrefutable. In order to see such fusion it is necessary to explore the evolution of *entonces*, as we will do in the next section.

3. Consecutive *entonces*

The previous examples anticipate the emergence of a new marker that can be accounted for as the byproduct of blending (Turner and Faucnner 2002) *luego* and *entonces*. A revision of *entonces* is thus called into play. This marker has maintained from Medieval times a core temporal meaning “at that time” (13a). The narrative-sequencing marker is also preserved since that time, as can be seen comparing the examples in (13a-b) with (13c) from Medieval and current times:

- (13) a. Señora, lo que vos dixes entonces esso vos digo agora, (CORDE España Cifar 1300-1305)
 “My lady, what is said then, I am telling you now”
- b. É entonces él partió dende, é fuesse para Uclés... (CORDE. España. 1345).
 “And *then* he left from there, and he went to Uclés”
- c. la oposición dijo... que habían sido inequitativas las elecciones. Y *entonces* pidieron cambios en materia de medios, en materia de financiamiento (CREA ORAL México)
 “The opposition said... that the elections had been unfair. And *then* they asked for changes in media and financing”

While not abundant, some examples with a consecutive meaning are already found around the fifteenth century. This pristine consecutive instance is from 1602:

- (14) Fraguándose, se fraguó antes la mudanza con inexorable resolución. Forzoso fue *entonces* abstenerse del público, ya por infructífero al intento, ya por perjudicial a su autor. (CORDE. España. 1602).
 “The move was set with relentless resolution. It was *therefore* obligatory to refrain from the audience either because it would help the attempt, or because it would affect his author.”

Temporal sequences tend to be extended into consequential determination (Álvarez 1999) since in a temporal sequence the second element can be interpreted as a consequence of the first (Castillo 2009). Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) see *entonces* as a consecutive marker. Hummel (2012) adds a sequential component such that the consecutive marker encodes temporal and narrative sequences that lead to resultative consequences. Hummel’s examples from a partially published Chilean corpus (Kluge 2005) are borrowed to exemplify its range of use:

- (15) a. pero es que: .. yo tengo que trabajAR/, para mí, tengo que trabajar para dar=a=mi familia, y- y- y para äh, para educARme yo ((voz baja)) *entonces*+ eso es lo difícil (Kluge, Julia, 289) [[XXX]] (Kluge, Adela, 597).
But it's that... I have to work /for me, I have to work to feed my family and, and to educate myself (lower voice) *entonces* + that is what is difficult"
- b. (190) S: de llegar=a:- .. a traba-, dejar todo hecho ante de venir a cla:se-- .. en=el trabajo--
(1) äh, hacer máh de lo que se le DEbe-- ... (1) para ganar la voluntAd, (el) permis de venir ((bajando la voz))(XX)+ .. de que a una la dejen venir a clase ...
S: &Claro ... *entonces* por lo meno: una tiene que andar siempre riéndose:, como: .. felÍ ((=feliz)) de la vIda: -- (Sandra, 427).
"S: to arrive and work. To leave everything done before going to class... at work
to do more than must be done... to gain the favor, the permit to come (lowering her voice) (XX) so that they let me come to class...
...
S: Sure...
Entonces at least one has to be smiling all the time, like... happy go lucky"

Hummel (2012: 259, 260) stresses that the notion of cause or that of result, for that matter, do not represent the meaning of *entonces*. As in the case of *luego*, the consequences expressed are not logically determined and the premises do not constitute actual causes driving the event. The difficulty in (15a) does not come from the need to work, nor is the smiley attitude at work in (15b) a necessary condition for Sandra to get permission to go to school. Yet the speaker subjectively finds some indirect causal relationship between her intentions to do something and some specific actions.

The use of *entonces* in Mexican Spanish presents the same type of configuration. In (16a) there is a deduction made by the speaker with no causal determinacy. In (16b) there is an action tangentially associated with a general feeling of fear and pain:

- (16) a. Ahora bien, si el faro no está apoyado en la roca, sino levantado sobre bancos de arena, *entonces* la construcción es muy diferente, ya que para afianzarlo es necesario introducir pilotes o vigas de anclaje. El faro aislado del mar, aun cuando estuviera próximo a la costa, debe ser una construcción sólida. (CREA. México. 1995. Libros. Torre, Francisco de la. *Transportación acuática en el turismo*).
"Now, if the headlight is not leaning on the rock, but raised upon sand banks, *thus* the construction is quite different because to fix it, it is necessary to anchor it on piles or beams"
- b. Me descompongo y me intimida el mundo. Me arredra tener miedo o dolor frente a los otros, *entonces* me encojo y me lamento. (CREA. México. 1994. Libros. Urroz, Eloy. *Las plegarias del cuerpo*).
"I break down and the world frightens me. It daunts me to have fear or pain in front of people, *entonces* I shrivel and I complain"

The connection between the temporal and the consecutive interpretation is manifested in (16a, 16b) as both readings are present. As Hummel (2012: 252) maintains, the fact that *entonces* occurs between two clauses installs either a sequential (before-after) or a consequential relationship (cause-effect) between them. However the actual interaction does not give more than soft consequences subjectively interpreted as causal by the speaker. In the case of (16a) we have an evaluative predicative adjectival phrase (*entonces es muy diferente*), while in (16b) there are two first person middle constructions (*me encojo y me lamento*) expressing emotional reactions. Needless to say, the premises in these examples can drive all kinds of alternative consequences. We may conclude that from its temporal sequential value *entonces* developed a predictable meaning of subjective consequence established by the speaker, so long as s/he could make some mental connection between the first and the second event. Given that both *luego* and *entonces* present some softened representation of a causal relationship, we can propose that a conceptual blend took place to form a new argumentative marker. The formation of such a marker will be spelled out in the next section.

4. *Luego entonces*. A conceptual blend

Luego entonces encodes a meaning that is not the compositional addition of two temporal markers “after” and “immediately after/ consequence”. As already shown in (1), it is used to validate or strengthen the validity of the speaker’s conclusion in argumentative discourse. *Luego entonces* cannot be seen as the combination or juxtaposition of two markers, but rather as two elements that have become one. That the two adverbial forms have merged into one can be attested from the fact that no element can be inserted between them. Inserting *y* in (17) a sequential reading is obtained, not an argumentative one:

- (17) pienso *luego y entonces* existo, pienso *luego pero* existo
 “I think later and then I exist, I think later but I exist”

Notice also that the order in which the markers occur is fixed. *Entonces* may not precede *luego*.

- (18) a. lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces*, para qué escribir
 “what one wants to say does not interest anybody, *therefore*, what should one write for”
 b. *lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *entonces luego*, para qué escribir

There is no asymmetry between them. The first component is not more general than the second, nor is the second narrower than the first as it commonly happens when two markers are combined (Oats 1998, Fraser 2013). Moreover, *luego entonces* can combine with other markers compositionally in the same way that *luego* and

entonces can. But these constitute separate markers involving pauses and intonation contours that emphasize the speaker's will to stress the evident quality of some conclusion as in (19a). Yet these cannot form one unit as can be seen from (19b):

- (19) a. lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces, por lo tanto*, para qué escribir
 “what one wants to say does not interest anybody, *therefore, then*, what should one write for”
- b. *lo que se quiera decir de diferente a nadie le interesa, *luego entonces por lo tanto*, para qué escribir

Furthermore, none of these markers can select another discourse marker to combine with as one unit (**entonces por lo tanto, *luego por lo tanto*). Given this behavior, *luego entonces* must be analyzed as a fixed complex marker (Dostie 2013), not a collocation (separate elements commonly combined), and not as a semi-fixed complex marker (where there is asymmetry between its components) (Dostie 2013).

As for the function of combining two or more markers *luego entonces* pertains to the class of parenthetical + pragmatic markers in Cuenca & Marin's (2009) typology of sequences of connectives. Unlike other combinations that typically “indicate an addition of ideas, pause, topic continuation and (pre)closing” (Cuenca & Marin (2009: 905), the combination of two pragmatic markers has to do with propositional meanings, such as cause or consequence, and indicate (dis)agreement, reformulation and inference (Cuenca and Marin 2009). Now these combinations are normally additive and compositional. Although it is true that some semantic properties of each component may be lost, each marker brings in a specific meaning and serves some discourse organization purpose. For instance, *pues vale* is composed of ‘so’ + ‘agreement’, in Cuenca and Marin's example:

- (20) I16 dos días en el Cairo_
 ‘two days in Cairo_
 tres día:s_
 three days_
 un crucero por el nilo\
 a cruise on the Nile
- ESS (.21) mhm mhm\
 I16 (..078) *pues vale*
 so OK
 El Cairo bien_
 Cairo fine
 Las pirámides muy boni:tas y tal
 the pyramids lovely and so on
 (SICNI6SS, 2172)

Pues vale serves a double function: it closes a general presentation of a trip and opens an evaluative stance. This is not the case of *luego entonces* since both elements have very similar meanings and the marker doesn't serve any discourse organization purpose. Instead it is restricted to cover a cause-effect relation between two propositions in a way similar to which each marker would do so independently. Therefore we propose that both meanings fused into one blended unit where both elements partially preserve their meaning and, by fusing, they add an extra component of "subjective veracity", i.e., a consequence that is presented as unquestionably true although it is based on the (inter)subjective view of the conceptualizer. The marker serves a discourse strategy of persuasion where the speaker's arguments are reinforced to convince the hearer. The subjective character of *luego entonces* may be seen as parallel to Sweetser's (1990) epistemic and speech-act modals (*You must go on a diet/You must be Johns's wife*) since the latter is based on the speaker's conclusion based on a body of evidence. We adopt Langacker's (1991, 1999) more pervasive notion of subjectivity, which covers a wider range of uses, some of which actually are speech-act situations.

Along with the use of *luego entonces*, the speaker may validate her/his assertion by putting together arguments that strengthen the validity of a causal relationship. Enough arguments are put together to conclude that the bad distribution of female art is linked to the intersubjective prejudice that it is insignificant. This accumulative discourse strategy can be attested in (21):

(21) Como he dicho, se "sabe", se "conoce", se "cree", se "piensa", en pocas palabras opera el prejuicio de que los varones es "natural" que puedan crear arte, gran arte, las mujeres es "natural" que no lo hagan. Se crea un círculo digamos vicioso: el arte de las mujeres se considera menor, *luego entonces* se difunde poco, al ser poco difundido no se conoce, no crea "reputación"; como es desconocido nadie lo quiere distribuir y evidentemente, la distribución desemboca directamente en el consumo. (CREA. México. Libros. 1987. Bartra, Eli. *Frida Kahlo: Mujer, Ideología, Arte*).

"As I have said, one knows, one believes, one thinks, in a few words one believes the prejudice that it is "natural" for men to be able to create art, great art, and for women it is "natural" that they don't. A vicious circle is created: art by women is seen as minor, *therefore* it is not widely broadcasted, as it is not spread, people don't know about it and it gains no reputation..."

The meaning of the two temporal markers partially contribute to the formation of the new marker. The temporality before-after of *luego* activates highly probable consequences (consequences of *Re*). Recall that this property allows *luego* to extend to consecutive uses. Recall also that, as part of its bleaching process, by the nineteenth century *luego* started to allow more and more subjective consecutive relations. Since the consecutive meaning of *luego* was weakened, *entonces* joined the construction to reinforce a causal interpretation. The sequential order of *entonces* lets a cause-effect relationship introduce consecutive associations among events: the first element precedes and determines the outcome of the second. Crucially this

new meaning does not bring a logical causal determinacy relation from O1 to O2. Instead, the sequencing of events lets the speaker strengthen his conclusion and make the hearer see the veracity of his assessment.

The conceptual fusion of the two forms is represented in the following blend: *Luego entonces* creates an (inter)subjective image of truthfulness that the speaker uses to make his statement a more convincing one. It makes a statement be seen as unquestionable very much in the way that scientific assessments are interpreted. The consecutive relationship is expressed by the fusion of two markers: a weaker *luego* in its way of losing its causal strength and a less bleached consecutive marker that reinforces the credibility of the expression. This makes the consecutive assessment be seen as almost irrefutable. Both *luego* and *entonces* filter a weak causal relationship that develops from a temporal sequential organization. The causal relationship is more preserved in *entonces* than in *luego*, and thus reinforces the weaker causal strength of *luego*. The consecutive meaning imposed by *luego entonces* is not implicative yet its pragmatic convincing force depends on the fact that it is validated by the speaker, either based on shared knowledge or on arguments that the speaker presents as irrefutable.

The semantic similarity between the two markers could suggest that having two synonyms together may simply be a pleonasm. Yet the repetition of two elements can be meaningful for pragmatic reasons as González (1997) has suggested for expressions such as *subir para arriba* ‘go up to and upper level’. Likewise, the duplication *luego luego* in Mexican Spanish is an idiom that encodes immediacy

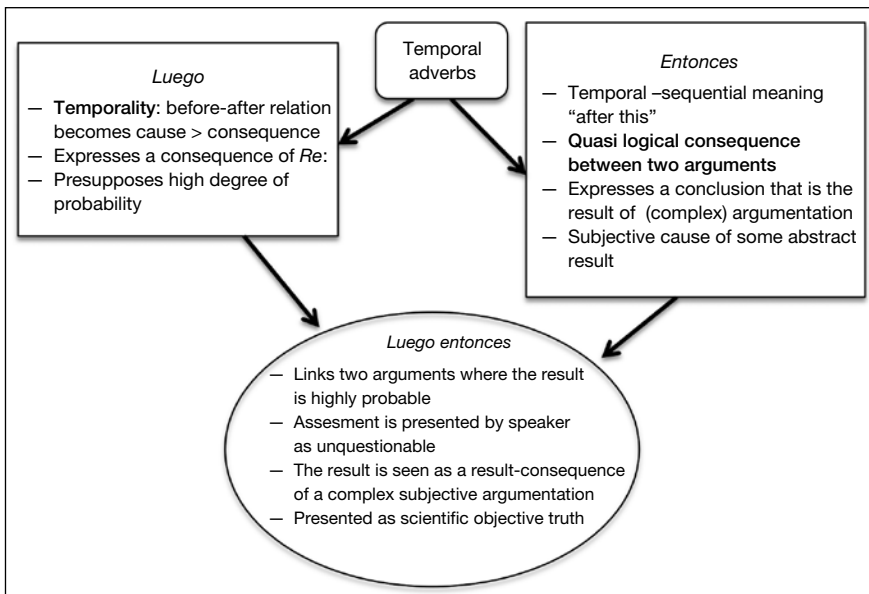


Figure 3. Blend *luego entonces*.

(*Entregas el regalo y te regresas luego luego* ‘Deliver the gift and come back right away’). Now in *luego entonces* no repetition takes place and no pleonasm is present. The import of the blend responds to the pragmatic need of validating the speaker’s stance. Two pragmatic markers are fused to create an argumentative marker of subjective consequence.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to show that *luego entonces* is not a logical consecutive marker of *dictum* as it has been treated in traditional grammars. Since they are not exclusively restricted by logical structure, discourse markers encode not only the relationship between clauses but also the speaker’s intentions in a variety of discourse genres. The case of *luego entonces* responds to argumentative discourse needs such that an objective cause-effect consecutive relationship is softened to establish highly probable consequences that are commonly deduced by shared knowledge. We have shown that by the seventeenth century the consecutive meaning of *luego* started to bleach out into an intersubjective meaning of probability. Around the twentieth century, *entonces* joined the construction to install a reinforced subjective version of a consecutive value. Consecutive relations among events that are naturally expected tend to be seen as unquestionable due to the use of *luego entonces*. This has been entrenched in the system to such an extent that throughout the twentieth century it became a recurrent discourse strategy employed to validate the speaker’s assessment in argumentative discourse.

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