Analogies in Castilian and in the Learning of Spanish as a Foreign Language: a Creative, Levelling and Simplifying Linguistic Phenomenon

Gonzalo Francisco Sánchez[1], Camille Noel[2]

Abstract. The term *analogy* has been used to encompass all types of linguistic changes resulting from the imitation of other paradigmatic models since Antiquity. Currently, analogy is still used as a catchall term. However, new studies are restricting its scope and new terms appear to name linguistic change phenomena by imitation. After a brief summary of the term evolution, we will present the main phenomena of analogical creation regarding Castilian from diatopic and drastratic perspectives. Finally, we will focus on the analogy in L2 learning, mainly the ELE (Spanish as a Foreign Language), by commenting according to the precepts of psycholinguistics examples from a corpus created with students of Spanish from different levels and nationalities.
Keywords: Analogy; imitation; creation; Spanish; foreign language.

[es] La analogía como fenómeno lingüístico creador, nivelador y simplificador. La analogía en castellano y en el aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera

Resumen. El vocablo *analogía* desde la Antigüedad ha servido para englobar todo tipo de cambios lingüísticos surgidos por imitación de otros modelos paradigmáticos. Hoy en día aún se sigue utilizando la analogía como *cajón de sastre*; sin embargo, nuevos estudios limitan su extensión y surgen nuevos términos para denominar fenómenos de cambio lingüístico por imitación. Tras un breve resumen de la evolución del término, y presentar diatópica y diastráticamente los principales fenómenos de creación analógica que atañen a la lengua castellana, nos centramos en trazar un panorama concreto de la presencia de la analogía en el aprendizaje de una L2, fundamentalmente ELE (Español Lengua Extranjera), comentando desde los preceptos de la psicolingüística ejemplos de un corpus creado con estudiantes de español de distintos niveles y nacionalidades.
Palabras clave: Analogía; imitación; creación; español; lengua extranjera.

[fr] L'analogie en castillan et dans l'apprentissage de ELE: un phénomène de simplification, lissage et innovation linguistique

Résumé. Depuis l'Antiquité, le terme *analogie* a permis d'englober tout type de changements linguistiques issus de l'imitation d'autres modèles paradigmatiques. Actuellement, l'analogie est encore utilisée comme fourre-tout. Cependant, de nouvelles études restreignent son étendue et de nouveaux termes apparaissent pour nommer des phénomènes de changement linguistique par imitation. Après un bref résumé de l'évolution du terme, nous présenterons diatopiquement et diastratiquement les principaux phénomènes de création analogique qui concernent le castillan. Nous nous focaliserons enfin sur l'analogie dans l'apprentissage d'une L2, principalement le ELE (Espagnol comme Langue Étrangère), en commentant selon les préceptes de la psycholinguistique des exemples provenant d'un corpus créé avec des étudiants d'espagnol de différents niveaux et nationalités.
Mots-clés: Analogie; imitation; création; espagnol; langue étrangère.

Sumario: 1. Analogy: introduction. 2. Analogy as a diachronic, diaphasic and diatopic phenomenon in Castilian. 3. Analogies in didactic methods of L2. 3.1. Analogies in the learning of ELE. 3.1.1. Analogies in the initial level of ELE (A1 and A2). 3.1.2. Analogies in the intermediate level of ELE (B1 and B2). 3.1.3. Analogies in the advanced level of ELE (C). 4. Conclusions. 5. References.

Cómo citar: Francisco Sánchez, Gonzalo; Noel, Camille (2021). Analogies in Castilian and in the Learning of Spanish as a Foreign Language: a Creative, Levelling and Simplifying Linguistic Phenomenon. *Didáctica, Lengua y Literatura,* 33, 1-9.

[1]   Université de Mons, FTI-EII, Langue espagnole
       Gonzalo.franciscosanchez@umons.ac.be
[2]   Université de Mons, FTI-EII, Service de Communication Écrite
       Camille.Noel@umons.ac.be

1. ANALOGY: INTRODUCTION

The substantive *analogy*, "similarity relationship between distinct items"[3] (*DLE*, 2014), proceeding from Greek as a derivation of the adjective *ἀνάλογος* "proportionate, related, similar" (*DCECH*[4]), and its derived adjective *analogical* have been regularly used in linguistics, since the classical era of Latin already, to describe phonological changes that etymology could not explain and all kinds of morphological changes as well. It was assumed that many of the new phonetic and morphological forms were created by imitation of pre-existing etymological forms.

The *Appendix Probi* contains *analogical* forms (built by imitation of pre-existing other ones) adopted since the classical era of Latin already, amongst other *errors* that must be avoided. In general, these *analogies* were harshly disapproved and corrected by the *Schola*. Nonetheless, they are supposed to have had a great influence on Vulgar Latin and on the formation of Romance languages.

At the dawn of modern linguistics, the use of the term *analogy* reappeared: some 19th century neogrammarians used it as a jumble that contained most of what phonetic laws could not explain (Welcomme, 2010, p. 55). Paul was the first linguist who really considered analogy to be one of the essential factors of language production (Welcomme, 2010, 112). According to Paul, language cannot be separate from the individual's personal characteristics, for whom the repetition of peculiar phenomena can affect his/her way of connecting terms: when a rule repeats itself frequently, the speaker may apply it unconsciously, creating then a new form (Paul, 1880, pp. 111-112).

During the 20th and 21st centuries, more efforts were made to restrict and delimit the impact of the phenomenon. The living and productive concepts of *assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, syncope, apocope, apheresis, epenthesis, prothesis* and *paragoge* have been specified (Torrens Álvarez, 2007, 28-35). Restricting the phonetic impact of analogy, the study of the *hypercorrection*[5] psycholinguistical process has developed. Not only does it affect phonetics but also morphosyntax and lexicon. Ultimately, other causes which could explain morphological phenomena such as a lexeme's allomorph in its own inflexional paradigm (or *levelling*) (Rini, 1999, p. 14) or phonologic conditioning emerged (Pato Maldonado & O'Neill, 2013, pp. 17-27).

Rini's *levelling* (1999, pp. 13-14), in this general context of imprecision, implies a large restriction of morphological values of analogy. Rini suggests that *analogy* should only be employed in cases in which it is proportional. He gives it the name of "*four-part analogy*". According to Rini, four elements are necessary so that a change can be considered as analogical: two would serve as basic forms and must come from different lexemes that share some grammatical or lexical relationship; another element is an existing word derived from a basic form; the last element would be the new word analogically created. An example of Rini's theory (1999, p. 21) would be the Castilian evolution of *la señor > la señora*, originated in *el don* and *la doña* forms. *El señor* and *el don*, the basic forms obtained from different lexemes, have a clear semantic relationship; while building the feminine form of *señor* with an *-a* (which is typical of Spanish language) also ends adding an *-a* to the former and etymological form *la señor*. Therefore, according to Rini, as analogy must include two basic forms of different lexemes, his *four-part analogy* theory's advantages are its accuracy, despite of phenomena that are limited to a same paradigm. At the same time, it allows defining as *analogies* various types of linguistic creations.

The phonological conditioning is a truly plausible theory of Pato Maldonado & O'Neill that could explain the Castilian dialectal phenomenon of gerunds built upon the stem of the *perfecto* (2013, pp. 17-25): the presence of the yod in the *gerundio* and the *perfectos* ending (see *faziendo*; *fiziesti, fiziemus, fiziestis, fizieron* and all the forms of the *imperfecto* and *futuro de subjuntivo*) with the marginal exception of *fize* and *fizo*, is supposed to have caused the extension of the *perfecto* stem to the allomorph of the *gerundio* radical. Even though this theory explains an isolate phenomenon, the influence of phonological and phonetic context is key to the explanation of morphological changes exclusively linked to the imitation of other forms, as we will see in sections 2 and 3.

Despite the two presented theories being convenient and plausible, a major part of grammarians, following Paul (1880, pp. 111-112) and, in the Hispanic tradition, Menéndez Pidal (1904, p. 69), still consider *analogy* as a jumble that can contain all kinds of changes in which an imitation of other recognised model is observed.

2. *ANALOGY* AS A DIACHRONIC, DIAPHASIC AND DIATOPIC PHENOMENON IN CASTILIAN

Most analogical historical innovations[6] prevailed and belong to the current normative and levelled Spanish, undoubtedly because it tends to be straightforward and regular. Nevertheless, the official language did not accept other ones as they only prevailed in some regions or within specific social groups (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2011, pp. 50-52).

These non-normative *analogies* have been and are still considered typical of rustic and uneducated people. Even though the RAE[7] follows a descriptive line and has abandoned prescription since 1999 in its *Gramática descriptiva*, analogical forms are still ill-considered by most of educated speakers.

---

[3]   All translations are ours.
[4]   *DCECH* stands for *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispanics* (*Oral and Voiced Corpus of Rural Spanish*).
[5]   Phenomenon coined in the Hispanic tradition by Menéndez Pidal (1904), inspired by Gartner's *Ueberentäusserung* (1883).
[6]   Considered, at least, as analogical by most linguists.
[7]   RAE stands for Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy).

Some analogical formations are common in the whole Spanish territory and basically influence children who are still in a discovery phase. This discovery requires creation, which follows models that are already assimilated (Luque Durán, 2005, pp. 91-92). He underlines the *regularisation* of paradigms which seem synchronically irregular. Therefore, relying on the morphological similarity relationship between *caber* and other verbs ending in -*er*, the child will create the form *cabo* by analogy (if *comer > como, caber > cabo*).

One of the non-normative forms (generally considered as analogy), which is the most extended diatopically and diastratically among distinct groups of age and gender, is the form affecting the second-person plural of *indefinidos* (past simple). The second-person singular form of *indefinido* AMĀVĪSTĪ > *amaste* (a normative form with *comiste* and *viviste*) can appear analogically (*amastes, comistes, vivistes*), following the same paradigm as tenses for which the -*s* is used as a mark of second-person singular. It is very common in informal speeches in most of the Peninsula (García Macho & Penny, 2013, p. 79). Most of authors consider this case as *analogy*. However, if we follow the scheme that Rini presented, we could not consider these forms as being analogical. They would only be regarded as the extension of a form within its own paradigm.[8] Then, we do not find any verbal paradigm in which there would be a normative form of second-person singular of *indefinido* including a -*s*. Therefore, no lexemic form introduced the innovation. Likewise, we should not forget about the phonetic influence of -*s* in the immediately preceding syllable, which could also have an influence on the creation of the new form.

The analogy which pretends to form the *preterito indefinido* of *regular* verbs ending in -*ar* from the first-person singular (*pasemos* is conjugated based on *pasé*), by imitation of what happens in the paradigms of -*er* and -*ir* verbs (*comí-comimos, viví-vivimos*). On the one hand, it allows for a regularity among the three verbal paradigms (*canté-cantemos, comí-comimos, viví-vivimos*), and, on the other hand, for a disambiguation of first-person plural forms of *presente* and *indefinido* for Castilian verbs ending in -*ar* (*compramos* in both tenses). The new paradigm replaces the ambivalence *indefinido-presente* of the *compramos* form, with the overlap of *compremos* in *indefinido* and *presente de subjuntivo*. The formal coincidence between two different moods and tense forms (*perfecto simple de indicativo* –past simple– and *presente de subjuntivo*) lead to less semantic and pragmatic confusions than the one between two forms (*indefinido* and *presente*) which share the same verb mood (Francisco Sánchez, 2015, pp. 82-83). This analogy has been widespread in almost all peninsular rural regions (Mondéjar Cumpián, 1970, p. 71) for a long time: *compremos, pasemos, visitemos* have been recorded since the 13th century in Medieval written documents from León, (Egido Fernández, 1996, p. 379), Castilla (Menéndez Pidal, 1926, pp. 311-312) and Aragón (Buesa Oliver & Castañer Martín, 1994, p. 73). Furthermore, the forms ending in -*emos* for the first-person plural of -*ar* verbs are not specific to Hispanic Romances but are also documented in Ancient Provencal *cantem* (Lausberg, 1963, p. 824).

The third-person plural of *indefinido* AMĀ(VĒ)RŪNT > *amaron* can be built upon verbs that maintain a strong *perfecto* form (stressed on the penultimate syllable, directly inherited from Latin), by imitation of what happens in the stem of *presente* of all verbs (*canta-cantan, come-comen, dice-dicen*): the -*n*, as a mark of plural, is added to the third-person singular (Alvar López & Poitier, 1983, pp. 273-275). The *analogy* can only be seen in strong *perfectos*, as they keep the same stress on the penultimate syllable as tenses from the stem of *presente*: *anduvo-anduvon*; *hizo-hizon*; *puso-puson*; *dijo-dijon*; *vino-vinon*. In this case, Rini's scheme is not perfectly adapted: it is true that lexemes proceeding from base forms 1 and 2 are not the same, but it is also true that base form 1 lexemes include base form 2 ones. The similarity relationship between base form 1 and base form 2 is phonic, as they are equivalently stressed. We could regard this phenomenon as the extension of a larger paradigm (stems of *presente* of third-person plurals) to a more restricted paradigm considered as very irregular (third-person plural of *indefinido* of strong *perfectos* with Latin roots), a levelling that unites two paradigms, simplifying the most complex one. Base form 1 *for Castilian verbs all third-person forms of stems of presente* (*canta, come, vive, dice, trae, cantaba, comía…*) Derivate 1 *all third-person forms of stems of presente,* which add an -*n* to the third-person singular (*cantan, comen, viven, dicen, traen, cantaban, comían,…*). Base form 2 *dijo, hubo, puso, trajo, vino…* (third-person singular of *indefinido* verbs inherited from the strong perfect Latin, with a stress on the penultimate syllable). Derivate 2 *third-person plural indefinidos of these verbs* (*dijon, hubon, puson, trajon, vinon…*), which imitates the formation process of Derivate 1. The key is the stress on the penultimate syllable of the third-person singular of these verbs in *indefinido*, which distinguishes them from other *indefinidos* and directly associates them to tenses originated by the stem of *presente* of all verbal paradigms. *Dijon, trajon, puson…*, contrary to the previous forms, do not extend synchronically to all peninsular regions. According to Llorente Maldonado (1986, p. 126) they do not have Leonese origins but Castilian ones. Nevertheless, at present, they are fundamentally typical of the former Leonese territory. Its ancient use was typical of West Castilla and the Leonese zone and extends today to León (at the south of the mountain chain), Zamora, Salamanca, Cáceres, and some districts of Badajoz, Ávila, Segovia, Valladolid, Palencia and Burgos. Today, these forms remain neither in the North of León nor in Castilla because of the levelling action of the *official* language. According to Pato Maldonado (2004, p. 3), "it is an Ancient Castilian phenomenon, recorded since the 13th century, that has persisted until our days in rural areas". We find its first sporadic record in a text with a strongly marked Aragonese character, the 13th century *Libro de las Cruces* (1259). Most of following examples are Western ones. These analogical forms started to lose their prestige in the late Middle Ages and from the 15th century, there are exclusively used in practical texts of the Leonese domain or Leonese literary texts.

---

[8]   What Rini (1999, p. 14) calls *levelling*.

The future form of the verb *querer* seems to be built in relation with other very usual verbs and belonging to a paradigm, which is also considered as *irregular* such as *tener, venir* and *poner* (we can observe *quedré, quedrás, quedrá...* from *tendré, vendré, pondré*). These analogical forms in *-dr-* spread throughout almost all peninsular rural speeches and have been recorded since the Medieval Era (Montero Curiel, 1997, p. 167). The future form of *querer* in *-dr-*, even if it exists in almost all the peninsular rural regions, is more sporadically used (according to *COSER*'s data)[9] than other analogical forms that we just have explained.

These forms, ancient analogical innovations which have partly spread diatopically as well as diastratically within the Castilian domain are also used, along with more recent and occasional forms, by imitation of other pre-existing forms, in the learning of *español como lengua extranjera* (ELE).[10] The communication requirement often forces the student to create his/her own paradigms, either agreeing on or turning off the normative form, which is not already known, in a process comparable to a child discovering his/her own language. Fluency in other languages and a better knowledge of the world will make a difference between the analogical innovative process of a foreign language learner (L2) and that of a child who acquires his/her native language in a monolingual environment.

In the following sections, we will analyse imitational innovations in the context of the learning of a foreign language, essentially ELE. In this work, only internal analogical innovation, which follows internal mechanisms similar to the ones previously presented in the article, will be addressed. That is to say, forms created by imitation of other forms based on the code of the studied language itself. Of course, after a detailed study, it has been possible to frequently notice, in this internal analogical creation process, the psychological influence of other linguistic elements existing in the mother tongue or other languages known by the learner.

3. ANALOGIES IN DIDACTIC METHODS OF L2

According to behaviorists, the language was basically a system of sounds and language learning a system of habits that develop with practice and repetition. Thanks to Bloomfield (1933) and especially to Lado (1957), the interferences that the mother tongue(s) (L1) and other known languages (L3) produced in L2 learning were observed. For this reason, the audioverbal method was developed. It rests on learning, in the way children do with their mother tongue, based on repetition and memorization (Brooks, 1964) and focused exclusively on the L2 code, although from closed corpora.

The development of psycholinguistics in the direction marked by Chomsky's ideas and proposals develops the innate learning of language. Thanks to their linguistic skills, the speakers have the ability to discriminate grammaticality and produce an infinite number of grammatical statements combining the rules. This mechanism of language acquisition (LAD) is innate (Chomsky, 1968) and creative. These theories were also applied to the learning of foreign languages, consolidating little by little a formal psycholinguistic method that rejected the need for repetition and underlined the creative character as primary foundation of learning (Jakovits, 1970).

Schumann's contributions are also crucial in that case: he equates L2 acquisition with pidginization, which is a process of phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic simplification of the L2 that renders the linguistic forms produced by L2 learners comparable to those attested in pidgin languages. In Schumann's view, pidginization is characteristic of early second-language acquisition and results from lack of knowledge of the target language. Social distance "pertains to the individual as a member of a social group which is in contact with another social group whose members speak a different language" (Schumann, 1976, p. 267). However, as the learner becomes psychologically and socially closer to the native speakers of the L2, he gets to interiorize the input he receives, and his speech starts to demonstrate more native-like forms. Nevertheless, if the social and psychological distance persist, pidginization may be expected to persist as well. Therefore, formal internal imitation would be a way of adhering to the L2 culture.

In the following decades, other elements that transcended mere grammatical aspects were gradually added to this grammatical creative character: the importance of communication, context, pragmatics and culture is taken into account in all modern methods.

In the acquisition of L2, the learner has knowledge of one or several languages (he/she already has linguistic, pragmatic and cultural skills oriented to communication) and the knowledge of the world that has given him/her his/her life experience (Mayor, 1994). We cannot ignore the L2 learner's knowledge of the world and his/her communication skills in the use of other codes. In his/her learning, the speaker tries and wishes to transmit his/her knowledge and concerns as he/she could do in his/her mother tongue. Therefore, the communicative needs are superior to their linguistic skills. That is where lies, to a large extent, the innovation: the creation that is usually based on what he/she already knows about L2. Then, the use of analogies among L2 learners is inspired by their desire to name vitally and linguistically known realities, but not yet experienced in the context of the new studied language.

The spoken languages and the vital experience will be as essential as the linguistic skills that the student already possesses in the new language: the greater or lesser geographical and cultural proximity, and the genetic or non-genetic affiliation of the mother tongue(s) (L1) and other studied foreign languages (L3) with respect to the studied L2 will differently influence the use of analogical creations in L2. The type of analogies will be different in the distinct

---

[9] So far, no examples of *quedr*– have been observed in *COSER*'s items.
[10] Spanish as a foreign language.

evolutionary stages of L2 learning, in the initial level (A1 according to the European frame of reference), intermediate (B1, B2), or advanced (C1, C2). In the same way, the influence of the mother tongue (L1) and other foreign languages will be different in the analogical creations of each one of the different levels of L2 learning.

In the case of the study of ELE, the other Romance languages, because of their diachronic affiliation and synchronic similarities, will be the ones that most influence the student in his/her analogical creations, especially in the first steps of learning, as we will see in the next section.

3.1. Analogies in the learning of ELE

In this section, we will present practical examples of analogies collected in a written corpus extending from 2014 to 2017 in the multilingual context of the Faculty of Translation and Interpretation of the University of Mons. We wanted to know if the use of analogy was related to the search for expressiveness and if it occurred exclusively in the initial levels, in the construction of an interlanguage marked by communication needs. It is a writing corpus of 78,523 words iterated by 75 informants representing numerically the multilingualism of Spanish learners in this Faculty (Belgian French-speakers or French 60%, English-speakers 30%, Italian-speakers 20% and Portuguese-speakers 10%) belonging to the initial levels A (25), intermediate B (25) and advanced C (25). They narrate stories or make comments about diverse topics without no vocabulary or structures being previously imposed. Most students who have participated in the sample (82%) have two or three L1. All of them use the French language on a regular basis. Therefore, the study is representative of a multilingual environment of Spanish learners in a Francophone context. Although, despite its preferentially French-speaking nature, the corpus sets general guidelines, as we will see in some examples.

3.1.1. Analogies in the initial level of ELE (A1 and A2)

At this initial level, L1 and other known languages have a significant influence on the learning process. The knowledge of the Castilian code is still very partial. In many cases, a formal simplification of the L2 can be observed (Schumann, 1976), but some students (46.7%) start to imitate the structures of L2. Analogies at the beginning of learning usually affect lexical formation mechanisms (64.5%).

At the beginning, a standing-out phenomena is the use of composition and derivation mechanisms that exist in Spanish but are not extendable to all lexemes. Example:

> 1) La puedes *rellamar* al teléfono (French-speaking student, level A1).[11]

The student, when noticing the existence of some Castilian formations with *re-* (*reutilizar*…), considers the prefix *re-* productive in any lexical context. If we follow Rini's scheme:

Form 1 *utilizar*. Derivative 1 *reutilizar*
Form 2 *llamar*. Derivative 2 *rellamar.*

In this analogical process, we will add the marked influence of French, where the prefix *re-* + verbal form is paradigmatic and productive in this dual iterative context.

It is very typical that learners who have English as L1 use *cantor* instead of *cantante* with both an adjective and substantive value. Up to six examples of as many British learners are recorded in our written corpus. Students use the Latin suffix *-or* in the context of the formation of an adjective. The knowledge of Castilian terms with the suffixes *-or* and the most common *-dor* (*jugador, corredor*) contributes to the use of *cantor*. Students with English as L1 will tend to create *cantor* rather than *cantador,* according to the British students themselves, because of the identification of the suffix *-er* (of *singer*, *farmer…*) with the Spanish *-or* and of the terms *actor* and *doctor,* which are educated derivatives from Latin existing in both languages. Conversely, if the Spanish-speaking listener could identify these uses of *cantor* as a semantic extension of the homophone term, which is used in Castilian in reduced musical fields like opera, choirs or the one "relative to the birds that sing" (*DLE*, 2014), in the context of the level A1 learning, we could rarely speak of anything except an analogical creation.

Another type of analogy characteristic of the first moments is related to verbal morphology (29.5% of all analogies at this level). These analogies are not influenced by other languages in this instance; and they are nearly always linked to the use of *regular* forms of verbs that do not conjugate like *cantar, comer* and *vivir*.

Although it is less frequent, the opposite process is also possible, consisting in creating irregularities in regular paradigms. It is more specifically the use of the diphthongization to conjugate forms of the *presente* with tonic/o/and tonic/e/in the radical that are assimilated to those coming from Latin brief *o* and brief *e*.[12] In these cases, we could consider that we are closer to the phenomenon of *hypercorrection* (the learner, seeing that he/she has the tendency not to diphthong, diphthongs in all the cases in which he/she observes tonic/é/and/ó/), since in the analogy, the regularity of the paradigm is usually sought and the principle of linguistic economy is followed (Bolaños Cuéllar, 2013, pp. 93-95). Examples of the corpus:

---

[11] The correct sentence would be 'La puedes volver a *llamar/llamar otra vez* por teléfono'.
[12] In the examples that we highlight correr <CŬRRĔRE and ceder <CĒDĔRE.

    2) Ella *cuerre* mucho, mucho (student with two L1 Italian and French, A1).[13]

    3) Eso es por que no *ciede* el pasage a los piatones (French-speaking student, A1).[14]

The study of the *pasados*, especially the *indefinidos* and the *participios* in the level A2, prompts many analogies, some with psychological influence of L1 or L3, some others not. This example associated to level A2 is phonetic:

    4) No *pudé* acabar lo (French-speaking student, A2).[15]

As the student read what was written, the pronunciation was determined in accordance with its graphic accentuation. We can explain the example in the following way:

Form 1: *all the verbs in -ar except the ones that have maintained the strong accentuation of the Latin perfect*; derivative 1: 1st person of the *indefinido canté, dejé*

Form 2: *poder*. Derivative 2: *pudé* (it is a *perfecto fuerte* but it extends the acute accentuation of other verbs, fundamentally the verbs in *-ar* that have its first person in *-é*).

The relation between the form 1 (the *verbs in -ar that have not maintained the strong perfect)* and form 2 (the *indefinido*, strong perfect, of *poder*) is established by the learner by linking the conjugation of the stems *pod-* and *pud–* with the verbs in *-ar* in *perfecto*. For the student, it is the same paradigm.

Influence of French: the student, who still does not have much phonetic skills in Spanish, is predisposed to accentuate the final syllable in Castilian, being the only tonic in that language.

The second example in the context of level A2 is morphological. In other examples, there is no external influence of the mother tongue (L1) or other known languages (L3). It is about the construction for ease and economy of *irregular* and *regular participios* as well as *irregular* and *regular perfectos*. In this context, we do not have gathered any opposite case, id est the use of *hypercorrected* creations that turn *irregular* paradigms into *regular* ones. Then, as it was expected, the principle of regularity and economy prevails among the examples of our corpus.

3.1.2. Analogies in the intermediate level of ELE (B1 and B2)

According to our corpus, two factors stand out at the intermediate level: the psychological influence of the already known languages is reduced and, at the same time, a greater linguistic reflection is introduced in L2. Most of the analogical innovations found (92% of total analogies at this level) are the result of a reflection where the principle of economy and regularity prevails. The examples we have found are usually morphosyntactic and coincide with the diatopic and diastratic analogies that we present in section 2.

Examples of morphosyntactic *analogies* without the influence of any other language:

    7) *Compremos* un traje para la boda. ¿ No he dicho que se casaban mis padres domingo próximo? (French-speaking student, B1).[16]

The student said she used *compremos* to be more regular and more practical, to differentiate it from the *presente*. Also, it must be taken into account that the learner was assimilating the conjugation of the *subjuntivo*; its influence is undoubtedly observed.

    8) Eso lo dijistes tú (English-speaking student, B2).[17]

Example of quick writing, close to the spontaneity of the oral. The student understands his *mistake* after the reading.

According to our corpus, we can still observe the presence of structures of other languages, exclusively the Romance ones, in this intermediate level: it is fundamentally the case of the verb *querer* that is, in some uses of Portuguese-speaking students, directly formed on the basis of the *infinitivo*: *quereré, quererá…* Here is a curious example of an English-speaking student with a level B2 in Spanish who was studying Portuguese (with a lower level, A2) at the same time:

    9) No sé si *quererás* venir (English-speaking student, B2, with a level A2 in Portuguese).[18]

---

[13]   The correct sentence would be 'Ella corre mucho, mucho'.
[14]   The correct sentence would be 'Eso pasó por no cederles el paso a los peatones'.
[15]   The correct sentence would be 'No pude acabarlo'.
[16]   The correct sentence would be 'Vamos a comprar un traje para la boda. ¿No te he dicho que mis padres se casan/van a casarse el domingo que viene?'.
[17]   The correct sentence would be 'Eso lo dijiste tú'.
[18]   The correct sentence would be 'No sé si quieres/querrás venir'.

The student himself acknowledged that the *regular* construction of that future was influenced by Portuguese, since in that language he was learning to conjugate and use the future at that time.

As we can see, a language which is not well mastered can often influence the use of another one of which the student has a greater knowledge.

3.1.3. Analogies in the advanced level of ELE (C)

Although the mother tongue(s) and an L3 may still have an influence on some choices that do not comply with the norm (mostly the use of moods, connectors and lexical preferences), especially in the spontaneous context of orality, the student will use the extensive background he/she already has in the language of Cervantes[19] as he/she needs to resort to creation. It is notably the case when he/she can do it reflexively without being determined by immediacy and urgency, a state in which the brain is still feeling influenced by L1 and L3, repeating some of the patterns that we have already mentioned for the other two levels. Then, at the higher level, as far as the written use of analogical creations is concerned, the psychological influence of the mother tongue or other known languages disappears almost completely.

In our corpus, we curiously find many analogies in the formation of words. However, at this level, these innovations occur in the context of parasynthesis and words formed on the basis of Latin roots (83% of total analogies at this level). Let us see two examples:

> 10) Le hizo *enjuvenecer* de por lo menos 10 años (French-speaking student, C).[20]

Parallel construction to *envejecer* and that adapts to a very typical model of parasynthetic verbal formation from adjectives *en-* …-*ecer*.

> 11) Tiene una terrible *psicose* por culpa de eso (student with two L1, Italian and French).[21]

On the basis of *eclipse* and *ellipse*, the student hispanicises the suffix -*sis*, as it is the case on other occasions in normative Castilian.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In recent years, some researchers are making efforts to rigorously investigate the creative processes of forms based on the imitation of other forms, which have diachronically had a great impact on the creation not only of the Romance languages, but also in the rest of modern languages. However, the term *analogy* is still very generically used, especially to name various types of morphological changes.

From the sociolinguistic point of view, in the context of Spanish, both the RAE and most linguists have ceased to negatively connote the linguistic value of non-normative analogical forms, which are usually economic and practical. However, they still ignore that the innovative analogical phenomenon is responsible for many elements that are present in the current normative Spanish, these *unofficial* uses, typical of certain rural regions and of conversational uses, are still considered rustic and vulgar by a majority of educated speakers.

It is necessary to describe different linguistic elements historically considered as analogies more deeply: we cannot consider them as equals without more creative phenomena that are not, just by taking other forms as a model. Following the schemes of other scholars such as Pato Maldonado & O'Neill and, above all, Rini, we have studied diverse creative analogical phenomena that are typical of the current diaphasic and diatopic Castilian variety and other imitative innovations that are used by many ELE students for communicational needs.

The use of analogical innovations in the context of L2 learning cannot be separated from the learner's need to linguistically adapt to the knowledge of the world that exceeds the one his/her linguistic skills in the foreign language reflects. Analogical innovations imitating a normative form of L2 that is already assimilated can also be enabled by other forms existing in the mother tongue (L1) and other languages (L3).

According to what our corpus reveals, as the learning process moves forward, the student resorts to imitation to fulfill his/her expressive needs and this emulation reflects his/her linguistic knowledge of other languages. However, as he/she reaches more advanced levels, the student becomes more thoughtful and can use the L2 code more autonomously, leaving aside the external influences of other codes.

The examples provided in the context of ELE learning respond to a written corpus and are completed by the reading of the learners' own examples and their psycholinguistic comments. It would be interesting to contrast this written corpus with another oral one in the line of the same premises: a heterogeneous multilingual context and learners

---

[19] The *interlanguage* (Selinker, 1972) of the learner, their *idiosyncratic dialect* (Corder, 1971) is made up of numerous elements that possess the system that is specific to Spanish speakers' L1.

[20] The correct sentence would be 'Lo hizo *rejuvenecer,* por lo menos, 10 años'.

[21] The correct sentence would be 'Tiene una psicosis terrible por culpa de eso'.

of different levels. We would observe a different evolution of the *interlingua* and certainly another type of analogical innovation that would meet communicative situations of greater urgency.[22]

Also, it would be interesting to see in other corpora, created in contexts resembling ours, the influence of Castilian both in its facets of L1 and L3, in the analogical innovations that are recorded in the learning of various L2.

Our study has not included the linguistic creation that is done with the direct influence of L1 or L3 in L2. We have preferred to focus on internal mechanisms of L2 that are indirectly influenced by known languages. These cases of linguistic creation from L1 or L3 are lexical: that is, the learner's communicative needs lead him/her to import lexical roots that are present in L1 or L3 and to formally adapt them to Spanish, based on his/her grammatical skills. These mechanisms are very specific in the learning contexts of an L2 genetically linked to the L1 or L3 and between children with two mother tongues and require a detailed study as well.

Finally, it would be interesting to study the psychological influence of languages in contact (diachronic or synchronic) in the analogical process of creating and leveling both in the mother tongue itself and in the context of the study of a foreign language.

We have again demonstrated the multidisciplinarity of linguistics in general and particularly in its application to the study of foreign languages: it is important to take into account not only the linguistic act itself but also everything that surrounds it. In the context of L2 learning, the creative psychological process, which relates forms and phenomena, is essential in the evolutionary process of *interlingua*.

5. REFERENCES

Alvar López, Manuel y Bernard Pottier (1983). *Morfología histórica del español*. Madrid: Gredos.

Bloomfield, Leonard (1933). *Language*. New York: Holt.

Bolaños Cuéllar, Sergio (2013). Sexismo lingüístico. Aproximación a un problema complejo de la lingüística contemporánea. *Forma y Función, 16*, 89-110.

Brooks, Nelson (1964). *Language and Language Learning*. New York: Hartcourt, Brace and World.

Buesa Oliver, Tomás y Rosa María Castañer Martín (1994). El pretérito perfecto simple en las hablas pirenaicas de Aragón y Navarra. *Archivo de filología aragonesa, 50*, 65-132.

Chomsky, Noam (1968). *Language and Learning. The Debate between Jean Piaget and Noam Chomsky*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Corder, Stephen Pit (1971). Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 49*, 149-159.

Corominas i Vigneaux Joan y José A. Pascual Rodríguez (2012). *Diccionario Crítico-Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico* (*DCECH*) (CD-ROM). Madrid: Gredos.

Egido Fernández, María Cristina (1996). *El sistema verbal en el romance medieval leonés*. León: Universidad de León.

Fernández-Ordóñez, Inés (2005-). *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* (*COSER*) (on line). https://www.uam.es/coser.

Fernández-Ordóñez, Inés (2012). El norte peninsular y su papel en la historia de la lengua española. En Gómez Seibane, Sara & Carsten Sinner (eds.). *Estudios sobre tiempo y espacio en el español norteño* (pp. 23-68). San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua.

Francisco Sánchez, Gonzalo (2015). Formas y usos verbales vernáculos en la sierra de Francia (sur de Salamanca): analogías, cambio fonológico, rasgos arcaicos. *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos, 38*, 73-91.

García Macho, María Lourdes y Ralph Penny (2013). *Gramática histórica de la lengua española*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.

García Mouton, Pilar (coord.), Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, David Heap, María Pilar Perea, Joao Saramago y Xulio Sousa (2016). *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (*ALPI-CSIC)* (ed. digital Tomás Navarro Tomás). Madrid: CSIC. https://www.alpi.csic.es.

Gartner, Theodor (1883). *Raetorromanischs Grammatik*. Heilbronn: Verlag Von Gebre Henninger.

Jakovits, Leon (1970). *Foreign language learning: A psycholinguistic analysis of issues*. Rowley: Newbury House.

Lado, Robert (1957). *Linguistics across cultures*. *Applied linguistics for language teachers*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lausberg, Heinrich (1970 [1963]). *Lingüística Románica*. Madrid: Gredos.

Llorente Maldonado, Antonio (1986). Las hablas vivas de Zamora y Salamanca en la actualidad. En Manuel Álvar López (coord.). *Lenguas peninsulares y proyección hispánica* (pp. 107-131). Madrid: Fundación Friedrich Ebert e Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana.

Luque Durán, Juan de Dios (2005). Los juegos lingüísticos: fallos comunicacionales, humorismo verbal y reflexión metalingüística. En José Luis Luque Toro (coord.). *Actas del I Congreso internacional de léxico español actual*. Venecia-Treviso, 91-126.

---

[22]   In this case, it is necessary to outline oral examples of analogies among students at higher levels, similar to those employed by newcomers. For instance, we can single out the repeated analogical use of the term *robador*, for communicative urgency, as they forgot the word *ladrón*. These occurrences are rarely observed in a written form from higher-level students, thanks to the reflection that this code allows.

Mayor, Juan (1994). Adquisición de una segunda lengua. En Jesús Sánchez Lobato e Isabel Santos Gargallo (coords.). *Actas IV ASELE. Problemas y Métodos en la Enseñanza del Español como Lengua Extranjera*. Madrid: SGEL.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón (1904). *Manual elemental de gramática histórica española*. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón (1976 [1926]). *Orígenes del español. Estado lingüístico de la Península hasta el siglo XI*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón (1952). *Manual de gramática histórica española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Mondéjar Cumpián, José (1970). *El verbo andaluz: formas y estructuras*. Madrid: CSIC.

Montero Curiel, Pilar (1997). *El habla de Madroñera (Cáceres)*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura.

Pato Maldonado, Enrique (2004). Los perfectos fuertes analógicos en español. En Manuel Trinidad Martín (ed.). *Actas del congreso internacional Patrimonio lingüístico extremeño*. Cáceres: Editora Regional. https://www.lllf.uam.es/coser/publicaciones/enrique/4_es.pdf.

Pato Maldonado, Enrique y Paul O'Neill (2013). Los gerundios "analógicos" en la historia del español (e iberorromance). *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, 41*, 1-27.

Paul, Hermann (1920 [1880]). *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Probus, Marcus Valerius (1952 [s. III - IV d.C.]). *Apendix* (edited by Cisneros Vizquerra). Lima: Publicaciones Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

RAE (1999). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Sintaxis básica de las clases de palabras*. Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe.

RAE (2009). *Nueva gramática de la lengua española I y II. Morfología*, *Sintaxis*. Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe.

RAE (2011). *Nueva gramática de la lengua española III. Fonética y Fonología*. Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe.

RAE (2014). *Diccionario de la lengua española* (*DLE*). Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Rini, Joel (1999). *Exploring the role of morphology in evolution of Spanish*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamin.

Sánchez-Prieto, Pedro, Rocío Díaz Moreno y Elena Trujillo Belso. *Edición de textos alfonsíes*. En RAE. *Banco de datos* (*CORDE*). *Corpus diacrónico del español*. https://www.rae.es.

Selinker, Larry (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 10*, 209-231.

Spaulding, Robert (1943). *How Spanish grew*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schumann, John (1976). Second language acquisition: the pidginization hypothesis. *Language Learning, 26(2)*.

Torrens Álvarez, María Jesús (2007). *Evolución e historia de la lengua española*. Madrid: Arco Libros.

Welcomme, Aurélie (2010). Herman Paul et le concept d'Analogie. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación, 43*, 49-122.