Empirical basis. In Spanish there is a type of *que* (the equivalent to the complementizer “that”) that can be shown to belong into the list of evidentials (Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2014). This *que* introduces a well specified subset of root sentences and behaves as a reportative (indirect) evidential of the type found in languages like Quechua. Since it only encodes source of information, with no added features related to epistemic modality (reliability or (im)probability), it differs from the type of evidential markers described by Izvorsky 1997 for languages like Bulgarian. More precisely, it behaves as an illocutionary operator (in line with Faller 2002, 2007 among others). An example is provided in (1), where the presence of *que* adds the meaning that the sentence has been reported (the speaker has heard somebody say that it is snowing):

(1)   Oye *que* está nevando en el campo de vuelo.
     ‘Hey (somebody said that) it is snowing at the flying field’.

Background analysis. In the first part of this work we briefly contrast this particular instance of *que* (common to all dialects of Spanish) with the old form *dizque* (from *dicen que* “they say that” or *se dice que* “it is said that”), which exists nowadays in certain American varieties (especially in Mexico and Colombia). This form has been analyzed as an expression of evidentiality in the Andean variety of Spanish in contact with Quechua and Aymara (Laprade 1976, Hardman 1986, Klee & Ocampo 1995), which have evidentiality systems. Travis (2006), taking into account the use of this form in other American dialects, shows that it has the properties of a reportative evidential but also incorporates the meaning of “doubt” or uncertainty about the proposition it introduces, that is, it behaves as an epistemic modal (see (2)). Actually, the range of uses of *dizque* has evolved to a mere marker of epistemic modality (Travis 2006: 1269). In this second use, *dizque* is a kind of adverbial form as can be seen from its position within the sentences (3):

(2) Por ejemplo, el a- --- aquí el alcalde, Todo lo que ha hecho, Y...y ahí, **dizque** ya lo están investigando.
     ‘For example, the mayor here, all that he’s done, and now, **dizque** he’s under investigation.’ (Travis 2006: ex. 12)

(3) . . . se abrió **dizque** a comerciar. Comerciar era llegar a los almacenes, pedir, no pagar, y exigir dinero de vuelta. . . les sacaban dinero **dizque** de vuelta.
     ‘. . . she began **dizque** to do business. Do business was to go into the shops, make an order, not pay, and demand change. . . . they would get money out of them **dizque** in change.’ (Travis 2006, ex. 24 *apud* Castro Caycedo 1994: 100–101)

Data. We base our analysis on the exam of all the tokens of *dizque* appearing in the CORDE (diachronic corpus) -108 from xviii to xvii centuries- and CORPES -433 tokens from to 2000 to 2010- corpora of the Real Academia Española. The examples in the diachronic corpus provide syntactic and semantic evidence to assess the evolution from an evidentiality (strategy) or hearsay marker (*They say, It is said*) to an indirect reportative evidential which sometimes has also a doubt flavour (*it seems*). The present day corpus allows us to distinguish the two previous meanings plus another two: a pure
epistemic use equivalent to supposedly or to “so named/considered but the speaker does not agree”, and an intentional use (with para+inf) both reportative and modal in which the marker implies the negation of the content of the proposition it introduces.

**Main hypotheses.** In the second part of our work, relying on the previous corpus data and its preliminary semantic analysis, we will propose that both markers of evidentiality (que and dizque) are the result of a process of grammaticalization. Building on Roberts and Roussou’s 2003 hypothesis on grammaticalization and parameter change, we propose that this is a case of 'upward reanalysis', a categorial change to a functional head which merges in a 'higher' position within a structural configuration, giving rise to a new exponent for this functional head. In this case, the change affects the complex structure headed by a communication verb, dicen que “they say that”, and involves, as usual, phonological reduction and semantic bleaching. We will carefully describe such process and introduce a hypothesis as to the nature and role of the parameter involved in the variation described. Specifically, our basic claim is that the change of [COMP] que to [Evid] que may be related to the value (or resetting) of the parameter which determines the movement of the head of Fin to the head of Force in a sentential representation in which, following the theory of a layered left periphery, a split COMP is assumed. We claim that parameter resetting is also feature reduction and derivational economy. First, the category EVID could have less features that COMP. Second, if we are considering, the involved re-valuation of the parameter results in “simpler” properties of the category Force, which would change from [C*move] to [C*merge] (from “attract” to “(external) merge”).

**Conclusions** (main contributions): a) Corpus analysis can be crucial to assess paths of development and theoretical claims about (micro)syntactic variation and change, and about interaction between syntax and semantics, b) Grammaticalization can be seen as a change in the featural makeup of lexical items (in line with the B-Ch conjecture), c) Questions such as what type of 'parameters' are involved in this process or, more simply, how morphophonological alternations become “syntactized” are still open to discussion.

**References:**