

Article

The Role of Elision in Evolutionary Processes

María Elena Azofra Sierra 

Departamento de Lengua Española y Lingüística General, Facultad de Filología, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), E-28040 Madrid, Spain; eazofra@flog.uned.es

Received: 21 December 2018; Accepted: 11 February 2019; Published: 17 February 2019



Abstract: Changes by elision—as well as those due to processes of adfunctionalization or refunctionalization—must be taken into account as explanatory mechanisms of linguistic change. In this paper, we study the role of elision in the theoretical overview of explanatory theories of language change by focusing on the evolutionary process of the Spanish adverb *aparte*. We analyze the consequences of the elision of an initial construction for the development of new functions as an exceptive or additive adverb, and as an additive connector with a specific meaning, conditioned by the evolution of the entire construction. We find that, in this case, the ellipsis of a verbal element has led to important modifications of the preserved item (*aparte*), not only at the semantic-pragmatic and functional levels but also in its category membership.

Keywords: elision; connector; construction; evolutionary process

1. Objective and Hypothesis

The objective of this paper is to analyze the role played by elision in processes of grammatical evolution on the basis of the data provided by the changes undergone by the particle *aparte* in the course of its history.¹ The cases analyzed in texts from the 15th century onwards indicate that the functions that *aparte* acquired from the 16th century, first as an exceptive particle, and later on as an ‘adlative’ additive connector, have their origin in the integration of the adverb in certain absolute constructions which were widespread in the 16th century (*dejando aparte, dejado aparte* . . .), and which underwent the elision of the verb *dejar* ‘to leave’. Thus, the adverb *aparte* was pragmatically loaded with the meaning of the entire construction and experienced a major functional change when reanalyzed as an exceptive particle.

In other words, the history of *aparte* allows us to analyze to what extent a verbal elision constitutes the point of departure for a process of change that cannot be entirely explained by the Theory of Grammaticalization, and that has as its main consequence the semantic and functional complexity of *aparte*. As we will see, in current Spanish *aparte* works not only as an adverb of place—directional or locative (1a, 1b)—or as an adverb of manner (1c), but also as a noun (1d), as an adjective (1e), as an exceptive adverb (1f), as an additive adverb (1g), and as additive connector of specific meaning, which we have labeled an ‘adlative additive’ (Azofra Sierra 2014) (1h).² As an exceptive and an additive, it admits prepositional or conjunctive extension (*aparte de/[de] que*).

- (1) a. Llevaron **aparte** (‘a otro lugar’) al detenido. “The person under arrest was taken **aside**.” b. Enterraron el cuerpo **aparte** (‘en otro lugar’). “The body was buried **apart**.” c. Las invasiones

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. Oversights, omissions, and errors in the final version of the paper are entirely my own.

² According to the RAE and ASALE (2009, 1.9z), *connectors or markers* are a “discursive class” that can be formed by adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions or more complex constructions.

se organizaron **aparte** ('separadamente, de forma independiente'). "Invasions were organised **separately**." d. La relación de los personajes se descubrió en **un aparte** ('una conversación privada, que no oyen otras personas'). "Relationships between the characters were unveiled in an **aside**." e. Cervantes es un escritor **aparte** ('diferente'). "Cervantes is a writer **apart**". f. {**Aparte** del precio / El precio **aparte**} ('excepto el precio'), es una compra estupenda. "Its price **apart**, it's an excellent buy." g. **Aparte** de guapa ('además de guapa'), es muy buena persona. "**Apart** from being beautiful, she's a good person." h. No tiene ningún motivo para lamentarse: **aparte** de que ('además de que') tiene una familia estupenda, su trabajo es interesante y le permite disfrutar de una buena renta. "She has no reason to complain. **Besides** having a wonderful family, her job is interesting and allows her to enjoy a good income."

From the theoretical point of view, the explanatory scope of the Theory of Grammaticalization, especially in the case of the evolution of discourse markers, has been long questioned (cf. Company 2004; Garachana Camarero 2015; Pons Rodríguez 2010, for more in-depth analysis). In fact, not all changes can be explained by *grammaticalization*; that is to say:

[T]he change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions. (Hopper and Traugott [1993] 2003, p. 18)

We believe that the evolutionary process of the particle *aparte* will allow us to analyze where to set elision within the theoretical overview of explanatory theories of language change. Finally, it is important to underline the fact that context as a locus of change comes to have changes by elision: Forms do not change in isolation, but they acquire new functions depending on their context and are—as we will see in this case—integrated into a given construction. It is, therefore, necessary to emphasize the importance of *constructionalization* (Traugott and Trousdale 2013). The result is a particle that acquires new functions in the course of its history while not losing the initial meanings linked to the locative adverbial category, in a process that could be defined as 'adfunctionalization' according to Smith (2011, p. 305): "The process in which a form assumes a new function alongside or in addition to its original function."

2. The History of the Particle *Aparte*

2.1. Grammaticalization

Originally, *aparte* comes from a locative prepositional phrase that has been grammaticalized as an adverb, a {*una/otra/su*} *parte* > *aparte* (for a detailed analysis of the history of the particle *aparte*, cf. Azofra Sierra 2011). The original phrase, of which we have examples in (2), inherits a Latin construction with the preposition AD, whose meaning can be directional ('hacia, a') or situational ('junto a') depending on the context. From a theoretical point of view, the process that gives rise to the adverb of place can be explained in terms of *grammaticalization*: The original noun fails to admit determiners or complement phrases (2); it loses the possibility of number inflection, and the construction is blended as one single item, fixed as early as the medieval times: Invariable, and characteristically adverbial, either locative '*a/en otro lugar*', '*a distancia*' (3) or modal '*separadamente*' (4).

- (2) que se tiró **a una parte** por le dar el viento (c. 1300–1325, *Cuento muy famoso de Otas de Roma*). "he stepped **aside** to avoid the gale" b. que los freyres posauan **a su parte** (1293, *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*). "that the friars put **at their side**" c. e el uno, echado **a otra parte** medio vivo, mostraba razón de la muerte (a 1280, Alfonso X, *General Estoria*). "and one, lying **aside** half alive, showed signs of death"
- (3) a. Essora salién **aparte** ifantes de Carrión (c. 1140, *Poema de Mio Cid*). "Then the princes of Carrión stood **aside**" b. E de los çient cavalleros, llamó los veynte **a parte** delos mejores (c 1300–1325, *Cuento muy fermoso de Otas de Roma*). "And from the one hundred knights, he called **aside** twenty of the best"

- (4) Et si el bozero o el duenno del pleito quisiere aver consejo, que lo aya **a parte**; (1252, *Documentos notariales*). “And if the lawyer or the litigant should wish to deliberate, let them do so **apart**;”

In these examples, the original function—both of the prepositional construction *a {una/la/otra/ su} parte* and the adverb *aparte*—is an adjunct of the verb, indicating a locative circumstance. As indicated by RAE and ASALE (2009, 30.2ñ), most adverbs in Spanish are adjuncts, that is, unselected modifiers. However, on the other hand, we find instances of the adverb *aparte* as a noun complement from the earliest texts on—probably after verbal ellipsis—constructions of the *capítulo aparte* type, which were frequent in legal texts.³ From the 15th century on, this construction increases and spreads to other contexts, until it generalizes in a variety of genres in the 17th century (*reino aparte, conversación aparte...*), see example (5):

- (5) Él fundó a Roma en el monte Aventino e hizo **regno aparte** para sí (1427–1428, E. de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida*) “He founded Rome on the Mount Aventine and made a **separate kingdom** for himself”

Very much to the Latinizing taste of the age, an absolute construction became frequent in the 15th century, in which *aparte* was combined with the gerund or past participle of the verbs *dejar* or *poner*, with the meaning ‘to omit’ or ‘to ignore’, as illustrated in (6), (7) and (8):

- (6) Atraviéndose, todo temor **aparte puesto**, contra las defensiones legales (1427–1428, E. de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida*). “all fears **set aside**, he dared to oppose legal impediments”
- (7) no queda otro remedio sino que, **dexando aparte** los muertos, los bivos que quedan pongan (1482–1492, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*). “there is no choice but, leaving the dead **aside**, for those still living to remedy”
- (8) Por tanto, *dexadas* lágrimas **aparte**, dezidme quién sois (1516, F. Bernal, *Floriseo*). “So, leaving tears **aside**, tell me who you are”

These absolute clauses spread very quickly in the 16th century, as we can see in the table below, which shows the frequency of the absolute construction *dejado/a/os/as aparte* + NC or its equivalent from the 15th–19th century. We can observe how this construction becomes fixed in the 16th century and begins to become less frequent after the 17th century when ellipsis occurs (see Table 1).

Table 1. Absolute construction frequencies over the centuries.

12th–14th c.	15th c.	16th c.	17th c.	18th c.	19th c.
	18	146	64	2	3

The establishment of this construction made the two constant elements—the verb and adverb—begin to act like a semantic unit, favoring the start of a new process of grammaticalization. Although an increase in frequency alone is no proof that there is a process of grammaticalization (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2014), other formal changes confirm this point: Agreement between the past participle and its subject is lost (masculine *dejado* vs. feminine *la cámara*), the verbal form is exclusively masculine singular, and in many cases the adverb moves to the position immediately after the participle, as we can see in example (9):⁴

³ Both in Latin and Spanish the verbal ellipsis of *ESSE* or *ser/estar* occurs frequently, which in this case enables the adverb to situate the noun in space: “Un capítulo [que está] aparte” (“a chapter [that is] apart”). It could also be interpreted as a change in the construction of the locative complement: “Aparte del capítulo” > “en capítulo aparte” (“apart from the chapter” > “in a separate chapter” (see this example: *Et ne huiusmodi donatio a me facta et obligatio a parte capituli repremissa possint in dubium revocari*, 1269, *Documentos notariales*). In any case, the possible ellipsis in these examples are not related to the process we will describe below, the verbal ellipsis of *dejar* or *poner* in absolute clauses.

⁴ Compare the constructions in examples (7) and (8): *Dexadas* lágrimas aparte vs. dejado aparte la cámara.

- (9) Y lo bueno que es que, **dejado aparte** la cámara a donde duermen y el estrado . . . (1550, P. de Luján, *Coloquios matrimoniales*). “And the good thing is that, **leaving aside** the chamber where they sleep and the platform . . . ”

Semantic evolution of the overall meaning of the construction also takes place: ‘*Dejar a un lado*’ comes to be used in the sense of ‘to ignore, to exempt’ now; and ‘*poner a un lado*’ has the meaning of ‘to add’. As an absolute clause, *aparte* usually has an exceptive meaning (10), though there is no shortage of examples with additive meaning (11):

- (10) Éste será también mi gusto, porque, **aparte** nuestras peleas, don Benito es un amigo de corazón (1898, Á. Ganivet, *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid*). “That will also be my pleasure, because, our quarrels **aside**, don Benito is a dear friend”
- (11) y bien portado, casi daba gusto de socorrerle, **aparte** la obra de caridad (1898, Á. Ganivet, *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid*). “and so well-behaved, that, quite **apart** from it being a charitable work, it was almost a pleasure to help him”

2.2. Ellipsis and the Introduction of the Exceptive Particle

The high frequency of the construction starts to erode the lexical meaning of the verbal element as it loses its specific semantic content and alternates—without an appreciable difference—with other verbal elements like *poner* or *sacar*:

- (12) Romper con grandísima destreza, poniendo géneros **aparte**, (1599, M. Alemán, *Primera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache*). “breaking with extreme dexterity, putting goods **aside**,”

Over time, such unitary meaning would have made unnecessary the monotonous repetition of the less accurate meaning element (in this case, the verbal one: *Dejar*, *poner*, etc.) and would have favored ellipsis. The overall meaning of the expression would then fall on the element that remained, the adverb *aparte*, which initially expressed a circumstance of the verbal action and was reanalyzed as an exceptive modal adverb, meaning ‘omitted’, ‘not being considered’ as in (13).

- (13) Pues sepan -replicó Sancho-, burlas **aparte**, que no solamente me toca a mí uno de los nombres que cada uno de vuestras mercedes tiene [. . .], sino [. . .] (1614, A. Fernández de Avellaneda, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*). ““May you know” replied Sancho, “that, jokes **apart**, it’s not just one of the names which each of Your Worships has that belong to me [. . .], [but] . . . ”

2.3. From Exceptive Particle to Adlative Additive Connector

The origin of *aparte* as an additive connector is closely associated with these uses since in many of the cases in which it has an exceptive meaning, *aparte* is linked to what is properly argumentative: Reasons, fears, opinions, etc. are ignored or left aside. This contextual meaning favors the semantic-pragmatic change that leads *aparte* to become an element of additive connection within the argumentative discourse. The existence of ambiguous contexts confirms this, as we can see in (14), where *aparte* can mean either ‘outside (in addition to)’ or ‘apart from’:

- (14) Para que los cobren y empleen en lo que **aparte de** este testamento dejare ordenado (1681, P. Calderón de la Barca, *Testamento*). “so that they collect and use them in what I shall order **in addition to/apart from** this will . . . ”

The close connection between the verbal ellipsis and the introduction of the connector is also evident in some examples where the elimination of the verbal element ([*dejado*]) results in the use of *aparte* as an additive marker, as in examples (15) and (16):

- (15) Sol.—En llegando a Valladolid, me habéis de dar un traslado desta loa, porque, [**dejado**] **aparte** que es de mucho gusto, me quiero aprovechar de algún remedio para limpiarme los dientes, aunque los tengo tan malos que me parece imposible que yo venga a tener en mi vida buena

dentadura (1603, A. de Rojas Villadrando, *El viaje entretenido*). “Sol.—When we arrive in Valladolid, you must give me a version of this prologue, because, quite **apart from** the fact that it is very pleasing, I want to use some remedy to clean my teeth, although they are in such a bad state that I think it is impossible that I will ever have a good set of teeth in my life”

- (16) Ellos nacieron con libertad de hombres, y ellas con recato de mujeres. Y así, por lo que deben ser más culpadas, [**dexando**] **aparte** que son más desgraciadas, es que como son las que pierden más, luce en ellas más el delito. Y por esto, como los hombres se juzgan los más ofendidos, quéxanse y condénanlas en todo, y así están hoy más abatidas que nunca, porque deben de ser los excesos mayores. Demás de esto, (1647–1649, María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Desengaños amorosos*). “Men are born with the freedom which is characteristic of men, and women are born with the modesty which is characteristic of women. And so it is that women must get blamed more, **setting aside** the fact that they are more unfortunate, because since they have more to lose, their misdeeds are more apparent. And on that account, since men judge themselves to be more greatly offended, they complain and condemn women in everything, and so women are now more oppressed than ever, because their excesses must be greater. Besides this ...”

We can observe the new functions developed by *aparte* after the 16th century in the following examples: Exceptive ‘except for’ (17) and additive ‘in addition to’ (18).

- (17) ¿Y lo demás? Nada. Allí no hay sexo. **Aparte** del orden, parece el cuarto de un estudiante (1885-85, Clarín, *La Regenta*). “And the rest? Nothing. There is no sex. **Except for** its tidiness, it looks like a student’s room”
- (18) Carmen se confesaba en aquel instante a sí misma que toda la noche había pensado en el subteniente, que le era muy simpático, **aparte** de ser buen mozo; (1886, Clarín, *Pipá*). “At that moment, Carmen was admitting to herself that she had been thinking of the lieutenant all night long, and that she found him very agreeable **as well as** handsome;”

In modern Spanish, obviously, we are no longer dealing with cases of ellipsis: In (17) and (18), *aparte* is already used as a connector. We postulate that the verbal elision in absolute constructions with *dejar* and *poner* led to *aparte* being endowed with new meanings, exceptive and additive, as a connector, without the need to resort to more complex construction.

3. The Specific Meaning of *Aparte* within the Additive Connection

The pragmatic meaning of *aparte* as an additive connector shows the persistence of its etymological meaning, which is why we have called such an additive connector ‘adlative’ (Azofra Sierra 2014). It thus differs from cases where the addition is ‘cumulative’ or ‘summative’, for which connectors such as *encima* or *además* are used (Espinosa Elorza 2010, pp. 157–58).

As we can see in example (18), it is clear that *aparte* is a particle that has a very peculiar procedural additive meaning. It coincides with *además*—a prototypical connector of the set of additives—in that the argument it shows has the same orientation as the previous one: It is co-orientated. On the other hand, it differs from *además* in that the argument headed by the connector *aparte* is unnecessary to reach the conclusion—by contrast with the one introduced by *además*, which is deemed necessary. In this respect, *aparte* behaves like *encima*, a connector that also introduces an unnecessary argument. However, since the argument introduced by the connector is presented as following a different line from the preceding argument, the fact that it can have less argumentative force does not contradict the expectations of the speaker—something that can happen with the connector *encima*—and this is precisely the origin of its use as a counter-argumentative connector (Garachana Camarero 2008). *Aparte*

also differs from *encima* in that its argument does not carry an excessive, cumulative load, nor does it carry a subjective nuance.⁵

As we can see in example (19), this is the peculiarity of *aparte* in its procedural meaning as additive connector (vs. other additives):

- (19) Tal vez por ahí puedas tú encontrar la solución –le sugirió Julio García a Antonio Casal–. Dirigiendo uno de esos organismos. **Aparte de que** el tipo de labor, humanitaria, es de las que a ti te gustan, resolverías tu vida. (1961, J. María Gironella, *Un millón de muertos*). “Perhaps you can find the solution there: Managing one of those agencies,” suggested Julio García to Antonio Casal. “**Apart from** the fact that this is the kind of humanitarian work you like, it would sort your life out.”

Conclusion: to manage one of those agencies is the solution [to your problems]:

Argument 1: You would sort your life out;

Argument 2: You would do the type of job you like.

These are co-orientated arguments along different lines; the second is not necessary and it does not have greater argumentative force, nor does it have an excessive or evaluative nature (as opposed to *encima*). Being arguments of different types, they do not “add” anything to the reaching of a conclusion: They will not contradict the listener’s expectations. We observe that it may even happen, as in this example, that the argument introduced by *aparte* acts as a reinforcement of the main argument, despite actually being a much weaker argument. At any rate, it is evident that the argumentation follows two separate paths since two different types of reason are presented.

In the evolution of *aparte* there is a semantic-pragmatic change which conventionalizes its meaning of omission, or voluntary relegation outside the central point of attention, which developed from the original locative meaning of the adverb, and this process is the basis of its use as an additive connector. Exception and addition can be seen as contextual readings of the same evaluative attitude from the speaker, who introduces something that is not essential (and may not even be important) to the argumentative sequence and must be considered as lateral or secondary to the particle *aparte*. The context will clarify to the listener whether he needs to add this as additional information (*‘poniéndolo al lado [del resto de la argumentación]’*) or dispense with it (*‘dejándolo a un lado’*).

However, the use of *aparte* as an exceptive particle is not entirely comparable to that of the most prototypical exceptive particles in Spanish (*excepto* and *salvo*): Unlike these, *aparte* is usually not interpreted as relating to a universal quantified expression: “*Vinieron todos {excepto/salvo/*aparte de} ella*” [“They all came except for her”]. This behavior may explain why *aparte* has developed an additive value that is not possible with the more univocal exceptive particles.

In other cases of grammaticalization, ellipsis also occurs in one of the elements of the original expression (cf. [Garachana Camarero 1998](#), regarding the marker *no obstante*; [Elvira 2009](#), regarding some expressions with concessive function; and [Pérez Saldanya and Salvador 2014](#), regarding concessive constructions such as *no obstante (esto)*, *sin embargo (de que . . .)*). In our case, similarly, the contextual meaning of the expression has become conventionalized; in addition, ellipsis occurs because one of the elements, now semantically eroded, becomes dispensable.

4. *Aparte* in Lexicographical Works

Since the categorization of this particle is problematic, we consider it also necessary to carry out a specific study of the lexicographical treatment it has received, as in many cases this is very illustrative

⁵ Even though this is a matter that would require more specific attention, we cannot overlook the fact that the arguments linked by *aparte* may be inverted without affecting the meaning; something that does not happen with *encima*: (18) *Dirigiendo uno de esos organismos, harías un trabajo que te gusta y aparte resolverías tu vida.*

of the changes undergone by the adverb and its resistance to an analysis which covers the whole complexity of its evolution. We provide some examples of interest in the final Appendix A: *Diccionario de autoridades*, *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*, *Diccionario de uso del español*, *Diccionario del español actual*, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas*.

Successive editions of the Real Academia Española (RAE)'s *Diccionario de la lengua española*—henceforth DRAE—have collected these changing meanings and have thus shown the difficulty in assigning a grammatical category to some of these new functions. We can observe how in DRAE 1803 the phrase *dexar aparte* ('to omit') is no longer present. *Aparte* maintains its categorization as an adverb of manner ('apart from, drawing a distinction') in its first meaning entry. In 1899, the adverb of manner is divided into two meanings: '*separadamente, con omisión*' ('apart from, drawing a distinction') and '*con omisión, con preterición*' ('omitting'). For the first time, we find the meaning as an adverb of place, in its purely locative meaning: '*en otro lugar*' ('elsewhere'). In DRAE 1914, the adverbial uses of place split into two meanings: '*en otro lugar*' ('elsewhere') and '*a distancia, desde lejos*' ('at a distance, away'); there are no changes in its uses as adverb of manner. In 1970, the adjectival meaning is added, '*diferente, distinto, singular*' ('different, peculiar'), with an example which is maintained until 2001: "*Góngora es un autor APARTE en la poesía española*". In RAE 1992, a new category is introduced:

Aparte de. loc. prepos. Con omisión de, con preterición de. U. t. sin la preposición y pospuesto al nombre. APARTE *impuestos, impuestos APARTE.* (RAE 1992)

In DRAE 2001, with the meaning '*con omisión de, con preterición de*', it is considered a preposition, but in 2014 it is categorized as an adverb, even though the same examples and definitions are applied. Regarding additive meaning, only some lexicographical works explicitly mention an "additive" nature (Moliner 1970; Santos 2003). In the works by the RAE, we must understand that *aparte* is considered as a contextual variant of the adverb of manner: DHLE: "adv. m. Además de, separadamente"; DRAE: "adv. m. Separadamente, con distinción". (Cuervo [1886–1893] 1994) does not list *aparte* as an additive adverb, nor does he relate it to *además* or *encima*; he does not explicitly refer to the exceptive uses either (in no case does he employ paraphrases like '*fuera de*' in order to explain the meaning of *aparte*). Problems of categorization have been reflected in the definitions found in lexicographical works. The categorization of some uses is quite heterogeneous. We find these conflicting uses:

- *Aparte de esto*: Prepositional vs. adverbial phrase. *Aparte* has the potentiality for prepositional (*aparte de*) and conjunctive (*aparte [de] que*) extension.
- Phrases like *un cuaderno aparte*, 'independent': Postnominal preposition vs. adjective vs. adverb as noun complement.
- Absolute clauses of the *bromas aparte* type or independent complements like *impuestos aparte*: Postnominal preposition vs. adjective vs. adverb following the ellipsis of a verb such as *dejar*.
- *Aparte* as attribute? *El café es aparte*: Adjective vs. locative adverb.

As explained in Azofra Sierra (2011), problems in categorization are largely due to the elision that has taken place in the evolutionary process.

5. Conclusions

We have reviewed the process of evolution of the connector *aparte*, attempting to find in its history the reasons for its specific meaning as an additive connector, which distinguishes it from other additives: when it adds an argument, the marker indicates that this is not necessary to reach the conclusion, but neither is it an element of greater argumentative force than the first one, and in fact, what the hearer must infer is that the argument introduced by *aparte* permits the reaching of the same conclusion as that expressed by the first argument, but via by another track of reasoning. *Aparte* is also an additive connector, but it presents specific characteristics linked to its etymological meaning; thus, compared to other connectors that show addition in their vertical dimension (like *encima* or *sobre esto*), *aparte* does so in a horizontal dimension, like *junto/juntamente con esto*, medieval *allende de esto*

or *fuera de esto*: That is to say, one item is added next to another. Hence, the additives of this type can express addition and exception simultaneously. This special type of connection, which we call ‘adlative addition’, is to be considered the characteristic property of *aparte* (and *fuera de*, or medieval *allende de*): These connectors are used to introduce arguments that follow another route or pathway in reasoning, adding elements of a different type. Besides the additive function, some of the works consulted explicitly distinguish two meanings of *aparte*: Additive and exceptive. These meanings are very close, and can even occasionally coincide, precisely because of the special meaning of *aparte* as an additive to which we have referred above.

At the theoretical level, the study of the evolution of *aparte* allows us to draw some conclusions about the explanatory capacity of different mechanisms proposed to explain linguistic changes: Constructionalization, grammaticalization, or the relationship of this with adfunctionalization and refunctionalization processes. We have seen that grammaticalization cannot explain all the processes of change and that grammaticalization and lexicalization are not opposing processes: In the elision of *aparte*, there are changes which are characteristic of grammaticalization, but the elision of the verb causes the entry of a new item in the lexicon: *Aparte* ‘with omission’. It would be questionable whether all processes of grammaticalization give rise to grammatical elements or whether some of these processes result in lexical items of great complexity due to the lexical load which they have inherited from the original constructions.

On the other hand, attention should be called to the enormous complexity that changes by elision can cause in the categorial values of the new forms, as is evident in the case of *aparte*: The problems of categorization of the new polyfunctional form, which are reflected in the lexicographical works, show the great grammatical complexity of the units which are the result of changes by elision, due in large measure to the inheritance of the meanings of the entire initial construction.

Finally, we have highlighted the importance of context in the changes due to elision by which *aparte* becomes an exceptive/additive particle. Our study has attempted to make it clear that elision must be taken into account as a mechanism in explaining the linguistic change since it often initiates processes which are complementary to those of grammaticalization and can contribute to a better understanding of some of the complex processes of change such as those undergone by the particle *aparte*.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

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

Appendix A. The Particle *Aparte* in Lexicography⁶

<i>Diccionario de Autoridades</i> (RAE 1726)
<p>APARTE. adv. Separadamente, con distinción y separación: y assi se dice <i>Pon esto aparte, guárdalo aparte</i>. Lat. <i>Separatim, Seorsim.</i> // APARTE. En las Comedias es lo que el cómico dice y representa sin que lo entienda y oiga la Persona, ò Personas con quienes habla, [...] Lat. <i>Clam. Seorsim.</i> [...] // <i>Dexar una cosa aparte.</i> Se dice en la conversación, quando se entromete alguna especie que la interrumpe, ò que no es del intento para lo que se trata. [...]. Lat. <i>Praetermittere, omitttere.</i> [...]</p>
<i>Diccionario histórico de la lengua española</i> (DHLE) (Academia Española 1933)
<p>APARTE. (Del lat. <i>ad, a, y pars partis, parte.</i>) adv. 1. Hacia parte o sitio retirado. 2. En parte retirada, en otro lado. 3. Del lado de. 4. adv. m. Además de, separadamente. [...] 5. Se usa a modo de preposición pospuesto al nombre. [...] ⁷</p>

⁶ The entries listed are not complete: non-problematic cases have not been included (for example, meanings as noun).

⁷ We have omitted the remaining meanings, which relate to its use as a noun.

Diccionario de uso del español (DUE) (Moliner 1970)
<p>aparte. (De “parte”). 1. (“Dejar, estar, tener”). Adverbio con que se expresa la situación de una cosa separada de otras que se consideran, con las cuales estaba antes o con las cuales tiene alguna relación. [. . .] ‘Por separado. Separadamente’. [. . .] Se emplea como adjetivo en expresiones como “un grupo aparte, rancho aparte”. (fig; “Dejar. Tener”). Con preterición o desprecio; no dando a la persona de que se trata participación en las ventajas o en la sociedad de otros. [. . .]</p> <p>APARTE DE. (I) Prescindiendo de la cosa que se expresa. [. . .] (II) Además de. [. . .]</p> <p>APARTE DE QUE. Expresión conjuntiva de las que pueden llamarse “aditivas”, equivalente a “además de que”. [. . .]</p> <p>DEJAR APARTE. Dejar sin tratar por el momento cierta cosa. [. . .]</p> <p>ESO APARTE. Forma absoluta muy frecuente, usada por “aparte de eso”.</p>
Diccionario del español actual (DEA) (Seco et al. 1999)
<p>aparte I adv 1 En lugar o situación separados con respecto a alguien o algo mencionado o presente, o con respecto a las perss. o cosas corrientes. (b) Continuando en el renglón siguiente. (c) En lugar o situación que permite la privacidad o la discreción. (d) [. . .]. 2 Sin ser considerado o mencionado. <i>Con vs como</i> DEJAR, PONER, QUITAR, ECHAR o QUEDAR. (b) Frec se omite el v, quedando el adv pospuesto o antepuesto al sust. (<i>minucias aparte, aparte bromas ahora</i>). II adj invar 3 Diferente o distinto [de alguien o algo mencionado, o de las perss. o cosas corrientes] (<i>ser aparte, comer en escudilla aparte</i>). (b) Independiente (<i>suelen ser tiradas aparte</i>). III prep 4 Además de. <i>Tb, más frec, . ~ DE</i>. 5 Fuera de o con excepción de. <i>Tb, más frec, ~ DE</i>.</p>

Diccionario de la lengua española (RAE and ASALE 2014)
<p>aparte. (De <i>a</i>⁻¹ y el lat. <i>pars, partis</i>, parte). 1. adj. Diferente, distinto, singular. <i>Góngora es un caso aparte en la poesía española</i>. 2. m. En el teatro, palabras que dice un personaje fingiendo hablar consigo mismo o dirigiéndose a otro u otros, y dando por supuesto que no las oyen los demás. 3. m. Conversación privada que mantienen dos o más personas, al margen de otras que se hallan en el mismo lugar. 4. m. Ejemplar de una tirada aparte. 5. m. <i>Ar.</i> Espacio o hueco que, tanto en lo impreso como en lo escrito, se deja entre dos palabras. 6. m. <i>Arg., Col. y Ur.</i> En un rodeo, separación que se hace de cierto número de cabezas de ganado. 7. adv. En otro lugar. <i>Poner un libro aparte</i>. 8. adv. A distancia, desde lejos. 9. adv. Separadamente, con distinción. 10. adv. Con omisión de, con preterición de. <i>Aparte impuestos. Impuestos aparte</i>. 11. adv. En el teatro y referido al modo de decir su texto un personaje, fingiendo hablar consigo mismo o dirigiéndose a otro u otros, dando por supuesto que no lo oyen los demás. U. normalmente como acotación. aparte de. loc. prepos. fuera de (además de). <i>Aparte de impuestos, el precio se mantuvo</i>.</p>

Diccionario panhispánico de dudas (RAE and ASALE 2005)
<p>aparte. Puede funcionar como adverbio, como adjetivo, como sustantivo y como preposición:</p> <p>(a) Como adverbio significa ‘en otro lugar’. [. . .]. Con verbos como <i>dejar, poner</i> y similares, <i>aparte</i> significa también ‘fuera o al margen’: «<i>Dejando aparte la moral, quizá su negativa daba de él una imagen equivocada</i>» (SchzEspeso <i>Alas</i>). En estos casos, es frecuente la omisión del verbo, pudiendo quedar el adverbio antepuesto o pospuesto al sustantivo: «<i>La doctrina europeísta ha tenido, aparte su acierto o su error, una utilidad indiscutible</i>» (CSerraller <i>Paisajes</i>); «<i>Pero bromas aparte, yo empiezo a sentir miedo</i>» (Tusquets <i>Mar</i>). Como todos los adverbios, es invariable [. . .]. (b) Como adjetivo significa ‘distinto o singular’: «<i>Cada cosa de este mundo [..] era un caso aparte, una singularidad que no admitía comparaciones</i>» (Pombo <i>Metro</i>). Es invariable en plural: «[. . .] <i>integrar, en publicaciones aparte, los datos</i> [. . .]. (c) Como sustantivo es masculino y se usa normalmente con los sentidos de ‘palabras que, en un texto teatral, dicen uno o más personajes fingiendo que no las oyen los demás presentes en la escena’ y ‘conversación entre dos o más personas al margen de otras presentes’ [. . .]. (d) Forma la locución preposicional <i>aparte de</i>, que significa ‘con omisión de, al margen de’ [. . .]. En la lengua culta debe evitarse el uso de la locución popular <i>fuera aparte (de)</i> [. . .]. Está muy extendido, y es válido, el empleo de <i>aparte de</i> con el sentido de ‘además de’ [. . .].</p>

References

- Academia Española. 1933. *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*. Madrid: Editorial Hernando.
- Azofra Sierra, María Elena. 2011. Historia de la partícula *aparte* en español. *Revue Romane* 46: 42–68. [CrossRef]

- Azofra Sierra, María Elena. 2014. Conexión y conectores aditivos en español: Estudio diacrónico. In *Marqueurs du discours dans les langues romanes: Une approche contrastive*. Edited by Margarita Borreguero and Sonia Gómez-Jordana. Limoges: Lambert Lucas, pp. 175–95.
- Company, Concepción Company. 2004. Gramaticalización por subjetivización como prescindibilidad de la sintaxis. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 52: 1–28. [CrossRef]
- Cuervo, Rufino J. 1994. *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*. Edited by Instituto Caro y Cuervo. Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, vol. 8. First published 1886–1893.
- Elvira, Javier. 2009. Mal que le pese, pese a que y otros ‘pesares’. Gramaticalización y lexicalización en la lengua medieval. In *Fronteras de un diccionario: Las palabras en movimiento*. Edited by Elena de Miguel, Santiago U. Sánchez, Ana Serradilla, Romana-Anca Radulescu and Olga Batiukova. San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, pp. 273–94.
- Espinosa Elorza, Rosa María. 2010. *Procesos de formación y cambio en las llamadas “palabras gramaticales”*. San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 1998. La evolución de los conectores contraargumentativos: La gramaticalización de *no obstante* y *sin embargo*. In *Los marcadores del discurso. Teoría y análisis*. Edited by M. Antonia Martín Zorraquino and Estrella Montolio. Madrid: Arco Libros, pp. 193–212.
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 2008. En los límites de la gramaticalización. La evolución de *encima* (*de que*) como marcador del discurso. *Revista de Filología Española* 88: 7–36. [CrossRef]
- Garachana Camarero, Mar. 2015. Teoría de la gramaticalización. Estado de la cuestión. In *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*. Edited by José M. García Martín. Madrid and Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana & Vervuert, vol. 1, pp. 331–60.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elisabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. First published 1993.
- Moliner, María. 1970. *Diccionario de uso del español (DUE)*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Álvaro S. 2014. Espejismo de la frecuencia creciente: gramaticalización y difusión del artículo ante oraciones sustantivas. *Rilce* 30: 916–58.
- Pérez Saldanya, Manuel, and Vicent Salvador. 2014. Las oraciones concesivas. In *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Tercera parte: Preposiciones, adverbios y conjunciones. Relaciones internacionales*. Edited by Concepción Company. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica & Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, pp. 3697–839.
- Pons Rodríguez, Lola. 2010. Los marcadores del discurso en la historia del español. In *Los estudios sobre marcadores del discurso en español, hoy*. Edited by Óscar Loureda and Esperanza Acín. Madrid: Arco Libros, pp. 523–615.
- Real Academia Española (RAE). 1992. *Diccionario de la lengua española (DRAE)*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Real Academia Española (RAE), and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE). 2005. *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Real Academia Española (RAE), and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE). 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española (NGLE)*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Real Academia Española (RAE), and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE). 2014. *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Santos, Luis. 2003. *Diccionario de partículas*. Salamanca: Luso-Española de Ediciones.
- Seco, Manuel, Olimpia Andrés, and Gabino Ramos. 1999. *Diccionario del español actual (DEA)*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Smith, John C. 2011. Change and Continuity in Form-Function Relationships. In *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*. Edited by Martin Maiden, John Charles Smith and Adam Ledgeway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. 1, pp. 268–317.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Graeme Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

